
**Philadelphia Cabinetmaking and Commerce, 1718-1753:
The Account Book of John Head, Joiner**

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Foreword



The account book of John Head

*George Vaux Papers, American Philosophical
Society*

Drawing upon one of the least congenial forms of manuscript, the account book, Jay Stiefel's "Cabinetmaking and Commerce" and his associated essay "The Head Account Book as Artifact," bring a piece of early Philadelphia to life, situating a productive, but little known artisan, John Head, within the larger context of early colonial society and economy.

The Head account book is an extraordinary record of the shop production of a single Philadelphia joiner, documenting his entire career from shortly after the time of his emigration in 1717 until the time of his death in 1754. It is, among other things, an outstanding record of the production, barter, and sale of furniture during the early colonial period, of the workings of an important artisan's shop, of patterns of speech and writing, and of the traffic in goods and services that provided cohesion for the community. It is also, as it happens, one of the earliest extant account books for any maker of furniture in British North America. Its handful of peers include the account books of the chairmakers of the Gaines Family of New Hampshire, 1707-1762, and Thomas Pratt of

Massachusetts, 1730-1768 (both at Winterthur), the cabinetmakers Joshua Delaplaine of New York, 1720-1778 (New-York Historical Society), Joseph Brown, 1725-1786, and the Lunt Family of Massachusetts, 1736-1772 (Essex Institute), the joiner, Joseph Lindsey of Massachusetts, 1739-1773 (Winterthur), and Thomas Fitch, the upholsterer, starting in

1719 (Massachusetts Historical Society). Whatever else can be said about it, Head's is a rare and early survival of a craftsman in the middle colonies.

The Editors
March 1, 2001

The author: Jay Robert Stiefel

Jay Robert Stiefel (jrstiefel@gmail.com) is an attorney and a lifelong Philadelphian. Having studied history at the University of Pennsylvania and at Christ Church, Oxford, and decorative arts with the Attingham Trust, Stiefel was conducting research in the George Vaux Papers at the APS Library when he first encountered the Head account book.

Stiefel was invited to contribute this inaugural article to the revived *Library Bulletin* as a means of bringing the account book to a larger audience and to provide a taste of his more substantial work to follow.

Acknowledgments

For I shall never forgive myself, if I were to omit the name of the first inventor, and claim that as my own invention, which I learnt from another person.

Peter Kalm, *Travels in North America*, September, 1748, acknowledging his debt to John Bartram.ⁱ

My heartfelt thanks to all who encouraged and aided my research for this article, and shared their good fellowship. Robert S. Cox, Curator of Manuscripts at the American Philosophical Society, who had invited its publication, gave unstinting support at every step. It was Rob who suggested broadening the scope of the article to include the social and commercial context within which John Head produced his furniture, in order to take greater advantage of the voluminous detail in the material. It was also he who conceived of disseminating this article on-line now, rather than await the publication of my fuller research at a much later date. Both of these suggestions will enable a wider audience to more quickly learn of the significance of John Head's account book. Rob's colleague, Roy E. Goodman, Assistant Librarian and Curator of Printed Materials provided many helpful texts and access to searchable data bases of materials contemporaneous to John Head. Whitfield J. Bell, Jr. answered with erudition my questions regarding early APS members he had profiled, including Thomas Godfrey and Benjamin Franklin. Inquiries and expressions of confidence from Librarian Edward C. Carter, II, emboldened further effort. I am honored to have an article published in such good company. Finally, the dedication and motivation of the entire staff of APS Library made it a pleasure to conduct research there.

Richard A. Mones, M.D. read portions of the manuscript in draft. Rick's questions and comments stimulated additional research and discovery, and made for a better result. Rick and Rob Cox helped to interpret Head's often bizarre spellings, as did Sue and Del Swan. Also appreciated is the generosity of Rick and Pam Mones, H. L. ["Skip"] Chalfant, and others in discussing objects from their collections and permitting me to illustrate them. For general knowledge of the period and queries as to certain of its furniture, Skip, Joe McFalls, and Thère Fiechter were most helpful. Questions regarding construction, tools, and materials were graciously fielded by furniture conservators Christopher Storb, David DeMuzio, and Alan Andersen. Valued, as well, were the discussions with Chris and Rick regarding their own inquiries into Stretch clocks, as many were cased by Head. I am pleased that both have been able to cite entries from the account book in their contributions to horological research. Trina Vaux McCauley answered many questions on the Vaux family, and directed me to the George Vaux Papers, in my search for information on William Sansom Vaux, who had acquired the Franklin dressing table. That search led to the serendipitous discovery of the Head account book and, eventually, to this article.

Thanks are also due to the staffs of libraries and archives of other local institutions. Rachel Onuf, currently at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania on a grant from the Mellon Foundation, was especially thoughtful in directing me to catalogue entries pertaining to John Head. When material was occasionally not found where catalogued, HSP manuscript staff were resourceful, and often successful, in uncovering it. Also acknowledged is the clerk at the Philadelphia Register of Wills who submitted to countless requests for the originals of wills and inventories, many of which could no longer be accounted for. Regrettably among the missing, are those of John Head, and his sons John Head, Jr. and Samuel Head.

At Winterthur, Bert Denker facilitated access to the Decorative Arts Photographic Collection. Jeanne Solensky, Associate Librarian, was ever patient in ferreting out my requests for "just one more" item from the Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Ephemera. Jeanne and Manuscripts Librarian Rick McKinstry also brought to my attention several helpful articles by former Winterthur Fellows pertaining to 18th century bookkeeping. When records and information proved hard to find, the interest of curators Brock Jobe, Charles Hummel, and Wendy Cooper, spurred me on to greater effort. Particularly regenerative was a breakfast with Brock, during which we exchanged insights and enthusiasm regarding my work on Head and his on Boston furniture craftsmen.

Research into Head's English roots was furthered by resources suggested by Geoffrey Beard, President of the Attingham Trust, and our Attingham colleague Mary Ann Apicella Hollihan. Those manning the desk at the Manuscripts Division of the Guildhall, Corporation of London, aided my examination of the records of the Joiners' Company. Jane Isaac, Resident Archivist, of the Suffolk Records Office in Bury St. Edmunds, excited to hear that a hometown boy had "made good" in the Colonies, took particular interest in the project.

The research of Benno Forman, Beatrice Garvan, William Macpherson Hornor, Jr., Arthur W. Leibundguth, Cathryn J. McElroy, and Margaret Berwind Schiffer provided firm footing for examining the interactions of John Head and his contemporaries. Their insights into early furniture of Philadelphia and the Delaware Valley, and their citation to primary sources not generally known, suggested many new avenues of inquiry. That their work can now be

supplemented in greater detail with information from the Head account book and other such primary sources not previously available, only enhances their pioneering contributions.

Since the discovery of the account book, research on John Head has been further advanced by the work of Andrew Brunk, Alan Miller, and Christopher Storb. Each is acknowledged for their contributions in attributing furniture to John Head's shop during their lectures at the November 12-14, 1999, "Arts of Baroque Pennsylvania" symposium. See May 10, 1999 et seq. correspondence among the organizers and participants of that symposium re: discovery of the Head account book, its significance, relevant account book entries, and Head's relationship to other Quakers. Jay Robert Stiefel Papers, APS Ms. Coll. The symposium was held in conjunction with The Philadelphia Museum of Art's October 10, 1999-January 2, 2000 exhibition, "Worldly Goods, the Arts of Early Pennsylvania, 1680-1758." The attribution of the Wistar high chest and dressing table to John Head also appeared in the exhibition catalogue [hereafter cited as *Worldly Goods*]. See Lita Solis-Cohen, "Seminar Sheds New Light on Early Philadelphia Decorative Arts," *Maine Antique Digest* (January, 2000), p. 10-A, <http://www.maineantiquedigest.com/articles/pma100.htm>. My additional research will be published in the future.

Finally, I owe much to the creative spirit and love of my wife. It is, therefore, to Ann that this work is dedicated.

Philadelphia
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Jay Robert Stiefel

Philadelphia Cabinetmaking and Commerce, 1718-1753: The Account Book of John Head, Joiner

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I. Introduction: Discovering an Elusive "Joyner"

Such facts may be deemed too minute for preservation, but who can foresee that even such facts may not be requisite to illustrate other needed points of information.... It is by such incidental facts that more important ones are sometimes explained.

John Fanning Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*.¹

Enamored as he was with the minutiae of Philadelphia's past, John Fanning Watson would have been irrevocably smitten with the contents of an otherwise unattractive, dog-eared, vellum-covered volume, recently accessioned by the Library of the American Philosophical Society.² Inside its cover, faintly titled "John Head his Books of accounts," are 231 pages of densely written entries, under hundreds of account names, chronicling the daily transactions of an active commercial enterprise over a thirty-five-year period: 1718-1753.³ They establish John Head as one of Philadelphia's principal cabinetmakers. The account book is essential reading for anyone interested in early Philadelphia furniture and the activities and identities of those who made it, or who bartered labor and commodities to acquire it.

Concealed from public view for most of its existence, the account book had descended through seven generations of Quaker relations. It was donated, in 1991-1992, to the American Philosophical Society, as part of an extensive collection, the George Vaux Papers.⁴ The account book's significance, however, was not discovered until May 7, 1999, during research on other material in that archive. The subjects of that inquiry were two pieces of furniture that had descended in the Vaux family. One was a curled maple, intaglio-knee dressing table with a Benjamin Franklin provenance, and attributed to the shop of William Savery [Fig. 1].⁵ The other was a curled walnut, slant-front desk on ogee bracket feet with serpentine interior, which had been originally owned by John Head, Jr., one of Philadelphia's wealthiest merchants at the time of the Revolution [Fig. 2].⁶



Fig. 1: The "Franklin table," attributed to William Savery

Private collection, Philadelphia



Fig. 2: The desk of John Head, Jr.

Private collection, Philadelphia

early wills and inventories indicates that they were determined lost as of the time of filming. All that survives of Head's will is the so-called "Index copy," the contemporaneous transcription made for the Register.⁹ The original or a copy of the probate inventory appears to have been extant circa 1964, when it was cited, as follows: "A joiner, John Head, whose inventory was taken by two fellow joiners, Thomas Maule and Joseph Chatham, on November 11, 1754, possessed fourteen rush-bottom chairs valued at three pounds two shillings."¹⁰

Unlike many other Philadelphia joiners, Head's name did not appear as an appraiser of probate inventories. (Presumably, joiners were chosen for such tasks because of their familiarity with furniture, often the costliest asset in an estate. At other times, they may have been picked because their work related professionally to that of the decedent.) Nor was Head's name among those known to have been admitted as freemen of Philadelphia.¹¹ Nothing in other public records readily suggested the extent of Head's business dealings or his property holdings.¹² The only reference to him in contemporary Philadelphia newspapers was a posthumous one, to a lot of ground he had owned while alive.¹³

Secondary sources provided little more. In Hornor's *Blue Book, Philadelphia Furniture*, John Head was but one of a hundred joiners, chair-makers, turners, and cabinetmakers, listed as working during the period 1682-1722. Head was accorded only a single line: "John Head, joiner, removed from Mildenhall, Suffolk, England, 1717; died 1754."¹⁴ No citation for such

There was little reason for anyone to have suspected the ledger's importance, even after it had found its way to APS. John Head was not known as a cabinetmaker of prominence. Indeed, not much was known about him at all. Like most Philadelphia joiners of his era, Head existed "in little more than name."⁷ Moreover, as joiners often worked as carpenters, there was no particular reason to conclude that Head made furniture.⁸

John Head's will, proved October 18, 1754, identified him only as "Joyner." His furniture was referenced solely in terms of its disposition with other of his household goods. Only one article of furniture was even mentioned, "a Clock & Case." Regrettably, the originals of Head's will and probate inventory are lost. Nor were they preserved on microfilm, as the Register of Wills's microfilm of

information was given. Nor was there any indication as to what Head produced, to whom he sold it, or his relative importance to other Philadelphia cabinetmakers.

In the articles of *The Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine*, John Head was identified once, as a "joiner of Philadelphia," but only in his capacity as father-in-law to the prosperous Revolutionary merchant Jeremiah Warder, nothing more.¹⁵ Indeed, in a pamphlet history of the Warder family, while mention was made of his mercantile stature, John Head was not even identified by name: "Jeremiah [Warder] married Mary Head, the daughter of a leading merchant of Philadelphia."¹⁶

No reference whatever may be found for John Head as a joiner, either in on-line genealogical databases, or in the relevant volume of that monumental compendium of early Pennsylvaniana, *Lawmaking and Legislators in Pennsylvania, A Biographical Dictionary*.¹⁷

Once within the George Vaux Papers, further biographical detail begins to emerge. Family trees prepared by George Vaux VIII show John Head as born in England on April 8, 1688, the son of "Samuel (?) Head" and "Sarah Jackley(?)." In 1717, Head was "of St. Edmondsbury," a reference to today's Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk. Head married "Rebecca Mase," at "Baybon Suffolk England 3/15 1712." Rebecca was listed as born in England in 1688, and dying in Philadelphia "6/4 1764."¹⁸

Vaux's information appears to have come from John and Rebecca's marriage certificate. The original certificate was in his possession on November 28, 1874, when Charles Caleb Cresson called at his office, at the back of 1700 Arch Street, according to a November 30, 1874 letter from Cresson to Thomas Stewardson. Cresson enclosed for Stewardson his "memoranda," based on that certificate and other information given him by Vaux. They clarify and expand upon Vaux's genealogical data. Cresson noted that the marriage took place at the "Meeting place at Bayton (or Baybon) [on] the 15th of 3 mo. (May) 1712." Whereas there is no "Baybon," the seat and parish of "Bayton," or "Beyton" as it is sometimes spelled, does show up on Suffolk county maps approximately 5 1/2 miles east of Bury St. Edmunds. Thus the marriage took place in a Quaker house of worship in that town. Cresson further noted that the newlyweds were described as "John Head of Edmondsbury - in the County of Suffolk, Joyner, and - Rebekah (she signed Rebeckah) Mase - daughter of Richard Mase - of bury aforesaid."¹⁹ Thus Head must have completed his apprenticeship by the time of his marriage. As both he and Rebekah were of Bury St. Edmunds and their marriage had taken place nearby, this suggests that Head practiced joinery and underwent his apprenticeship in Suffolk, in or around Bury St. Edmunds.²⁰ A search of the records of the Joiners' Company of the City of London has turned up no record either of his having been bound as an apprentice there or admitted to the freedom of the Company.²¹

An endorsement on a fold of the marriage document, "John Head - 8 day of 2 mo. 1688," was Vaux's source for Head's date of birth, April 8, 1688. Other endorsements on another fold gave [birth] dates of "1 mo. 1 1713," March 1, 1713, for Rebecca, and "14 of 2 mo. 1714," April 14, 1714, for [their daughter] Mary. Cresson's remaining "memoranda" regarding the joiner cast light on his arrival in Philadelphia and where he lived: "The first John Head - had 11 children - 4 at the time he landed at Philad.[.] the two youngest he & his wife carried in a tub from the landing to their dwelling - means of conveyance being scarce

in those days -*** J.H. lived and died - on the N. side of Arch St. - 40 ft. E. of 3rd - lot 20 x 110 - his house is gone - [.]²²

A bit more information about Head was mounted inside the cover of his account book, in a typescript, signed "George Vaux [VIII]," and dated March 1, 1904.²³

This book is mainly in the hand-writing of John Head who was born in England, in 1688, married there in 1712, came to America in 1717, and died in 1754. There is reason to believe that he was a minister among Friends, but if not[,] certainly an elder. By trade he was a cabinet maker. His son John was my maternal great-grandfather, and one of the few wealthy merchants in Philadelphia before and at the time of the American Revolution. His second daughter Mary, my paternal great-grandmother was the wife of my paternal great-grandfather, Jeremiah Warder, also a wealthy merchant at the same period. His oldest daughter Rebecca was an ancestor of Johns Hopkins who founded the great University and Hospital in Baltimore, which bears his name. Another daughter was ancestor of Chief Justice Sharswood, of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and still another was ancestor of the Cresson, Biddle and Garrett families in Philadelphia.

Many of the most prominent Friends families in England were descended from his brother and probably his sister.²⁴

Even in these biographical notes, Head appeared more celebrated for his genes than his accomplishments. Part of the reason Head may have remained so obscure, is that he suffered the "curse" of having such better-known, and often illustrious, descendants. Their proximity to the events of the Revolution or their associations to great institutions, public and private, may have held greater appeal to later family members doing genealogical research on papers then in private hands, including his account book. A century after Head's death, diarist John Templeton Strong wrote: "We crave a history, instinctively, and being without the eras that belong to older nationalities...we dwell on the details of our little all of historic life, and venerate every trivial fact about our first settlers and colonial governors and revolutionary heroes."²⁵

Only through an examination of Head's account book can Head be more fully appreciated. It reveals his pivotal role in the artisanal and mercantile life of the city, the rich diversity of his business, and his significance to the history of early Philadelphia furniture. Discovery is also made of the wares and activities of other Philadelphia craftsmen and merchants, many of whom have remained nearly as elusive as Head.

II. The Value of the Head Account Book.

A. The Scope of the Head Account Book

The Head account book's thirty-five years of entries, dated 1718-1753, afford a first-hand and detailed record of a variety of artisanal and commercial transactions.²⁶ "We know very little about the business activities of the artisans, retailers, and other small businessmen who composed Philadelphia's amorphous middle class..."²⁷ Head's account book gives voice to the "historically inarticulate," those individuals often overlooked in more traditional histories.²⁸

As Head emigrated to America in 1717 and died in 1754, the account book encompasses his entire professional career in Philadelphia. Here are the names, goods and activities of

virtually the entire hierarchy of the community, including Penn's secretary, James Logan; Receiver General and Proprietor's agent, James Steel; Assembly Speaker Isaac Norris, Jr.; Philadelphia Mayor Thomas Masters; wealthy merchants such as Alexander Wooddrop and John Leacock; State House master carpenter Edmund Woolley (c.1695-1771); brass button manufacturer Caspar Wistar (1696-1752); ironmaster William Branson; glazier turned mathematician and inventor Thomas Godfrey (1702-1749); "John Roberson, ye Lawyour;" dyer turned property speculator Lodwick Christian Sprögel; clockmakers John Wood, John Hood, and Peter and William Stretch; six chairmakers, including Solomon Cresson, Alexander Foreman and Benjamin Trotter; pewterer Simon Edgell (c.1688-1742); brickmakers Abram Cox and the Coates family; "Thomas Shut[e] sope biler;" "Thomas Pars [Pearse] plasterer;" and, not least, "Ladwik Sipel, the Dutch Loksmith." Emerging from these entries are their everyday lives, their successes and tragedies: everything from the substantial amounts earned by Edgell for his pewter, to the three coffins he ordered for his children.²⁹

Many of these individuals, like Edgell and William Stretch, had only been known by the quality of the small number of surviving pieces bearing their names. In other instances, those without extant ledgers or marked work had been relegated to obscurity. Even worse was the fate of John Hood, whose very existence was doubted, because no clocks by him are presently known and it was thought that his name was a misspelling of that of John Wood.

Head's would appear to be the earliest account book of any cabinetmaker in America. The account book's entries for furniture cover twenty-five years: 1718-1744.³⁰ That length of time and the breadth of the furniture-making activities encompassed render the Head account book of even greater value to furniture scholarship than the 1708 probate inventory of joiner Charles Plumley, considered "one of the key documents of American furniture history." That inventory, the earliest of any American cabinetmaker, provides a unique opportunity to view the materials, components, tools and unfinished furniture remaining in the stock of a locally trained joiner in Philadelphia's first quarter century.³¹

B. The Limitations of Existing Records

However, the Plumley inventory suffers the limitations of every probate inventory. Such inventories provide a slice in time, rather than a span. They list appraised values, rather than the actual prices at which goods were sold. They are also often incomplete. It has been suggested that this may be the result of "[i]ndifferent or hurried appraisers" overlooking goods, or appraisers aggregating goods in single less descriptive entries or altogether ignoring items of lesser value.³²

The Head account book complements probate inventories, making up for many of their deficiencies, and augmenting their advantages.³³ Head recorded: the names of those who purchased/received or sold/provided goods or services; what was transacted; what was purchased/received or sold/provided at the same time; what they paid and with what they paid; when they ordered it; and the names of those responsible for providing goods and services when not received directly from Head. Having all of these data for one transaction, or a series of them, provides a fuller, less static context than can be derived from an inventory. Moreover, the account book's thousands of interrelated entries are of sufficient number, scale, range, and consistency to permit the creation of a large database, from which

macro-economic data may be drawn, hypotheses formulated, and conclusions reached, all at levels of statistical validity and circumstantial trustworthiness not ordinarily available from often disparate and inconsistently valued probate records and other existing documentation.³⁴

Prior to the discovery of Head's account book, no similarly comprehensive Philadelphia joiner's account book of the first half of the 18th century was known, posing a major impediment to research.³⁵ The lack of comprehensive records for furniture manufactured by Philadelphia joiners, and particularly for case pieces, forced earlier researchers to rely on extant furniture as the primary basis for their hypotheses. Some of their conclusions are now subject to challenge, particularly given new and more detailed information available from the Head account book.³⁶ Thus, not everyone will concur that "[s]urviving examples prove that the most important furniture form produced by Philadelphia craftsmen during the period 1730-1760 was the chair."³⁷

Unlike the Parisian Guild Statute of 1741 mandating that every Maître Ébéniste register a personal mark and then place it on all of his furniture, there was no legal requirement for English cabinetmakers to do the same.³⁸ Maker's labels or stamps are, therefore, rare on English 18th century cabinetwork.³⁹ Likewise, Colonial Pennsylvania furniture is rarely signed, marked, or otherwise labeled. Early exceptions to that practice, slightly before Head's arrival, include a fall-front desk, stamped "EDWARD EVANS 1707;" and a ball-foot chest of drawers, inscribed "William/Beake 1711."⁴⁰ Two other exceptions are contemporaneous with Head's production. One is a walnut two-over-one drawer, ball foot, diminutive chest of drawers, c. 1720, possibly by Edward Evans, as "E Evans" is inscribed in chalk on the back of its upper right drawer [fig. 3].⁴¹ The other is a ball and claw foot, Philadelphia high chest with ogee-shaped top, inscribed in chalk "Jos. Claypoole 1743" on the underside of a drawer bottom in the upper case.⁴² After mid-century, labeling must have become more common, given the numbers of extant examples.⁴³



Fig. 3: Diminutive chest of drawers on ball feet, signed "E. Evans"

Chalfant collection

Joiners' bills for the sale of furniture in Head's period are rare, as are such references in the accounting papers of their customers.⁴⁴ Cabinetmakers' advertisements in contemporary newspapers provide snapshots of what goods they were offering at particular times. But even when woods are listed, the furniture is so generically described, that attributions of surviving examples are not possible, absent other documentation.⁴⁵ Also, many successful craftsmen, such as John Head, may not have needed to advertise and, as a consequence, remain little known.⁴⁶ Probate inventories of cabinetmakers' shop goods are more helpful. Apart from

finished goods left in stock, descriptive listings of tools and components can suggest what types of furniture they made.

Nor are owner records necessarily reliable. Family papers which may have identified the maker and, in some instances, the original owner, if not lost, are often incomplete. Moreover, if separated from the pieces to which they pertain, they may be misleading. Unless such pieces were uniquely described, they can easily be confused with ones of similar form, which may have descended from other family branches or were acquired outside the family.⁴⁷ Needless to say, oral family tradition, without supporting documentation, is least reliable.



Fig. 4: Chest of drawers on ball feet, attributed to William Beake

Chalfant collection

clockcases, identified by Storb and Miller over the course of twenty years of examination. But, even with the name of Peter Stretch on many of their clock dials, without documentation, the identity of the cabinetshop remained a mystery.

Attributing unmarked furniture to the maker of a marked piece is often a hazardous undertaking. It can still be attempted, especially where a combination of identical features are present: appearance, construction, woods (primary and secondary), and the profiles of mouldings and turnings. Three such pieces are unsigned, walnut, two-over-three drawer, ball-foot chests of drawers, which appear similar in design and construction to the chest of drawers signed by Beake in 1711, right down to their unusually sloped ball feet. One is illustrated [fig.4].⁴⁸ The smaller the number of similarities between a known piece and an unmarked one, the greater potential for attribution error.⁴⁹

Applying such techniques to a greater universe of objects of like form or decoration, has enabled furniture consultants and conservators, such as Christopher Storb and self-described "furniture taxonomist" Alan Miller, to identify particular groups of furniture as coming from common shops.⁵⁰ One such group is comprised of some seventeen

C. The Attribution of Furniture to John Head's Shop

The Head account book facilitates attribution of furniture previously ascribed to a common shop, such as the group of clockcases. There is sufficient detail in Head's entries regarding his cases for Stretch clocks, that Storb is now able to attribute certain of the cases in the group to Head's shop.⁵¹ Two cases which appear to be by Head are an arched dial case with a Peter Stretch tide dial movement [figs. 5, 5a, 5b, 5c] and a square dial with a bolt and shutter maintaining power movement by William Stretch, his son [figs. 6, 6a].⁵²

A curled walnut Philadelphia high chest and dressing table has also been attributed to Head's shop by Andrew J. Brunk.⁵³ Such a pair was made at the time of the marriage of Palatine German émigré Caspar Wistar and Catherine Johnson or Jansen, daughter of a wealthy Quaker family, on May 25, 1726. It was later inventoried as the "Chest of Drawers & Table £4-0-0" in Wistar's Market Street house at the time his death in 1752.⁵⁴ The basis for the attribution was a contemporaneous debit in Wistar's account found by Brunk: "14 - 4 mo 1726 To a Chest of drawers and a Chamber Table and an oval Table £10-0-0."⁵⁵ Thus, the Head account book may also be used to corroborate provenance previously supported only by family tradition.

An English arch-dial clock in a Head-style Philadelphia case, c. 1730, given by the same donor as the Wistar high chest and dressing table, carries a less firm line of descent from the Wistars.⁵⁶ If Caspar Wistar already had the movement, this might explain why he was debited £4-0-0, for a clockcase, on 2/30/30, but no corresponding clock was noted for it, as Head sometimes did.⁵⁷



Fig. 5: Peter Stretch tide dial clock with arched face
 Fig. 5a. Detail of hood and dial
 Fig. 5b. Detail of tide dial
 Fig. 5c. Detail of cyma-curved base



Fig. 6: Square face clock with William Stretch clock and oculus
 Fig. 6a: Detail of clockcase hood and dial

Mones collection

Chalfant collection



Fig. 7: Richardson family high chest on turned legs

*Formerly in the collection of the late Robert Simpson Stuart
Photograph courtesy of Wintherthur Museum*



Fig. 8: Richardson family dressing table on turned legs

*Formerly in the collection of the late Robert Simpson Stuart
Photograph courtesy of Wintherthur Museum*

Beatrice Garvan and Benno Forman have noted the similarity of the Wistar high chest to one which is thought to have been owned by silversmith Joseph Richardson, Sr. (1711-1784), Wistar's neighbor at his earlier residence on Front Street.⁵⁸ That high chest, also of walnut, has an accompanying dressing table, but with a straight, rather than triple-arched front skirt and only one drawer [figs. 7 & 8]. As there is no account for Joseph Richardson, Sr. in Head's account book, and the account of his brother, Francis Richardson, Jr., lists no chests of drawers or tables, there is no direct link to Head through that side of the family. However, as the biography of the Richardson family only goes so far as to state that these pieces stood in the house of Richardson's son, Joseph Richardson, Jr. (1752-1831), they may yet have been produced by the Head shop, but have come into the family through a different route.⁵⁹

Based on similarities in construction and moulding profiles to the Wistar chest, Alan Miller has attributed a high chest entirely of cedar to the Head shop. Miller also believes the cedar chest to be earlier in date than the Wistar chest.⁶⁰

Head lists no individual chests of drawers of cedar, but does list three with companion dressing tables. Was one of those chests of drawers the one that Miller attributed to the Head shop? An obvious candidate would be from Head's earliest cedar pair, which were debited to pewterer Simon Edgell, on 4/15/19, at £10-0-0.⁶¹ Another possibility is from the second pair, the "Sader Chest And Table of drawers," debited to James Steel, on 3/13/24, at £9-10-0.⁶² The "1 Cedar Chest of Drawers" bequeathed to Steel's widow Martha in 1741 may have survived from that pair.⁶³ A third cedar high chest and dressing table pair is probably not in the running, if one accepts Miller's conclusion that the extant cedar chest of drawers predates the Wistar pair. The third pair was debited to Anthony Morris, on 10/6/32, at £13-10-0, and delivered to Samuel Powel, Jr.⁶⁴ However, it is very likely that may be the pair described in Hornor: "The second Samuel Powels owned 'One red Cedar Table' (lowboy), and 'One D[itt]o Chest of Drawers' in 'the front Chamber.'"⁶⁵

Thus, Head's shop can be viewed as a prime candidate for the origination of Philadelphia furniture, made c. 1718-1744, that may have only "survived" in the entries of the probate inventories and papers of its original owners. Many names of those owners appear in Head's account book as purchasers or recipients of similarly described furnishings.

The inventory of Steel is rich in entries which appear to tie in with those in Head's account for him. Only one "Spice Box" is listed in each. Valued at £0-15-0, together with a bedstead,

it was likely that which cost Steel £2-10-0, on 2/15/35. The sole "Clock & Case" in each, appraised at £10-0-0 in 1741, was probably that for which Head charged £15-0-0, on 6/29/32. The movement was almost certainly by Peter Stretch, as his account was credited £12-0-0 by Head that very same date, "By a Clock." The complementary nature of the Steel inventory and Head account book is further demonstrated by the "Desk & Book Case w[i]th Glass Doors," valued at £15-0-0. Head's account for James Steel listed two bookcases in combination with desks. On 2/7/36, Head debited Steel £14-0-0, "Left to pay for a Desk and Book Case and - 2 paken Cases By his order was sent to marriland [Maryland]." On 7/3/36, Head debited Steel £15-0-0, "To a scrudore and Bookcas [secretary desk and bookcase] apoa a Chest of drawers."⁶⁶ If the appraised one was that sent to Maryland, the packing cases were no doubt needed to protect its glazed doors.

It is hoped that other documentary "reunions" with the account book will continue to be made. For the present, here are a couple more. The "Comperst Rods," i.e., the compassed or arched tester, which brickmaker Abram Cox purchased from Head, on 7/9/22, at 0-16-0, to go along with his "Badstad," may very well refer to Cox's "Canopy Bedsted" in Hornor. The four "picttur frames," two of them "Larg," which Head sold to Alexander Wooddrop, on 6/21/21 and 6/26/21, are likely the "3 gilt Family Pictures, 1 other Picture," which Hornor states were in the "back Parlour of his Dwelling Home."⁶⁷

Another source of possible reunions with Head's account book will be any furniture which turns up bearing the name of one of his customers. One possibility is a walnut ball foot chest of drawers with a chalk signature that has been deciphered as a variant of the name of Solomon Cresson. Cresson was Head's principal supplier of chairs and purchased several case pieces from Head, including "a chest of Drawers dd [delivered] to his house."⁶⁸

Another object possibly made by Head is a labeled Philadelphia walnut scale box for the weighing of coins and precious metals, which descended in the Stretch family [fig. 9].⁶⁹ Head sold twenty-five scale boxes to Stretch and this example is distinguished from most of those that survive in being made of walnut rather than oak, the latter wood commonly appearing in those imported from England.⁷⁰ See the discussion on scale boxes in section pertaining to Head's dealing with the Stretches.

The account book will also facilitate our general understanding of furniture of Head's period. The serendipitous survival of certain objects over others has led to erroneous conclusions, because of the dearth of relevant written material to place them in context. Just because one form may have survived in



Fig. 9: Stretch family scale box

Mones Collection

greater number than another does not mean that that form was more popular or more important. The latter may have been discarded for reasons of obsolescence, fashion, or instability of construction. Nor does the survival of more ornate objects, passed down in wealthy estates, mean that plainer ones did not exist in even greater numbers.⁷¹ The same has been generally true for many Philadelphia objects of the William & Mary and Queen Anne (Baroque) periods which, until recently, were not as well appreciated or cared for as their Chippendale (rococo) counterparts.⁷²

The Head account book will also enable research of a more general nature into the personal and economic activities of early Philadelphians. Surviving papers of those mentioned in the Head account book can now be examined for further information as to those specific transactions and their relationship to others. Contemporary newspaper reports and advertisements regarding those same individuals, their businesses and their lives, can now be understood in greater depth, as they lacked the level of detail provided by Head.

III. Working in John Head's Shop: Family Ties; the Nature of His Businesses

The late aged John Warder, Esq., told me that in his younger days he never knew of more than five or six persons at most, in the whole city, who did not live on the same spot where they pursued their business, -- a convenience and benefit now so generally departed from by the general class of traders. Then wives and daughters very often served in the stores of their parents, and the retail dry good business was mostly in the hands of widows or maiden ladies.

John Warder to John Fanning Watson, prior to 1828⁷³

Although John Warder (1751-1828) was barely three at the time of the death of his grandfather, John Head, his words aptly describe how business was conducted at his grandfather's shop. John Warder's mother, Mary Head Warder (1714-1803), or "May" as she was called in the family, worked there together with her parents, siblings, and husband, Jeremiah Warder (1711-1783, married 1736). May, her brother John Head, Jr. (1723-1792), and her mother Rebecca Mase (or Mace) Head (1688-1764) sometimes took care of cash payments;⁷⁴ sister Sary [Sarah] Head Brian (b. 1715) was charged out to customers for "work don;"⁷⁵ and John, Jr., Jeremiah Warder, sister Hannah Head Hooton (b. 1720), and Hannah's husband Benjamin Hooton (married 1742) did some of the deliveries.⁷⁶

A. Craftsmen Becoming Merchants.

Perhaps because of the constraints of a barter economy, Philadelphia's resourceful artisans found themselves becoming shopkeepers as well. This enabled them to transact business in a far larger range of goods and increased the saleability of their manufactured products. John Head, Jr.⁷⁷ and Jeremiah Warder⁷⁸ were to become two of Philadelphia's most prominent merchants by the time of the Revolution, importing large quantities of fabric, among other goods. The interests of these merchants, in their youth, as well as those of Head's son Samuel, a carpenter,⁷⁹ may have contributed to the broadening of Head's business well beyond cabinetmaking.

Although Head identified himself a "Joyner" at the time of death, his transactions and property development demonstrate that his commercial interests were not confined to a single trade. It was not an unusual circumstance of the period for individuals, especially Quakers, to style themselves as joiners and yet be large holders of real estate and "men of substance."⁸⁰ Quakers, in particular, appeared to be attracted to the "sober virtues of the aspiring tradesman."⁸¹ Benjamin Franklin, an artisan himself, found Philadelphia's "Mechanics" to be esteemed by their fellow citizens because of the usefulness of their employment: "The People have a saying, that God Almighty is himself a Mechanic, the greatest in the Universe, and he is respected and admired more for the Variety, Ingenuity, and Utility of his Handiworks, than from Antiquity of his Family."⁸²

It has been estimated that between 1700-1745, one out of every six Philadelphia artisans had amassed £300.⁸³ A craftsman such as Head often acquired commercial skills in his initial trade that he could later transfer to expanding his business into other lines.⁸⁴ For example, having taken in large quantities of various woods for his cabinetmaking, it is not surprising that Head's entries also show him to be a wholesaler of wood to others, including those involved in cabinetmaking, the building trades, or in the manufacture of brick and iron. The latter businesses required cords of wood as fuel for their kilns and ovens.⁸⁵

As a supplier of substantial numbers of "Badstad[s]," and of the testers and curtains that went with them, Head may have found a ready introduction to the buying and selling of fabrics. Fabrics were imported in huge quantities by merchants such as James Logan and provided a frequent medium of exchange in Head's shop. The fabrics mentioned in his account book cover a wide range, from coarse to fine, and from plain to striped. They include: "Cambrik [cambric]," "Carsey [jersey?]," "Chaney [cheney]," "Coten [cotton]," "Coue Hide [cowhide]," "Crape [crepe]," "Doules [toile]," "Diper [diaper-pattern]," "Druget [drugget]," "Duroy [corduroy]," "flanel [flannel]," "Garlick [garleck]," "Leghther [leather]," "Linen," "Spakd Linen [speckled linen]," "Linzey woolsey," "muslen [muslin]," "osinbrig [osenbirk]," "Sarge [serge]," "Sholune [shalloon]," "Silk," "Stript hollon [striped Holland]," "Tape," "Twill," "Wan [?]," and "Woosted Wool [worsted wool]."⁸⁶

One of John Head's sons and two of his sons-in-law were to style themselves hatters. John Head, Jr., "a short, chunky man" was "[o]riginally a hatter - and from dealing in furs he became a shipping merchant - and very wealthy."⁸⁷ He advertised himself as a hatter, "in Philadelphia, opposite to the Church."⁸⁸ Jeremiah Warder had his own account with Head, Sr. since 1745, when he was debited for seventy-three "hat bloks."⁸⁹ Benjamin Hooton had been debited by Head, Sr. for one hundred and five "hat bloks."⁹⁰

Warder is thought to have been trained by John Warder, also a hatter.⁹¹ His beginnings, in the beaver hat trade in Bucks County, were humble.⁹² Even after becoming a prosperous merchant, as a sideline he engaged in the fur trade with the Indians of western Pennsylvania.⁹³ Warder or Head, Jr. may have been the source of pelts for Head, Sr.'s hat debits. On 3/3/45, Head, Sr. debited £1-10-0 to Thomas Pennton



Fig. 10: Tri-cornered hatbox

Chalfant Collection

[Pennington], "To a B[e]aver hatt dd [delivered] to his son James."⁹⁴ Head had some prior involvement in the hat trade. William Spafard had been debited £0-2-6 by Head, on 9/27/24, "To pak: 6 hats;" and £0-3-0, on the following day, "To pake Bonits." Head also supplied Jon Loyd [John Lloyd?] a "hat Box," on 9/27/24, at £0-2-0.⁹⁵ A walnut tri-cornered hat box may be from this period, as it has early features such as a single arched base moulding and cotter pin hinges [fig. 10]. Jeremiah seems also to have initiated substantial business for Head, Sr. in a new line -- shirts. During 1746-1747, Head, Sr. charged Warder for "maken" 62 "rufeld Shurts" and 74, presumably plain, ones.⁹⁶ Warder became prominent as an exporter, "one of the richest men in outward goods among Friends." Afterwards, he expanded into shipping and importing under the firm name, Jeremiah Warder & Sons.⁹⁷

Samuel Head's name appears only occasionally in his father's account book, but none of the entries show him actively engaged in his father's business.⁹⁸ However, above the cover title, "John Head his Books of accounts," also appears the faint inscription "Samuel," together with some further wording, now indecipherable. It is thus possible that some of the entries in the account book may relate to business in which Samuel was involved. Samuel was a carpenter. As he was someone involved with the building trades, this may in part explain why several hundred entries throughout Head's book pertain to building supplies bought or sold by the firm.

Vast quantities of brick, stone, lime, lath, and "scantlen" [scantling], in particular, are recorded as being transacted. Both brick and stone were used as building materials for Philadelphia houses. But Kalm tells us that "the former are more commonly used, since bricks are made before the town, and are well burnt." Bricks were made from the clay pits located in the northwest side of town. Head got well over a hundred thousand "Briks" from brickmakers, such as Abram Cox and members of the Coates family. Many also came from the bricklayers working on his own properties. Indeed, most bricks credited by Head appear to be for his own needs.⁹⁹

Head, perhaps through Samuel, also seems to have been heavily involved in supplying the builders of the day. On 8/1/35, John Coats was debited £0-4-6, "To scafels [scaffolds] poles and - 3 pound Rop[e]s."¹⁰⁰ Another builder supplied by Head was fellow joiner Edmund Woolley. Woolley, the contractor for Head's house, later became master carpenter and designer of the Pennsylvania State House.¹⁰¹ Lime, a big seller by the "Bushel" or "pak," was sold from Head's "Siler [cellar]."¹⁰² Kalm noted that "[v]ery good lime is burnt every where hereabouts, for masonry."¹⁰³ Starting in 1730, sash "lights" or "glas" were also sold by Head, perhaps an outgrowth of the many he bought for his own construction needs.¹⁰⁴ Head also sold tools.¹⁰⁵ Samuel Head was still on Mulberry Street (now called Arch Street) as of 1760.¹⁰⁶

With few exceptions, no carpentry appears to have been performed by the Head shop. The £4-0-0 charged Jeremiah Warder, on 4/20/46, "To Building his stable at his paster [pasture]," may have been a special commission for a family member.¹⁰⁷ All of the other carpentry jobs are credits, usually for work done at Head's residences or premises. None mention Samuel Head. Whatever role Samuel Head may have played in his father's business, there is documented evidence that he was employed elsewhere by 1745.¹⁰⁸

B. Thomas Maule.

Thomas Maule, a joiner who later turned to the hardware business, appears also to have had a close working relationship with Head, perhaps even as an apprentice. The earliest Head account book entry pertaining to him is on 7/5/41, "By a pay [pair] shoues for Thomas Maul [Maule]," a £0-7-0 credit to the account of Joseph Daves.¹⁰⁹ Amidst the large number of shoe orders filled by Daves for Head, that order is the only one not for a member of Head's immediate family. Also, Head never debited Maule for those shoes. This suggests that Maule was also working at Head's premises.

By 1742, Maule seems to have been working for his own account, as a joiner. Head's debit entries for Maule that year show the latter taking in "2 Clockcas freeses [blind fretwork]," at £0-3-0 [4/28/42]; "2 payer Buts Joynts," at £0-3-0 [6/20/42]; "a parcel of Bords and scantlen [scantling]," at £2-17-0, and "2 handles," at £0-0-10 [9/10/42]; "walnut plank sold him," at £1-6-4, and "292 foot of pine Bord", at £1-0-4 [11/10/42]; and "a parcel of Walnut", at £2-0-0 [12/19/42]. The "sold" entry is unusual, as it would have been redundant for Head to have noted that on a debit page. Maybe Head wanted to differentiate this walnut from wood previously given gratis to Maule, perhaps while he worked for Head. In 1743, Maule buys more wood from Head, "58 foot of walnut Bord," at £0-9-10 [2/21/43]. Maule may have specialized in clockcases, as he buys an additional "ClockCas frees," at £0-1-6 [4/21/43].¹¹⁰ As Head made his last clockcases in that year,¹¹¹ Maule may have simply been buying up Head's unused stock for later resale.¹¹² In 1744, Maule was married.¹¹³

By 1746, Maule described himself as a "Joiner in Front Street," when he sought the return of his runaway "Apprentice Boy," William Holland. He still described himself as a joiner in 1748, selling "Most sorts of joiners work," but he also advertises various hardware, tools, and even "fine salt, and chocolate." In May, 1749, while advertising furniture hardware and a "large assortment of other ironmongery ware," Maule maintained that he "follows his trade as a joiner;" moreover, he was confident that he could "furnish...the best curled walnut or mapple joiner's work that can be had." But there may have been a change in the nature of his

business later that year. On July 27, 1749, he no longer described himself as a joiner at his "removed" location on Second street, near the church," but appears exclusively involved in selling hardware, as well as "sundry sorts of dry goods," and even "mens shoe and knee buckles, by the dozen." By November 1749, he was also selling a "large assortment of pewter." By 1750, Maule seems firmly engrossed in the hardware business, as his Second Street business was advertised as "at the sign of the cross cut saw." Finally, in 1756, John Head, Jr. advertised that Maule was "late of this city," and that all of his accounts were being settled. John Head, Jr.'s advertisement may indicate the persistence of a relationship between Maule and the Head family, as does Maule's previous inventorying of the effects of John Head, Sr.¹¹⁴

C. The End of Head's Furniture Production.

By the end of 1744, Head appears to have decided to cease production of furniture altogether. Head capped his career with a singular piece, "a walnut Chest of Drawers In - 3 parts," on 10/27/44. Together with "a Little Chest of Drawers," it cost John Rouse £18-0-0.¹¹⁵ The volume of his recorded business transactions also tapered off by this time. There may have been more than one reason for this circumstance. Head was, by then, 56 years of age, no longer a young man. By 1747, Head's handwriting appears infirm. Perhaps he was ill.¹¹⁶ Another, more immediate, reason may have been that Philadelphia commerce in general was suffering from the June 11, 1744 declaration of war against France, proclaimed at the Court House by the Governor and city fathers. French and Spanish privateers were hovering off the Delaware and Chesapeake capes, mirroring American privateers' conduct in the West Indies.¹¹⁷ Yet a third reason may have been that there had been a stylistic change in furniture, such as the introduction about this time of the ball and claw foot, with which Head was unwilling or, for competitive reasons, unable to contend.¹¹⁸ Whatever the reason, Head never again recorded furniture making in his account book.

Maule appears to have been the immediate beneficiary of Head's decision. On 10/7/44, Maule became the new owner of "a Joyners Bench" from Head (perhaps Head's own), at £0-12-0. Between 1744-1747, Maule also bought from Head large quantities of "Till Loks," "handles & scuchens [escutcheons]," and "drawer loks and som Kies."¹¹⁹ Head's sons and sons-in-law also appear to have become more fully engaged either in other business at Head's shop or elsewhere. In 1745, Samuel Head shows up as doing carpentry work with Joseph Webb. In 1746-1747, Jeremiah Warder first appears as ordering shirts from John Head's establishment. On 7/24/48, Head also recorded selling another son-in-law, Benjamin Hooton, "2247 foot of Sader and pine Bord at Sundre times use[d] In his Shop and house," at £10-4-0; and "1422 foot of Scantlen reduced used in his shop and house at s/6 per hundred," at £4-5-0.¹²⁰ Head, arguably, would not have parted with the sort of essential joiner materials and supplies he had sold to Maule and Hooton, had he further use for them.¹²¹

IV. Head's Real Property.

A. The Extent of Head's Real Estate Holdings.

One measure of Head's success is that, within a decade or so of his arrival, he had amassed substantial real property. On 5/19/28, he credited James Sewer [Seward?] £2-0-0, "By paven the front of our four houses."¹²² By the time of his death, Head's will listed a total of seven properties, as well as referencing other real estate sold.

According to the Cresson memoranda, the house in which John Head lived and died no longer survived as of 1874. It had stood on the North side of Arch Street [which Head consistently referred to as Mulberry Street], 40 feet East of Third Street, on a lot measuring 20 by 110 feet.¹²³ Confirming those dimensions is Head's will. It left the property to his daughter Martha Lawrence, and further described it as "my House and Lot or piece of ground in Mulberry Street wherein I now dwell, Joyning to Mary Pounds Lott...." Martha also got Head's house and lot on Third Street, adjoining the house of carpenter Hugh Hughes, measuring 15 feet in front and going back 40 feet. At the rear, it was contiguous to the West side of his first bequest to her.¹²⁴

Head's son Samuel was to be paid ground rent for those two properties by Martha. Samuel also was given the ground rent from a third property, described as a "Lott in third street which I sold some Years agoe to Joseph and John Thornhill." A fourth property and ground rent therefrom also went to Samuel, described as "half my Lot or piece of Ground in Mulberry Street joining to the House I sold to George Smith," the half measuring 17 feet in front and going back 51 feet. The other half of that lot, which adjoined Edward Warner's house, went to John Head, Jr.¹²⁵

A fifth property, "my House in Mulberry Street joining to the Widow Legays," measuring 19 by 110 feet with another 20 feet of lot in back, went to daughter Rebecca Jones. (Head's will notes that he had previously sold the widow a room over the alley and a lot, and a "privilege," i.e., an easement, in the alley to get to the lot.) Another daughter, Esther Baker, got a sixth property, "my House and Lot or piece of Ground in Cherry Street," as well as "my quarter part of the Share of the pump over the way...." A seventh property, on the Frankford Road, was originally parceled out in four bequests by the will. But by a superseding codicil, it ended up all going to daughter Mary Warder, whose husband Jeremiah owned the adjacent property.¹²⁶

B. Rents Paid and Received.

Head paid £7-0-0 a year ground rent on his Mulberry Street property to James Steel. The substantial credits thus created were mostly paid off in furniture debited to Steel's account, making him Head's best customer. More ground rent was credited to the accounts of others.¹²⁷ But Head also received rents on his own properties. They provided him with another source of income, in addition to what he derived from his sales of furniture, building supplies, fabrics, and miscellaneous goods.¹²⁸

C. Construction at Head's Houses.

1. Earliest Construction.

Head's construction records are among his most detailed entries. They describe Head's immediate physical environment and give the cost of materials, components, and labor. They also afford a first-hand account of how Philadelphia craftsmen went about designing, erecting and finishing a house.

The earliest construction entry is for a repair job. Bangman Rods [Benjamin Rhoades?] charged £3-6-0, on 8/1/20, "To : The Wallen up a pes [piece] of a Siler by an Irishman."¹²⁹ By the next year, Head seems to have progressed from his cellar to his roof, as he was buying substantial quantities of shingles.¹³⁰ Shingles of white cedar were found to rot less than other woods. Because they were so light, many built their houses of extremely thin walls. By Kalm's visit, the cedar trees were nearly all gone, as they had not been replanted. Kalm expressed concern that, as cedar shingle roofs decayed and heavier materials, such as tiles, were substituted, Philadelphia houses might have to be rebuilt.¹³¹

Edward Worner [Warner] was engaged "To measuren on[e] Tennement [dwelling]," and credited £0-4-6, on 1/3/23.¹³² A Mulberry Street neighbor at the time of the Head's death, Warner would later describe himself as "House-Carpenter."¹³³

The first express reference to Head having a "Home," as well as additional houses, is on 3/8/23, when Thomas Williams charged £4-16-6, "To ye WorkmanShip of plasteren ye 2 kitchens & chambers ouer Home and ye Little Houses."¹³⁴ The "2 Lod Bord [loads of board]" hauled by William Rakstraw [Rakestraw] two weeks later may have also been for this project. Rakestraw kept his board yard on Water Street, near Vine.¹³⁵ More shingles were bought soon after, including from Charles Read, who had advertised "Very Good Season'd Pine boards and Cedar Shingles to be sold by *Charles Read* opposite to Mr. *Thomas Masters* at the Corner of the Front and market Streets in *Philadelphia*...."¹³⁶

Carpenter Edmund Woolley was supposed to do the work but, by the time he showed up, the shingles were already up. Not one to permit a tardy contractor from getting the advantage of him, Head got an £8-10-0 allowance, on 12/22/23, against what he had originally agreed to pay.¹³⁷ Woolley charged Head eighteen shillings a square foot for doing the work that he did do, but Head didn't credit him until Edward Warner and Joseph Cross had confirmed the extent of that work. The total came to £31-14-6 and was credited on 1/3/24.¹³⁸

Work continued in high gear. That same month, party fences were erected for another Head neighbor, James Brown.¹³⁹ Brickwork, lathwork and sashlights followed, priced "to the penny" by Head.¹⁴⁰ Brisk business at Head's shop may have necessitated the provision of "2 payer Banches [benches] at ye dore."¹⁴¹

2. "Ye Pomp."

Watson notes that "[t]he conveniences of pumps were rarely seen for many years in the primitive city." The earliest he referenced was a pump at Pewter-platter alley.¹⁴² But Head had one at least two years earlier. On 2/12/21, he debited Barnibars Talbert [Barnabas Talbot], "To Warter from ye pomp." Thus Head may have capitalized on a shortage of pumps by selling water from his own. Head is not specific as to whether the pump water was

used for consumption, but he does state that it was used for construction. He began renting it on an annual basis. James Boolean [Bollen] paid £0-6-9, on 9/1/22, "To Warter for Building And on[e] years Warter to This day." Hugh Cordry was paid for mending and "Laghtheren [lubricating]" the pump. A new "pomp" was purchased, in 1735, from Samuel Powel Sanor [Samuel Powell, Sr.] and, in 1736, another "pump and Boxes" from carpenter Samuel Rhoads who, until 1741, mended and lubricated them. The last "Worter" sold by Head was paid for by carpenter John Nicholas, in 1734, and credited to James Poulitis.¹⁴³

3. Glazier, Mathematician, and Inventor Thomas Godfrey.

In 1726, another construction project for Head appears to have started. On 1/18/26, Thomas Godfrey [Godfrey] charged £0-19-6 "By Glasen [glazing]: 13 foot." Of what we don't know, but Godfrey was known for his window glass.¹⁴⁴ This charge would appear to relate to one of Head's houses, as Head doesn't debit anyone else for the work. Also, Godfrey was not among the glaziers Head recorded as doing work on his clockcases.

Franklin, who boarded with Godfrey for a time, stated that Godfrey "lived in Part of my House with his Wife and Children, and had one Side of the Shop for his Glazier's Business, tho' he worked little, being always absorbed in his Mathematics."¹⁴⁵ By 1740, Godfrey was advertising "to teach NAVIGATION, ASTRONOMY, and other parts of the MATHEMATICKS, at his House in Second Street."¹⁴⁶ Godfrey was later to become celebrated as a mathematician and inventor, his natural talents being recognized and nurtured by James Logan, among others. His obituary noted his accomplishments: "...Mr. THOMAS GODFREY, who had an uncommon Genius for all kinds of *Mathematical Learning*, with which he was extremely well acquainted. He invented the *New Reflecting Quadrant*, used in Navigation."¹⁴⁷

4. Continued Property Development.

Head utilized his cellar for business. On 8/21/26, he noted "ye Siler cleared of" lime, which he had sold to Thomas Canan [Cannon?]. Other storage may have been in Head's yard shed.¹⁴⁸

In 1727, carpenter Joseph Rakstraw [Rakestraw] started doing work for Head. His labor charge was £0-7-6, "By one days workan." He, too, made "166 Sash Lights." In the meantime, Thomas Rakstraw [Rakestraw] delivered "seven Lode of Ston[e]." That stone may have gone to "Worlen [walling] a Little house 24 foot at 20," for which mason Cristhofer [Christopher] Thompson charged a flat £2-0-0.¹⁴⁹

Interior paintwork soon commenced. Charls [Charles] Hansly [Hansley] got £0-5-0, on 2/19/27, "By white washen Two romes," and £0-0-9, on 3/28/27, "By preimen a bade Cornish [priming a bedroom cornice]."¹⁵⁰ Although lime from Philadelphia's "Pale grey fine limestone" was abundant, and much used for masonry, "better for white-washing" was the

lime made near the seashore from oyster shells and brought to town in winter.¹⁵¹ This may have been what Hansley applied.

Exterior work also progressed. On 3/11/27, William Shute was credited £0-2-6 for hauling "2 Lode of Shingles."¹⁵² Moses Coats of the bricklaying Coatses was also on the job with a helper. His per diem was £0-2-6.¹⁵³ By 8/28/27, Joseph Cross and Edward Warner were called back to confirm Woolley's work on the project. Woolley earned £30-13-0 and, for measuring, Warner £0-4-3.¹⁵⁴

Work continued the following year. For "Glacen - 166 Sash Lights at d/11" each, Samuel Simons got £7-12-0.¹⁵⁵ The "1 mo. 1728" was particularly busy. Thompson was back on the job with help, charging by the flat rate for the specific task of "Layen - 3 harthes & Tilen 3 Chimnes," and by the day for unspecified work. His crew included his son and an unnamed "nagro." Thompson's third method of charging was by the yard. He got six pence per yard, or £1-0-0, "By - forty yards of paven," the following month.¹⁵⁶ That was the same price per yard that Hansley charged for "Larth Work [lathwork]," but twice as much as he got for "Brik Work."¹⁵⁷

Several months later, another mason was engaged, James Sewer. Apparently a specialist in stone pavements, he paved "the front of our four houses" and "ye alle[y] - 8 yards."¹⁵⁸ Sewer may have used soapstone, a stone commonly used to cope areas built of brick, including courtyards and cellar doors sloping towards the street.¹⁵⁹ Two months later, on 7/20/28, carpenter Joseph Rakestraw was back for flooring work, which he charged out at six shilling per square foot.¹⁶⁰

5. The Thirty-four Foot Well.

Kalm found Philadelphia's water "*good and clear*," drawn from "a *well* in every house." Thompson, a man of many talents, dug a thirty-four foot well, for which Head credited him on 10/28/28. That may not have been deep enough to prevent contamination. Kalm noted that in digging wells "a fault is frequently committed, which in several places of the town spoils the water...." Kalm may have been referring to wells being located too close to privies. This created a constant source of contagion in 18th century Philadelphia.¹⁶¹

6. The Oven, the Jack, and the Spit.

Thompson also made an oven for Head, for which he was credited £0-6-0, on 11/10/28. It is uncertain whether this had a spit initially. Head acquired a second-hand jack in 1734 from Henry Bates. On 10/17/42, he paid £0-16-0 for a "Jack Lien [line or chain]" from George Kellay [Kelley?] who, a day later, charged £0-6-0, "By mending a spit."¹⁶²

7. More Plastering and Bricklaying.

In 1729, Thomas Pars [Pearse], a plasterer, charged £0-5-0 for "one day's work," and separately for material, "Larth [lath]."¹⁶³ On 3/8/29, carpenter Joseph Townsend was credited £0-13-6, "By 3 days work done by George Harman Briklayer," who may have then been in Townsend's employ. Three months later, Harman merited his own account in Head's book, *sub nomine* "Georg Arman," for having performed another 20 1/2 days of work.¹⁶⁴

From 8/3/29-4/15/30, Head was charged by John Walten for hauling brick, shingles, a load of earth, and two loads of sand. All of this material may have been in connection with the new work that Thompson had undertaken with respect to digging two "Little" houses, one 30 foot deep, the other 31 foot deep. These required more brick and stonework, on the part of Thompson, and "plasteren ye Kitchin" by Hansly.¹⁶⁵

By 1731, Cristhofer Thompson may have had an association with Thomas Redman, as the former's account was credited for a small amount of brickwork performed by Redman that year. More brickwork and lathwork followed in 1732 by Thomas Pearse.¹⁶⁶

8. Ship Carver Anthony Wilkinson & a "Marvel Harth."

A "marvel harth" from carver Anthony Wilkinson was credited at £1-11-6, on 3/8/34. This establishes the marble hearth as a specific product supplied by his firm. Previously published information about Wilkinson's marble business was more generalized and speculative.¹⁶⁷ The hearth may have been made out of what is today called King of Prussia or Pennsylvania Blue marble. The quarry from which it was taken has long been closed, but examples of it survive in the early houses of Head's neighborhood and on a few slab-top tables from his era. Kalm described it, as follows: "a *white one, with pale-grey bluish spots*, which is found in a quarry at the distance of a few *English* miles from *Philadelphia*, and is very good for working, though it is not one of the finest marbles. They make many tombstones and tables, enchase chimneys and doors, floors of marble flags in the rooms, and the like of this kind of marble. A quantity of this commodity is shipped to different parts of *America*."¹⁶⁸

9. "Shingeln" and Windows.

On 3/16/34, Edward Austin supplied Head with "2 window frames." Several months later, Austin was also credited for making 96 sashlights. It is not possible to determine whether Head put these to his own use or sold them to others, as part of his construction supply operation.¹⁶⁹

Head is very specific, however, in recording the £4-0-0 credit to John Coster, on 7/5/35, "By Shingeln my house in Mulberry Street." Coster also got £3-0-0, on 3/8/36, "By maken Shuter for - Ten Windo[w]s."¹⁷⁰

10. More Houses.

On 2/24/36, Thomas Redman was credited for doing a substantial amount of work to various properties. This included stonework to a cellar, raising a kitchen, and digging a 29-foot well for Head's "new house."¹⁷¹ Carpentry work, probably for the new house, resulted in credits, on 8/20/36, to Thomas Clark for door casements, window frames and "Tenn payer Stairs." The "Tenn" was an abbreviation for Head's "Tennement," or dwelling, not for ten pairs of stairs, as Clark charged only £5-0-0.¹⁷² Daniel Harrison then got £11-0-0 credited, on 12/19/36, "By finishin - 3 Stores In my new house agreed."¹⁷³

Thomas Carrall [Carroll?] was paid for substantial amounts of plastering, lathwork and brickwork, between 3/30/37-6/5/37. Additional lathwork and plastering by him was credited on 4/16/38.¹⁷⁴

A week later, on 4/24/38, Head credited several loads of "Bats and Cl[i]nkers" from brickmaker James Stoops [Stoopes]. Bats were bricks with one end whole and the other broken. They may have been used as headers or under plasterwork, as a source of economy. Clinkers, which were bricks overburned in the kiln, would have been more decorative as headers. This suggests that Head's external brickwork may have had a Flemish-bond pattern of glazed headers or something even more elaborate.¹⁷⁵ Other, less productive, uses for bats were as missiles, such as the "brick bats" thrown through the windows of Andrew Farrell, the tanner, by "some evil minded persons."¹⁷⁶

On 4/2/39, Joseph Thornhill got £12-0-0, "By finishen Three Squar Storys of my hous on the north sid of mulbry Street." This also gives some idea of the configuration of each floor. This was probably the house for which William Vallecot charged Head £6-0-0, on 6/9/39, "By plasteren part of my house a gree with him by ye Lump." Joseph Rakestraw made 104 sashlights, credited on 8/16/39, which may also have been used there.¹⁷⁷

From 3/10/39-6/0/45, Thomas Badson was credited a total of £9-5-6, for hauling all manner of construction material, including shingles, "mould[ing?]," brick, stone, scantling, boards, and sand. Such diverse hauling over so long a period is difficult to apportion to a single project. In payment, Badson got 50 bushels of lime and, on 4/18/39, 144 sashlights, glazed and painted.¹⁷⁸

Another Head property was referred to in the £8-5-9 credit to Joseph Marshall, on 12/14/39, "By Brik Laid In my house next to the Bell - 13825 [13,825 bricks]- agreed."¹⁷⁹ The "Bell," a tavern, was one of many in Head's neighborhood. Quaker Philadelphia was known as a city of taverns. It had more per capita than either Paris or Rotterdam.¹⁸⁰ Plastering done by Thomas Pars the following month, and brickwork and lathwork by William Vallecot and Joseph Thornhill's making of "2 windows and a dore," in the following seven months, may all have related to this property.²⁸² There is no indication as to whether the proximity of "the Bell" impeded the work. Just three years before, it was reported that "a Plaisterer of this City drank a Gallon of what is call'd Cyder-Royal, (being three-fourths

Cyder and one Quarter Apple-Spirit) in two Hours and half, upon a trifling Wager; which prov'd fatal to him, for he fell Speechless and died before Night."¹⁸²

Head and his neighboring property owners "at the Northerly End" of Philadelphia became so concerned with the potential danger of having the Powder House in their midst that they petitioned the Assembly to relocate it, when sailmaker William Chancellor's daughter, Elizabeth, applied for renewal of its lease.¹⁸³

11. "My hause apon Frankford rode."

Beginning in 1738, the first entries appear for what was to become Head's Frankford Road house. By the early 1730's, "[p]etitions were numerous to the Provincial Council for the regulation of the high roads to Germantown and Frankford."¹⁸⁴ Head's first consideration was, of course, water. Thomas Redman was credited £2-10-0 that year, "By Digen a Well at frankford Lot - 20 foot deep."¹⁸⁵

In an undated entry, John Karr was credited £8-7-1, "By the Layen of Sixteen Thousand and Seven hundred and Eleven Brik at my hause apon Frankford rode as we agreed Ten Shillings pr Thousand." This must have been about the time or before Head's 4/27-6/13/40 cash payments to Karr began.¹⁸⁶ The carpentry work was performed by Joseph Thornhill and his crew, and included stairs and flooring.¹⁸⁷

Later credit entries pertaining to construction also appear, but lacking context, it is difficult to ascribe them to the Frankford Road house or to one of Head's urban properties. They include credits for "John Smith at noriss plantation," on 5/23/42, "By horlen one Lode of shingles;" Joseph Rakestraw, in 9/0/42, "By - 12 sashlights;" Anthony Wilkinson, on 10/4/45, for another "marvel harth;" and Thomas Pars, on 9/14/46, 5/22/48, 4/28/49, and 5/19/50, for much hundreds of yards of brickwork, lathwork, and plastering.¹⁸⁸

V. Inside Head's Home.

As no probate inventory survives for Head, his account book, the single entry from his inventory transcribed by Leibundguth, and the Register's "Index" copy of the will are the sole sources regarding his personal property. Head's inventory listed fourteen rush-bottom chairs valued at three pounds two shillings.¹⁸⁹ The will mentioned only one piece of furniture, a "Clock & Case" bequeathed to Head's daughter, Rebecca Jones (b. 1712), who married John Jones (September 16, 1731). This may be the £17-0-0 "Clock and case" for which "John Jones Tan[n]ner" was debited by John Head on 11/17/40.¹⁹⁰ It may also be the clock, or one of several, cleaned by Peter Stretch in 1736-1737, or the one cleaned by John Hood, in 1748. It was possibly a Stretch eight-day clock, as Head credited Stretch for cleaning one, on 12/14/36.¹⁹¹

"Three Rugs at s/20 pr," were acquired from John Tannant. But it is uncertain how the Heads may have used them.¹⁹² Rugs and carpets were then also used as bed coverings and the two terms may have been used to some extent interchangeably. Carpets were also used over chests and tables, and on floors. Indeed, when carpets first appeared on Philadelphia floors, they were viewed as so valuable that some owners were subjected to ridicule: "There are many families who can remember that soon after their carpets were laid, they have been visited by clownish persons, who showed strong signs of distress at being obliged to walk over them; and when urged to come in, have stole in close to the sides of the room tip-toed, instinctively, to avoid sullyng them."¹⁹³

The "3 glases and one Ink pot" that Head got from Sary Griskam [Sarah Griscom] may have been used in keeping his accounts. The "glases" probably refer to glass inserts for the pot.¹⁹⁴ Head had several sources for paper, and retained at least one ream for his own use.¹⁹⁵ In the evening, Head would have used some of the many candles he bought from Thomas Canan and other chandlers. They were probably placed in brass candlesticks, Head having sold six to others.¹⁹⁶ The earliest pair, to Woolley on 3/2/22, predates by nearly twenty years the first *Pennsylvania Gazette* advertisement for brass candlesticks.¹⁹⁷ Although no pewter candlesticks are mentioned in his transactions with pewterer Simon Edgell, there is always the possibility that Head had some of those, as well.¹⁹⁸

Treenware no doubt supplemented Head's pewterware, but is not evident in the account entries. Perhaps it was the sort of thing that Head turned himself from leftover wood.¹⁹⁹ Hot drinks could have been gotten from the "Iron Citle [kettle]" that Head had purchased from Sarah Griscom. Cooking in the oven may have been done in the "Iron pote" bought from Mathias Aspdin. Food preparation may have used the "Si[e]ve" from William Wallas.²⁰⁰

Items which could have been employed either in the Head home or his shop included soap, which was mostly acquired from Thomas Canan or "Thomas Shut[e] sope biler." Soap afforded a ready medium of exchange for other goods and services, including the soap boxes he sold Canan. Also acquired for general use were "Bluen [bleach]" from Joshua Jonson [Johnson] and a "Tailers guse [a gooseneck tailor's smoothing iron]" from William Carr. Both were probably used in smartening up the Head wardrobe, but also in preparing for sale Head's enormous range of fabrics. Prior to buying the iron, Head had credited Joseph Townsend, £0-8-9, on 1/29/29, "By foolen [folding] 35 yards of [Linzey-]Woolsey and prasen [pressing] of it."²⁰¹

Other items for home or shop were a "Shovel" from smith William Lingers [Lingard], "Broms [brooms]" from Joshua Johnson and Samuel Asp, and a "Brush" from Griscom. Griscom's variety of small goods seems inexhaustible, so much so that she may have had no need to advertise, as did her "Brushmaker" competitor, John Wilkinson.²⁰²

VI. "Puter:" John Head's Relationship with Pewterer Simon Edgell.

From the Head's entries involving Simon Edgell, we know that the Head household was equipped with various pewter forms.²⁰³

The late Charles Montgomery (1910-1978) lamented the fact that: "No account or letter book of an eighteenth-century, or earlier, American pewterer has been located." Among the questions he wished answered were: "Did Philadelphia's most important early pewterer, Simon Edgell, for example, supply traders and storekeepers with his wares for resale?" He concluded by stating that: "Discovery of such pewterers' records would be a great find! I hope one of my readers will be so lucky as to uncover such a group of manuscripts and be kind enough to bring them to my attention."²⁰⁴ The Head account book provides some of the answers, regrettably too late to be shared with Montgomery.²⁰⁵

Head opened Edgell's account on page 7, labeling it "Simond Hagal," to the left of which was written "Edgell." At the last entry, the account was then "Car:ed [carried] to pag 86 [left]," where it was labeled "Simond Edgal."²⁰⁶ There is thus no doubt that both pages and their contra credit entries, on pages 8 and 86 right, refer to Simon Edgell.

Edgell's working dates, as given by Montgomery, were from 1713, his arrival in Philadelphia from London (where he had been admitted a yeoman of the Pewterer's Company in 1709), until 1742, the date of his death.²⁰⁷ According to Donald L. Fennimore, Curator of Metals at Winterthur Museum, "little is known of [Edgell] during his twenty-nine years in Philadelphia...."²⁰⁸ Head's entries for him span 1719-1732, and provide details regarding not only Edgell's manufactures and his working relationships, but also his personal life. They are, therefore, particularly valuable for an individual whose prominence has been established principally on the 8,001 pieces of pewter inventoried for his estate, and from a handful of surviving examples. Edgell's "now known work includes only two tankards, two 9-inch smooth-brim plates, and three large dishes."²⁰⁹ Head's book describes these and other forms by him.

The earliest entries for Edgell were debits for some of Head's most expensive furniture. These indicate that Edgell was already sufficiently prosperous to afford such pieces for himself or, if reselling them, had a successful and/or discriminating clientele.²¹⁰ In an era when money was in short supply, Edgell had the wherewithal to settle £4-0-0 of his account with Head, "To Cash By his Wife."²¹¹ Edgell's prosperity was tinged with tragedy. In the course of 1719-1724, he buried three children.²¹²

While Montgomery states that "[h]ard-metal pewter objects commanded a premium price because their fine alloy was free from lead and a part of their surface was hammered, making the metal harder and stronger," for lack of account books, he was unable to give prices for Edgell's work.²¹³ Head does.

Chronologically, the first entry referring to Edgell's wares, is an undated £0-10-0 debit (written immediately above a 2/4/24 entry) to the account of Josier [Josiah] Foster, "To : 6 : plaat [plates] dd by Simond Edgal."²¹⁴ These may have been in the style of the two surviving "single-reeded dishes of outstanding quality," made by Edgell. Alternatively, they may have been smooth-brimmed plates, of which Edgell was the earliest maker in America. Either way, the Head account book establishes a firm date for Edgell's production of plates, whereas Montgomery could only place them between Edgell's 1713 arrival and his death in 1742. "The eye delights in the rhythm and perfection of a well planished plate or dish with

its concentric rows of hammer marks left by the hammermen of...Simon Edgell [and his colleagues]...."²¹⁵

Edgell's credits demonstrate the variety of the forms he was making. Head recorded credits to Edgell of £0-13-0, "To : 6 : porringers [12/27/24];" £0-6-4, "To : 2 Basens & mending a Tankerd [1/6/25];" £0-5-0, "To : 2 plats & a porringer [3/12/25];" £0-1-6, "To a Salt Siler [cellar][8/2/25];" and £0-5-6, "To one puter Dish [4/28/26]." The last is the only reference to pewter with respect to Edgell's wares. It was also on that date, that Head credited Edgell £1-0-0, as "Gave Thomas Reece [Reese] an order," simultaneously debiting Thomas Reeca [Reese] the same amount, "To Goods by Simond Edgal."²¹⁶ Apart from those "Goods" and one porringer debited to Thomas Redman in 1736, none of the other objects show up in debit entries to the accounts of Head's other customers. Thus, Head may have kept the rest of them for his own household, an indication of his lifestyle.²¹⁷

The "Salt Siler" reference is of special importance. "Open salts were probably made by most American pewterers, but only a few late eighteenth-century American salts are known." The earliest that Montgomery was able to date them was Edgell's 1742 inventory, which listed "5 doz. 9 salt sellers," at sixteen pence each.²¹⁸ Thus, Head's book enables the dating of such form by an American pewterer some seventeen years earlier, as well as an actual price at that time, not just a probate valuation. It is interesting that the price Head paid was only one penny more than that at which the remaining salt cellars were individually valued, demonstrating some consistency in pricing for that form.

Edgell also supplied Head, in 1726, with quantities of "drops & scuchens," "Brads," "Buts [butt hinges]," "Loks," and "Cofen scrues."²¹⁹ Probably working for Edgell in this aspect of his business, at least until he ran away, was his servant, John Spurstew, "by Trade a Refiner in Copper, but can Work at the Smith's or Brazier's Business."²²⁰ Head also credited Edgell £0-6-2, on 5/12/25, "To : 4 : pound & 1/2 of Bees Wax," a product which Head may have been using for his finishes.²²¹

VII. Drink and Food.

If Head wanted some refreshment, he could have availed himself of one of the "2 drinking glasses," that he had also bought from Griscom, or the "6 stone mugs" he later purchased from Andrew Duche [Duché].²²² Head must also have made good use of his tankard, as pewterer Simon Edgell charged for mending it.²²³

Pouring his drinks from larger containers was also no problem. On 9/8/26, William Wallas [Wallace?] was credited £0-12-0, "By a parcel of Botels."²²⁴ The bottles could be refilled from the "Galons" or "Barels" or "points" of drink Head regularly received from several accounts. "Strong Bere," at £0-9-0 a half barrel, "midel Bere," at £0-3-0 for 10 gallons, and, on one occasion, "Ale," at £0-9-0 a barrel, were from tavern-keeper George Emblen [Emlen]. "Sider," cost about £0-12-0 a barrel, and came from Harns [Haines?] Lucin, Thomas Clark, Thomas Redman and David George. "Rumb," at about £0-3-10 a gallon, came from many sources, perhaps because it was a staple import from Philadelphia's Caribbean trade. Head

seems to have had no great interest in wine, which he got only in the smallest quantities. One problem with wine may have been spoilage. Head got only a half gallon of wine from Philip Johns, at £0-3-0; and a pint from Henry Bates, at £0-1-0. After Johns's death, his widow advertised for let his "House...near the Swede's Church at Wicaco;...the House being very well accustomed as a Tavern and much resorted to by Gentlemen, on Account of the Billiard Table, being scituate near the River side, and just a pleasant Walk from Philadelphia." Tea appears not to be popular in the Head household. Throughout his entire account book there is only one listing, "To a 1/4 pound of Tee," which he sold to Thomas Redman, at £0-3-0.²²⁵ No spirits appear apart from rum. In 1721, a meeting had been convened in Philadelphia to encourage the brewing of beer as a substitute for spirits.²²⁶

Head also had drinks elsewhere. The charge from Bates was "By a pint of wine at his house at Brester." Also, Head credited £0-9-6 to Robert Toms, "To Cash and drink Rec:d att Sundre Times."²²⁷ Toms owned a tavern, "the Ship in Plumb-Street below the Draw-bridge." Perhaps, Head's "drink Rec:d att Sundre Times" was taken at "the Ship," where Toms had a "Likely Servant Girl" present.²²⁸

Head also sold some of the drink. Particularly informative are the 1/3/27 entries in the account of Thomas George to "one pound of Candle and one pint of rumbe," "halfe a Barel of beer," "1/2 a Galon of rumbe," "one pound of shugar," and "his Coffin," which was to "The Widdow." It is unclear whether George's death was being fêted by the drink or was the consequence of it.²²⁹

A variety of food stuffs was bought by Head. Given the often large quantities, it is probable that he was acquiring it not just for himself and his household, but for resale and export. Thus Thomas Hill was credited £8-19-4 [2/18/23, 2/19/23] for a total of 538 pounds of "Baken."²³⁰ Even a growing family as large as Head's could not have been expected to consume that much. Kalm noted: "Philadelphia reaps the greatest profits from its trade to the *West Indies*. For thither the inhabitants ship almost every day a quantity of flour, butter, flesh and other victuals; timber, plank and the like. In return they receive either sugar, molasses, rum, indigo, mahogany, and other goods, or ready money."²³¹

Much of the food that Head obtained appears to have come from those operating at the nearby Market, by the Court House, on Market [sometimes High] Street. Wednesday and Sunday were market days and attracted country folk to bring in their victuals and seasonal produce. In summer, the market was open every day. Market hours ran from four or five to nine in the morning, undoubtedly to quickly sell goods before they spoiled.²³² The vitality of Philadelphia's High Street Market was captured in an early 19th century painting attributed to Woodside [fig.



Fig. 11: High Street Market, Philadelphia
Oil on canvas, attrib. to John A. Woodside, Sr.

Courtesy Independence National Historical Park

11].²³³

The "paper & Alspis [pepper & allspice]," Head bought from Joshua Johnson, at £0-1-4, is not to be confused with Head's "quire of paper" from Francis Knowles at the same price. They are another reminder of the always treacherous terrain of Head's spelling. Other seasonings and flavorings included more "alspis" from Griscom, "nutmags" from Johnson and Joseph Prichard, "snake root" from Daniel Hillman, "Senninent [cinnamon]" from Mary Davis, "musterd seed" from Joseph Zane, "6 Galons of Chary Juce [cherry juice]" from Cattren Colins [Catherine Collins?], and "Solt" from Barnibas Talbot. When in use at table, the salt could be transferred to the "Salt Siler" from Simon Edgell.²³⁴

Peter Kalm, a contemporary Swedish visitor, had observed that "THE inhabitants make plenty of cheese. They are reckoned not so good as *English* cheese: however, some take them to be full as good when old; and so they seemed to me."²³⁵ Head must have agreed, as he bought plenty of "Ches," and other dairy products such as milk and "Buter." Only on one occasion did Head return for credit "a Bad Ches."²³⁶

Kalm found that "[e]very countryman, even a common peasant, has commonly an orchard near his house, in which all sorts of fruit, such as peaches, apples, pears, cherries and others, are in plenty." Great quantities of fruit and sweet meats were eaten. Kalm was also fascinated by the variety of local berries.²³⁷ Head bought "Aples," but he seemed more inclined to "Cheres," "Strarbares," and "ukelbares." Brandy was made from unripe apples, but there is no record of Head's apples being used for such purpose. Other uses for apples were cider, pies, and tarts.²³⁸

Frequent purchases by Head were grains such as "Rye," rice, "ots [oats]," "Wate [wheat]," and corn, including "Ingen Corn." Indian corn and rye were grown by Pennsylvania farmers as cattle feed, and supplemented their principal crop, wheat.²³⁹ Also bought were "Bran," flour, including "Rie [rye] flower," and "Male [meal]," including "Ingen male." Again, because of the large quantities Head often got, he may have been involved in Philadelphia's large export trade in these products. Philadelphia flour was exported as part of a triangular trade which developed with the Caribbean islands and England at the end of the 17th century. That trade continued to prosper for several decades, as a consequence of "the willingness of West Indies producers to pay high prices for imported foodstuffs, which in turn was the direct result of the willingness of Europeans to pay high prices for sugar."²⁴⁰

Vegetables included "Turnips," "Inyons [onions]," "pase [peas]," and "kidney Banes [beans]." Meat, often in substantial amounts, was also bought, as follows: "Beef," "vale [veal]," "Hart [deer]," and "Pork," including "Baken," "Gamon," "Lien of muten [loin of mutton]," and "ages [haggis]." Other items bought were "noodels," "vinigar," and, in particularly large quantities, "Lases [molasses]." The molasses was among those goods frequently sold by Head.²⁴¹

All of the foregoing references to food are extremely detailed as to prices paid and quantities purchased. They also help identify the types of containers in which they were sometimes delivered.²⁴²

Head's entries as to food also provide varied information as to the diet of colonial Philadelphians. Despite all of the sugar and molasses bought, Head's family may not have had such a sweet tooth for other things at the market. Only one pound of "Chalklet" was recorded as bought and, of that, half was sold. "Buter & scuches," however, were bought but never shown as sold.²⁴³ Whether the Heads ate the chocolate and butterscotch as a candy, used it in baking, or drank it hot, is open to conjecture.

VIII. Dress and Personal Adornment.

From John Clifton, a weaver who worked out of a house on the upper end of Third Street, Head purchased "a Hatt for myself," on 6/12/24, crediting £1-4-0.²⁴⁴ "Bri[t]ches" and two pairs of gloves were bought from Hannah Turner, and "Bukskin" was delivered by Jno [Jonathan] Stamper.²⁴⁵ Head's large family was well-shod. His frequent purchases of shoes were mostly from Joseph Daves, but also from "Jno [Jonathan] Fisher ye Shoumaker," "Joseph Hooper Shomaker," and others.²⁴⁶ As everyone in the community needed shoes, they too served as a medium of exchange, and many debits and credits for them show up in Head's accounts.²⁴⁷

From John Green, in addition to some shoes, Head got ten shilling "Coat[s]" for himself and his son, John, Jr., and a six shilling coat, probably smaller, for his son, Samuel. Head's wife got a "mant[ua]," for which Mary Pound Junor [Mary Pound, the Younger], the daughter of his neighbor, the widow Mary Pound, was paid £0-2-6. Mary the Younger also charged £0-1-6, "Omitted to maken a Striped mant," demonstrating that at least some of Head's purchases of striped fabric went to his family's apparel. Sarah Griscom was paid £0-3-0, "By quilten an ould Cote." The younger children got "Two : gounds [gowns]" made by Mary Snad Junor [Sneed, the Younger], costing £0-2-6.²⁴⁸ The "Striped mant" in his own household and the variety of fancy fabrics bought and sold by Head with his Quaker clientele, may also be evidence of their "plainness... vanishing," as noted by Head's contemporary Christopher Sauer, in 1724.²⁴⁹

Domestic needlework abounded. Head had debited Nathanal [Nathaniel] Pool £0-7-6, "To a Qwilting frame & Trusels [a quilting frame & trestles]," in partial credit for which Head later got "a payer of Stockens naten [knitted] by his [Pool's] Wife." Needlework also must have been done in the Head household. Head paid Joseph Townsend on three occasions for spinning, including, in 1730, "By one pound of Wool spinen," at £0-1-0. Some of this may have been worked by Head's family members, as Head later sold Thomas Redman, on 6/6/35, "26 ounces of Stocken yarn."²⁵⁰

As for articles of personal adornment, Head bought "a pees of Shulirie [a piece of jewelry]" as early as 1720, crediting George McCarl [McCall] £3-12-0, a not insubstantial sum, and more than the cost of Head's standard chest of drawers. This purchase is another indication of the prosperity he and his family were enjoying soon after arrival. Head did not record who got the jewelry, but he left no doubt as to "a Wige for myself," purchased from William Crosewhit [Crossthaite], at £1-0-0. Crossthaite advertised as a "Peruke Maker, opposite the Pewter Platter in Front street." Among others, he carried wigs described as "flaxen,"

"pale," "Curl" and "very light." Head's wig, and perhaps another already owned, required "mounting [restyling]" from George Cunningham, at £0-6-0; and from Crossthwaite, at £0-5-0. Cunningham also was credited £0-6-0, "To Shaveing me Sundre Times." When not shaved by Cunningham, Head could have completed his appearance by using the "Raser [razor]" he had bought from Joseph ____ [name torn off], and a douse from the "Two Botles of minit warter [mint water]" bought from Townsend for a shilling.²⁵¹

IX. Horses and Carts.

In addition to a "Coue and a Calf," John Head recorded purchasing two horses. Both horses were bought in 1725. He sold a horse in 1727.²⁵² Head charged £0-4-6 to Thomas Williams, in 1722, for "Shoen his horse by John Loyd [Lloyd]."²⁵³ Lloyd was later to advertise for the return of his runaway servant Joseph Dalloway, "a Blacksmith by Trade."²⁵⁴ Other entries pertain to hay, straw, and "ots [oats]," all or a portion of which may have gone for the upkeep of his livestock.²⁵⁵ Pasturing charges were also credited to Smith's account for a cow, and to those of Pool and Joseph Louance [Laurence] for horses.²⁵⁶ By 1739, Head appears to have acquired his own pasture, perhaps at his Frankford Road property, as he credited Thomas Badson, £0-6-0, on 5/6/39, "By horlen [hauling] 2 Lode of posts to paster;" and £0-3-0, on 6/18/39, "By horlen a Lode of rails to - paster." Clearly, Head was having a post-and-rail fence built. One reason that Head may have needed to haul posts and rails to his pasture was that red cedar, which was considered to hold out the longest, was not sufficiently plentiful around Philadelphia.²⁵⁷

Head also rented horses for himself and to others. The flat charge was two shillings a day for the first day and every day thereafter. A half day's rental cost half that amount.²⁵⁸ There was no extra charge for how far the horse was being ridden. John Roberds was debited £0-2-0, on 10/26/25, "To a Hors one day to frankford;" and Thomas Canan was charged £0-4-0 for a two-day rental to Chester, on 7/13/25, and £0-6-0 for a three-day rental to Concord, on 2/16/26. Nor did the type of horse matter, as William Stretch paid the same two shillings for a day's rental of a mare. An extra charge of a shilling was made for a "cropper [riding crop?]," which Head always paid when he rented horses from Robert Dunken [Duncan?].²⁵⁹

For riding equipment, Head had bridles, whips, and saddles, including "womans Sadles." As transportation by horse was a necessity, transactions in equestrian equipment were a useful medium of exchange for saddlers - and for Head. Head charged no profit on these transactions, as they too facilitated his own trade.²⁶⁰ Among those actively involved in the trade in Head's book were saddlers William Paschal and Nichos. Ghiselno [Nicholas Ghiselin].²⁶¹ Leather also was frequently bartered along with riding gear. Thus, "John Jones Tan[n]ner" may have been able to afford a top-of-the-line 17-0-0 "Clock and case" from Head, on 11/17/40, by later supplying leather to two of Head's shoemakers, Joseph Daves and John Guest, and "a Sadle and Bridle" to Head.²⁶² Tanners had become so prosperous that an ordinance had been passed, in April 1719, to prevent them from exporting their products. This also protected cordwainers, curriers, and saddlers, who had been contending with the high price of leather.²⁶³

Although Head credited others for "horlen" wood and other raw materials, he may have used his own cart for delivering finished goods not picked up at his premises.²⁶⁴ This may have been one of the uses for his horses. He sold a "Cart Complated With Iron," to Artha [Arthur] Jones, on 8/4/27, debiting him £7-3-5 1/2. He also debited John Smith at Isaac Norris's plantation £2-10-0, on 10/28/40, "To a Sla [sleigh]." Sleighs were commonly used in winter to cross from New Jersey, and from as far north as Burlington, twenty miles upstream. As these conveyances were not the sorts of things that Head normally made or dealt in, it is possible that they may have been his own and employed for deliveries or personal use. On 1/8/39, Head got a new cart, as he credited Ruben Forster, £3-17-0, "By a Cart and Boxes and harness."²⁶⁵

X. Inside Head's Shop.

A. Materials and Supplies.

1. Wood.

En route to the home of botanist John Bartram, some four miles south of Philadelphia, Kalm observed that the "wood was full of mulberry-trees, walnut-trees of several kinds, chestnut-trees, sassafras, and the like." On a ride to the northwest of town, Kalm "did not see a single fir or pine;" he noted that most of the trees there were different sorts of oak..., chestnut trees, walnut trees, locust trees, apple trees, [and] hickory." Among the species of trees growing "spontaneously in the woods which are nearest to *Philadelphia*" were also: maple; chestnut oak; tulip; wild cherry; sweet gum; chestnut; black walnut; white elm; ash tree in low places; "*American* dwarf laurel, on the northern side of mountains;" a peculiar variety of red oak; red juniper; beech; butternut walnut; and a "*Pennsylvanian* fir tree."²⁶⁶

Despite its abundance, wood was not necessarily cheap, as many who owned forests closest to Philadelphia were preserving it for their own use or "they sell it to joiners, coach-makers, and other artists, who pay exorbitantly for it." Vast amounts of wood were required for Philadelphia's brick kilns or to melt iron out of ore in its forges. This fuel consumption also drove up wood prices.²⁶⁷

Head bought and sold large quantities of many of these woods.²⁶⁸ Head mostly received his wood in boards, planks, "scantlen," and "parsels [parcels]." His entries were very specific as to quantities and often as to dimensions.²⁶⁹ Some he used in cabinetmaking. Others were used in construction, or for fuel, or were sold by Head elsewhere. Some of it may have gone to export.²⁷⁰ It is therefore impossible to state with authority how much of the lumber was used for his cabinetmaking. Nor is it possible to identify which type of wood Head used in a particular piece of furniture, except when he recorded it.

Head's purchases of cabinetmaking primary woods, i.e., those woods that would be exposed to view, included cedar, mahogany, cherry, maple, walnut, and pine.²⁷¹ Thus Nathanel [Nathaniel] Owen was credited "To a mahogany plank cut In to: four Bords;" Grifith [Griffith] Jones, supplied Head with "Blak Walnut Bord of divers sorts;" and Joseph Taylor,

Junior [Jr.] got £23-0-0 for what must have been a choice or very large "parsel of Chary Tree Bords and Logs."²⁷²

Head's acquisition of secondary woods, those that could be used for construction of the back, interior and underside of a piece, included cedar, pine, oak, and poplar. Poplar was used in "all sorts of joiners work," in Philadelphia, and "[s]ome joiners reckoned this wood better than oak, because this latter is frequently warped, which the other never does, but works very easy; others again valued it very little. It is certain, that it contracts so much in hot weather, as to occasion cracks in the boards, and in wet weather it swells so as to be near bursting, and the people hardly know of a wood in these parts which varies so much in contracting and expanding itself. The joiners however make much use of it in their work...."

Poplar, however, is not mentioned by name in Head's account book until 1743, a year prior to Head's last recorded sale of furniture. Head credited Mickel Branin [Brannon?], "By - 6 peeses of popler" [9/7/43; £1-12-0], and "By - 64 foot of 4 Inch popler" [3/12/45, £0-15-4].²⁷³ Given the four-inch dimension of most of that poplar, Head was probably using it to make the 178 "hat bloks" he sold to his hatter sons-in-law, Jeremiah Warder and Benjamin Hooton, or for his hatter son, John Head, Jr. Cf., the "4 inch poplar plank, for hatters" advertised by another joiner.²⁷⁴ Poplar has recently been identified as among the secondary woods in the Wistar high chest and dressing table that may present something of a problem, if Head never had any poplar until two decades after the pair were ordered made [1726].²⁷⁵ One possible explanation is that, if Head did use poplar in his furniture prior to 1743, it may have been part of earlier shipments for which Head occasionally did not identify woods. E.g., "By Sundres Timbr..." [Nathanal Pool]; "To: 1000 foot Bord" and "1504 foot Scantlen" [John Hains].²⁷⁶

John Coster, Thomas Georg [George], and John Rambo charged Head for sawing large quantities of walnut, Head's most common primary wood. They usually charged Head by the foot, but on occasion by the "parsel" or "Gob [job]."²⁷⁷ No doubt to afford him with a ready and proximate supply, Head had his own lot, on which to store his wood.²⁷⁸ One way to get his wood into his shop was by the "Weel Barrow" he had gotten from Reuben Foster, who was credited £0-11-0, on 9/23/30.²⁷⁹

2. Glue, Linseed Oil, Beeswax, Feathers, Hair, Sheep Gut, and Miscellaneous Supplies.

Head maintained large quantities of "Glew [glue]." He sold off some small amounts of it, a "1/4 pound" to Charles Hansly and a "1/2 pound" to Joseph Elger. However, he bought and retained larger amounts for himself, including "4 : pound" from Richard Harrison; and, from Samuel Smith, "one pound" and another "13 pound."²⁸⁰

Probably in connection with the finishing of his furniture, Head acquired linseed oil, in quantities from "2 galons" to "1/2 a Barel."²⁸¹ He also got many pounds of beeswax from several sources.²⁸² Combustible materials must have always been a concern. The Philadelphia Contributionship would later refuse to insure "any...Joyners Shop...used as Stores for...hazardous Goods.... These included "Tallow."²⁸³

Although not necessarily an upholsterer himself, Head bought and sold supplies which might have been used in connection with the mattresses for his bedsteads or for upholstering seating furniture. He debited John Burr "To - 30 pound of fathers [feathers]." He credited William Pyewell "By Twenty Bushels of Hair." From Alexander Wooddrop, Head acquired "2 Ships guts [sheep gut]."²⁸⁴

Head also kept "on[e] Botom of Twin[e]," purchased from Calap Ranstad [Caleb Ranstead]; and "Wier [wire]" from Joshua Johnson. Other useful miscellaneous material included "3 yards of Bagen [bagging]," acquired from Ralf [Ralph] Hoy.²⁸⁵

3. Furniture Hardware.

Head both bought and sold vast quantities of nails. His earliest purchase was "To : 6 pound of nails," on 11/24/20, for which he credited Joseph Masters £0-4-6. That was part of 137 pounds of nails he bought from Masters between that date and 3/5/24.²⁸⁶ Alexander Wooddrop was also an early large supplier. His nails and tacks, however, were priced per thousand pieces and not by the pound.²⁸⁷ On 4/11/21, Wooddrop sold Head "1 m [1,000] nails d/2 [two penny nails]," at £2-2-5; and "5 m [5,000] - Larg Taks," at £0-8-4; and "6 m [thousand] - d/2 Brads [two penny brads]."²⁸⁸ The last order credited, from Thomas Maul [Maule], on 11/9/47, at £3-3-3, was "By - 47 1/2 pound of nails."²⁸⁹ Head, in turn, sold nails by the pound and, in one instance, by "a Bage [bag]."²⁹⁰ Among the types of nails sold by Head were the "10 pond [pound] : hobd nails [hobnails], debited to Richard Luis [Lewis], at £0-5-0, on 7/23/21."²⁹¹

Not all of these nails were meant for use in furniture. Some were clearly for construction, such as the "28 pound of Larth [lath] nails," which Head bought from George Kellay.²⁹² Head sold lath nails to brickmaker John Coats, in 1736, together with "152 foot of oke scantlen [oak scantling]," and eight bushels of lime, obviously for a lathwork job.²⁹³

Head's earliest purchases of locks were the "Till Loks," of which he obtained significant quantities. Five dozen of them were bought from Alexander Wooddrop, on 4/11/21, apparently in two sizes. The cheaper, and perhaps smaller, ones were the "2 dosen," at £0-13-0. The slightly more costly were the "3 dosen," at £1-2-6.²⁹⁴ Wooddrop was an associate of Thomas Rutter (d. 1730), the "father of the iron industry in Pennsylvania."²⁹⁵ Cheaper till locks were also purchased from Jon [John] Copson, on 10/14/23, at £0-3-0, described as "To : 24 Loks plain Till."²⁹⁶ What Head meant by "plain" is unclear. Also, he gave no further description of the others. Head appears not to have sold any of his till locks in bulk until late in his career. On 8/1/45, Thomas Maule was debited £1-0-0, "To - 2 dosen of Till Loks." Maule also was debited £1-13-0, on 3/1/47, "To - 28 drawer loks and som Kies [keys]."²⁹⁷ As by this period any furniture sales had ceased to be recorded, he may no longer have had a need to stock so many till and drawer locks.

Most of the undescribed locks which Head purchased were at a shilling apiece.²⁹⁸ They were cheaper by the dozen.²⁹⁹ Edmund Woolley's "6 Loks", debited at £0-6-0, on 5/23/23, were probably for the £10-0-0 "Chest of drawers & Table Charytrewood" he purchased on that

same date.³⁰⁰ Without seeing those two pieces, however, it is impossible to know on which drawers these locks were mounted. By comparison, the "Chest of drawers and a Chamber Table," which by tradition were made for the marriage of Caspar Wistar and Catherine Johnson, and may be the ones debited to his account, on 4/14/26, have key holes in their hardware to accommodate four locks. Three are on the three large drawers of the high chest's three-over-three drawer configuration. The fourth is on the central of the three drawers of the dressing table.³⁰¹

James Cooper was debited only £0-3-0, "To 3 Loks & 3 scuchens [escutcheons] & puten [putting them] on."³⁰² These were thus cheaper locks than those supplied Woolley. A cupboard lock was slightly more expensive, as Head charged Edward Williams, £0-1-6, "To a Lok for a Coberd." Thomas Canby was debited £2-10-0, "To an oval Table with two Loks." Josier [Josiah] Foster was debited £3-2-0, "To a Chest of Drawers & a Loke." That was probably for one of the standard £3-0-0 chests with the extra two shillings for the lock. A "Chest Lok" cost Maule £0-2-0.³⁰³ As this is twice as much as the shilling locks which accompanied Woolley's chest and chamber table, the locks for Foster and Maule may have been something either larger or more elaborate.

There was good reason to have locks on cupboards and table drawers and other places where food was kept. Attempts to domesticate the raccoon had failed in one vital respect: "[I]t is impossible to make it leave off stealing....Sugar and other sweet things must be carefully hidden from it, for if the chests and boxes are not always locked up, it gets into them, eats the sugar, and licks up the treacle with its paws...."³⁰⁴

Some locks were even more costly, and may therefore have been meant for other purposes than mounting on furniture. Mary Davis sold Head "2 : Loks," at £0-11-0, and another two, probably smaller or simpler, at £0-10-0. Head also credited Isaac Shute £0-1-6, "To a Hors Loke," on 7/15/25.³⁰⁵ Even second-hand locks had some value. Head appears to have given Richard Blakham £0-2-6 credit for "an ould lok, on 7/8/44."³⁰⁶

Not every lock may have needed a key. Head sometimes may be using the term lock to mean fastener. Thus, the £0-2-6, which Abram Cox was charged, on 7/9/22, "To 8 loks & 2 scrws [bed bolts?]," may have been to secure the "Comperst Rods [arched tester]" to the "Cornish" and "Badstad," which he had ordered from Head that same date. Other types of fasteners included the "Six Staples," which cost Samuel Asp £0-1-6, on 4/8/30, the same date he purchased his "Badstad" and "Comparst Curtin Road [arched curtain tester] and 2 scrues [bed bolts?]."³⁰⁷

Only one locksmith is identified by Head. "Ladwik Sipel the Dutch Loksmith" appears to have done no work for Head, as no credits appear on the contra page of his account. Head, however, supplied Sipel. In addition to 42 bushels of lime, Sipel was debited £4-17-0, on 1/30/43, "To - 3=0=26 pound of Iron;" and £3-7-6, on 2/15/43, "To - 2=1=0 pound of Iron."³⁰⁸ The first iron order was gotten through John Leacock, whose account was credited in the same amount, on the same date, for a like quantity.³⁰⁹ John Ludwick Seipel advertised the sale of his "Commodious brick house, conveniently built, with other additional tenements thereon, between William Branson's and John Kampher's, in the Northern

Liberties of this city, containing in front 20 feet and 120 feet deep, at the lock smith's sign, in Second Street...."³¹⁰

Head used and dealt in a variety of hinges. He purchased pairs of "Buts [butt hinges]" from William Branson, paying £0-6-0, "To 6 payr Buts," and £0-10-0, "To on[e] dosen small Buts."³¹¹ Branson's iron works were at Reading Furnace.³¹² Among the joint hinges he bought were "3 payer Bras Joynts," from Andrew Duche [Duché], at £0-6-0. Clockmaker William Stretch was credited £0-3-6, "To a payer Clock Cas Joynts," the same price Head later credited Peter Stretch, "By a payer of Inges." Hinges with hooks were bought in large quantities. Abraham Kinzing, for example, was credited £0-4-7, "By 5 pound and 1/2 of hooks & Inges."³¹³



Fig. 12: Dressing table on turned legs

Fig. 12a: Detail of peened drops and an escutcheon

Chalfant Collection



Fig. 13: Miniature chest of drawers on five legs with peened drops and an escutcheon

Formerly in the collection of the late Robert Simpson Stuart

Indicative of the high activity of Head's cabinetmaking business was his hardware-buying binge in 1726. Pewterer Simond Hagal or Edgal [Simon Edgell] was credited "To : 4 : dosen & 1/2 of drops and scuchens" [4/11/26, £0-13-6]; "To : 3 dosen of drops & scuchens" [4/14/26, £0-15-0]; "To - 27 drops and scuchens" [4/18/26, £0-10-1 1/2];" and "To 4 dosen Cofen scrues" [8/14/26, £0-4-0].³¹⁸ Thus, in addition to his pewter business, Edgell seems to also have had a thriving business in decorative brasses and other hardware for furniture. This makes sense, given that Edgell left 1,183 pounds of brass moulds.³¹⁹ John Whit & Abram Tailor [Taylor?] were credited "To : six dosen of drops [4/12/26, £0-15-0]." Boulah [Beulah] Coates was credited "To : 9 : dosen of handles & scuchens" [5/2/26, £2-0-6], in what appears to be the last order for this type of hardware that Head placed. Beulah Coates (d. 1741), the widow of Thomas Coates (d. 1719), was said to have been a "woman of considerable business ability."³²⁰

On 7/15/27, Head sold Thomas Linley, "Ten drops and 5 scuchens," at £0-5-0.³²¹ Thereafter, the only pulls which might have used for furniture, that Head recorded buying, were knobs. On 1/16/32, he credited £1-19-0, to Andrew Duche [Duché], "By - 19 dosen and 1/2 of Bras knobs."³²² Head's last sale of pulls, to Thomas Maule, on 8/1/45, at £0-7-0, "To - 2 dosen of handles & scuchens," as with his other quantity sales of hardware to Maule, may indicate that Head had exited the cabinetmaking business.³²³

The earliest recorded hardware pulls acquired by Head were the "7 dosen & 1/2 drops & scuchens [escutcheons]," for which he credited William Branson £1-8-1 1/2, on 9/30/21.³¹⁴ Drops and escutcheons were a popular choice of hardware on the earliest Philadelphia furniture, such as those shown on the drawers of a trumpet-turned leg, cross stretched dressing table [figs. 12, 12a], and a miniature chest of drawers on frame [fig. 13]. The drops were secured with a a cotter pin, inserted through a hole in the escutcheon and then peened onto the back of the drawer front. Contemporaneous with drops were handles, which eventually supplanted them. Jon [John] Copson, on 4/6/24, was credited £0-2-4, "To on dosen scuchens;" and £0-8-0, "To: 2 Dosen handles."³¹⁵ At first, the handles, too, were peened through the drawer fronts with cotter pins. At some point, cotter pins disappeared in favor of the sides of the handles fitting into threaded posts, which could be inserted through holes in the drawer fronts, and be held fast by nuts.³¹⁶ Perhaps, Head may have been referring to that kind, when he recorded selling "2 Screu Handles," to Bangman Rods [Benjamin Rhoads?], on 10/18/20, at £0-1-0.³¹⁷

Illustrative of the tricky footing on which any interpretation of Head's phonetic spellings often stand, is his 8/30/31 credit entry of £0-0-10, to Lawrence Boore's account, "By Buter & scuches." As it is unlikely that Head was ordering his escutcheons slathered in butter, an alternate translation yields a more palatable result: "butterscotches."³²⁴

4. Wooden Furniture Components.

Whatever wooden panels Head required, he probably constructed in his shop. There is only one instance recorded, in which Head got panels from someone else. On 12/24/20, he received "6 paneles" delivered by a "Joseph Colman," for which £0-2-6 was credited to the account of Joseph ____ [Colman?].³²⁵ There is no indication of whether Head utilized these panels in furniture or in interior construction of one of his houses.

Head also credited Andrew Duché £0-9-0, "By four dosen and 1/2 of nobs" [3/7/31], and £1-4-0, "By one gros[s] dit[t]o" [6/25/31]. These were probably used as drawer pulls on drawers not requiring more elaborate hardware. Head also sold specialized knobs. Thus, John Nicholas "To 24 nobs for mops [maps]" was debited £0-4-0 [4/22/24].³²⁶

Head sold "60 Bad [bed] Pags" each, at £0-2-6 per lot, to Joseph Cooper Junior [Jr.], on 8/18/27, and to Benjamin Clark, on 10/22/29. They were probably used in the rails of Head's bedsteads to secure the ropes underneath the mattress. Other pegs were sold in strips. Jon Loyd [John Lloyd?] was debited £0-3-0, on 9/20/23, "to : 18 pags in Strips," and £0-6-0, on 5/7/30, "to 5 pags in a strip." These may have been for hanging of clothes and would have been mounted on walls at entries or inside any closets.³²⁷

B. Tools.

Franklin quipped: "It is still ill Jesting with the Joiner's Tools, worse with the Doctor's."³²⁸ Arriving from England as an adult, Head probably brought over many of his own tools. Few of the entries show purchase of tools from others. As it has been observed that there has been "little investigation...[of] the cabinetmaker's source of supply of furniture hardware and tools,"³²⁹ it is informative to note that Head credited: William Branson "To on Grin Ston;" Mary Davis "To 10 Gimblits [gimlets]" and "To 2 hatchits;" and George Kellay [Kelley] "By a payer of hand Irons."³³⁰ Tools for which Head may have had duplicates or no longer wished to use, were debited to others: Barnabas Talbot got "a hand saw;" Thos. [Thomas] McClellan "a Tenant [tenoned] Saw;" Jon Loyd [John Lloyd?] "a Grinston;" John & Arnol[d] Cassell [Cassel] "a Hamer dd [delivered] by Mary Davis;" John Nicholas "a moulding plain" and "four Sawes;" and Robert Webb "a marken Iron."³³¹

Utensils made from "*curled Maple*" were described as "preferable to those made of any other sort of wood in the country, and much dearer than those made of the wood of the wild cherry trees.... But the most valuable utensils were those made of *curled black walnut*."³³² The "moulding plain" may have been made of beech, a "wood...reckoned very good for making

joiner's planes of." Such planes were also sometimes made of laurel.³³³ Even after Head ceased sales of furniture, in 1744, he appears to have kept some tools. He credited John Rouse £0-2-0, for "Stelen a Chisel," in 1745; and Thomas Maul [Maule] £0-18-9, on 7/20/46, "By sundres Tools and other thing agreed for."³³⁴

C. Shop Activities.

1. "To varnishen;" "To...Blakit And varnishit;" & Staining.



Fig. 14: Looking glass

Chalfant Collection

Head's finishes included varnishing, such as "mending a Looking Glass & varnishen," for which he charged John Mocombs Junor [McComb, Jr.]. An early looking glass with a brace added between its two glasses is shown [fig. 14]. In connection with a bedstead sold Abram Cox, Head charged £0-4-0, "To 2 posts Blakit And varnishit," and £0-10-0, "Cornish [cornice] Blakit & varnishit." Head also did staining, such as "To a Tray & Staining : 4 Lags [legs]," for Sary Dimsdild [Sarah Dimsdale], one of his customers across the Delaware River.³³⁵



Fig. 15: High chest on turned legs
 Fig. 15a: Detail of turned legs and flat stretchers

Chalfant Collection

2. "To Turning".

There are a few entries in Head's book, and in loose papers inside it, to his debiting others for turning furniture parts, including two bedposts, a table frame, "five ledges [legs] for a Chest of drawers," and four other legs. Most of his turning was of small objects, "Pags [pegs]," "a [k]nob," "Two peses of wood," "a handle and nob [finial] for a tee pot," and a "Nosel for a pomp [pump nozzle]."³³⁶ Of those entries, the table frame and the five legs for the chest of drawers are the most interesting. Both orders were debited to Joseph Chatam [Chatham], a fellow joiner who, together with Thomas Maule, was later to appraise the inventory of Head's estate.³³⁷ A five-legged chest of drawers, presuming it had no sixth, would have looked something like a surviving miniature [fig. 13].³³⁸ The usual configuration on Philadelphia high chests was six legs [figs. 15, 15a]; whereas arched-front dressing tables had four, pendants visually substituting for the "missing" inner front legs [fig. 12]. Chair-turning, a specialized field, Head left to chairmakers. One of them, Alexander Forman [Foreman] also turned some tables for Head.³³⁹

3. "To framen."

Another aspect of Head's business was the framing of pictures and maps. He had many customers for this service: Alexander Wooddrop, James Steel, John Mocombs Junor [McComb, Jr.], Joseph Prichard, Thomas Wells, and Thomas Masters Junor [Jr.]. His prices

varied according to the size of the job. Head was doing the work of framing, as on some occasions he debited Wooddrop to "framen" or "framin" maps, at £0-3-0. At another time, he appears just to be selling the frames themselves, as Prichard was charged only £0-18-0, "To : 12 : pictur frams." Head debited separately for knobs used in connection with hanging. Thus, John Nicholas was debited £0-4-0, "To 24 nobs for mops [maps]," on 4/22/24.³⁴⁰

4. "To mending."

As would be expected from a craftsman starting out in a new community, Head took in a great deal of mending work in his earliest entries. But this also continued sporadically thereafter, presumably because Head was repairing furniture which he had sold. Head mended a diverse range of items.



Fig. 16: Oval gate-leg table
Fig. 16a: Detail of skirt and frame

Chalfant Collection

5/13/23, included "maken a drawer," either for one that was lost or as a retrofit.³⁴¹

Head mended "dutch table[s]" on three occasions, each for a shilling. Once for Alexander Wooddrop, and twice for Thomas Masters Junor [Jr.]. The first repair for Masters must have been minor, as he included mending a "Cane Chayer." The second was "To maken a foot for a Duch Table."³⁴² What Head may be referencing is a "dutch settle," which is "a wooden bench whose back may be tipped forward to form a table."³⁴³ If these tables were, in fact, "dutch settles," they too could have readily sustained damage as their settle portion was tilted back and forth in the process of converting them to table use. Probably few of them came into Head for repair for two reasons. First, they were still sturdier than the ovals tables with their hinged, drop leaves, and lighter turned bases. Second, there were probably fewer of them around. It would today be considered a rare form in Philadelphia.³⁴⁴

Honor's earliest precise date for a tea table being in Philadelphia is for the "Standing Tea Table," owned by Joseph Redman in 1732. The earliest mention of the term "tea table" in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* was also not until that year. But the Head account book establishes

that a tea table was in Philadelphia at least a decade earlier, as Head mended one in 1721: Alexander Wooddrop was charged £0-3-0, on 6/26/21, "To mending a Tee table."³⁴⁵

Head supplied tops for various tables, including one to Edward Williams, at £0-3-6, on 3/18/20; and one for "a pine Table" to William Clar [Clare], at £0-2-6, on 12/14/28. He also provided "Tops for two Sto[o]ls" to Phillip Johns, at £0-6-0, on 4/13/27, in whose tavern the stools may have undergone heavy use.³⁴⁶ A rare surviving example of a turned leg stool is one in walnut, which has its original top [fig. 17]. It was clearly not among those abused at Johns's tavern.



Fig. 17: Stool with turned legs

Mones Collection

Head's next most frequent repair was to looking glasses, as would be expected for something so fragile. James Logan was importing great quantities of looking glasses from England in this period.³⁴⁷ Head's Front Street competitor, "Lambert Emerson, Joyner, ...at the Sign of the Looking-Glass," advertised himself as a "Looking-Glass Maker," thus showing that not all were imported.³⁴⁸ One of Logan's customers, Barnard Eaglesfield, bought from him "Looking Glasses for 1 doz[en] 18/ 1 doz[en] £1-16-0," on 8/3/26. Eaglesfield also had an account with Head under the name "Barni Eagelsfield." He had earlier purchased from Head "20 : Bras [k]nobs," at £0-4-2, on 4/13/24. Like the "24 nobbs for mops [maps]," purchased a week later, on 4/22/24, by John Nicholas, at £0-4-0, these may have been meant to support fragile items hung on walls, like looking glasses.³⁴⁹ Head mended seven looking glasses for six customers.³⁵⁰



Fig. 18: High chest on cabriole legs with Spanish feet and trefoil motif in skirt

Mones Collection

other customers had more extensive work done, and may have paid to have their chests of drawers given an updated look with new brasses. Thomas Radman Sanor [Sr.] paid £0-10-0, on 5/11/24, "To mending a Sader Chest of Drawers With drops & scuchens [escutcheons] And Sader." Thomas Williams was charged the same, on 2/10/29, "To 10 handles and 5 scuchens & mending his drawers." The "Chamber Table" mended for John Coster, and debited at £0-3-6, on 7/10/37, although unstated, may have also come in for frame repair, if constructed the same as the earlier high chests.³⁵²

Other forms mended by the Head shop included Sarah Griscom's "Badstad;" a "Book Case" for Thomas Masters Junior [Jr.]; boxes for Abram Cox and Nathaniel Nathaniel Pool; three clockcases for Peter Stretch and one for Daniel Harrison; cradles for Cox, Pool, Paul Preston and Thomas Todd; a "Couch [daybed]" for John Mocombs Junior [McComb, Jr.]; a "Scre[e]n" for Pool; a "Stand" for Mary Parker Sanor [Sr.]; eleven picture frames for Thomas Wells; desks for William Wallas and Joseph Cooper; and "To Botomen [putting a bottom

Chests of drawers also came in for repair with some regularity during the 1720s. This is not surprising. The high chests of that period, like the Wistar/Morris and Richardson ones, had the full weight of their two case sections supported by a frame of six turned legs that were tenoned into the four corners of the dovetailed base section and secured with corner blocks.³⁵¹ Head and his competitors, recognizing the inherent weakness of such design, further stabilized the legs with flat stretchers just above their feet. Illustrative of the turned leg and flat stretcher construction of this period are two walnut high chests of drawers [figs. 7, 15, 15a] and a walnut dressing table [fig. 12]. This design was later discarded in favor of cabriole legs, the tops of which were extended and such extensions mortised into the lower case section at each of the four corners. Illustrative of the cabriole leg, mortised design is a curled walnut high chest of drawers on ankleted Spanish feet [fig. 18].

One challenge of future research on the Head account book will be to attempt to determine when Head may have introduced such new design to his own high chests. It is clear that Head's customers were coming in for frame problems. Abram Cox was charged £0-10-0, on 3/23/23, "To mending a frame of a Chest of drawers." So did [n]emier Alen [Nehemiah Allen], who was debited £0-7-0, on 10/14/23. Thomas Masters Junior [Jr.] may not have had so great a problem, as he was charged only £0-2-6, on 10/14/23, "To mending a Chest of drawers," with nothing more explicit noted. Two

on] a Box" for James Steel.³⁵³ The "Scre[e]n," mended for Pool, at a cost of four pence, may have been a fire screen.³⁵⁴

D. Seating Furniture Supplied By Others and Sold Through Head's Shop.

Patricia Kane has observed that "[t]he date for the introduction of the [slat-back chair] style into Philadelphia is difficult to determine." Joseph K. Kindig III, agreed that "it is difficult to establish the earliest date for this form popular throughout the Delaware Valley," dating neither of his illustrated examples prior to 1735. Beatrice Garvan found "the craftsmen who made these chairs...elusive in manuscript records..."³⁵⁵ Head's account book helps fills the void. It records and traces the chair transactions of several Philadelphia turners and joiners of the first third of the 18th century, many previously unknown as chairmakers.

A useful introduction to the chair transactions in the Head account book, is the ledger of Philadelphia chairmaker Solomon Fussell. The Fussell ledger, which first came to public attention in 1916, combines an account book and daybook.³⁵⁶ It records that Fussell made seating furniture, mostly inexpensive slat-back chairs. The chairs had rush bottoms and were constructed of turned maple, including "backs," i.e., or stiles, between which two to six "slats" were horizontally inserted. The chairs were sold unfinished, stained, or painted. His most popular chair was the three-slat, which cost 3 shillings. Prices thereafter rose at a shilling per slat. His most expensive was the 6-slat chair at 6 shillings. Fussell also made chairs with joined frames and splat-backs, but these were priced higher than slat-backs, initially at 7 shillings and, by 1748, at 12 shillings. That same year, Fussell sold even more expensive chairs: walnut chairs with leather bottoms at £1-0-0, and mahogany chairs at £2-10-0.³⁵⁷

Unfortunately, the Fussell ledger is limited in its surviving scope, as only its second volume, covering 1738-1751, remains. The earliest entry is dated July 2, 1738. While Head's account book contains only some thirty-five entries on seating furniture, pertaining to about one hundred "Chayers" and a few "Couch[es]," its timeframe is both earlier and longer: 1723-1742. Another limitation of the Fussell ledger is that it is focused, understandably, on the production of one chairmaking enterprise, his own. By contrast, Head, a middleman, recorded transactions with at least seven different chairmakers. In an era of less liquidity, these chairmakers may have been more dependent on selling their wares through a viable intermediary, such as Head, who could dependably and expeditiously barter their chairs for cash or for other needed goods.



Fig. 19: Slat-back chair with four slats

Chalfant Collection



Fig. 20: Banester-back armchair with carved arch seat

Chalfant Collection



Fig. 21: Slat-back chair with five slats, cyma-curved on top

Chalfant Collection

Many of the chairs sold by Head may have been slat-back chairs. While there is only one direct reference in his account book, "To : Six Chayers : 4 slats," there is other circumstantial evidence.³⁵⁸ No other chair is mentioned by type. Most of Head's chairs were sold in lots of six, a quantity typically recorded for slat-back chairs in 18th century probate inventories.³⁵⁹ Head's chair prices also are close to what Fussell was charging for his slat-back chairs. Head's prices were not sufficiently dear to be for "chairs of the genteelest kind, [which] were of mahogany or red walnut...[but probably] were of rush bottoms, and made of maple posts and slats, with high backs and perpendicular."³⁶⁰ A maple four-slat chair with flattened ball and wafer finials [fig. 19] may have been like the four-slat chairs Head sold.

That chairmaker Solomon Cresson charged Head a shilling, on 10/6/28, "To Botomen one Chayer," is inconclusive.³⁶¹ That entry may or may not refer to a rush seat. Even if it did, rush seats were not exclusive to slat-back chairs. Fussell used them on his splat-back, joined chairs. They are also found on some chairs with banester-backs, i.e., backs composed of vertical elements wider than spindles.³⁶² A surviving banester-back maple armchair has a crest and banesters of white cedar [fig. 21]. (Its original rush seat has been replaced, an expected circumstance given its age.) While it is always possible that some of Head's chairs may have been banester-back chairs, the latter were somewhat dated by the time of his latest entries.

None of Head's chairs were indicated as being made to accommodate slipseats. Such chairs were priced much higher than any in his book. E.g., the "Eight Walnut fram'd Chairs blue

Damsk Bottoms...£12-0-0," in the 1754 inventory of Head's neighbor, carpenter Edward Warner.³⁶³

There is the slim, but intriguing possibility that some of the last chairs sold by Head may have been Windsors. That form, which was to become ubiquitous in the latter half of the century, is documented in 1740s Philadelphia advertisements, probate inventories, and a bill.³⁶⁴ Arguing against Head's chairs being Windsors is that the probate valuations for Windsor chairs were generally higher than the prices which Head obtained for his most expensive chairs.³⁶⁵

Head's principal chair supplier was Solomon Crison [Cresson]. Each was a good customer of the other.³⁶⁶ In return for the furniture sold him, Head took in chairs from Cresson, crediting them to his account. This may have enabled Head to sell Cresson more furniture than he might have otherwise. It also afforded Head a welcome medium of exchange. Head could readily sell Cresson's chairs to his customers, who required seating for the oval tables, chamber tables, and desks they were buying from Head. A further advantage to Head was that the more chairs that were sold to his customers, particular for use in different rooms, the greater their need of additional case pieces from Head. Secondary sources of chairs for Head were Alexander Forman [Foreman], John Hudson, John Hugoford, Caleb Ransted [Ranstead],³⁶⁷ and Bangman Troter [Benjamin Trotter] (1699-1768).³⁶⁸

All six of these chairmakers have been nearly as elusive to scholarly inquiry as John Head. None is mentioned in the authorities on early American seating furniture, cited above. Nor was anything previously known of the specific types of chairs they produced. In many instances, it was not known whether they produced chairs, at all. Hornor provides no information on Hugoford or Ranstead, and little more on the rest. Solomon Cresson is listed as a "chair-maker and turner, arrived in 1696."³⁶⁹ Alexander Foreman is described as a "turner, freeman 1717; documentary reference August 4, 1718."³⁷⁰ Hudson is a "Chair-maker and turner; documentary reference, 1715 and 1718, freeman 1717."³⁷¹ Hornor, based on Trotter's estate inventory, states that: "Benjamin Trotter in 1768 provided himself with a 'Quantity of (maple) Chair Rounds.'"³⁷² Trotter's inventory lists six walnut leather bottom chairs, 17 rush bottom chairs (two lots of six, and one of five), two leather bottom ones, and "1 Windsor Chair."³⁷³ But, "no actual records have been found to show what he charged for his chairs."³⁷⁴

Of the over seventy-five chairs debited to Head's clients between 1723-1742, none appear to have been made by Head's shop. No chairs are among his few charges for turning furniture parts, which included two bedposts, a table frame, five legs for a chest of drawers, and four other legs.³⁷⁵

Head invariably debited chairs to his clients at the same prices at which he credited his suppliers. Thus, Head took no profit from chairs per se. He may have offered them as an inducement or accommodation to customers considering the purchase of oval tables. Not coincidentally were most of the chairs priced in lots of six. Six chairs would have been an ideal number with which to encircle most of Head's oval tables, when in use. Head's first chair sale was of "6 : Blak Chayers," debited to Thomas Hill, on 2/22/23, at £1-10-0, an order soon followed by Hill's purchase of an "oval table : 5 fot Bad [5-foot board]," on

5/24/23, at £3-0-0.³⁷⁶ Indicative of consistency of price over time are the "six Blak Chairs," which Caleb Ransted [Ranstead] sold to Head on 7/9/29, which also cost only £1-10-0 at the end of the decade.³⁷⁷

When not in use, the six chairs could stand against the wall, flanking other case pieces in the room, available to be moved for use at a desk or other table. This type of chair would have looked appropriate wherever used. Its turnings [figs. 19, 21, 22] would have complemented those on the frames of Head's tables, as well as those on Head's on-frame case pieces, such as desks-on-frame, and his chamber tables with matching chests of drawers. Perhaps it was for one or more of these reasons that Bangman [Benjamin] Moore couldn't resist buying three of Head's £5-10-0 chests of drawers and two lots of six chairs.³⁷⁸

As in some of the more undulating designs of the period, if the tops of the slats [figs. 21, 21a] or the bottoms of the chairs' applied skirts [figs. 22, 22a] were cyma-curved -- i.e., indented in the middle and sloping either side -- then they would have echoed the type of symmetrically scrolled facings often seen on the skirts of oval tables [figs. 16a, 23] and used by Head on the base mouldings of his clockcases [figs. 5, 5c]. Cyma-curved base mouldings are also seen on desks, scrutoires, chests-on-chests, and other clockcases of the period.³⁷⁹ While some of these may also come to be attributed to Head's shop, the cyma curve was generally popular and, without



Fig. 22: Slat-back chair with five slats, boldly turned legs and stretcher, and cyma-curved skirt
Fig. 22a: Detail of cyma-curved skirt and bold turnings

Chalfant Collection



Fig. 23: Detail of cyma-curved skirt of large oval gate-leg table

Chalfant Collection

corroborating evidence of construction, is not conclusive to attribute all such furniture to his shop.

Most of Head's chairs were sold six at a time, at £1-10-0 the lot. All at that price probably had five-slat backs, as John Hudson got only £1-7-0, on 1/18/26, "To : Six Chayers : 4 slats," the cheaper of the lots sold to Bangman [Benjamin] Moore, on 3/23/26. The least expensive lot transacted by Head was one of six sold at £1-5-6, perhaps with three-slat backs, for which Solomon Cresson was credited on 1/8/42. Head promptly resold these to Mary Street on 1/12/42. The least expensive chair, and the only single sold, was that for which Cresson charged Head £0-3-0, on 9/25/41. The £1-18-0 for a lot of six, that Cresson charged Head, on 8/16/41, could have been for 6-slat chairs, a rare type.³⁸⁰ Fussell's prices were, comparable to those charged by the chairmakers who supplied Head's customers.³⁸¹

With Cresson, Foreman, Hudson, Ranstead and Trotter regularly charging £1-10-0 for six chairs, their trade must have adopted a fixed price for chairs of that standard type. Such circumstantial evidence of trade practices is valuable, as no Philadelphia price books survive for this era.

Larger lots of chairs were occasionally sold, perhaps to better accommodate those oval tables sold in larger sizes or in twos. Cresson supplied "8 Chayers" on 6/24/31 at £1-18-0.³⁸² The "13 Chayers" debited to Richard Hains [Haines?] on 4/16/25 at £2-11-6 came from Alexander Foreman, who was credited for that number on 4/26/25. This order may have been composed of three-slat chairs. Or it may show that chairs ordered by the "Baker's dozen" were cheaper than chairs bought in lesser quantities. Twelve four-slat chairs purchased as two lots of six would ordinarily have cost more, £2-14-0, and five-slat chairs even more, £3-0-0. "Thirteen Chayers" were also ordered by Thomas Branson, but at greater expense, £3-5-0, on 3/26/26. Branson's order may have been for a dozen of the five-slat chairs, at £3-0-0 (double the price of a lot of six), with an extra £0-5-0 charged for an armchair. Cresson was credited £1-17-6 on 9/2/27, "By Six Chayers and one Alber [elbow] chayer." If the sidechairs were Cresson's standard six at £1-10-0, then this armchair cost £0-7-6. Armchairs were expensive, as they were broader and required carving the arms and fitting them into the rear posts.³⁸³ Head's own probate inventory, now lost, shows him as retaining fourteen rush bottom chairs, which his fellow joiners Thomas Maule and Joseph Chatham valued at three pounds two shillings.³⁸⁴

Head also bought two "Couch[es]," or daybeds, from Solomon Cresson, only one of which he sold. Head may have kept the other. While Head did not record making any couches himself, he mended one and provided a "Couch Hide" for another.³⁸⁵

E. "To maken:" Furniture and Other Woodwork Produced By John Head's Shop

By 1754, the year of John Head's death, Philadelphia had become the largest city in British North America [fig. 24].³⁸⁶ "[I]n the Year 1753 the number of dwelling Houses were near two thousand three hundred...."³⁸⁷ Thus, given the considerable output of Head's shop, it must clearly have ranked as one of the most prominent, if not *the* most prominent cabinetshop in Philadelphia, until he ceased production in 1744.



Fig. 24: East Prospect of Philadelphia
Engraving by Carrington Bowles, ca.1778 after George Heap,
ca.1752

1. "To a Chest of Drawers."

"To a Chest of Drawers" was, by far, the most numerous debit entry in Head's account book. The most commonly specified wood was walnut. Even when unspecified, from the volume of "walnut Bord" and "walnut plank" credited, one may assume that walnut was Head's most popular primary wood. Also, those chests of drawers specified as "walnut" appear to have cost the same as contemporaneous listings for chests of drawers of unspecified wood. Chests of drawers identified as from other woods were usually more costly. These were made of mahogany, maple, cherry, or cedar.

Courtesy APS

The earliest chest of drawers was also the earliest entry of any sort in Head's account book. In many respects, it was also Head's most significant chest of drawers: "To a veneered [veneered] Chest of Drawers," on 3/22/18, debited to James Poulitis, at £8-0-0. It was the only piece of veneered furniture described in the account book.³⁸⁸

While there is evidence of veneered furniture having existed in Philadelphia at this period,³⁸⁹ surviving examples are rare,³⁹⁰ and tend to be of small size.³⁹¹ Veneering had been a popular method of imparting a more sumptuous look to English furniture. Wood veneers, often of book-matched, highly figured walnut, were glued onto a carcass of less expensive wood, usually pine or deal.³⁹² Given the sometimes extreme fluctuations in the Delaware Valley's temperature and humidity levels, and the fragile nature of veneer in general, it may have been difficult to maintain the appearance of such furniture in Philadelphia.³⁹³ Chipped or lost veneer no doubt helped relegate veneered furniture to less hospitable surroundings, such as barns or unheated attics, hastening their demise.

The abundance of walnut in the Delaware Valley gave solid wood an economic advantage over veneered production. Veneered furniture may also have become less fashionable in Philadelphia. Patrons wishing decorative chests of drawers could sate their desires with curled walnut or maple in the solid.³⁹⁴ The latter woods would have proved more durable than veneering. Head's customers of more conservative taste, many of them Quakers, would no doubt have been satisfied with pieces that were well-made, but not highly figured. Many of the case pieces from this era exhibit beauty in their proportions and turnings, rather than

in their wood selection [fig. 3 & fig. 4]. This would have been in keeping with Quaker pronouncements against "superfluous furniture" and the desire for furniture "of the best Sort, but Plain."³⁹⁵

It is natural that Head's first recorded piece of furniture in America was veneered. Born in 1688, Head would have been about thirty at the time of his emigration. By that age, he would have long completed any apprenticeship as a joiner in his native land, and been fully conversant with its cabinetmaking techniques and styles. Therefore, he produced his first recorded Philadelphia furniture commission in a manner most familiar to him. But given the availability and relative cheapness of walnut in his adopted land, Head probably soon converted to the use of solid woods.

Head's cheapest chest of drawers cost Artha [Arthur] Jones £1-4-0. No wood was specified, but pine is a good candidate. While no "chests of drawers" were specifically noted as being of pine, simple "chests" of pine were usually priced at £0-14-0, that is, less than Jones's chest of drawers.³⁹⁶

Other chests of drawers appear in the account book at varying prices, but there is great consistency over long periods for certain prices, which leads to the conclusion that there were fixed prices for standard models.³⁹⁷ A comparison of these commonly priced objects, their frequency and the dates of their introduction, persistence, and last appearance, suggest that particular forms and models were produced at given periods by Head's shop.

The most numerous of the commonly priced chests of drawers were those at £3-0-0. Some 118 of them appear over the approximately twenty-year period from 8/22/20 to 9/28/41.³⁹⁸ Of that number, twenty two were debited two at a time, suggesting that they may have been ordered, and subsequently used, as pairs.³⁹⁹ But what did these chests look like? As none of the 118 entries for £3-0-0 chests of drawers specify wood, and because walnut was the wood Head received in greatest quantity and other woods were more costly, one may presume that they were of walnut.⁴⁰⁰ Also, the £3-0-0 chests of drawers probably stood on feet and not on frames. This may be deduced from the two debit entries, under the same date [10/3/23] for James Lippincot: "To a Chest of Drawers - £3-0-0/ To another payer upon a frame £5-12-0."⁴⁰¹ The latter order might have been for a special form, consisting of a chest-on-chest-on-frame, or was a high chest. It does not appear to refer to two chests on separate frames. This is because Lippincot had earlier been charged only £6-0-0 for his orders of two chests of drawers at one time⁴⁰² and £3-0-0 for the individual chest of drawers. Had those three chests of drawers each been on frames rather than feet, Head would have charged considerably more, as the making of frames was more labor intensive, and consequently more costly, than that of feet. Head charged Thomas Williams £2-5-0 alone, "To a fram for his Drawers."⁴⁰³

There are twenty five chests of drawers charged at £3-10-0, starting on 2/23/30, approximately a decade after the first entry for the £3-0-0 model.⁴⁰⁴ But as the £3-10-0 charge continued to appear until 10/23/43, a period roughly simultaneous to that remaining for the rest of the £3-0-0 chests of drawers, it cannot be said that it represents merely a price hike of an earlier model.⁴⁰⁵ As with the £3-0-0 chests of drawers, no wood was identified for any of the £3-10-0 ones, so one may again presume they were of walnut. The £3-10-0 chests of drawers possibly shared some of the other characteristics of the £3-0-0 model, but their

additional cost may have been the result of their being larger or more complex. Were they larger, this would have required greater material cost. If they had more elements,⁴⁰⁶ this would have increased labor expense, such as for cutting dovetails on additional drawers.⁴⁰⁷ Alternatively, the £3-10-0 could have represented a chest of drawers with more up-to-date features, such as bracket feet, which may have been more costly to make than turned ball feet. The £3-0-0 model could have continued in production with older style turned feet to satisfy the taste of more conservative patrons.⁴⁰⁸ Like the £3-0-0 model, it is doubtful that the £3-10-0 chest of drawers would have had any support as elaborate as a frame, such as one might find beneath the chests of drawers supplied en suite with chamber tables. This is because for a chamber table on its own, Head never got less than £1-7-0, and generally £1-15-0 or more, and even his least expensive chest of drawers and chamber table combination cost £6-15-0, and generally £9-10-0 or more.⁴⁰⁹ Thus, a single chest of drawers on a frame would have cost at least £5-8-0, deducting the charge for the chamber table.



Fig. 25: Diminutive inlaid chest of drawers on ball feet

Chalfant Collection

3-0-0 production, although their sales petered out almost immediately.⁴¹⁷ The £5-10-0, £5-15-0 and £6-0-0 models roughly coincide with the entire period during which the £3-0-0 model was sold. If one presumes that all of the foregoing were of walnut, their prices would not be a function of the type of material used. This would suggest that Head was simultaneously offering quite a varied line of chests of drawers, in terms of size or features, or both, during most of his cabinetmaking career in Philadelphia.

The term "high chest of drawers" was not recorded in Head's account book. The closest approximation was his "payer [of chests] upon a frame" for Lippincot.⁴¹⁸ It is apparent,

Except for two chests of drawers sold John Leacock, one in "Charitree," on 7/7/38 (at £4-0-0) and one in "mapel" on 2/10/39 (at £4-10-0), no wood was designated for chests of drawers priced under £6-0-0.⁴¹⁰ Thus, no wood was given for the three chests of drawers charged out at £4-15-0,⁴¹¹ the three at £5-0-0,⁴¹² the forty-eight at £5-10-0,⁴¹³ or the twenty-two at £5-15-0.⁴¹⁴ Even in the case of the seven sold at £6-0-0, only one chest of drawers had wood designated: walnut.⁴¹⁵ This lack of wood identification, coupled with the large quantities of walnut being received by Head, suggests that walnut was the wood of choice for Head's customers. This is further corroborated by the empirical evidence of walnut examples surviving in greater numbers than chests of other woods. An example of a walnut ball foot chest, not yet attributed, is the diminutive one with sunken panel sides shown [fig. 25].⁴¹⁶

To recapitulate, the chests priced at £3-10-0 did not begin to be sold until roughly a decade after the first £3-0-0 model. The £4-15-0 and £5-0-0 models (if indeed there were such "models," as only three of each were sold) were sold at the beginning of the £

however, from the Head-attributed Wistar high chest of drawers and dressing table, and his entries for similar pairs, that the chests of drawers sold en suite with tables, as well as many of the other more expensive chests of drawers, were "high." "High chests of drawers" does not appear to have been a term frequently used in Head's era. The closest term I found in Philadelphia was "one high Pare [pair] of Drawers," in the 1750 probate inventory of cooper Samuel Powell.⁴¹⁹ Hornor could not find "anything even suggestive of the word 'highboy' in Colonial lists, accounts or letters."⁴²⁰ The Richardson Family high chest is an example of a well-designed William & Mary (early Baroque) high chest [fig. 7].

Above the £6-0-0 price range, the prices of Head's chests of drawers were seldom the same, suggesting that they may have been custom orders or models other than the previously cited models made in larger quantities at common prices. As Head started specifying woods other than walnut for chests of drawers priced at £7-5-0 and higher, the difference in price may have been a function of the wood cost. There are a total of fifteen chests of drawers individually priced higher than £6-0-0 (designated woods are parenthetically noted): one at £6-10-0,⁴²¹ two at £7-0-0,⁴²² one at £7-5-0 ("maple"),⁴²³ one at £7-10-0,⁴²⁴ one at £7-15-0 ("mehogany"),⁴²⁵ one at £8-0-0,⁴²⁶ two at £9-0-0 (one of "Charytre"),⁴²⁷ three at £9-10-0 (two variously noted as "Charitree" and "Charytree"),⁴²⁸ one at £10-0-0 ("mapel"),⁴²⁹ and two at £12-0-0 (noted as "mapel," to William Calender [Callender], on 5/19/37; and "maple," to John Leacock, on 12/22/37).⁴³⁰ Callender's chest of drawers may have gone to either his "house in Front street, above Arch street" or "his plantation at Richmond, alias Point-no-point."⁴³¹ Thus, at least for the more expensive individual chests of drawers, it would appear that maple and cherry were more popular than mahogany, among woods other than walnut. None were of cedar. One reason for the lack of mahogany, other than matters of personal taste, may have been that the best of it was in short supply. Kalm reported that the "true mahogany, which grows in *Jamaica*, is at present almost all cut down."⁴³²

The highest price for a single chest of drawers was the £13-0-0 debited to one of Head's New Jersey customers, Thomas Shinn (1693-1753) of Burlington and Mt. Holly, on 10/24/31.⁴³³ No wood was designated. It was likely of maple or cherry, as Head was charging more for those woods. Moreover, at a pound more than the Callender and Leacock maple chests of drawers, Shinn's may have been of a more complex design. Perhaps it was a triple chest like the "walnut Chest of Drawers In - 3 parts and a Little Chest of Drawers," which cost John Rouse a combined £18-0-0, on 10/27/44.⁴³⁴ Triple chests of drawers are an unusual form. One that survives is the cherry triple chest of drawers from the Morris family.⁴³⁵ As Shinn and Morrises intermarried, it is tempting to speculate that the Morris chest may have been the one Shinn ordered.⁴³⁶ The Morris triple chest was given to PMA by Lydia Thompson Morris, but it is not known how it came into her family. It is believed to have been used at Cedar Grove, the home of Elizabeth Coates Paschall.⁴³⁷ The Morris chest of drawers cannot be the Rouse chest, even though each is unusual in being a triple chest, as Head explicitly described the latter as being of walnut.

The "walnut Chest of Drawers In - 3 parts" made for Rouse was also the last piece of furniture recorded in Head's account book. As such, it was fitting that Head had created something special, just as he had done with his first piece of recorded furniture, the "feneared Chest of Drawers," which was ordered by James Poultis in 1718. Because they

were his first and last pieces, perhaps he also took the time to record them for posterity with greater particularity.

2. "To a Chest of Drawers and a Table."

Some twenty-six entries, spanning roughly a dozen years, appear for what Head usually debits as "To a Chest of Drawers and a Table."⁴³⁸ The earliest, and least expensive, pairing of these forms was ordered by Paul Preston, at £6-15-0, on 3/15/19.⁴³⁹ The most expensive pair, at £13-10-0, was debited, on 10/6/32, to Anthony Morris, "To a Sader Chest of drawers and a Table dd to Samuel Powel Junior [Jr]."⁴⁴⁰ This was probably the pair described by Hornor: "The second Samuel Powels owned 'One red Cedar table' (lowboy), and 'One Do [ditto] Chest of Drawers' in 'the front Chamber.'"⁴⁴¹ The latest pair, sold to Head's Mulberry Street neighbor Edward Worner [Warner], on 8/4/33, at £8-5-0, was either the "One Walnut Chest of Drawers & a Table... £10-0-0" in Warner's "front Chamber up one p[ai]r of Stairs, Southward," or the "One Walnut Chest of Drawers & Table...£5-10-0" in his "front Chamber Northward."⁴⁴²

The "table" referred to in these paired listings was undoubtedly a chamber table, or what we would now call a dressing table or lowboy.⁴⁴³ This may be deduced from a more descriptive 1725 entry, "To a Chest of Drawers and a Chamber Table,"⁴⁴⁴ at £9-10-0. That is the identical price found in seven contemporaneous entries, describing the "Chest of Drawers" with just a "Table,"⁴⁴⁵ and in an eighth entry, "To a Sader Chest of drawers and table of drawers." This last pair was sold to James Steel, whose probate inventory showed a bequest to his widow Martha of "1 Cedar Chest of Drawers...£3-0-0," perhaps from that pair.⁴⁴⁶ Only three of the £9-10-0 model were of undesignated wood. The rest were described as from woods other than walnut: mahogany, cedar, cherry and maple.

The next most numerous model is that at £10-0-0, of which there are six entries.⁴⁴⁷ At £10-0-0 and above, all of the entries are for en suite pairs in designated woods other than walnut: three in mahogany, two in cherry and one in cedar. As the £9-10-0 pair was available in those same woods during the same timeframe, it would appear that Head is not charging extra for the type of wood used in the £10-0-0 pair, and that the latter is either larger or more elaborate.⁴⁴⁸ In any event, among Head's most expensive pairs of "a Chest of Drawers and a Table," customer preference appears to have been for woods other than walnut.

The capabilities of the cabinetmaker who made the Wistar high chest and dressing table, now attributed to John Head's shop, have been assessed in the following words: "[T]he accomplished craftsman who made these pieces was highly skilled in the development of scale and form - an issue in American furniture - undisguised by decorative additions. The elegant proportions...reveal a thorough apprenticeship in the cabinetmaking trade, in a step beyond that of the joiner. The double mold on the case around the drawers is an early detail...outlining as well as protecting the edges of the drawers. A single mold outlines the swinging cusp curves of the skirt on the high chest and dressing table, offering a finished rounded edge which makes a smoother than usual transition between the "flat" case and the turned legs.... The trumpet-turned legs are especially crisp, and the pendants on the dressing

table are subtle summaries of the leg form reduced to ornamental appendage. The curves of the flat stretchers on the high chest repeat in the horizontal plane the curves of the case apron, giving the base structure of these pieces a vitality, and visual interest transferred, in later periods, to the urns, flames, and scrolls on bonnets and pediments."⁴⁴⁹

The Wistar high chest and dressing table probably embody the basic "look" of the en suite pairs produced by the Head shop, as fifteen of the at least twenty-six pairs recorded were made in 1723-1726, contemporaneous with the Wistar order. No one was recorded as having supplied Head with turned frames. Head was undoubtedly turning such frames in-house. Thus, he supplied James Lippincot a "payer [of chests] upon a frame" and charged Joseph Chatam [Chatham] "to turning five ledges [legs] for a Chest of drawers."⁴⁵⁰ That Delaware Valley dressing tables with turned legs and intersecting flat stretchers were being made as late as 1724 is corroborated by a walnut one bearing that date inlaid on its top.⁴⁵¹

That fifteen of Head's twenty-six pairs of chests of drawers and dressing tables were ordered during 1723-26 may be no coincidence.⁴⁵² This surge in sales may have been the result of sudden increased prosperity for some of Head's customers, brought about by the issuance of paper currency in 1723 and 1726.

At some point, however, Head must have dispensed with the inherently unstable construction of tenoned legs in favor of mortised cabriole legs. After all, well past the introduction of the cabriole leg, Head continued to record the making of dressing tables (until 1737) and chests of drawers (until 1744). Even if not an innovator, such change had to have been made just to remain competitive. Regrettably, unlike the "crook'd foot" of the Fussell ledger, the Head account book does not use any terms that expressly fix when the cabriole leg was first adopted.



Fig. 26: Dressing table on cabriole legs with ankleted Spanish feet, between two chairs from Joseph Richardson

Fig. 26a: detail of Persian arched skirt, pendants, and double-moulds around drawers

Fig. 26b: detail of four forward-facing cabriole legs on ankleted Spanish feet, dovetailing of case, and double-arched skirt with pendant

Private collection, Philadelphia



Fig. 27: Dressing table on cabriole legs with squared feet and incised bead on skirt

Private collection

Photograph courtesy H. L. Chalfant Antiques

One key piece of furniture, a mahogany dressing table not necessarily from Head's shop, provides a clue as to when the cabriole leg may have made its first appearance in his own production. Dated to the late-1720s, it is considered the earliest surviving Philadelphia dressing table on cabriole legs [fig. 26].⁴⁵³ Attesting to its early date are its basic William and Mary (early Baroque) design and the dovetailed construction of its case. Like the turned leg dressing tables which preceded it, the dressing table retains double moulds around its drawers, "Persian" pointed arches in its skirt with pendants in between, applied beads to the arches, and original stamped brasses [fig. 26a].⁴⁵⁴ But here tradition ends and experimentation begins. In place of the turned legs and intersecting flat stretchers of its predecessors, are four maple legs, sawn from the solid into a cabriole, and continuing to carved, ankleted "Spanish" feet. Maple may have enabled the cabinetmaker to economize in carrying out his experiment, as it was cheaper than working in imported mahogany. Also maple would have been easier for him to fashion. The legs have been

blackened to integrate with the darker appearance of the mahogany case.⁴⁵⁵ The legs of the dressing table are simply notched into the interior four corners of the case and held in place with glue blocks, rather than mortised into the case, as was later done. Another early aspect of the table is that its rear legs face forward [fig. 26b], a design seldom found in Philadelphia and the Delaware Valley.⁴⁵⁶

A closely related, but slightly later, dressing table on cabriole legs with squared feet, perhaps from the same shop, exhibits the next stages in development of the form [fig. 27].⁴⁵⁷ Its drawers are no longer flush with the front of the case and surrounded by mouldings, but lipped and overlapping the drawer holes. In place of the applied bead on the skirt is an incised line. The Persian arches and the pendants separating them have been eliminated. But the unmortised fastening of the legs into the corners of the dove-tailed case remains the same.



After these were to come dressing tables of even more sinuous design. Cf., a Spanish-foot walnut dressing table, which retains the central Persian pointed arch, but has vestigial "bumps" where once would have been the pendants on either side. Its legs are more flexed and - the new construction feature - mortised into the case.⁴⁵⁸

A related Spanish-foot, mahogany dressing table with identical stamped brasses has a history of descent in the Smith family of Burlington, New Jersey [fig. 28, right].⁴⁵⁹ The curves of the insides of the cabriole legs flow onto and across the skirt. Another Spanish-foot walnut dressing table [fig. 28, left], shares certain construction characteristics with the mahogany one, including leg profiles, but differs in others, such as depth of kneeblocks [fig. 28a].⁴⁶⁰

Fig. 28: Dressing tables on cabriole legs with Spanish feet.

Right: from Smith family of Burlington, N.J., with incised bead on skirt and stamped brasses.

Private Collection.

Left: with protuberances in place of pendants

Fig. 28a: Detail of construction, side skirt profiles, legs and knee blocking.

Mones Collection

A stockinged trifold-foot, curled maple dressing table, which sold at Christie's in 1999, has a similar skirt design to that on the Mones table, but in place of a top tier of three drawers, has a single drawer with three lipped-facings, giving the appearance of three separate drawers.⁴⁶¹ Another with the same skirt and three-in-one top drawer design has fluted chamfered corners and an incised bead along its skirt edge.⁴⁶² The Spanish-foot walnut dressing table at HSP, also part of this group, has a trefoil at the top of its skirt, as well as the incised bead. According to Rick Mones, it is the mate to a high chest of drawers at Stenton.⁴⁶³ The pair descended from Deborah Norris Logan, daughter of merchant Charles Norris (1712-1766). Related high chests of drawers include a Spanish-foot walnut one in the Mones collection with the trefoil and the incised bead on its skirt, and its original stamped brasses [fig. 18]. An examination of the design and construction details of this entire group is required in order to determine the extent of their interrelationship, and whether they emanated from one or more shops, including that of John Head. Any protuberant substitutes for the pendants were eventually to disappear altogether, as skirt design became ever more undulating and developed entirely new rhythms [fig. 1].

Demonstrating how difficult it is to chart stylistic changes in furniture is the December 19, 1741, four pence charge in the Fussell Ledger to "an ornament Ball for a Dressing Table."⁴⁶⁴ This should not be interpreted as a skirt pendant or as a finial atop the intersection of flat stretchers. By this time, such designs were out of fashion. Head did not record receiving any such "ornament Balls." His closest entry is for the "Balls : dd [delivered]: by John Rutor [Rutter?]," debited to the account of "Thomas Williams, plasterer." Thus, they were probably not even for use on furniture.⁴⁶⁵

3. "To a Chamber Table."

In addition to those chamber tables ordered in a single combined entry, "To a Chest of Drawers and a Table," there are thirty-five entries, "To a Chamber Table," separately debited. The earliest, on 8/27/19, was debited to Paul Preston at £1-7-0;⁴⁶⁶ the latest, one of "mapel" was debited on 9/26/37 to William Calender [Callender] at £2-0-0.⁴⁶⁷ Apart from Callender's chamber table, all of the rest were undesignated and, thus, presumably of walnut.

If the latter *were* of the same wood, then any price differential would be for reasons other than wood type.

The least expensive chamber table, at £1-6-0, was debited to William Clar [Clare], on 6/30/29; the most expensive were the three, at £2-5-0 a piece, debited to Samuel Hudson on 1/3/21, to Simond Hagal [Simon Edgell] on 6/30/29, and to Thomas Radman on 10/28/30.⁴⁶⁸ In between those price points, two other chamber tables were individually debited at £1-10-0 and £1-12-6.⁴⁶⁹ But Head's most popular and consistently priced model was that at £1-15-0, of which twenty-seven were sold between 2/12/21 and 1/24/30.⁴⁷⁰

In 1723, the £1-15-0 chamber tables started to be separately debited either on the same date as, or in close proximity to, the likewise popular £5-10-0 chests of drawers⁴⁷¹ -- apparently as companion pieces -- and in one instance, one was paired with a £5-15-0 chest of drawers.⁴⁷² This coincidental dating of separately debited chests of drawers and chamber tables continues until 1729.⁴⁷³ It is thus contemporaneous with Head's most prolific period for the combined entries, "To a Chest of Drawers and a Table," and may be further evidence of the prosperity engendered by the currency acts of 1723 and 1726. Indeed, these separately debited "pairs" are priced, in the aggregate at £7-5-0 or £7-10-0, the same as several of the combined entries during the same period.⁴⁷⁴ This suggests that they were all like models of chests of drawers and chamber tables, and of en suite design, even though separately debited.⁴⁷⁵

4. "To an oval Table."

Approximately fifty-five oval tables were debited between 1/12/20 and 2/15/37.⁴⁷⁶ Some eleven of these were ordered on the same dates as chests of drawers.⁴⁷⁷ As they were always designated as "oval tables," there can be no confusion with en suite chamber tables made for chests of drawers. The coincidence of dates may be explained in several ways. The simplest explanation is that, just as with chests of drawers, the oval tables were "standard equipment" for any household of means. Obviously, the form of the oval table did not lend itself to the same degree of mimicry that a chamber table could exhibit for a companion chest of drawers. But an oval table might be ordered at the same time as a chest of drawers, in order to incorporate the same wood, similar proportions, and perhaps certain common design elements, such as mouldings, leg profiles, or decorative brass hardware. Details from oval tables are shown [figs. 16, 16a and fig. 23].

The least expensive oval table was a £0-18-0 "pine" one ordered by Thomas Shinn.⁴⁷⁸ Next in price was Thomas Canby's £1-5-0 otherwise undescribed oval table.⁴⁷⁹ Both of these may have been diminutive in diameter, as a "Smal" oval table cost only £1-15-0. Tables of similar dimension may also have been used in pairs, as two oval tables were purchased at double that price by Matthias Aspdin.⁴⁸⁰

It is open to debate whether the least expensive, undesignated oval tables were of pine or of walnut. Eleven of them were priced at £1-10-0, of which only one, that ordered by Edmond [Edmund] Woolley, had its wood designated: "pin."⁴⁸¹ On the same date as his £0-18-0 pine

oval table, Shinn also ordered a walnut one at £2-10-0.⁴⁸² The only other oval table for which a wood was described was Thomas Masters's "mehogany oval table som stuf & Joynts & draps & Glew" [joint hinges & drop pulls & glue], at a combined price of only £1-18-0.⁴⁸³ Thus, it was entirely possible that Head's £1-10-0 oval tables included not just Woolley's pine one, but some of other woods, as well. Tables not of pine may have been smaller in size, reflecting the greater expense of the wood chosen.

The most popular model of oval table cost £2-5-0. Fifteen were ordered.⁴⁸⁴ In addition to the Shinn walnut one, two other oval tables at £2-10-0 were recorded. One of them was expressly noted as "with two Loks."⁴⁸⁵ This would indicate that this table must have had two drawers, presumably back-to-back under the mid-section. Perhaps the popular £2-5-0 model, therefore, had only one drawer or none. Certainly the least expensive oval tables would not have had drawers and might not even have had the two drop leaves suggested by the "Joynts" for the mahogany oval table.

Oval tables described as "Larg" included ones at £2-5-0, £2-11-6, and £2-12-6.⁴⁸⁶ An "oval Table: 4 foot 1/2" cost £2-12-26.⁴⁸⁷ The most expensive oval tables, obviously popular, were those ordered, at £3-0-0, in six different accounts.⁴⁸⁸ The £3-0-0 tables were probably the same size as the one at that price debited to Thomas Hill, that was specified as an "oval Table : 5 fot Bad [5-foot board]."⁴⁸⁹ The largest oval table documented as made in this period was the seven by eight foot one ordered, in 1725, for the Chester County Grand Jury Room from John Owen (d. 1752).⁴⁹⁰

Head's account book does not expressly state that his oval tables were on frames. However, Head charged Joseph Chatam £0-4-0, "to turning a table frame."⁴⁹¹ Also, many surviving examples of oval tables from Head's period, in the same sizes as made by Head, attest to their popularity.⁴⁹² Further confirming that oval tables on frame were contemporaneous with many of Head's own oval tables is one inlaid "1725 IEB," for James and Elizabeth Bartram.⁴⁹³ That oval tables had frames may be supported from another documentary source. In 1729, Thomas Shute consigned to Thomas Chalkley (1675-1741) for sale in Barbadoes, "One Oval Table & Frame," at £6-10-0.⁴⁹⁴ As with the high chests and dressing tables, there probably came a point when Head switched his tables to cabriole legs, but his account book does not tell us.

5. "To a squar walnut Table."

The debit entry in the account of James Steel, on 12/13/35, "To a squar walnut Table," at £1-0-0, was a unique order.⁴⁹⁵ As Hornor noted, the Queen Anne table was sometimes "Ovill," citing to that of David Livezey, but "less frequently, square."⁴⁹⁶ Joiner George Claypoole charged merchant John Reynell £2-15-0 for a square dining table, on November 9, 1738; and the same price for a square mahogany tea table, on March 6, 1744.⁴⁹⁷ A "Large Square Walnut Table...£4-0-0," was inventoried for Head's neighbor, house carpenter Edward Warner.⁴⁹⁸ Another "Square Walnut Table" is listed in the probate inventory of William Callender, appraised at £1-15-0. Both Warner and Callender were Head's customers, but no square tables were debited to them in Head's account book.⁴⁹⁹ Although described as "square," these tea tables may, in fact, have been rectangular, like the so-called "tray top" tea tables that have survived. One is walnut with scalloped skirt and cabriole legs on pad feet [fig. 29]. Another, more elaborate one, descended to the Richard Waln Meirs family. Hornor ascribed it to "the Late Queen Anne or Early Chippendale Years."⁵⁰⁰ Could the "Tray & Staining : 4 Lags [legs]" that Head made for Sarah Dimsdale in 1723 be an early description a tray top tea table?⁵⁰¹



Fig. 29: tray top tea table with scalloped skirt on cabriole legs with pad feet
Private collection
Photo courtesy H.L. Chalfant Antiques

6. "To a Stand for a Candle"

The "Stand for a Candle" that Head debited Jacob DuBary £1-4-0 on 11/23/23 appears to be one of the earliest references to a stand for that specific purpose. Other stands with no such express designation were sold by Head at cheaper prices: Hugh Cordry was debited £0-7-0; Jon Loyd [John Lloyd?] £0-6-0; and Lawrence Boore £0-6-0.⁵⁰²

7. "To a Table."

Otherwise nondescript entries, such as "To a Walnut Table," which were debited to James Logen [Logan] at £0-18-0 and to James Steel at £0-16-0, support walnut tables of some sort, perhaps quite simple and small, being priced in the range of pine ones.⁵⁰³ Pine tables, without further description, ran anywhere from £0-12-0 to £0-16-0.⁵⁰⁴ Two little tables, only one of which was described as pine, were the "Little pine Table," sold Robert Dunken [Duncan?], at £0-3-0; and more expensive "Litel Table," sold Hinery [Henry] Clifton at £0-4-6.⁵⁰⁵ A "Larg

pine Table" sold at £1-0-0.⁵⁰⁶ The only other "table" not described as to shape or function, but with a wood designated was the "mapel" one sold to Philip Johns at £2-5-0.⁵⁰⁷

At least seven of Head's tables, perhaps including his oval ones, were turned by Alexander Foreman, one of his chair suppliers.⁵⁰⁸ It is conceivable that the "Tee table," for which Head charged Steel £1-7-0 on 1/9/26 was the "Round Tea Table" listed in Steel's inventory.⁵⁰⁹

Head also produced "a frame for a slat [slate] Table," for James Steel, charging him £0-15-0. Two other customers appear to have gotten frames for slate-topped tables from Head. Edwd [Edward] Horn was debited £0-18-0, "To a frame for a Slate;" and Boulah Coates £0-16-0, "To a fram[e] for a slat[e] & a pine Tope for an ould frame."⁵¹⁰ Pieces of "*black slate*" were plentiful in "some parts of the Skullkill," and were "four feet and above square." Their color and configuration was the same as "*Table slate*."⁵¹¹

8. "To a Chest."

The Head account book is especially informative on vernacular furniture made by Head. Little information exists regarding such simple pieces, as many were overused in the workplace and not of sufficient aesthetic value to merit preservation by descendants.⁵¹²

Not to be confused with Head's most popular seller, the "Chest of Drawers," was his simple "Chest." The wood choice for the latter was of the commoner sort, usually of pine or cedar. Of the fourteen debited, ten chests were described as being of "pine" or "pin," two of "Sader," and two were undesignated.⁵¹³ Head's chests probably shared some of the same features. As he had purchased at least twenty pair of butt hinges,⁵¹⁴ and 5 dozen till locks,⁵¹⁵ and considering unscrubbed surviving examples of that period, the chests were probably dovetailed boxes on feet (or in the cheaper price ranges, without), surmounted by a lid, hinged in back and lockable in front. There may or may not have been a till inside.

The most common model of chest was that at £0-14-0, of which 6 were noted, all of pine. It probably was drawer-less, as the only chest listed with drawers, a "pin chest with 2 drawers," cost Cristofar Topam [Christopher Topham?] significantly more, £1-5-0, on 6/5/20.⁵¹⁶ That was also the earliest chest recorded.

The latest chest was "dd [delivered] to Elizabeth Whals [or Whaly?]," on 4/23/36, and was charged to John Coster, at £0-6-0.⁵¹⁷ As no wood is designated, and this is the cheapest chest recorded, it must have been of pine, like the other less expensive ones, and quite small.⁵¹⁸ Head had previously obtained "on[e] dosen small Buts [butt hinges]," which he may have used to secure the lid of just such a chest.⁵¹⁹

A "Larg pine Chest" cost Jon [Jonathan?] Lade £1-0-0 on 6/9/26.⁵²⁰ The most expensive chest recorded is the "Sader" one, for which Artha [Arthur] Jones paid £2-0-0 on 8/4/27.⁵²¹ While another entry, "To maken a Sader Chest som my stuff," clearly establishes that Head's shop was making these simpler chests and not serving as a middleman, its price, £1-5-0, is probably less because Head was apparently supplying only part of the "stuf[f]" from which it

was made.⁵²² What is surprising, is that Head, in "1728," credited £2-0-0 to the account of George Cosins [Cousins?], "By an ould Sader Chest," the same price he was getting for a new one. Perhaps there was something special, albeit unstated, about the chest taken in. Alternatively, as cedar was used as a prophylactic against infestation of garments and fabrics, maybe the chest could still be resold at £2-0-0, as Head's customers were more interested in its use than its appearance.⁵²³

9. "To a Badstad."

"Queen Anne bedsteads are the least known of all articles of the period."⁵²⁴ The account book's revelations about early Philadelphia beds are thus particularly welcome. Head recorded debit entries for some fifty-two "Badstads," of which three entries were orders for two bedsteads at a time, suggesting their use as pairs.⁵²⁵ In addition, he sold three cots,⁵²⁶ and two pallets.⁵²⁷

Head's earliest debit entry for a bedstead was that on 9/13/20, to the account of Thomas Masters. It is also his most expensive single entry including a bedstead. At a cost of £2-0-0, it was described as "To maken a badstad & Cornish [cornice] & fotpost." Although no wood was identified, it is conceivable that it was made of "mehogany," the wood specified for the cradle and oval table, which Masters also ordered from Head that year. This may, in part, account for the additional expense. Head's latest bedstead was debited on 11/26/36 at £1-0-0 to John Coster and "dd to Mikel Hilliges [Michael Hillegas]."⁵²⁸

The Masters entry also leaves no doubt that Head's shop was "maken" bedsteads. Another debit entry shows Head turning bed posts.⁵²⁹ An examination of the credit side of the ledger, however, shows that Head was not always making his bedsteads from scratch. Most of the time, Head was supplied by others with substantial numbers of "badstads."⁵³⁰ As these were credited at a fraction of the price at which Head was selling his bedsteads, they were probably unfinished components, such as bed posts or frames. Thus, Head credited John Hains £2-0-0 on 9/19/20 "To - 10 : badstads." That was the same price Head had gotten "To maken a badstad & Cornish & fotpost" for Thomas Masters the prior week on 9/13/20.⁵³¹ It would then have been up to Head to do any additional turning, planing, pegging or finishing. On at least one occasion, however, he clearly got someone else to turn bed posts.⁵³²

Head nowhere specifies the wood from which his bedsteads were made. Many may have been of red cedar, the preferred wood for bed enclosures, posts, and the horizontal planking supporting the mattress. In its absence, white or black oak was commonly used. Head credited his neighbor, house carpenter Edward Worner [Warner], £0-0-6 on 7/9/35 "By a Bad post," which may have been cedar. On the same date, he credited Warner £0-4-11 "By - 59 foot of Sader bords;" and on 2/17/34 £0-0-1 "By a sader post." Head may have also made beds from maple, a wood used for "feet [legs?] for chairs and beds."⁵³³

Head's least expensive bedsteads were priced at £0-14-0. They were also among his most popular. Nine were sold as early as 11/9/22 and as late as 5/26/35, to a diverse group of

customers, two of whom Head helps to further identify for us: John Williams, "the Tailer," and Jno [Jonathan] Fisher, "ye Shoumaker."⁵³⁴

By far the most popular model was that at £1-4-0, of which thirty-four were ordered.⁵³⁵ Head charged £1-9-0 "To a Badstad and painting of it."⁵³⁶ Even more expensive was the 7/9/22 order to brickmaker Abram Cox, which was broken down into several entries, and provides the clearest indication of the appearance of a Head bedstead: "To a Badstad £1-4-0/To 2 posts Blakit And varnishit ["blackened and varnished] £0-4-0/To a Cornish Blakit & varnishit £0-10-0/To Comperst Rods £0-16-0/To 8 hoks & 2 scrues £0-2-6."⁵³⁷ The "Comperst Rods" refer to a tester that was compassed, or arched, as in a "compass roof."⁵³⁸ Cox is recorded as having had a "Canopy Bedsted," perhaps this one.⁵³⁹ The "scrues" probably refer to bed bolts.⁵⁴⁰

There is the intriguing possibility that Abram Cox's "Blakit & varnishit" bedstead may have been "Japanned," and meant to go en suite with the "1 large Japand Looking Glass" he is recorded as having in 1735.⁵⁴¹ "Japanning" was a process whereby less expensive woods were painted (usually with lampblack) and varnished to emulate Oriental lacquer work. Boston and New York have previously been recognized as major centers for such work in this country, long popular in England.⁵⁴² Japanned furniture had been advertised and probated in 18th century Philadelphia.⁵⁴³ But, the lack of surviving Philadelphia examples has impeded knowledge of how such pieces were made, and whether they were made here or solely imported.⁵⁴⁴ A contemporary Philadelphia newspaper reveals that a "Mrs. Dickson, from Scotland," proposed "to teach young Ladies to..Japan upon Glass or Wood, and Varnishing..." but nothing *per se* shows that furniture was being Japanned in Philadelphia.⁵⁴⁵ Head's "Blakit And varnishit" bedstead may evidence Japanned furniture being made in Philadelphia. If that entry was meant to refer to Japanning, it would also be the earliest to document the names of a Philadelphia cabinetmaker and original owner of Japanned furniture, and the order date and price.⁵⁴⁶

Head also sold other items required for beds. Head charged John Burr £3-0-0, "To - 30 pound of f[e]athers." "Sacken bottom[s]" were sold, at £1-2-0 a piece, to William Chanceler [Chancellor], who took two; and to John Campbell.⁵⁴⁷ Head sold "60 bad pags [pegs]," at £0-2-6, to Joseph Cooper Junor [Jr.], and another set at the same price to Benjamin Clark.⁵⁴⁸ On 9/21/19, the earliest entry in the account book concerning beds, Head charged Paul Preston £0-2-0, "To a Sat of Bad Larth," probably lath cross-pieces.⁵⁴⁹ James Steel apparently needed not just the lath, but the erection of the bedstead, as he was debited £0-2-6 on 9/21/32 "To Bad Larth and puten his Badstad up." Thomas Canan required even more help. He was debited £0-3-6 on 9/11/31 "To taken his badstead Down & puten it up & Curten rods & had & git Bords." "[H]ad" may refer to a headboard, as Head usually referred to the cornice as a "Cornish."⁵⁵⁰

Head also sold, or acquired for his own use, what was elsewhere commonly referred to as bed "furniture" from others.⁵⁵¹ On 6/11/25, Head credited John Roberds £0-10-0 "To a Sate [set] of Curtion [curtain] Rods." On 2/1/27, he debited Joseph Endecot [Endicott?] for £0-8-8 "In Badstad Stuf By James Lippincot," previously identified as a supplier of bedsteads to Head. Head credited £4-5-0 to the account of Peter Cloak, on 10/20/43, "By a sut [set or suite] of Curtens and five yards of Linen."⁵⁵² Others received credits in varying

amounts for other fabrics suitable for curtains, including "muselen," or muslin, with which beds could be draped in summer, as a protection against mosquito and gnat bites.⁵⁵³ Kalm's description of his encounters with Philadelphia's airborne insect population makes for amusing reading.⁵⁵⁴

10. "To a Clock Case"

a. Clockcases.

Head debited approximately ninety-one clockcases. Of the forty cases debited at £3-0-0, Head's most popular model, two were identified as "Walnut,"⁵⁵⁵ and two as "Squar Case."⁵⁵⁶ This would suggest that the rest at this price were also walnut "Squar Case[s]," i.e., non-arched. Underscoring the persistence of Head's pricing for what may have been considered a standardized, utilitarian model, is that the forty clockcases at £3-0-0 were sold as early as 2/14/22 and as late as 7/14/43.⁵⁵⁷

The next most popular model, of which thirty-one were debited, was priced at £4-0-0. These may all have been for arched dial clocks, as six at that price were described as arched, dating between 1721-1727, including a 1726 entry to Peter Stretch.⁵⁵⁸ These also provide the earliest documented dates for the use of American arch dial clocks.⁵⁵⁹

The description of the earliest of Head's £4-0-0 entries, that to Richard Harrison on 7/16/21, is especially intriguing.⁵⁶⁰ "To a Clockcas Archit plat" appears to refer to something more than a case for an arched top clock. The "plat" may allude to either a "platform," i.e. a flat surface used in support of something above it. More likely it refers to a "plateau," a term once used to refer to "a removeable and usu[ally] decorated top," as an inlaid or marble top for a table.⁵⁶¹ This may be a reference to what would today be called a "sarcophagus-top" in America or a "caddy-top" in Great Britain, one with alternating flat-vertical and ogee steps [figs. 5, 5a, 30, 30a]. Normally surmounted by finials, some also had something akin to a coxcomb atop their center. In many instances these tops simply sat on the clock hood, without being permanently secured. The ability to remove them was no doubt in order to accommodate ceiling heights during set-up, or to manipulate a tall clockcase within the bounds of the narrow staircases of Philadelphia's early houses.

Head's "Archit plat" was apparently not a pedimented or ogee top, as these terms were used contemporaneously to mean something different than arched. Josiah Claypoole, "from



Fig. 30: Arched face clockcase with Peter Stretch clock and brass-framed oculus

Fig 30a.: Detail of hood, dial, and blind fretwork

Mones Collection

Philadelphia," advertised "Desk and Book Cases, with Arch'd, Pediment and O.G. Heads."⁵⁶² Head also used the term "leadbk" with respect to clocks, spelling it phonetically as "had." On 3/27/32, Peter Stretch was debited £1-0-0, "To a had for a Clock."⁵⁶³ Head may have been using "had" to describe something above the hood, such as a "plat," the hood, or both.⁵⁶⁴ There was no such confusion when Head charged Richard Harrison £0-3-0 on 4/29/22 "To a had for a Looking Glas & mending bak." A simpler form, the looking glass was getting what today would be called a new "crest."

An "Archit plat" or a "had for a Clock" might also have had "freezes [friezes]," now referred to as blind fretwork. On 4/28/42, Head debited Thomas Maul [Maule] £0-3-0 "To - 2 Clock Cas freezes;" and on 4/21/43 (£0-1-6) "To a Clock Cas frees."⁵⁶⁵ In 1755, a year after Head's death, Thomas Maule advertised "clock-case freezes" for sale.⁵⁶⁶ The hoods of Head's clocks were also decorated with columns, as is evident from his charge of £0-1-0 to turner Alexander Forman [Foreman], on 8/14/26, "To dameg To ye Clockcas pilers."⁵⁶⁷ Blind fretwork and pillars are found on a Peter Stretch clock in a walnut case [figs. 30, 30a].

All of the cases from designated woods other than walnut were priced at £5-0-0, and were the most expensive Head sold.⁵⁶⁸ Four were of cedar, all dating from the early 1720s.⁵⁶⁹ Cedar would thus appear to have been the most popular of the designated woods among Head's earliest clockcases. Perhaps demonstrative of a change in taste, the three of mahogany date from the mid- to late 1720s and, despite being made of imported wood, were priced no differently than the cedar or cherry cases.⁵⁷⁰ The four of cherry all date from the 1730s, with one exception from 1723.⁵⁷¹ One clockcase, sold to Peter Stretch, was described as "Blak."⁵⁷² Japanned pieces were painted on less expensive wood, but this case was priced at only £2-0-0.⁵⁷³ Therefore, it is open to question whether it was Japanned, or merely painted black with no additional decoration.⁵⁷⁴

The least expensive clockcase appears to have been one priced at £2-5-0, *together with a table*.⁵⁷⁵ Given the relatively modest combined price, this 1738 entry may refer to a case for a bracket clock, sold with an accompanying table on which to display it.⁵⁷⁶ A year earlier, on 4/7/37, Head had given Peter Stretch £2-10-0 in credit for what was probably a second-hand bracket clock, "A Little ould Clock."⁵⁷⁷ According to Hornor, in 1742, Philadelphia sailmaker William Chancellor had "One Table Clock" in his "Parlour."⁵⁷⁸ "A Small Spring Clock £1-10-0" was owned by joiner Joseph Claypoole in 1744.⁵⁷⁹

b. Glazing Clockcases.

What is clear, however, is that certain cases were more expensive because they were sold with the cost of glazing included.⁵⁸⁰ Glass was required for insertion in the clockface door, in the sidelights (through which to view the movement), and, in the earlier clocks, in any oculus mounted in the lower door (through which to check the pendulum) [figs. 6, 30]. "By a pees of Crown Glase" indicates what sort of material was used, when it was credited on 8/17/33 at £0-2-0 by Edward Bradle [Bradley], who was also credited for "glasen" clockcases.⁵⁸¹ "London Crown Fronts for Clock Cases" were advertised in Philadelphia several years later.⁵⁸² Depending on how much glass was needed, glazing a clockcase cost between £0-3-0

to £0-8-0, but typically, £0-6-0. This may be deduced from two types of entries in the account book. The first type are those three entries in which glazing of clockcases was separately charged. Two of these were for £0-6-0, and one for £0-8-0.⁵⁸³ The second type are those entries, cited in the first endnote of this paragraph, for the three glazed clockcases priced at £3-6-0 and the one priced at £3-3-0. With one exception (a clockcase delivered to clockmaker John Hood), no clockcases were priced at between £3-0-0 and £4-0-0, unless they were described as glazed. Thus, it appears that these latter entries all pertain to £3-0-0 cases, for which a combined charge was made which included glazing expense of between £0-3-0 and £0-6-0.

That some clockcases were sold without glazing may have been a precaution against breakage, particularly for those that had to be shipped longer distances or were to be exported. As an extra precaution, at least one glazed clockcase was shipped within a packing case. The "Clock cas and Glasen," debited to John Leacock, at £3-6-0, on 3/14/36, was accompanied by a charge of £0-8-0, on the same date, "To a paken Case." Four other clockcases, not specifically designated as glazed, also had packing cases charged for them.⁵⁸⁴

c. Clockmakers Doing Business with Head.

[1]. "John Hood Clock maker."

The only clockcase in Head's account book that was priced between £3-0-0 and £4-0-0, and not described as glazed, was that described as "To a Clock Case dd [delivered] to John Hood Clock maker," and debited to chairmaker Solomon Crison [Cresson], at £3-18-0, on 12/7/40.⁵⁸⁵ John Hood was debited by Head on 7/29/43 for another clockcase, probably an arched one, at £4-0-0.⁵⁸⁶ Both of these references are of particular importance, as they identify, by name and profession, a Philadelphia clockmaker whose very existence has been open to question. While a "John Hood" had been listed as a Philadelphia clockmaker in two general secondary authorities, none of his clocks were recorded, and not even his dates were given.⁵⁸⁷ In more recent authorities, including those pertaining exclusively to Pennsylvania clockmakers, John Hood's name is nowhere found.⁵⁸⁸ Perhaps the authors of the latter works did not include him, believing the earlier references to his name to have been misspellings of "John Wood," a prolific Philadelphia clockmaker.⁵⁸⁹

The only John Hood appearing in the Will Books of the Philadelphia Register of Wills during the period of Head's residency is "John Hood of Darby," who died in 1721, too early for the Hood transactions in Head's account book. While his son of the same name is noted as deceased, one of his heirs was his grandson of the same name. However, no indication is given in the will as to the profession of any of them.⁵⁹⁰ The next will proved for a John Hood does not occur until 1775, a date which may be too late for Head's clockmaker. His bequests do not confirm him as a clockmaker. He left a "silver watch" to a brother in Ireland; and, to Thomas Paul, his "Turning Lathe & Turning Tools such as Gouges & Chesils."⁵⁹¹ The latter suggests he may have been a turner of wood rather than metal clock parts.⁵⁹²

Head did business with clockmaker John Hood from at least 1740, when Head delivered to Hood the clockcase charged to Cresson.⁵⁹³ Just before the debiting of the other clockcase on 7/29/43, Hood's account was credited £3-10-0, on 7/14/43 "By a Laram [Alarm] Clock,"⁵⁹⁴ which Head simultaneously debited in the same amount to Thomas Brown.⁵⁹⁵ These entries provide a firm date by which alarm clocks became available for sale in Philadelphia.⁵⁹⁶ In their last recorded transaction, on 12/4/48, Head credited Hood's account £0-7-6, "By Cleanen a Clock."⁵⁹⁷

John Head provides another clue as to the personal life of John Hood. In the account of Mary Snad Junor [Mary Sneed, the Younger], he notes "1730 new wife of John Wood." Here Head did confuse Wood with Hood. "A Lot of Ground situate in High Street, adjoining to David Evans's, belonging to Mary Sneed, deceased" was later advertised for sale, noting that inquiries could be directed to "John Hood, living in said House."⁵⁹⁸ It would thus appear that Mary had been married to John Hood, not John Wood. The advertisement would also suggest that Hood conducted his business from their High [Market] Street residence, as that was the most commercially used street in Philadelphia.

[2]. John Wood, Sr.

John Head also made cases for clocks made by John Wood, Sr. (died 1761).⁵⁹⁹ Head debited two clockcases to Joseph Olman, at £4-0-0 each, on 4/18/29 and 6/10/30, both for delivery to John Wood.⁶⁰⁰ There is no account in Head's book in the name of John Wood. One of Philadelphia's most prominent clockmakers of the first half of the 18th century, Wood, Sr., is not as well known as his son, John Wood, Jr. (1736-1793), an early believer in the power of advertising.⁶⁰¹ John Wood, Sr.'s will identified him as a "Watchmaker." He left his son John "all the Tools belonging to my Trade."⁶⁰² John Wood, Sr. also bequeathed to his son his dwelling house, the

"Message or Tenement where I now live," at the southeast corner of Front and Chestnut Streets. In past years that corner was known as "Peter Stretch's Corner at the Sign of the Dial."⁶⁰³ Arched dial curled walnut clockcases, not ascribed to a particular shop, housing clocks labeled John Wood[, Sr.] are shown here, one with pedimented top [figs. 31, 31a], and one which never had one [figs., 32, 32a].⁶⁰⁴



Fig. 31: Arched face clockcase with John Wood, Sr., clock
Fig 31a.: Detail of hood and dial

Mones Collection



Fig. 32: Arched face clockcase with John Wood, Sr., clock
Fig 32a.: Detail of dial

Private Collection, Philadelphia

[3]. The Richardsons.

Both John Wood, Sr. and John Head had connections with members of the Richardson family of silversmiths, some of whom also made or dealt in clocks. John Wood, Sr. was a witness to the May 21, 1730 will of Francis Richardson, Sr. (1681-1729),⁶⁰⁵ to whom a square dial clock, in a flat top case, has been attributed.⁶⁰⁶ In July 1734, Francis, Sr.'s son, Joseph Richardson, Sr. (1711-1784), debited Wood £6-0-0 "To Ingraving 6 name pieces @ Sundry times," and £8-14-0 "To 5 Clock Faces," perhaps including those illustrated here [figs. 31a, 32b].^{cccl}⁶⁰⁷

There are no references in the Head account book directly linking Head's shop with either the case for the Francis Richardson, Sr. clock, or with an "Arch Moon Clock and case," for which Joseph Richardson, Sr., debited his uncle Lawrence Growdon £19-0-0, on August 25, 1732.⁶⁰⁸ However, there is no question, that Head did business with at least one member of the Richardson clan. Francis Richardson, Jr., son of Francis Richardson, Sr. and brother to Joseph Richardson, Sr., had an account with Head.⁶⁰⁹ "Frances Richerson" was debited £4-0-0, on 8/13/36, and £3-0-0, on 9/25/36, on each occasion "To a Clockcase dd to himself."⁶¹⁰ That year and the next, Francis Richardson, Jr. advertised as a maker, cleaner and repairer of clocks.⁶¹¹

[4]. The Stretches.

Scharf and Westcott observed that if the history of councilman Peter Stretch (d. 1746), and of each of the men with whom he served in the municipal government of Philadelphia, "could be unearthed,...it would be far more interesting than that of the city represented by them."⁶¹² While the Head account book provides some details regarding other councilmen and aldermen named by those historians, including Charles Read, Thomas Masters, Nehemiah Allen, and Thomas Griffith,⁶¹³ it is especially informative with regard to Stretch.

In the course of restoring and authenticating many early Philadelphia clockcases in the last twenty years, conservator Christopher Storb recognized that approximately seventeen of them bore construction and design details linking them to a single cabinetshop. Most of the group housed movements labeled "Peter Stretch" and, in some instances, "William Stretch" and "John Wood." However he had no way of identifying which of Philadelphia's cabinetshops had made the cases. The several dozen entries in the John Head account book to clockcases for Peter Stretch, William Stretch, and John Wood have now enabled Storb to establish a basis for attributing cases in the group to the Head shop.⁶¹⁴ One Peter Stretch clock, with one of his "top-of-the-line" tide dial movements, is in a walnut case with a cyma-curved base characteristic of Head [figs. 5, 5a, 5b, 5c]. The case is thought to be by Head's shop.⁶¹⁵

Some forty-one clockcases in the Head account book were debited to the account of clockmaker Peter Stretch.⁶¹⁶ Of these, the least expensive, at £2-0-0, was recorded, on 5/1/32, as "Blak," presumably a reference to a less expensive wood either painted black or Japanned.⁶¹⁷ This also provides some idea of what may have been paid for the "Square faced black Case & Clock" in Hannah Cox's home in 1747, cited by Hornor.⁶¹⁸ Head's next least expensive clockcase to Stretch was charged at £2-15-0, without further description.⁶¹⁹

Twenty-two were debited at £3-0-0, one of which was identified as "Walnut" and two as "Squar Case."⁶²⁰ Another fifteen cases were at £4-0-0, of which two were "Arched."⁶²¹ Only two cases were priced any higher, at £5-0-0, both in cherry.⁶²² No other woods were noted as being used for clockcases debited to Peter Stretch.⁶²³ The same is true for the two cases shown as debited or delivered to others on the same dates as clocks delivered by Peter Stretch. Both of these were debited at £5-0-0, to the account of John Leacock, together with £15-0-0 clocks by Stretch. One was on 3/31/34; and the other was on 8/25/34, "dd [delivered] to William Calender [Callender]."⁶²⁴ This latter clockcase also may have been of cherry, as the 1763 inventory of Callender's estate listed "an Eight Day Clock with Cherry Tree Case" in the "Front Parlour."⁶²⁵ If this was the same clock and case as in the Head account book, it also confirms that Stretch's £15-0-0 clocks had eight-day movements, as would be expected, given their high price.

The earliest case debited to Stretch was the "Walnut" £3-0-0 model on 5/3/24.⁶²⁶ The latest, on 2/23/42, was also at £3-0-0.⁶²⁷ The £4-0-0 cases were produced simultaneously, the earliest being the "Arched" one debited 2/26/26, and the latest recorded on 4/22/41.⁶²⁸ As previously stated, the £5-0-0 cases were both debited in 1734.

Peter Stretch was also recorded by Head as delivering two clocks debited to other accounts, neither of which references clockcases. These individuals must have already had cases or were getting them from other sources.⁶²⁹ The first, a "1726" debit of £11-10-0, to Joseph Taylor Junor [Jr.], "To Clock Work de: d by Peter Stretch," was obviously meant to settle up a huge credit which Taylor had in Head's book, "To a parcel of Chary Tree Bords and Logs," on 8/24/25.⁶³⁰ Head had apparently paid half down, as debits to Taylor's account, on the same date, show a total of £11-10-0.⁶³¹ The remaining half was thus made up by Stretch's delivery of the "Clock Work." The only other clock delivered by Peter Stretch without a case to a Head customer was debited to the account of John Guest, in the amount of £6-0-0, on 3/16/38.⁶³² These entries demonstrate how the interrelationship of Head's and Stretch's businesses facilitated the operation of the barter system on which they were both dependent.

Peter Stretch's account, apart from clockcases, was also debited for many other items, including furniture,⁶³³ and the mending of it.⁶³⁴ Between 1/22/22 and 3/13/25, Stretch was charged for twenty-five "Scal[e] Box[es]," one of them "Larg."⁶³⁵ These may have been the type of box to hold scales and weights for the weighing of precious metal, advertised by Philadelphia silversmiths.⁶³⁶ Scale boxes with labels of Philadelphia silversmiths and merchants survive. The labels bear the values of coinage at that time. Most of these scale boxes are of oak and otherwise identical to those with English labels.⁶³⁷ One, however, which descended in the Stretch family, is of walnut [fig. 9]. It bears two labels, both of Philadelphians. The label of silversmith Joseph Richardson is superimposed over that of merchant Joseph Trotter, presumably because the value of the coinage had fluctuated in the interim.

One of the most informative debit entries in Peter Stretch's account is "To mending a pine Table and Three round peeses to Cast By," at £0-5-0, on 10/18/39.⁶³⁸ This confirms, what had been previously only been suggested by his inventory, namely that Stretch cast at least some of his own clock parts.⁶³⁹ Head does not disclose what wood he used for those "peeses," but Kalm recorded the following regarding moulds made from *Liquidambar*

Styraciflua or *Sweet Gum-tree*: "Mr. Lewis Evans told me, from his own experience, that no wood in this country was more fit for making moulds for casting brass in than this."⁶⁴⁰

Peter Stretch often paid his account to Head in clocks. His account was credited for several clocks, four of which were described as "ould."⁶⁴¹ Among nine new clocks credited to Stretch, four were identified in debit entries of Head's customers as being delivered (and thus presumably made) by Stretch, on the same dates and at the same prices as credited to him. These were the two £15-0-0 clocks to William Calender [Callender] and John Leacock, both charged to the latter;⁶⁴² the £13-0-0 clock debited to Jonathan Miflen [Mifflin];⁶⁴³ and the £6-0-0 clock debited to John Guest.⁶⁴⁴ But without the £13-0-0 credit, on 3/2/39, for a clock "dd [delivered] to Benjamin Lee," one would not have known that this clock, too, involved Peter Stretch, as the simultaneous debit entry to Lee's account, in the same amount, made no mention of him.⁶⁴⁵ The £13-0-0 clocks to Miflen and Lee were probably eight-day "Arch face" clocks, like the one appraised for that amount in Stretch's probate inventory.⁶⁴⁶

Credit entries to Peter Stretch's account also enable a Stretch attribution and identification of component prices for two transactions debited in the aggregate "To a Clock and Case." Neither debit entry had broken out the prices of the clock or case, or mentioned Stretch. Thus, as Stretch was credited £12-0-0 "By a Clock" on 6/29/32, and on that same date James Steel was debited £15-0-0, it is not only clear that Steel got a Stretch clock, but that its case cost £3-0-0.⁶⁴⁷ The same is true for an otherwise identical transaction to John Hains [Haines], on 9/28/41.⁶⁴⁸ At £3-0-0, these were probably "Squar Case[s]." At £12-0-0, the clocks were likely Stretch's square face, eight-day clocks. The inventory of Peter Stretch's estate included an "Eight day Clock Square face," at £12-0-0, and another, with a "Case," at £15-0-0.⁶⁴⁹

As four of the clocks Head credited to the account of Peter Stretch were described as "ould," not all of the credited clocks may have been originally made by Stretch.⁶⁵⁰ None of these old clocks show as being debited to any of Head's other customers on the same dates or at the same amounts. It is possible, however, that Head sold them in combination with certain of his clockcases that he debited jointly in a single transaction. Thus, it would appear that the "ould Clock" that Head got from Stretch, on 8/4/33, at £4-10-0, was the "Clock" component of the "Clock and Case," that he debited to Thomas Fitzwater [Fitzwater] the next week [8/10/33], at £7-10-0, presumably in one of his "Squar" cases.⁶⁵¹ Likewise, the £3-10-0 credited Stretch for another "ould Clock", in 5/37, was probably part of the "Clock and Case," that Head charged Thomas Carrall [Carroll?], on 5/14/37, at £7-10-0, presumably in one of his arched cases.⁶⁵² This would also explain why the £7-10-0 clocks and clockcases are cheaper than what Head had been charging for new clocks and clockcases aggregated in single entries.

Other credits to Peter Stretch's account with Head are what one would expect of a clockmaker. Stretch twice supplied Head with clockcase hinges.⁶⁵³ Other credits were for cleaning and repair. Stretch was credited £0-12-0, "By Cleaning 8 day Clock" [12/14/36]; £0-5-0, "By Cleaning an old Clock and top for pendelun" [1/37]; £0-11-0, "By Clening and mending a Clock" [4/28/37]; and £0-7-6, "By Cleaning a Clock" [11/23/37]⁶⁵⁴

Other than the few clocks that survive him, little has been known about William Stretch (d. 1748), Peter's son.⁶⁵⁵ One clock by William Stretch, in a walnut square dial case, has been attributed to Head's shop [figs. 6. 6a]. Mones Collection.⁶⁵⁶ After Peter's demise, in 1746, William succeeded to his father's business, his brother, Thomas, having already been separately established.⁶⁵⁷ Head sold four clockcases to William Stretch, each at £3-0-0. The first was in 1727, and the rest in 1730.⁶⁵⁸ The price of these cases infers that William Stretch was making square face clocks for what were apparently "Squar Cases," although not so described. William Stretch had previously been credited for providing two "payer Clock Cas Joynts [joint hinges]," at £0-3-6 each pair, and a "clock" at £13-0-0.⁶⁵⁹ The £13-0-0 clock may have been an eight-day "Arch face" clock, like the one appraised in that amount in his father Peter's estate.⁶⁶⁰ Final settlement of William's account, on 11/29/30, included £1-4-0, "By Cash paid by his Father."⁶⁶¹

No mention is made in Head's account book of Peter Stretch's other son, Thomas Stretch (d. 1765).⁶⁶² Thomas is best known "for making the State-house clock."⁶⁶³ Thomas was also the first "governor" of the "Colony in Schuylkill," a fishing club founded in 1732, whose charter members included Head clientele James Logan, John Leacock, and coroner Caleb Cash.⁶⁶⁴

Samuel Stretch (d. 1732), a nephew of Peter, also worked in the family business. The one mention of him in John Head's account book was a posthumous one. His uncle Peter's account was debited £2-10-0, "To Samuel Stretches Coffin," on 1/30/32.⁶⁶⁵ This shows that Samuel survived less than a month, after making his will on March 7, 1732.⁶⁶⁶

11. "To a Dask;" "To a scrudore and Bookcas apou a Chest of drawers."

Head recorded some forty-five debit entries to desks. The earliest was the "Dask" sold to Samuel Hudson (1690-1726), on 5/15/19, at £6-10-0.⁶⁶⁷ An early customer of Head, Hudson was a tanner. Hudson's daughter, Mary, in 1746, became the first wife of John Head, Jr.⁶⁶⁸ The least expensive desk was priced at £2-10-0 to Joseph Townsend, on 1/4/29.⁶⁶⁹ As this was £3-0-0 less than the next cheapest desk, the £5-10-0 "Walnut Dask,"⁶⁷⁰ it may have been made in a less costly wood, or was considerably smaller. Another twenty desks were debited at £6-0-0, Head's most popular model.⁶⁷¹ Of these, nine were identified as walnut and one as "a Writen Dask."⁶⁷² Only one desk was charged at £6-5-0, also in walnut.⁶⁷³ Another nine were at £6-10-0, of which two were described as in walnut. Three were at £7-0-0, one of which was walnut. Five at £7-10-0, of which one was walnut. Larger desks and those of costlier woods were naturally dearer. Thus, of the four priced at £8-10-0, two were of mahogany, and two were "Larg," one of which was of walnut. The most expensive desk, at £12-0-0, was also that sold last, on 3/18/42.⁶⁷⁴

While no further description is supplied regarding any of the above desks, some of them may have been on frames. William Robens [Robins], was debited £0-7-6 by Head, on 2/17/24, "To a Dask fram," and then £0-15-0, a day later, "To a Writen Table."⁶⁷⁵ Robins, as a teacher of "WRITING, Arithmetick, Book Keeping and the Mathematicks," may have had need of the table for his students.⁶⁷⁶ Head also gave ship carpenter and fabric importer

Thomas Wells a credit of £1-7-6, "By an ould desk upon a frame," on 11/26/31. The description is perhaps an indication that, by this point in time, a desk-on-frame was a form passé.⁶⁷⁷

Head made two bookcases and mended another, but there is no indication in any of those accounts that they were meant to go atop desks.⁶⁷⁸ However, the account of James Steel does list bookcases in combination with desks. On 2/7/36, Head debited Steel £14-0-0, "Left to pay for a Desk and Book Case and - 2 paken Cases By his order was sent to marriland [Maryland]."⁶⁷⁹ On 7/3/36, Head also debited Steel £15-0-0, "To a scrudore and Bookcas [secretary desk and bookcase] upon a Chest of drawers."⁶⁸⁰ One of these was probably the "Desk & Book Case w[i]th Glass Doors," valued at £15-0-0 in Steel's probate inventory.⁶⁸¹

12. "To a Cradle."

The cradle, no doubt an essential and early purchase for many of Head's customers, and obviously a form well-advertised by Mrs. Head's example, was popularly and consistently priced. Of the nineteen appearing in his account book, sixteen of them were at £1-0-0.⁶⁸² It seems to have made no difference whether the cradles were "Large," like the one sold Richard Harison [Harrison], on 3/12/22, or of "Walnut," as were eight of them. The earliest cradle, one of "Walnut," was sold at that same price, on 1/6/19, to Barnabas Talbot. Over twenty years later, on 2/16/40, Riner Tison Junor [Reiner Tyson, Jr.], was still only charged £1-0-0, "To a Cradle."⁶⁸³ Thus, right from the beginning, Head appears to have standardized what he would charge for cradles. Only three were priced less. Two were at £0-13-0, one of which was of "pin[e]."⁶⁸⁴ Surprisingly, Head charged the account of Thomas Masters only £0-16-0, on 5/9/20, "To maken a mehogany Cradle," his first purchase. Maybe Head meant the low price as an inducement to capture the custom of Masters, an influential citizen who might bring in referral business.⁶⁸⁵

Thomas Masters (c. 1684-1724) had been born in Bermuda. He held many governmental posts, both on a municipal and provincial level, serving two terms as Philadelphia's mayor, and also on the Provincial Council. He became one of its most prosperous citizens. Masters was a Quaker, whose meeting attendance, at least from 1707-1717, was described as "extremely active."⁶⁸⁶ Whatever the degree of his religious devotion, it does not appear to have conflicted with Masters's taste for mahogany. Apart from the cradle, Masters also ordered a "mahogany oval table."⁶⁸⁷ The cradle and oval table were the only mahogany examples of those forms recorded by Head. Mahogany was a wood seldom ordered by Head's largely Quaker clientele, perhaps because it generally was more expensive, or because it had a more extravagant look than walnut.⁶⁸⁸ Masters's death, on January 11, 1724, occasioned the settling of his account with Head by his son William, in the amount, on 3/5/24, "To Cash paid by His son William After His Dath."⁶⁸⁹

13. "To a Corner Coberd."

Head recorded producing five corner cupboards, all sold between 12/16/22 and 2/12/27. Three were priced at £1-10-0.⁶⁹⁰ Head apparently charged eight shillings more to paint the cupboard which sold for £1-18-0.⁶⁹¹ The most expensive was at £2-0-0.⁶⁹² Even before those entries, on 2/18/22, Head had charged Alexander Wooddrop £0-5-0, "To a loance [allowance] for takin his Cor:r Cobert [corner cupboard]." Head could have taken the cupboard to either Wooddrop's plantation in Passyunk, south of Philadelphia, or to his house in town. Both were well-furnished.⁶⁹³ As Hornor mentions no corner cupboard earlier than that owned by John Cadwalader in 1734, Head's entries provide a basis for ascribing the manufacture of that form to at least the beginning of the prior decade.⁶⁹⁴

14. "To a Clos Stol."

Eleven close stools were sold by Head, all except for the one ordered in 1735, in the 1720s.⁶⁹⁵ Apart from two at £1-0-0, they were priced at £1-10-0. Head's close stool would thus appear to be a fairly standard, functional model.

15. "To a Close Pras"

Only three clothes presses were recorded. All date to the early to mid-1720s.⁶⁹⁶ None are shown as having been delivered to third parties, sometimes an indication of a gift. Thus, this form must never have been very popular, at least as far as Head's production was concerned. Nor did Head repair any made by others. As their prices vary greatly, clothes presses may have been made on a strictly bespoke basis. Perhaps it was because Head sold so few of them that he spelled the form differently in each entry. Hugh Thomas ordered the first one, a "Closepras," on 5/5/22, at £2-5-0.⁶⁹⁷ The second, spelled "Close Pras," went to Joseph Gilpin, on 7/25/24, at £1-15-0.⁶⁹⁸ The third, a "Close Prase," was ordered by nemier [Nehemiah] Allen, on 6/12/25, at £2-18-0.⁶⁹⁹

16. Boxes and Cases

The only "Spice Box" which Head recorded making, was the one for his best customer, James Steel, on 2/15/35. This was probably the "Spice Box" left to Steel's widow, Martha, in the March 5, 1742 inventory of his estate. Its original cost of £2-10-0 was relatively expensive. It would have been made of far less material than Head's standard £3-0-0 chest of drawers. The additional expense may have been a function of the numerous small dovetails required on its many interior drawers or because this may have been a spice box on frame, although undescribed as such. Dovetailing could get expensive in an intricate piece. Simpler boxes were less. Head had charged Steel £0-3-0, on 9/10/30, "To a Box duftailed;" and Caleb Ranstead £0-1-1 1/2, on 7/13/29, just for "duftailen" a Box.⁷⁰⁰

Another relatively expensive container made by Head was the "Raser Case of mehoganey," that he debited to George Cunningham, on 3/6/24, at £1-5-0. As Cunningham shaved Head, perhaps Head had the pleasure of seeing his handiwork whenever the razor was removed for use.⁷⁰¹

Head also sold a variety of boxes and cases for utilitarian purposes that were priced much cheaper: "To a Wige Box" [George Roach, 8/23/30, £0-2-0]; "To a [k]nife Box" [Hinery Clifton, 5/21/24, £0-2-0]; "To - 12 Candle Boxes" [chandler Thomas Canan, 8/13/31, £0-15-0]; "To a pine Case of Drawers" [clockmaker William Stretch, 7/16/25, £1-2-0], possibly for specialized use within his trade. There is no question that Head's shop made its own boxes, as he charged James Steel "To maken a Box" [8/11/27, £0-3-0]. On occasion, he even remade them. Steel was charged "To maken 2 Boxes of one" [5/9/28, £0-0-8].⁷⁰² "Paken" boxes and cases were made to protect shipment of clockcases, clocks, other furniture, and a "marvel [he]arth" for Steel.⁷⁰³

17. "To a Trof"

Examples of the sort of vernacular ware that Head made for his fellow tradesmen were his troughs. A big seller was what he recorded as "a naden Trof [kneading trough]." These were especially popular among those in the tanning trades, as well as others. Most cost £0-16-0. Carpenter Edmund Woolley was charged £0-16-0, "To a Do [dough] Trofe," on 3/28/19, which may or may not have had to do with baking.⁷⁰⁴

A "Candle Trof" was charged to Alexander Wooddrop at £0-7-0, on 2/7/22. A "banch to Sat a candletrof on," which cost John Mocombs Junior [McComb, Jr.] £0-4-0 on 2/25/21, appears to describe a bench on which to set a trough for dipping candles, as on that same date, McComb was also charged £0-5-0 "To 25 Candle Rods."⁷⁰⁵

18. "To a Mould"

Another essential object made by Head for other craftsmen was the mould. Brickmaker Abram Cox got eight "Brikmoulds" from him during 1719-1721. John Campbell was debited £0-0-6, on 2/11/28, "To a top and a Botom for a mould." Head doesn't inform us for what. "Three round peeses to Cast By" were supplied to Peter Stretch, on 10/18/39. Head's charge of £0-5-0 included "mending a pine Table." Stretch presumably used these "peeses" to cast clock parts.⁷⁰⁶

19. "To a Tray;" "To a Qwilting frame & Trusels.

Unusual forms supplied by Head included a charge, "To a Tray & Staining: 4 Lags," debited to Sarah Dimsdale, on 7/15/23, at £0-5-6. This entry suggests that the legs were stained, in

order to match what was probably a tray of darker wood, like walnut. This may be an early reference to a tray top tea table. Another unusual form was the "Qwilting frame & Trusels" for which Nathaniel [Nathaniel] Pool was charged £0-7-6, on 12/9/21. The "Washen form" that Head supplied on 5/27/21, may or may not have been like the "frame with foure Leafs to hang Close on," which George Claypoole made for John Reynell. More of a puzzler was "a Curning [Churning?] weel [wheel] with Iron hoops and axeltree Iron and Handle," which Head debited at £1-10-0 to William Worner, on 11/30/35." Maybe this was something along the lines of what a surveyor would use in measuring property. Edward Worner [Warner], perhaps a relation, had been paid for "mesuren" Head's property.⁷⁰⁷

20. "To a Coffin"

In an era when plagues and disease were visited on Philadelphia with disarming regularity, Head's shop provided coffins to its customers. As to the "*fever and ague*," Kalm observed: "[n]o age is secured against it: in those places where it rages annually, you see old men and women attacked with it; and even children in the cradle, sometimes not above three weeks old...."⁷⁰⁸ In March, 1727, Philadelphia was hit by a big storm and flood, which resulted in "a raging sickness." A smallpox epidemic in 1732 was so severe that it was difficult to keep the Assembly in session. Many also died of sunstroke in the "hot, oppressive" summer of 1733. Others froze to death in the severe winter of 1736-1737.⁷⁰⁹ All of these catastrophes and contagions, coupled with the more normal causes of death, provided steady coffin business for Philadelphia's joiners.

At least seventy-three coffins were sold by Head. All were obviously debit entries with no returns to be credited - a good business. The earliest coffin was billed to Thomas Shut [Shute], on 10/6/18, at £2-0-0, "To a Coffin for his Son."⁷¹⁰ The latest, on 11/24/40, at £1-10-0, to Benjamin Mason, was "To his Daughters Coffin."⁷¹¹ Mason's wife's coffin had been ordered only a week earlier.⁷¹² She had probably not died in the childbirth of this daughter, as the cost of the daughter's coffin was considerably more than the six or seven shillings which Head charged for the youngest occupants of his coffins.⁷¹³

The greatest expense for a "Child's Coffin," was the £1-7-0 charged William Coats, "To a Walnut Coffin for his Child," on 3/3/31.⁷¹⁴ We know that at least twenty of Head's coffins were for children.⁷¹⁵ That so many children's coffins followed closely the ordering of cradles, is a poignant reminder that death in early Philadelphia was no respecter of age. Cristhofer [Christopher] Thompson's "Dafter" and "Son" died in the same month.⁷¹⁶ Pewterer Simon Edgell was particularly hard hit, ordering coffins for three of his children within five years.⁷¹⁷ Infant mortality, particularly for those among the lower economic strata, would remain high into the 19th century.⁷¹⁸

William Coats, Head's best customer for coffins, appears to have experienced a personal calamity to rival Job's. After purchasing a coffin for his servant on 9/15/27, in the next five years Coats bought five coffins for members of his family: his mother, two children, his "dafter," and, finally, on 11/3/32, for his "wive." cdlx⁷¹⁹ These were his only purchases from Head.⁷²⁰

The only set of entries regarding coffins that provides a bit of levity are those concerning the account of James Way. On 6/21/28, he was debited £2-5-0, "To his Wives Redged Coffin," a handsome sum for Head's most elaborate model - obviously for a beloved spouse.⁷²¹ The first installment was paid quickly, £0-15-0, "By Cash," on 8/9/28. But the second and last payment recorded, £0-5-0, on 5/28/29, "By Cash paid by his [next] Wife," still left a considerable balance of £0-9-0 remaining.⁷²² Whatever Way's devotion to the memory of his first wife the year before, it apparently did not keep him from marrying soon after or from failing to settle the balance due on her "Redged Coffin."

But, perhaps Way couldn't afford to settle up. As tight-fisted as Head appears on occasion, even to including a charge of two pence, "To 2 Coffin Screws," in the account of the wealthy Alexander Wooddrop, he may have been generous to those who could not afford to pay, especially under the trying circumstances of a wife's death. After Joseph Hooper, "a Shomaker," was debited a modest £0-12-0, "To his wives Coffin," on 7/28/38, the only credit shown was an incomplete one, a month later, on 8/14/38, £0-7-0, "By a payer of shoues."⁷²³ Head may simply have not pressed payment.

Unlike cradles, the prices of coffins varied greatly, according to size, as well as material. In this respect they were unlike cradles, which Head could price more or less equally, as dimensions would be closer to one another, even for the one "Large Cradle." The least expensive, non-child size coffins were probably of pine. Head describes only two pine coffins. The cheaper was debited to Joseph Elger, on 9/19/22, at £0-15-0, as "To a pin[e] Coffin."⁷²⁴ More unusual was the entry, "To: a Pine Coffin Blact [blacked]," to Charles Hansly, on 2/30/23, at £0-16-0.⁷²⁵ Was the coffin blackened to make it appear more like a darker, more expensive wood, like walnut? But the entries to blackened coffins for servants, including a Negro woman, suggest the possibility of a different conclusion. Perhaps the color had something to do with the religion or skin color of the deceased. Thus, William Coats, on 9/15/27, was charged £0-16-0, "To a Blak Coffin made By his Order for his man."⁷²⁶ James Steel, on 12/5/30, was debited £0-16-0, "To his nagro woomans Coffin Blaked."⁷²⁷ Blacks were "buried in a particular place out of town," rather than churchyards or in the other out of town burial places reserved for Quakers, the *English* church, the "Newlights," and "*Germans* of the reformed religion."⁷²⁸

On 11/4/36, James Steel paid £2-0-0 "To his man Tobiases Coffin," for whom Steel must have held great affection to have paid so much. Tobias may have met an untimely death. The absence of a finely-dressed, "Indented Servant Man, named Tobias Shewen, aged about 23 Years," had been advertised by Steel several months earlier.⁷²⁹ Presumably, he is the same person.

The most expensive coffins often came ridged. This meant that their tops were not flat but came to a point like the top ridge of an "a-frame" roof. On 11/20/34, George Hawell [Howell?] paid £2-10-0, "To his Wives ridgd Coffin."⁷³⁰ Thomas Redman's "Childs redged Coffin walnut," on 9/8/37, cost £0-18-0. Altogether, five ridged coffins were sold by Head.⁷³¹

If not the most expensive, at £1-0-0, the entry for the coffin ordered by Caleb Ransted [Ranstead], on 7/17/29, was certainly the most descriptive and unusual: "To a Coffin for his

Child 3 foot and Three Inches Long With Chandler."⁷³² The "Chandler" was not a chandelier, but probably some form of candleholder or sconce. If as a light source for pre-interment viewing, this would be extremely important, as open casket viewings have hitherto not been recognized as having occurred in this period.⁷³³

Head sold a total of six coffins described as "walnut," and probably more.⁷³⁴ Unfortunately, the wide variance in pricing makes difficult their comparison with coffins of unidentified woods. The only other designated woods were the two in pine and the cedar one for Edgell's child. No mahogany coffins were listed. These would become de rigeur for the elite later in the century, as may be seen from the numerous entries for them from 1779 onward, in the daybooks of Philadelphia cabinetmaker David Evans.⁷³⁵

Nothing so extravagant housed the last remains of Head's clients and their families. Apart from sometimes being "ridged" or walnut, Head's coffins also may have had handles. While no coffins are so described, Head carried coffin handles in inventory. His debit transactions list a number of transactions, in the early 1720s, debiting "Cofin handles" and "Cofin Screws,"⁷³⁶ but only to individuals to whom no coffins were sold.⁷³⁷ Handles may not have been separately noted in the transactions with those individuals who bought coffins as the handles may have been included in Head's price for the coffin. While the account book does not disclose from whom such early coffin hardware was bought, it does identify his suppliers for a later period. On 1/3/37, Head credited the account of Stephen Paiten £1-1-0, "By 2 dosen of Cofin handles," and £0-9-0, for an equal number of "Iron Bolts," presumably for affixing the handles to the coffins.⁷³⁸ A decade later, on 10/19/47, the account of Thomas Maul [Maule] was credited £0-2-6, "By - 3 payer Cofin handles."⁷³⁹

XI. Conclusion.

The range and particularity of John Head's account book considerably augments our knowledge of Philadelphia furniture, commerce, and society in the first half of the 18th century. It is a "Rosetta Stone" for reinterpreting existing artifacts and records, and will spur new discoveries and future research.

Every nation, when sufficiently intellectual, has its golden and heroic ages; and the due contemplation of these relics of our antiquities presents the proper occasion for forming ours. These thoughts, elicited by the occasion, form the proper apology for whatever else we may offer to public notice in this way. There is a generation to come who will be grateful for such notices.

John Fanning Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*⁷⁴⁰

The Head Account Book as Artifact: A Supplementary Essay

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I. John Head's Business Practices

A. *The Limitations of a Barter Economy*

By the time Benjamin Franklin had arrived in Philadelphia in 1723, the necessity of having a paper currency in Pennsylvania had become, in his words: "the chief Concern of my Countrymen."¹ Specie and provincial currency were scarce. Cheaper prices for "ready Money" were a constant refrain in Philadelphia advertisements.² Most available ready money was siphoned off to England, on which Philadelphians depended for their fabrics and most of their manufactured goods.³

Most transactions were therefore conducted by barter. But that system, dependent as it was on the willingness of its participants to exchange particular commodities, was constricting Philadelphia's economic growth.⁴ Franklin wanted to stimulate emigration of craftsmen to Philadelphia, such as Head, but the "Want of Money in a Country discourages Labouring and Handicrafts Men (which are the chief Strength and Support of a People) from coming to settle in it."⁵

Noting the many inconveniences and limitations of having an economy based on the exchange of commodities, Franklin extolled the virtues of "MONEY, properly called a *Medium of Exchange*," as: "It is Cloth to him that wants Cloth, and Corn to those that want Corn; and so of all other Necessities, it *is* whatsoever it will procure." Franklin saw paper currency as an express "Advantage...to Joiners..."⁶

1. Payment

The limitations of a barter economy to Head's business are evident in his account book.⁷ Cash transactions are few, particular in the first years. Commodities, promises to pay, and financial instruments took their place. Notes of hand were frequently exchanged between Head and his customers, and transferred to third parties.⁸ Years often passed before an account was settled, perhaps because one party insisted on cash. Some accounts remained unpaid or not fully paid.

Some of the time intervening dates of order and payment may have been necessary for the production of the object. Thus, when a single cash payment of eighteen shillings was recorded from James Logan (1674-1751), on 5/15/24, for "a Walnut Table," first ordered on 10/30/23, it may have taken Head most of that time to make the table.⁹ However, no such explanation could apply to the transactions of Andrew Gramer. He was debited £0-15-0, on 4/23/29, "To - 6 yards of Druget;" and £1-17-6, a week later, on 4/28/29, "To 15 yards of drugit dd [delivered] to his dafter mary [daughter Mary for which] he promises pay[ment]." But full payment didn't come until almost a year later, on 3/15/30.¹⁰

In one instance, Head had to wait nearly nine years for full payment, his client having died in the interim. Artha [Arthur] Jones, with whom Head had long done business on a fairly prompt basis, ordered a "chest of drawers," at £3-10-0, and "a clockcase and a Table," at £5-15-0, on 9/9/38. No credits having appeared for more than three years, Head accepted a

"note of hand" from Jones, on 12/9/41, but recorded in that entry, which was apparently supplemented later: "By a note of hand payable 9 of 12 mo 1742/3 with Lawfull Interest} £ 5-15-0/But he did not Live to pay The note of/John Evens [Evans] seteld the [w]hole account page ye 74." While still alive, Jones ordered lime on three occasions in 1742 [1-5-0, 6/18/42; £1-10-0, 6/25/42; and £1-10-0, 8/18/42]. Part payment of £3-10-0, was credited on 10/15/42, but the note remained unpaid. Jones may have been unable to pay because of ill health, as a charge of £2-0-0 was entered in the name of his widow Elizabeth, "To her husbons Coffin," on 6/27/43. Not until 3/16/47, was Head able to close out the account with £8-10-0, "By Cash Rec:d of John Evens one of his Executors."¹¹ Delays in payment were the rule rather than the exception.

Even when he did no other business with a customer, Head sometimes gave them a year to pay. But, again, this may have been less a question of trust and currency shortage, than of Head's inability to deliver the furniture sooner. The £8-0-0 debited Thomas Moon, on 5/30/26, "To a Chest of drawers and a Table," was not credited, "By Cash Re[ceive]d by His wife," until 4/16/27.¹²

From other, perhaps less credit-worthy, individuals Head required half payment down at time of order. On 6/24/28, Sary [Sarah] Core was debited £3-0-0, "To a Chest of Drawers," and credited half that amount, £1-10-0, "By Cash." Apparently strapped for cash, she paid off some of it in a £0-3-0 credit, "By - 8 pound of Chees." The remaining £1-7-0 was paid off, over a year later, on 10/24/29, "By Cash In full by her dafter Sary [daughter Sarah]."¹³

Head may have had good reason to require half down from another customer, martha [Martha] Bates. On 2/12/40, she was debited £3-10-0, "To a Chest of drawers," and credited cash of £1-15-0. Head waited over a year for another £1-0-0 in cash, on 4/12/41; and nearly another for £0-15-0, on 2/21/42. His records do not record whether he was ever paid the remaining 10 shillings.¹⁴

It was commonplace in Head's book for third parties, often relatives or business associates, to pay for furniture delivered to others. Thus Philip Johns was debited £7-5-0, on 10/1/24, "To a mapel Chest of Drawers sold To his Wife: dd [delivered] to her dafter [daughter]."¹⁵ Usually the entire payment was paid by one party for another. In one instance, though, the accounts of two individuals were charged for portions of the price of a piece of furniture delivered to one of them. On 7/27/25, Matthias Lucan was debited £2-10-0, "To part of a Chest of drawers;" and Peter Tison the rest, "To part of a Chest of Drawers dd [delivered] to Mathias Lucan} £3-0-0."¹⁶

As Head usually had in stock or could produce or readily acquire goods that were in demand, such as furniture, lime, soap and candles, it was usually he or his suppliers who had to wait for payment. But, occasionally, the barter economy conferred the advantage on him. Over five years passed from 2/16/40, when Thomas Penenton [Pennington?] was credited £1-10-0, "By - 30 Bushels of Lime," until Head settled that amount, on 3/3/45, "To a Beaver hatt dd to his son James."¹⁷

Some laborers, such as plasterers William Vallecot and Thomas Carrall [Carroll], appeared to have been paid on a "pay as you go" basis. This may have been because they bartered their

own labor, rather than goods supplied from elsewhere on credit, and simply couldn't afford to wait for payment.¹⁸ Carroll appears later to have had a more pressing need for money. He placed an ad that "[w]hereas Catherine, the wife of Thomas Carroll, of Philadelphia, Plaisterer, hath eloped from her said husband, and run him a good deal in debt, to his great detriment, this is to desire all persons not to trust her on his account; for he will pay no debts of her contracting from the date hereof."¹⁹

2. Export and Import: Middlemen

Some of Head's furniture appears to have been supplied, or possibly even consigned, to middlemen for export to other nearby towns or abroad. Philadelphia dominated the trade of its region.²⁰ Philadelphia-made furniture was among the goods exported.²¹

Head appears to have participated in the export trade. Two of the three pieces of furniture which Head debited to Aaron Goforth Junor [Jr.], were delivered to individuals who appear to be sea captains. Goforth was debited £6-0-0, on 2/13/27, "To a Walnut Dask dd to Thos Styth captin;" and £2-5-0, on 2/29/27, "To an oval Table dd to Capn. Atwod." Head was not paid until 6/9/27, when he credited Goforth for £8-9-0. The additional four shillings may have been meant to further compensate Head for awaiting payment and, perhaps even for accepting all or part of the risks of consignment and sea transport.²²

Head also sold six £3-0-0 chests of drawers to Samuel Brian [Bryan], who was styled a "Shipwright" when he married Head's daughter Sarah, on 12/17/46. The number of similarly priced chests sold, five of them within less than three years, and Bryan's connection with shipping, suggest that these, too, were for export.²³

Head also appears to have been involved with servicing and supplying the import/export business of Thomas Wells, a "Ship carpenter, in Front Street," who advertised the sale of assorted fabrics. On one occasion, Head debited Wells for "Six picter frames;" and a week later, charged him for mending eleven more. Given the quantity, it is probable that Wells may have been transacting frames along with his fabrics.²⁴

3. A Stickler for Detail

Head was generally a meticulous record keeper, sometimes even noting the familial and commercial relationships of those people with whom he dealt to the names on the accounts being billed. Thus, he debited Hugh Cordry £0-9-0 "paid to his son he Being a partner with his father." Even in transactions within his own family, Head was a "stickler" for detail. Head charged "William Lawrence my son[-in-law]" £3-0-0 "To Cash Lent his Wife," i.e., Head's daughter Martha.²⁵

4. *Other Business Policies.*

Having readily barterable goods enabled Head to sell more of his own. He never seems to have tacked on a profit for goods, such as chairs and clocks, supplied by others to his customers, and on which his own shop had done no work.²⁶

To further promote his business, Head took in second-hand goods that he could later refurbish and hope to resell. These included both furniture and clocks.²⁷ The latter he obtained from Peter Stretch, presumably in working order. Head was able to rehouse some of those "ould" clocks in new clockcases, only profiting from his cases.²⁸

When customers wanted "to trade up," Head obliged them, making a profit from the difference in price. He debited Matthias Aspdin £0-15-0, noting "Changed his Small Table For a Larg one." Similarly, a transaction with the widow of Jon Loyd dec'd [John Lloyd, deceased], was debited at £4-10-0, "To Changen a Charitree Chest of Drawers for her Walnut drawers." When another customer, John Campbell, got into financial difficulties, Head "Received Bake [back]" at full cost, a chest of drawers and oval table ordered from him six months earlier.²⁹

Reduced prices seem only to have applied to materials and not finished goods. On at least three occasions, Head credited the accounts of others for "scantlen [scantling]" sold him at reduced prices. He extended the same courtesy to his son-in-law, Benjamin Hooton, for scantling "used in his shop and house," and to his bricklayer, James Stoope.³⁰

5. *Disagreements*

When disagreements arose, the customer's accounts were often brought in for comparison with Head's own. On 11/11/30, Benjamin Clark was credited £8-12-8, "By his accounts Brought In."³¹ When accounts could not be reconciled, Head sometimes offered an "abatment" or "a Batment." On a rare occasion, Head granted a waiver. He waived £2-17-0 to John Clifton, on 1/5/36, "By his account Brought In for Waven." Sometimes, such disagreements worked out to Head's advantage. Thus, he debited £0-5-4 to James Poultis, on 4/8/22, for a mistake: "To:4 Bushels of Lime That he charged me with more Than I had Through a mistak."³²

But woe betide someone who gave Head inferior goods. Head insisted on getting a £0-0-4 1/2 credit from Josier [Josiah] Foster, on 2/2/24, "To a lowince for a Bad Ches [allowance for a bad cheese]."³³

Even worse was the fate of someone, living or dead, who failed to pay rent. In these circumstances, Head became even more exacting in annotating his accounts. These entries consequently afford valuable information as to the seizure and sale process, and the fees of the constables, porters, appraisers, and auctioneers who executed it.

On 11/20/27, Head debited John Campbell £9-15-0, "To nine months Rent." That same date, Campbell, who had acquired a lot of furniture and other goods from Head, was allowed credit of 26-18-2, "By a Bond that he gave me for Balance." Presumably, that bond was not paid, as Head had to resort to seizure. He debited Campbell, on 7/26/28, £0-2-6 "paid William Davis Cunstable;" and £0-6-0, paid "John Cadwaleder [Cadwalader] for Writen ye Bill of sale and prised [appraised] ye goods."³⁴

Similarly, on 2/20/50, Head noted, in the Esteat [Estate] of John Lamb that he had "seased [seized] his goods and wareen [wearing] apparel." Head then debited the estate £6-0-0, on 2/25/50, "To - Three quarters of a years house rent." On 2/28/50, several events took place in quick succession. Head debited £0-2-6 for having "paid portreg of his goods to vandu," i.e., paying for portrage of his goods to the vendu, or auction. Another debit was for the £0-2-0 "paid the Constable John Harrison for Taken an Inventory of his Goods." No doubt not wishing to lose out on reimbursement for the porter, Head again repeated how the goods were transported, and then noted the auction results: "cared [carried] them by a porter to the vandu and Alexander Forbs [Forbes] sold them for £21-2-10." Although Head computed that "his Commishens Comto [the auctioneer's commissions came to]" £1-15-2, and credited them that same day to the estate, he didn't credit the balance for nearly a month. On 3/21/50, Head "paid John Thornhill one of his Executors Cash for Balance" of £13-3-2.³⁵

B. How John Head Kept His Books

1. Head's Records: the Account Book/Ledger, the Daybook, Loose Papers, and "Sundres Chalked a pon ye dore"

As accounts in a barter economy could run on unpaid for years, it was essential for tradesmen and artisans such as Head to assign and record values for those goods and services taken in exchange for their own. This "'bookkeeping barter'...lubricated the intricate network of credit which sustained the pre-industrial economy."³⁶

Merchants' account books are of two basic types, daybooks and ledgers.³⁷ Head's ledger has survived [hereafter cited as Head Account Book, in keeping with Head's title].³⁸ It contains at least thirteen references to a daybook, not yet found.³⁹ Head also jotted down transactions on loose slips of paper when out of his shop. He kept these in his pocketbook, i.e., his wallet, or in a drawer.⁴⁰ Some of the slips, still loose, remain inside the front cover of the account book. One other record of Head's transactions could have been found on the doors of his customers. He debited John Clifton £0-6-3 1/2, on 1/16/36, "To Sundres Chalked a pon ye dore."⁴¹

Data would have been transcribed from Head's daybook, the slips of paper, and other miscellaneous sources, such as the chalk markings, into his account book/ledger. Head's account book was kept in a form of double-entry bookkeeping. Each customer's name appears as a separate account spanning a left and a right page. Debits to that account were entered on the left page, under the account name and the abbreviation "Dr" for debtor. Credits were entered on the right under the abbreviation "Contr Cr," for contra credit.⁴² Separating the debits and credits eased reconciliation of each account. To further distinguish

between debits and credits, Head would customarily describe that which was debited as "To...", and that credited as "By..." Frequently, however, he would forget, and use "To..." on both sides of the account book.

The Head account book's entries usually run chronologically within each account. However, the accounts themselves were not chronologically ordered within the book. Thus the account containing the earliest entry [3/22/18] does not appear until page 49. Nor were the accounts listed alphabetically. There appears to be no rhyme or reason as to how the account names were grouped, except that a few accounts pertaining to various victuallers at the market were listed near one another. While Head must therefore have employed some sort of alphabetical index to locate accounts within so large a book, none has survived with the book.

Head's accounts are often listed more than one to a page, divided by account name. In addition, when an account was closed in a shorter space than that initially accorded it, Head would sometimes draw an "X" across its entries and a line underneath, to demarcate where that account ended, sparing more space for the next account.⁴³ Conversely, when space for a particular account ran out, the account was noted as "carried" to a later page.⁴⁴ The first several times that happened, Head laboriously recopied each of the prior entries for that account onto the new page. But this may have created a risk of double-counting during any reconciliation. He later changed his method, totaling the earlier entries and then entering only that total on the new page before adding new entries. All of the foregoing would suggest that the account book was maintained contemporaneously with the daybook and not created long afterwards.⁴⁵

The entries within each of Head's accounts are basically in date order. This makes sense, as they would have been transcribed from the chronological entries in his daybook. An occasional entry was designated as "omitted," being entered to square up overlooked transactions. Often such reconciliations were made with the aid of the other party's books, and so noted in Head's ledger. In some instances, either party or both actually signed Head's ledger to attest to their books now being in agreement. On the credit side of the account of James Bollen [Bollen], was written: "1723/ 5 - 8 mo To his account for Sundry Goods Brought in This Day -} £3-7-4 1/2/ Reckoned Oct ye 5 Anno 1723 with James Bollen And ballenced All Accts To this day as witness our hands John Head/ James Bollen."⁴⁶

2. Head's Dating

In recording dates, Head consistently employed digits, e.g., "3 mo.," rather than names, to indicate months. He was inconsistent, however, in his placement of months. Sometimes they appeared before the day, other times after. In order to normalize his dating, his dates are here numerically transcribed in the following order: "number of month/day/last two digits of year." (Only the last two digits of the year are given, as all fall within the 1700s.) To further avoid confusion, no effort is made to translate Head's Julian (or Old Style) method of dating into Gregorian (or New Style) dates. The Gregorian method did not come into effect until January 1, 1752, and few of Head's entries post-date that change.⁴⁷

3. Valuation Notation: "£.s.d."

Also followed here will be Head's usual method of hyphenating amounts in pounds, shillings and pence. While Head often dispensed with the symbols £.s.d. in his entries, for the sake of clarity amounts will be stated as "£~~£~~-~~£~~-~~£~~."

II. Head's Phonetic Spelling

A. *The Difficulties of Decipherment: "To: The Wallen upapes of a Siler by an Irishman"*

Head was a phonetic speller, but a careful one. He appears to have taken great pains to spell words the way he pronounced them. Although Head's spellings of the same word may vary, they appear to be pronounced the same, aiding translation. Context, of course, also helps. Thus, when "framin a mop," along with some pictures, for Alexander Woodrop [Wooddrop], it is clear that Head was framing a map, and not a wooden-handled cleaning implement.⁴⁸

However, when Head's phonetic spelling is complicated by his tendency to join separate words as one or to separate single words into two or more, decipherment becomes more difficult. One particularly challenging phrase was his £3-6-0 credit to Bangaman Rods [Benjamin Rhoads?], on 8/1/20, "To: The Wallen upapes of a Siler by an Irishman."⁴⁹ Was this some sort of sea shanty, entitled "To the Wailing and Pipes of a Sailor" composed by an Irishman? A search of the Research Libraries Information Network (RLIN) database for books on Colonial publications yielded no obvious monographic candidates for this title, suggesting the exciting possibility of an unpublished Colonial American broadside. But the price seemed too steep to justify such a purchase. Head wasn't one to spend much on reading material. He recorded buying only four books in Philadelphia, at a total cost of £1-18-0.⁵⁰ He wasn't likely, therefore, to have spent £3-6-0 on a song sheet. After another half hour of anagrammatic trial and error, Head's meaning finally became clear. Separating "upapes" into three words, "up a pes," was the key. Both the price and the entry now made sense. "To: The Wallen up a pes of a Siler by an Irishman" meant that Head was crediting Rods for having an Irishman wall up a piece of a cellar.⁵¹

Had Head spelled everything correctly, less of himself would emerge from his entries. His writing is not the elegant calligraphic hand of the clerks who kept accounts for James Logan.⁵² It is that of the harried man of commerce trying to economize on paper as he squeezed one more entry onto the page.

B. *"Hearing" Head Speak*

By phonetically transcribing his speech into his entries, Head forces his readers to use their sense of hearing, not just sight. Sounding out Head's words in the same manner in which he expressed himself to his customers, suppliers, neighbors, and family, brings one closer to Head himself.

Like a Cockney of today, Head often failed to pronounce his "h's." When Head was hungry, he went to Daniel Hillman in the market and asked for "ukelbares" and "ages," not huckleberries and haggis. When cold or otherwise in need of fuel, it was cords of "Ikery," not hickory, that Head bought from John Rambo, Isaac Janiens [Jennings?], and Benjamin [Benjamin] Mason. Head also often dropped "g's" at the end of words. Thus, it was "paken Case[s]" that he supplied to James Steel. "R's" were also involuntarily inserted. The hauling of shingles was credited to John Smith as "horlen." Likewise, Head charged Benjamin Lee, "To Stichen - 2 Clorth Covers" for saddles. Head also occasionally dropped his vowels. He thus satisfied his £1-15-0 cemetery subscription by 30 bushels of lime to "The Burel Ground." Head's way of pronouncing pint was particularly distinctive. Whether he was buying peas from Hillman, oil from Caleb Ransted [Ranstead], wine from Henry Bates, or selling molasses to Steel and John Clifton, or rum to Thomas Georg [George], Head frequently referred to them as "points."⁵³

Pronunciation of Head's phonetic spelling also suggests how some of his Philadelphia contemporaries spoke. In that respect, John Head's account book is comparable to Richard Holmes's *The English Primrose*, which informs us of how Shakespeare and his fellow players may have conversed in an earlier period.⁵⁴

Head's speech was probably mostly a product of his Suffolk roots. From his pronunciation and phrasing, a philologist might be able to discern such information more accurately, and even whether Head had spent any time elsewhere, as in London. Not coming to Philadelphia until age 29 or 30, Head's dialect was well-set long before his arrival. It was equally strong when addressing many of his customers: Hinery [Henry] Clifton, George Emblen [Emlen], Thomas Fitchwartr [Fitzwater], Josier Forster [Josiah Foster], Artha [Arthur] Jones, Georg McCarl [George McCall], and Frances Richerson [Francis Richardson]. Even though George Vaux VIII seemed partial to his ancestor's status as a Quaker elder or minister, what comes through is the clear voice of a Suffolk joiner, fully conversant with his trade and the "duftails [dovetails], Gimblits [gimlets], scuchens [escutcheons], and Inges [hinges]," necessary to perform it.⁵⁵

Footnotes for *Philadelphia Cabinetmaking and Commerce*

i. Kalm, <cite>Travels into North America</cite>, tr. by J. R. Forster (Warrington 1770), vol. 1:114.

1. John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania, in the Olden Time*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Leary, Stuart & Co., 1909), 1:106. Watson's *Annals* is styled as a collection of "memoirs, anecdotes, and incidents." Loosely organized and seldom documented, it nonetheless provides a lively, albeit mostly secondhand account of Philadelphia's 17th and 18th century inhabitants and their activities. Although Watson conducted his research in the early 19th century, closing his manuscript in 1842, much of his information is derived from personal experiences recollected by the aged citizens whom he interviewed. Many of the privately held documents, which Watson was permitted to review, have not survived. Thus, however problematical or imprecise, the *Annals* often provide our only record of such events or individuals. Watson, *Annals* 1: title page, ix-xi.

2. The vellum cover is the verso of a recycled indenture, lined on the inside with a coarse fabric. Paper leaves were then stitched through the fabric into the vellum. An examination of the text of the indenture (which may be partially viewed because of separation of the fabric from the vellum) by Robert S. Cox, APS Manuscripts Librarian, reveals that it was between Jacob Usher, carpenter, and Ruth his wife of the City of Philadelphia, May, 1712, and Richard and Hannah Pill. What property was being "granted and conveyed" cannot be presently seen. A fuller reading may be possible during future conservation of the account book.

3. The cover title is a misnomer. Head's "Books of accounts" are but a single volume. Head Account Book, cover.

4. The George Vaux Papers comprise hundreds of manuscripts relating to the Vauxes, a family intertwined by blood, religion and commerce with Philadelphia's early Quaker merchants. Gathered, preserved and annotated by antiquarian George Vaux VIII (1832-1915), the collection was arranged by his son George Vaux IX (1863-1927), before coming into public hands. It was gifted, in 1991-1992, by George IX's sons, the brothers George Vaux X (1909-1996), and Henry James Vaux, and accessioned by APS in 1992. Vaux Papers, APS. The Vauxes have been likewise generous in their support of Quaker scholarship at their alma mater. Emma Jones Lapsansky, "Gifts to the Quaker Collection," *Haverford College Library Newsletter* no. 11 (April, 1992).

5. George Vaux [VIII], *Pedigrees of my Ancient Furniture/ Articles of Virtue etc.*, note to item #22, dated December 28, 1900, the "Franklin table," a manuscript still in private hands; Freeman/Fine Arts of Philadelphia, Inc. auction catalogue, sale #1000, April #15-17, 1999, lot 779: "Philadelphia Queen Anne Lowboy, circa 1750-1760, Attributed to William Savery, Provenance: From the Estate of George Vaux [X]," (Philadelphia: Freeman/Fine Arts, Inc., 1999); Lita Solis-Cohen, "New Auction Record Achieved for American Tall-Case Clocks," *Maine Antique Digest* (June, 1999), p. 1-C. The dressing table has secondary woods of poplar and white cedar. It is now in a Philadelphia private collection. At the invitation of Roy E. Goodman, preliminary research on that object was shared with the Franklin community. Jay Robert Stiefel, "The Franklin Table," *Franklin Gazette* 9, no. 3 (Fall, 1999), pp. 8-9. More detailed information was provided to the Philadelphia Museum of Art in advance of their cataloguing deadline for the exhibit, "Worldly Goods: The Arts of Early Pennsylvania, 1680-1758," held October 10, 1999-January 2, 2001, at which the dressing table was exhibited in an alcove of other objects relating to Franklin. *Worldly Goods*, checklist #56. Also, enclosed in the letter were copies of Head account book entries, genealogical information on Head, and other information previously shared with Lindsey's assistant Andrew F. Brunk. J. R. Stiefel letter to PMA Curator Jack Lindsey, May 26, 1999, Jay Robert Stiefel Papers, APS.

6. George Vaux [VIII], *Pedigrees of my Ancient Furniture*, note to item #21, dated December 20, 1900, the "Head Desk;" Freeman/Fine Arts of Philadelphia, Inc. auction catalogue, sale #1000, April #15-17, 1999, lot #793: "Philadelphia Chippendale Slant Front Desk, Circa 1770 to 1780, Provenance: From the Estate of George Vaux [X];" Solis-Cohen, "New Auction Record Achieved for American Tall-Case Clocks," p. 2-C. The "1 Walnut Desk," valued at #5.0.0., the only desk in John Head, Jr.'s estate inventory, went to his daughter, Susannah Head Sansom (1766-1845), wife of William Sansom (1763-1840) and grandmother to George Vaux VIII. The Estate Account Book of John Head Jr., Vaux Papers; Vaux Genealogical Tables; Vaux, *Pedigrees*. The intact survival of the desk may be fortuitous. In the wake of the British surrender, a contemporary diarist noted, on October 25, 1781, that "J. Head had nothing left whole in his parlour." Extract from diary of Miss Anna Rawle, published as "A Loyalist's Account of Certain Occurrences in Philadelphia After Cornwallis's Surrender at Yorktown," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 16 (1892), 106. If the catastrophe described by Miss Rawle befell John Head, Jr., perhaps the desk was maintained at his office or in another room of his house. The desk is now in a Philadelphia private collection. John Head, Sr. "died in 1754, a bit too early to have made the desk." Stiefel letter to Alan Andersen, May 10, 1999. Stiefel Papers.

7. Arthur W. Leibundguth, "The Furniture-making Crafts in Philadelphia c. 1730-c. 1760" (MA thesis, University of Delaware, 1964), p. vi, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Museum and Library. Information on John Head and, indeed, any early Philadelphia cabinetmaker was "long overdue." Collectors Timothy A. & Helen Hodges/Stiefel letter, September 25, 2000. Stiefel Papers.

8. Surviving documents do not show Head ever described as a "cabinet maker," a term which would have afforded a greater expectation that Head was worth a closer look. Cf., "Edm[un]d Jones, Cabinet maker" who was admitted as a freeman of Philadelphia on May 20, 1717. *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of Philadelphia 1704 to 1776* (Philadelphia: 1847), Photostat 1025, p. 125, Downs Collection.

9. "Item. I give and bequeath to my said Daughter Rebecca [Jones] my Clock & Case. Item. I give and bequeath to my Dear and well beloved wife Rebecca the Choise of the remaining of my Household goods and Furniture enough Sufficiently to furnish one Room and all the remainder of my said Household Goods and furniture I give and bequeath to my said Daughter Susannah and to her Heirs for Ever." Will of "John Head..., Joyner," signed May 11, 1754, with a codicil signed September 19, 1754, and proved October 18, 1754, Philadelphia City Hall, Municipal Archives, Office of the Register of Wills, Will Book K, p. 208, Philadelphia Wills 1754-136 [hereafter cited as John Head's Will]. The state of Philadelphia's early Orphan's Court archives has long been the subject of adverse comment. Marylynn Salmon, "Notes and Documents: The Court Records of Philadelphia, Bucks, and Berks Counties in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 107:250-251. A clerk of the Register's office, who has asked to remain anonymous, has searched several times for John Head's file, and those of his sons Samuel Head and John Head, Jr. He has advised that all three are missing, as of December, 2000. His efforts and courtesies are here acknowledged.

10. Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," p. 48, citing Will Book K, p. 208. As that author cites only to the Will Book and not to the actual file, #136 for the year 1754, there is a question as to whether he saw the original inventory, which would have been ordinarily kept in its file. If he saw a copy, such copy may have survived. In the absence of the original, a copy would be welcome. Leibundguth is deceased and there is no record of the present whereabouts of his papers. Conversation with Jeanne Solensky, Associate Librarian, Winterthur, December, 2000.

11. *The Minutes of the Common Council of Philadelphia*, or excerpts from them, were among the sources used by Prime and Hornor in identifying artisans and craftsmen working in Philadelphia in the 18th century. Alfred Coxe Prime, *The Arts & Crafts in Philadelphia: Maryland and South Carolina 1721-1785* (Topsfield, Mass: The Walpole Society, 1929); William Macpherson Hornor, Jr., *Blue Book, Philadelphia Furniture, William Penn to George Washington, Benefactors Issue* (Philadelphia: privately printed, 1935), pp. 2-5. Transcriptions of those admitted freemen of the city between April 22-May 27, 1717, the year of Head's emigration, appear in J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884* (Philadelphia: L.H. Everts & Co., 1884) vol 1, p.193 n.2; and more particularly in "Minutes of the Common Council," pp. 118-135. As the freeman's profession was sometimes included, the listings provided a useful cross-reference in identifying the names in the Head account book. Some were his customers or suppliers; others were involved as middlemen, delivering the goods, or as ultimate recipients of goods recorded in another's account. Scharf and Westcott expressed the difficulties encountered in search of Philadelphia's history from its public records: "Small and remote provincial cities, in remote and provincial times, do not make much history. Their annals trickle along through lowly, hidden ways, like the brook that still flows but cannot be discovered, for that the grass through which it percolates hides it from sight and makes it inaudible." Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:198.

12. These miscellaneous documents will be cited where relevant to other discussions.

13. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 8, 1762: an advertisement from Thomas Say, "Executor to the late Mary Pound deceased," advertising for public sale, to be held July 24, 1762, "... A Lot of Ground, with an old Building thereon, situate on the North Side of Mulberry-street, called Arch-street..., bounded North by a Lot of Ground late of John Head deceased, East by Ground late of John Head aforesaid, South by Mulberry-street, and West by a Shop and Ground of David Chambers, Stone-cutter...." Roy E. Goodman directed me to an APS card catalogue which referenced this advertisement.

14. Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 3. It is unknown from what source Hornor derived the notion that Head was associated with the Suffolk town of "Mildenhall," as that town is not mentioned in other references seen for Head.

15. Dorothee Hughes Carouso, "Esther King of Philadelphia and Bucks Counties and her Bowyer, Lynn and Elfreth Children," *The Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine*, reprinted in *Genealogies of Pennsylvania Families* (Baltimore: Hi-So, Genealogical Publishing Co., 1982), vol. 2, p. 143 in reprint, article reproduced on *Family History: Pennsylvania Genealogies #1, pre-1600s to 1900s*, CD 163, Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., (c) 1996 Broderbund Software, Inc., p. 143.

16. Mary McGregor Miller, *The Warder Family: A Short History* (Clark County [Ohio] Historical Society, 1957), p. 2.

17. Craig Horle, Jeffrey L. Scheib, Joseph S. Foster, David Haugaard, Carolyn M. Peters, & Laurie M. Wolfe, editors, *Lawmaking and Legislators in Pennsylvania, A Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 2, 1710-1756 (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1997). While focusing on Pennsylvania Assembly and Council members of the period, Lawmaking also identifies virtually everyone with whom they are recorded to have had contact, all based on an extremely detailed examination of primary sources, including wills, inventories, deeds, and other public and private records. It proved a rich mine of biographical information for identifying and placing in context many of the names in Head's book.

18. "Genealogical Tables of the Ancestry of George Vaux and Sarah H. Morris," in the handwriting of George Vaux VIII [hereafter cited as Vaux Genealogical Tables], in Vaux Papers. George Vaux VIII describes the basis of his research, as follows: "These tables have been prepared with great care from the Records of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia and London, documents on file in the office of the Register of Wills in Philadelphia, marriage certificates[,] birth notes and other papers and memoranda preserved either in my own family or in the families of relatives and to some extent from tradition and published memoirs of ancestors or other persons. All the statements may be considered as established on conclusive evidence except where a line is drawn under them which indicates more or less uncertainty." See the line Vaux has drawn under the first name of Head's father. Vaux has further indicated his apparent uncertainty by placing question marks after that first name and the last name of Head's mother. However, Vaux did not delineate any uncertainty about the fact that John Head's son, John Head, Jr., was married three times: first to Mary Hudson; then, "at Philadelphia [on] 11/20 1759," to Elizabeth Hastings ("d. in Philada 2/12 1770"); and, finally, to Margaret, the "widow of Isaac Attmore," whose maiden name was "White." Genealogical Tables. A variant spelling of "Mace" for John Head's mother's last name and a different birthdate for John Head, Jr., of December 20, 1723, are given on the site of Family Search International Genealogical Index, Film Number 537483, record of John Head[, Jr.]. The date of John Head Jr.'s first marriage, that to Mary Hudson, is given as "2 mo. 15, 1746," in A.S.M., "Replies," under "Notes and Queries," *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 7:495. Unless otherwise cited, where dates for members of John Head's extended family are hereafter given, they are from the Vaux Genealogical Tables.

19. Letter of Charles C. Cresson to Thomas Stewardson, November 30, 1874, p. 2, Cresson Collection, HSP.

20. The marriage took place within the Quarterly Meeting of Suffolk. Conversation with individual attending Library Desk, Religious Society of Friends in Britain, London. I am undertaking further research into Head's Suffolk roots. Suffolk has "serious bibliographical disadvantages." It has no major county history like those published for neighboring counties in the 18th and 19th centuries. David Dymond, "Suffolk," in C.R.J. Currie and C.P. Lewis, eds., *A Guide to English County Histories* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1997), p. 367. Also, at this writing, the records of the Suffolk Record Office, Bury St. Edmunds Branch, are only just coming out of storage. Conversation with Jane Isaac, Resident Archivist, Suffolk Record Office, Bury St. Edmunds Branch, January, 2001.

21. The normal apprenticeship lasted from age fourteen for seven years. As Head was born in 1688, and he didn't leave until 1717, he could have worked as a joiner in England for seven or

eight years before going to America. Geoffrey Beard e-mail to Stiefel, October 10, 2000, Stiefel Papers; Joiners' Company Records, Manuscripts Division, Guildhall Library, Corporation of London, apprenticeships records, vol. 3, 1698-1710 [Ms. #8052/3]; freedom registers, vol.2, 1687-1710 [Ms. #8051/2], & vol. 3, 1710-1731 [Ms. #8051/3]. There was a "Joseph Head," however, who had apprenticed with Thomas Perry, Joiner for seven years, admitted to freedom on January 20, 1722, well after John Head had departed for Philadelphia. Ms. #8051/3, p. 151. Making matters more difficult, the Inland Revenue apprentice records do not start until 1711, and its accounts of the trade by working craftsmen date from the nineteenth century. This has contributed to "some patchiness in the evidence, particularly for the early eighteenth century," in researching London joiners. Pat Kirkham, *The London Furniture Trade 1700-1870* (Leeds: Furniture History Society, by W.S. Maney and Son Ltd., 1988), p. 2.

22. Cresson/Stewardson, November 30, 1874 letter, p. 3, Cresson Collection, HSP.

23. The Vaux typescript is mounted on the page preceding the first numbered page of the manuscript. Head Account Book, inside cover. Of John Head's eleven children, Samuel was the only one not a Quaker. Note on "Henry Baker chart 1667-1880" [chart of descendants, including John Head], Brey Collection, HSP.

24. Head Account Book, March 1, 1904 typescript of George Vaux VIII, inside front cover [hereafter cited as Vaux Typescript]. Apart from joiner John Head and his son, merchant John Head, Jr., the name of a third "John Head" surfaces elsewhere in the Vaux Papers. He is referred to as "John Head of Ipswich, Suffolk, England," whose daughter, Ann Head (1758, Ipswich-1829, Philadelphia) married (August 10, 1779) John Warder (1751-1828), son of Jeremiah Warder and Mary Head Warder (1714, Bury St. Edmunds, England-1803, Philadelphia). Mary Head Warder was the daughter of John Head, Sr. and sister to John Head, Jr. George Vaux IX September 30, 1919 letter to Reuben Haines, p. 1, Vaux Papers. As both John Head, Sr. of Bury St. Edmunds and John Head of Ipswich were from Suffolk, it is conceivable that the families were already related at the time of the 1779 nuptials. But George Vaux IX could not find any such connection, other than that marriage, by which to connect John Head of Ipswich with John Head, Sr. or Jr. Nor could he find any notes made by his antiquarian father bearing on that subject. Vaux Typescript, pp. 1-2.

25. Elizabeth Stilling, *The Antiquers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), p. 4, quoting an 1854 entry in Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas, eds., *The Diary of George Templeton Strong* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1952), 2:197.

26. Yolanda Van de Krol, a fellow in the Winterthur Program on Early American Cultural cited the following "Benefits" of working with merchant account books: "1. They are objective. They record ...transactions as they occurred at the price at which they occurred instead of at an estimated value like that of a probate inventory. 2. They allow us to see merchants and consumers in the prime of their economic lives. 3. They are focused on what people made and what they used. 4. They show a "moving picture," not a static one or a snapshot. 5. You may see those missing from traditional documentary records such as women, free blacks and slaves. 6. They provide macro-level data for a particular area. 7. They allow consumption to be traced." Yolanda Van de Krol, "Records of Distribution" (April 26, 1973), Downs Collection.

27. Thomas M. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1986), p. 64.

28. Robert J. Wilson III, "Early American Account Books: Interpretation, Cataloguing, and Use," American Association for State and Local History, *Technical Leaflet 140*, Winterthur, Downs Collection, p. 1. My thanks to Jeanne Solensky for bringing this leaflet to my attention.

29. As so little is known of tradesmen, in particular, the Head account book is especially useful in providing, in minute detail, information regarding their wares, quantities, prices and inter-relationships. Although some of this information will be shared in passing, much is outside the scope of the present paper and will be addressed at a future time.

30. The earliest dated entry is 3/22/18; and concerns a chest of drawers, as does the latest dated furniture entry, 10/27/44. The latest dated entry of any type is 6/1/53, crediting a cash payment. Head Account Book, pp. 49 left [1718], 106 left [1744], 137 right [1753].

31. The Plumley inventory enabled many deductions to be drawn regarding the construction and appearance of Philadelphia's earliest furniture. *Philadelphia Wills*, 1708-113; Hornor, *Blue Book*, pp. 8-9; Benno M. Forman, *American Seating, 1630-1730, A Wintertur Book* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1988), completed, after the untimely death of Benno Forman (1930-1982), by his students Robert Blair St. George and Robert F. Trent, pp. 47, 371-372, Appendix 1.

32. Susan Prendergast Schoelwer, "Form, Function, and Meaning in the Use of Fabric Furnishings: a Philadelphia Case Study, 1700-1775," *Wintertur Portfolio*, 14:26 (Spring, 1979). E.g., The appraisers of the estate of joiner Joseph Claypoole, Sr., in the inventory taken May 25, 1744, valued as one his "Mens Wearing Apparel" at £3-0-0. Philadelphia Wills, 1744-81. Beds, bolsters, pillows, bed curtains and even the window curtains in Edward Warner's back parlour, were lumped together at £7-0-0. *Philadelphia Wills*, 1754-141. Of course, the more conversant an appraiser was with the business of the deceased, the more accurate and informative the inventory of that portion of his goods. Clockmaker Peter Stretch and Caleb Jacob inventoried the effects of clockmaker Abel Cottey, who died in 1711, in exhaustive detail. Edward E. Chandlee, *Six Quaker Clockmakers* (Stratford, Conn.: New England Publishing Co., 1975), pp. 13-19. Much can be learned from the individual clock parts listed, which would not be appreciated were one to examine Cottey's account book alone. If such book ever surfaced, it could, however, be expected to provide detailed information of a different sort, complementing that in the inventory.

33. Inventories can also be useful in showing how and where various pieces of furniture were displayed. See generally Margaret B. Schiffer, *Chester County, Pennsylvania Inventories, 1684-1850* (Exton, Pa.: Schiffer Publishing Ltd., 1974). Insurance surveys, when available, offer the same benefit.

34. Head's account book also provides information where probate records are unavailable for one of several reasons. The records may be lost. They may also be in an unknown jurisdiction for those of Head's customers who died elsewhere. Also, the assets of other customers may have been of insufficient size to merit probate. In those places where only the estates of wealthier individuals were probated, probate data can be skewed. See James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: the Archaeology of Early American Life* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1977), p. 8.

35. A ledger of Solomon Fussell, a maker of slat-back chairs, has enabled research into that aspect of Philadelphia's furniture trade. Unfortunately, unlike Head's book, which covers his entire professional career in America, only the second and later volume of the Fussell ledger survives. Moreover, the Fussell ledger is largely limited to chairs, whereas Head's encompasses not only chairs, but numerous forms of case pieces. At the time of its discovery, the Fussell ledger was described as "the only known record left by a Philadelphia furniture maker working in [the] 1730-1760 period." Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," p. 49.

36. Research on Boston chairs of 1720-1740 has been greatly advanced by the survival of several letterbooks and account books of the upholsterers Samuel Grant and Thomas Fitch.

Brock Jobe, "The Boston Furniture Industry 1720-1740," *Boston Furniture of the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville: Univ. of Virginia Press, 1986), pp. 3-48.

37. Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," p. x.

38. Christopher Gilbert, *Pictorial Dictionary of Marked London Furniture 1700-1840* (Leeds: Furniture History Society, 1996), p. 3.

39. Sir Ambrose Heal, *The London Furniture Makers from the Restoration to the Victorian Era 1660-1840* (London: Portman Books, 1953, 1988), p. x.

40. Cathryn J. McElroy, "Furniture in Philadelphia: the First Fifty Years," *Winterthur Portfolio* 13 (1979), p.73, fig.12, 76-77, figs. 16, 17. Some skepticism has been expressed with the "EDWARD EVANS 1707" stamp, on the grounds that having a name punch with a particular date makes no sense. However, there exists an English mahogany chest with "I RICHARDS/1746" struck on its base. Gilbert, *Marked London Furniture*, p. 3. While John Head sold a "marken Iron" to Robert Webb, there is no evidence that he ever used one himself. Head Account Book, p. 126 left [£0-1-6, 3/15/31].

41. All of the secondary wood is poplar. Chalfant Collection.

42. This chest of drawers has been attributed to either Philadelphia "Joyner" Joseph Claypoole (1677-1744) who advertised that he had "left off his Trade" by 1738 or his son Josiah Claypoole who by 1740 had left Philadelphia to advertise in South Carolina "all sorts of Joyner's and Cabinet-Maker's Work, as Desk and Book Cases, with Arch'd. Pediment and O.G. Heads...." Prime, *Arts & Crafts*, pp. 162-163, transcribing Joseph Claypoole advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 18, 1738, and Josiah Claypoole advertisement, *The South Carolina Gazette*, March 22, 1740; remarks of Andrew Brunk, "Arts of Baroque Pennsylvania," November 12, 1999; *Worldly Goods* checklist £39.

43. Pieces bearing the labels of Philadelphia cabinetmakers William Savery, Benjamin Randolph, Jonathan Gostelowe, and Thomas Tufft have facilitated attribution of unlabeled furniture to their shops.

44. Leibundguth found only three bills for work by joiner George Claypoole. They covered the period October 30, 1738-September 17, 1762, with a gap as long as ten years in between, and were all to Quaker merchant John Reynell. George's brother, Josiah Claypoole, is recorded as having sold another Quaker merchant, Nathaniel Allen, a pair of walnut chests of drawers, according to a January 20, 1738 entry in the latter's account book. Joiner George Wilson also appears in Allen's account book, credited £2-0-0 for a chamber table on April 6, 1741; and a combined £5-3-0 for a bedstead with black cornice and a set of curtain rods, and a chamber table, on February 23, 1748. Allen's book also discloses, in the period April 1, 1741-June 24, 1745, credits to joiner Francis Trumble for a walnut table, a cornice bedstead, an £8-0-0 double chest of drawers, and two walnut desks, one for £6-0-0, and the other for £6-15-0. The ledger of Dr. Samuel Preston Moore reveals that joiner Henry Clifton paid for medicines with a £0-15-0 "fire screen," on August 11, 1748. Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," pp. 10, 13; 18, 22, 23, citing Account Book of Nathaniel Allen, HSP, pp. 49 [Josiah Claypoole], 164 [Francis Trumble], 169 [George Wilson]; and Ledger of Samuel P. Moore, 1745-1780, Library Company of Philadelphia [manuscript available at HSP], p. 37 [Henry Clifton]. A 1768 advertisement later announced the dissolution of the "PARTNERSHIP of HENRY CLIFTON and JAMES GILLINGHAM, (Joiners)...." *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, September 5, 1768, reproduced in facsimile in Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, *Colonial Craftsmen of Pennsylvania, Reproductions of Early Newspaper Advertisements from the Private Collection of Alfred Coxe Prime* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, 1925), p. 9, no. 56. Clifton, describing himself as a "joiner, Cabinet and Chair Maker," announced his relocation to Arch

Street. *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, August 13, 1770, cited in Prime, *Arts & Crafts*, p. 163. Much earlier, on 11/2/24, Head had debited Hinery [Henry] Clifton for a "Clos Stol" and a "Litel Table." Head Account Book, p. 60 left [£1-0-0 close stool, £0-4-6 table]. Head's Clifton may or may not be the joiner. If he is the joiner, he may have relied on Head for certain types of furniture.

45. See the advertisement of "Francis Trumble, Cabinet and chair-maker, &c. at the sign of the Scrutore, in Front-street, near the New-market Wharff, on Society Hill, Philadelphia, makes and sell the following goods in mahogany, walnut, cherry-tree, maple, &c. viz. Scrutores, bureaus, sliding-presses, chests of drawers of various sorts, breakfast tables, dining tables, tea tables, and card tables; also cabin tables and stools." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 8, 1754, cited in Prime, *Arts & Crafts*, p. 184.

46. See, e.g., Prime, *Arts & Crafts*.

47. This is especially so among Philadelphia Quakers who tended, especially in the earliest decades, to intermarry within their faith, often to persons already related. E.g., Vaux Transcript. The 1900 Pedigrees journal of George Vaux VIII is an excellent example of family documentation entitled to greater weight. It is particular as to furniture description, location and line of descent or other method of acquisition. It is further advantaged by the antiquarian's proximity to the original owners or those who inherited directly from them, and his first-hand recollections. Vaux, Pedigrees.

48. Chalfant Collection [fig. 4, one of a pair]; Richard and Pamela Mones Collection. But what if another chest of drawers, without such a high degree of identity to the Beake chest, still had in common with it that unusual foot? As Beake may have gotten his feet from a turner who supplied other cabinetmakers, the feet, alone, would not be determinative. A walnut blanket chest with similarly shaped feet, c. 1710, has a history of descent in the Randolph and Richardson families. American Art Association, Inc., *Colonial Furniture: the Superb Collection of the Late Howard Reifsnnyder*, auction catalog (New York, 1929), lot 616. Solid attribution to the same shop requires comparison of all of these pieces against the signed Beakes chest and a larger group of furniture of similar appearance and construction.

49. See David Hewett, "Documentation, Attribution, and Research Use and Misuse," *Maine Antique Digest* (September, 1982), p. 18-D.

50. Effective structural analysis "requires a relatively large body of data." Philip D. Zimmerman, "Workmanship as Evidence: a Model for Object Study," *Winterthur Portfolio* 16, no. 4 (1981), pp.285-286. Zimmerman and others have been successful in applying such analysis to attribution of mid- to late-18th century Philadelphia furniture. Philip D. Zimmerman, "Methodological Study in the Identification of Some Important Philadelphia Chippendale Furniture," in Ian M.G. Quimby, ed., "American Furniture and Its Makers," *Winterthur Portfolio* 13 (1979), pp. 193-208; Luke Beckerdite, "An Identity Crisis: Philadelphia and Baltimore Furniture Styles of the Mid Eighteenth Century," in Catherine E. Hutchins, ed., *Shaping a National Culture: The Philadelphia Experience, 1750-1800* (Winterthur, Del. Winterthur Museum, 1994), pp. 243-281.

51. Stiefel-Storb correspondence in Stiefel Papers; remarks of Christopher Storb, "Arts of Baroque Pennsylvania," November 12, 1999; Lita Solis-Cohen, "Seminar Sheds New Light on Early Philadelphia Decorative Arts," *Maine Antique Digest* (January 2000), p. 10-A <<http://www.maineantiquedigest.com/articles/pma0100.htm>>. One note of caution must be sounded before attributing all such clockcases to Head. As Head sold blind fretwork to Thomas Maule, and Maule later advertised the sale of such fretwork, there can be no certainty that all clockcases with identical fretwork were from the same shop. Also, Maule appears to have had a close connection with Head, perhaps training with him. He bought a joiner's bench, wood, and other supplies from Head, at about the time when the latter ceased recording furniture

transactions in his book. Thus, if trained by Head, Maule's construction practices may have been similar to Head's, complicating the differentiation of their pieces. Head Account Book, p. 91 left; Thomas Maule advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 14, 1755.

52. Respectively, Chalfant Collection; Mones Collection. Personal conversations with Skip Chalfant and Rick Mones, respectively, December, 2000.

53. As Brunk was Assistant Curator and Research Associate for the *Worldly Goods* exhibition to be opened in five months time, I immediately alerted him to the discovery and significance of the Head account book, and provided PMA copies of 108 dated entries from the account book, spanning twenty years, and genealogical information regarding Head. Personal conversations; Stiefel-Brunk correspondence, Stiefel to Lindsey May 26, 1999 letter, Stiefel Papers; Solis-Cohen, "Seminar Sheds New Light on Early Philadelphia Decorative Arts," p. 10-A.

54. Beatrice B. Garvan, "22. High Chest and Dressing Table," *Philadelphia: Three Centuries of American Art* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1976), pp. 25-26; *The Pulse of the People: New Jersey 1763-1789* (Trenton: New Jersey State Museum, 1976), p. 56. The pair, as of 1909, were owned by Mr. John T. Morris and Miss Lydia T. Morris at "Compton." Robert C. Moon, *The Morris Family of Philadelphia*, 5 vols. (Philadelphia: Ketterlinus Litho. Mfg. Co., 1909), 5:248 plates opposite. The configuration of the top of the high chest has been the subject of controversy. The photograph in the Moon book shows it as having a galleried, concave-sided top above the cornice. Ibid. It has been depicted without the gallery, which was probably a Victorian addition, but with its concave-sided top. Hornor, *Blue Book*, pls. 12, 13; Garvan, "22. High Chest and Dressing Table," pl. 22. At some point the concave top was removed. PMA photograph by Graydon Wood, 1994, Accession #28-7-12, 13, MS Word Label ID #979, distributed December 27, 2000. It has since been restored. *Worldly Goods*, fig. 167. Another disagreement has arisen over primary wood of the pair. Moon, *The Morris Family of Philadelphia*, 5:248 plates opposite [mahogany]; Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 10, & pls. 12 & 13 [walnut veneer on drawer fronts, carcass of solid walnut]; PMA MS Word Label ID #979 for the Graydon Wood photograph ["walnut veneer"]; Garvan, "22. High Chest and Dressing Table," p. 26 ["solid walnut"]; McElroy, "Furniture in Philadelphia," fig. 10 ["Black walnut (*Juglans nigra*)"]; *Worldly Goods*, checklist #38 ["Walnut"]. Conservator Christopher Storb, who examined both pieces, has confirmed that the carcasses are of solid walnut, as are the curled walnut drawer fronts. Personal conversation, November, 2000. Differences have also existed over the pair's secondary woods. *Worldly Goods*, checklist #38 caption ("poplar, white cedar, yellow pine"); contra as to poplar, Winterthur, Decorative Arts Photographic Collection, Data Sheet #89.220, September, 1989 ("Black walnut, yellow pine, cedar"). If the pair does contain poplar, this raises an attribution issue, as Head's only expressly recorded purchases of poplar were not until 1743. Head Account Book, p. 69 right [Mickel Branin, "By - 6 peeses of popler," 9/7/43, #1-12-0; "By - 64 foot of 4 Inch popler," 3/12/45, #0-15-4. See the discussion in section on woods used in Head's shop.

55. Head Account Book, p. 87 left [Casper Wistar]. Based on the "14 - 4 mo. 1726" Wistar entry, Brunk ascribed the Wistar pair to Head, and dated the transaction as "April 14, 1726." *Worldly Goods*, p. 106 fig. 167 caption; remarks of Andrew Brunk, "Arts of Baroque Pennsylvania," November 12, 1999. However, an April date for the fourth month would be inconsistent with Head's practice of following the Julian calendar passim. The Julian calendar's fourth month would have been June. The Wistar order was thus recorded to mean June 14, 1726, not April 14. Also, as the order was not dated before the May wedding, and was anyway charged to Wistar and not to Catherine or her parents, it is difficult to accept that the high chest and dressing table were part of Catherine's dowry. *Worldly Goods*, checklist #38 caption ["thought to have been made as part of the dowry furniture of Catherine Johnson (1703-1786) of Germantown for her marriage to Caspar Wistar on May 25, 1726"]; contra, Garvan, "22. High Chest and Dressing Table," p. 25, ["[w]hether purchased as dowry or for furniture for their house is unknown"]. The exhibition catalogue gives only three dates for Head as "Documented References." *Worldly Goods*, p. 250 in Appendix I [1717, 1726, 1754]. Cf. Hornor,

Blue Book, p. 3 [1717, 1754]; Stiefel to Lindsey, May 26, 1999, Stiefel Papers [1688, 1712, 1717, 1722-1752, 1754].

56. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Bequest of Lydia Thompson Morris, 1932-45-82; *Worldly Goods*, checklist no. 59; contra, Moon, *Morris Family*, 5:250 and plate opposite (clock, which was owned by John T. Morris and his sister Lydia T. Morris in 1909, had belonged to Thomas Chalkley [d. 1741]). Thus, further investigation is needed to clarify provenance before linking this piece of furniture definitively to Head's entry for Wistar.

57. Head Account Book, p. 87 left.

58. Garvan, "22. High Chest and Dressing Table," p. 26; Benno Forman comment, in October, 1974, recorded by Deborah Dependahl Waters, in "Additional Comment," dated February, 1975, on Data Sheet, Winterthur Museum, Decorative Arts Photographic Collection, DAPC Acc. No. 75.266. Joseph Richardson was described as "Gold Smith in Front Street." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 21, 1738. The Richardson high chest, together with an accompanying dressing table with slightly different turnings, was once owned by pioneer collector Robert Simpson Stuart, who acquired them from Richardson descendants. Stuart, an expert on early brass hardware, also attested that the chest's "engraved brass escutcheons, back-plates and tear-drops (all cast) are the original ones." Robert S. Stuart, "The Richardson Family of Silversmiths," *Connoisseur* 199, no. 881 (November 1978), p. 206, figs. 15 & 17. Caspar Wistar witnessed the estate inventory of another Front Street neighbor, Anthony Morris, in 1721, which appraised, at 10-0-0, another "chest of drawers & table." Garvan, "22. High Chest and Dressing Table," p. 26. That Morris had no account with Head, but his son did. Head Account Book, p. 87 left.

59. Mary Thomas Seaman, *Thomas Richardson...and His Descendants in The United States of America* (New York: Thomas A. Wright, 1929), top photograph and caption opposite p. 56. Joseph Richardson, Sr.'s set of six walnut Queen Anne side chairs, c. 1735-1740, which descended in the same manner as the high chest and dressing table, also survives in a Philadelphia private collection. Each chair is incised "IR" on the inside of its seat rail, in a style consistent with Joseph Richardson, Sr.'s silver mark. Seaman, *Thomas Richardson*, right side of lower photograph opposite p. 56; Stuart, *Richardsons*, p. 206, fig. 16; *Worldly Goods*, checklist #126 [each illustrating one chair of the set]. Two from the set are shown [fig. 26].

60. Remarks of Alan Miller, "Arts of Baroque Pennsylvania," November 12, 1999; Solis-Cohen, "Seminar Sheds New Light on Early Philadelphia Decorative Arts," p. 10-A; *Worldly Goods*, checklist #36.

61. Head Account Book, p. 7 [Simond Hagal/Edgell].

62. Head Account Book, p. 9.

63. March 5, 1742 appraisal of goods and chattels of James Steel. Philadelphia Wills, 1741-261 [cedar chest of drawers appraised at £3-0-0].

64. Head Account Book, p. 87 left.

65. Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 46. Samuel Powel, Jr. was born in 1705 and died at age 42. He altered the family name from "Powell." He married Mary Morris, daughter of brewer Anthony Morris. Powel built a mercantile fortune on top of the one left him by his father, Samuel Powell, Sr., who was widely known as "the rich carpenter." Robert H. Wilson, *Philadelphia Quakers 1681-1981* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1981), p. 26.

66. *Philadelphia Wills*, 1741-261; Head Account Book, pp. 103 left [Steel], 109 right [Stretch].

67. Head Account Book, pp. 3 [Woodrop], 5 [Cox]; Hornor, *Blue Book*, pp. 51 [Wooddrop], 70 [Cox].

68. Head Account Book, p. 95 left [Solomon Crison, 7/28/28, £5-10-0]. It was sold within the last two years by H. L. Chalfant Antiques and presently resides in a Pennsylvania private collection. Personal conversation with Chalfant, January 12, 2001.

69. Mones Collection. It bears the labels of goldsmith Joseph Richardson, Sr., and merchant Joseph Trotter. Rick Mones has documentation of its provenance.

70. Head Account Book, p. 46 left. An oak scale box bearing a Joseph Richardson, Sr., label has been donated to Winterthur by the Schwarz Gallery. Conversation with Robert Schwarz, January, 2001.

71. See Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*, pp. 6-7, questioning whether the opulent artifacts of museum collections convey a much richer level of material wealth than was in fact the case among the broader community.

72. Pioneering collectors such as Joseph and Jean McFalls, Jr. and the late Robert Simpson Stuart and, more recently, Richard Dietrich, Skip Chalfant, Anne and Fred Vogel, Pam and Rick Mones, and others have sought to redress this imbalance.

73. Watson, *Annals* 1:175. According to George Vaux IX, John was the grandson of John and Rebecca Head, son of their daughter Mary and Jeremiah Warder. He was born on February 24, 1751 and died on May 7, 1828. John went to England "because of his strong monarchist sympathies." George Vaux [IX] 9/30/1919 letter to Reuben Haines, Vaux Papers.

74. On 7/27/26, Edwd [Edward] Horn was credited £10-0-0, "To Cash paid to my Wife;" on, 8/15/46, Mickel Branin [Michael Brannon?] was debited £0-10-0, "To Cash by his order paid To my son John;" and, in 5 mo. 1752, "Thomas Pars plasterer," was debited £0-6-9, when "may [May] paid him in full." This put the Heads square with Pars, who had been issued credits, in 1749-1750, for hundreds of yards of "plastern Larthwork [lathwork]" and "Brikwork." Head Account Book, pp. 72 right [Horn]; 132 left and right [Pars], 136 left [Branin]. It is fortunate to have even these few references to the role of women in early Philadelphia shopkeeping, as it has been noted that: "[m]any shopkeepers who worked with their husbands...never appear in the historical record....Many [female] shopkeepers left a marker only in death, when notices for the settlement of their estates and sale of their shop wares appeared in newspapers." Patricia Cleary, "She Will Be in the Shop: Women's Sphere of Trade in Eighteenth-century Philadelphia and New York," *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 119:186.

75. Joseph Daves [Davis], who supplied the Head family with "shoues" and "Bootes," was debited £0-8-2, on 12/21/44, "To work don by my Daughter Sary and som stuff." Head Account Book, p. 136 left.

76. John Head, Jr. "dd [delivered] a hatt" to James Estugh [Estaugh] in 1746, at £0-15-0; Jeremiah Warder delivered another to Thomas Pars, on 9/14/46, at £1-10-0; and Benjamin Hooton delivered seven hats, one to Richard Blakham, on 2/19/44, at £1-10-0, and six more, in deliveries of two each, to Harman Yarks, on 3/17/28 at £2-0-0, 4/4/48, at £2-18-0, and on 5/21/48, at £2-0-0. Joseph Daves [Davis], who that same date had been credited, "By a payer shoues for Susanah and Clogs mending," was debited £0-9-6, on 12/20/41, "To a Bonit [bonnet] dd by Hannah." Head Account Book, pp. 35 [Blakham]; 51 left [Estugh], 125 left [Pars], 136 left [Daves], 137 left [Yarks]. James Estaugh was probably the same person who was listed with Head as one of the property owners living on "the North end" of Philadelphia opposing the location of the Powder House. Estugh may have been the James Estaugh who signed with John Head and others on the "Petition of a Number of Inhabt of Philad about the

Powder House," January 18, 1745, Society Misc. Coll., Box 4a, f. 2, HSP. He may have been the son of the James Estaugh (1676-1742) and Elizabeth Haddon (1682-1762), who built a large brick house in what is now Haddonfield, New Jersey, in 1713. Thomas Smith Hopkins and Walter Scott Cox, *Colonial Furniture of West New Jersey* (Haddonfield, NJ: The Historical Society of Haddonfield, 1936), p. 7; Albert Cook Myers, *Hannah Logan's Courtship* (Philadelphia: Ferris and Leach, 1904), p. 118 n. 1.

77. John Head, Jr. became one of the wealthiest men in Philadelphia. Much of his fortune appears to have been earned prior to the Revolution, as a transporter of dry goods between Philadelphia and England. His vessel sailed twice a year to London. Doerflinger, *Vigorous Spirit*, pp. 85, 88. The "Account Book [of] The Estate of John Head Jr. with the Executors Henry Drinker: Jeremi[ah] Warden and Wm. Sansom beginning 2 mo: 11th: 1792," shows the merchant to have left an estate of over #53,000. His "Household Furniture: plate etc." was valued at #690.5.7. Inside the front cover of the estate account book, George Vaux X further burnished his forebear's image by noting: "Tradition relates that this amount was in specie -- probably silver. It is known that John Head always kept large amounts of specie on hand in his iron chest...[.] #25,937." Vaux converted this amount into dollars, at \$2 2/3 per #, to equal \$69,165 in specie. This estate account book was added, on April 7, 1992, by George Vaux X, to the Vaux Papers. The August 13, 1767, marriage certificate of John Scattergood and Elizabeth Head, daughter of John Head, Jr., survives in the Downs Collection, Winterthur. It lists names of many individuals or their relatives shown in John Head, Sr.'s account book. Another daughter of John Jr.'s, Susannah, married (1788) William Sansom (1763-1840), his former partner and one of his executors. William Sansom is best known as a Quaker real estate developer and investor. Elizabeth Forman Crane, ed., *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker: the Life Cycle of an Eighteenth-Century Woman* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1994), p. 334.

78. Warder later founded Jeremiah Warder and Sons, a prominent firm of merchants engaged in the triangular trade among Philadelphia, the West Indies and England. Doerflinger, *Vigorous Spirit*, pp. 118-119. Beginning in 1759, Warder with John Head, Jr., and sometimes others, jointly advertised freight or passage on ships to London. E.g., *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 23, 1759, June 26, 1760, September 18, 1760, March 10, 1763, June 16, 1763, November 24, 1763, September 27, 1764.

79. Samuel was identified as a son, and listed as an executor and beneficiary, in John Head's Will. In a 1755 document, still in private hands, Samuel Head, described therein as a "Carpenter" and a son of "John Head, Joiner," vouches for the disposition of his father's estate by the latter's 1754 will. Letter from Trina Vaux McCauley to Stiefel, February 18, 2000, p. 1. Stiefel Papers. Also in 1755, "Samuel Head of [Philadelphia]...Carpenter" entered into an agreement with Joshua Maddox to lease ground with a workshop on the East side of Third Street. Agreement, November 14, 1755, Wallace Papers, vol. 5, p. 15, HSP.

80. Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: the Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia 1682-1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), p. 116.

81. Doerflinger, *Vigorous Spirit*, p. 61.

82. John L. Cotter, Daniel G. Roberts and Michael Parrington, *The Buried Past: An Archaeological History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), p. 40.

83. Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), p. 121, cited by Beckerdite, "An Identity Crisis," p. 244.

84. Focusing on a period later in the century, Doerflinger commented: "Successful artisans also gained experience that was transferable into wholesaling. As independent businessmen they

often kept a set of books and were continually making deals with suppliers and customers that took account of current supply and demand for their service." Doerflinger, *Vigorous Spirit*, p. 51.

85. Ironmaster William Branson, on 11/2/20, was debited £1-1-9, "To 3 Cord of Wood and Carten [carting, i.e., hauling];" cabinetmaker Thomas Maul [Maule], on 1/16/44, was debited, "To - 15 foot of mehoganey;" carpenter Joseph Thornhill, on 1/12/42, was debited £0-18-4, "To - 146 foot of pine Scantlen [scantling];" and, on 5/6/42, £0-18-4, to another "88 foot;" brickmaker John Coats, on 8/25/35, was debited £0-19-0, "To - 152 foot of oke scantlen;" Head Account Book, pp. 70 left [Coats], 91 left [Maul], 120 left [Thornhill]. Hickory was deemed the best wood for fuel, with white and black oak second. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:92-93. Hickory, because of its strength and flexibility, was later to be used in spindles of Windsor chairs. A rare early use is in the slats of a slat-back armchair [figs. 21, 21a].

86. Head Account Book, *passim*. For a dictionary of these and other fabrics, see Florence M. Montgomery, *Textiles in America 1650-1870* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1984), pp. 141-377. Much of what was shipped from Scotland and Ireland to Philadelphia from 1723-1747 consisted of linen. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:52. At least two of Head's fabric suppliers, Ebeneser Larg [Ebenezer Large] and Charls [Charles] Read, were themselves supplied by James Logan. Head Account Book, pp. 38 [Read], 56 right [Larg]; Logan Account Book, p. 349 [Read, Large]. Garleck and osenbirk were particularly popular. In 1720 alone, Logan bought and sold £210-1-1 1/4 of "Garlix," and £66-0-2 of "Ozenbrigs." Logan Ledger, pp. 51, 52. Shopkeeper Charles Read was among those supplying Head with osenbirk. Head Account Book, p. 38; "Minutes of the Common Council," p. 124 [admitting Read, a "Shop keep," as a freeman on May 13, 1717]. Head also got fabric from Isaac Norris, Jr., who remained in the mercantile business until 1743. Head Account Book, p. 50 right; Myers, Hannah Logan's Courtship, p. 131 n. 2. The "Woosted Wool" and other fabric came from Nicholas Dowdney [Doudney]. Head Account Book, p. 69 right; "Minutes of the Common Council," p. 123 [admitting Doudney, a "Wool Comber," as a freeman in May 1717]. Giving some indication as to how these fabrics might be used is the dress of Thomas Godfrey's "English Servant Maid, named Elizabeth Barber," who had run off in "a yellow and red striped worsted homespun Gown, ozenbrigs Apron, muslin Pinner, silk Handkerchief, blue quilted Petticoat, blue Stockings and black Shoes." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 19, 1737.

87. Cresson's memoranda of information from George Vaux [VIII], in Cresson/Stewardson, November 30, 1874 letter, p. 3, HSP, Cresson Collection.

88. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 19, 1747. The Church was probably Christ Church, on Second Street, between Market and Arch Streets. But John Head, Jr. also appears to have maintained a property on Arch Street, perhaps one of his father's, as house carpenter Thomas Savery charged him £7-13-8 for "Shingling a house in Arch Street repairing and Dormer Frames." Thomas Savery Account Book, 1781-1782, Winterthur, Downs Collection, p. 26.

89. Head Account Book, p. 77 left. Warder described himself as a "hatter" in his advertisement seeking a runaway servant. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 8, 1751.

90. Head Account Book, p. 48 left. Hooton was described as a "hatter" in his advertisement of 1760. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 14, 1760.

91. This John Warder, the namesake of Jeremiah's son, was a cousin to Jeremiah Warder's grandfather, Willoughby Warder, Sr. Dorothee Hughes Carouso, "Esther King of Philadelphia and Bucks Counties and her Bowyer, Lynn and Elfreth Children," *Genealogies of Pennsylvania Families*, vol. 2, Hi-So, Pennsylvania Genealogies # 1, p. 143 n. 90, citing Will of Willoughby Warder, Sr., *Philadelphia Wills* 1725-340.

92. Miller, *Warder Family*, p. 2.

93. Doerflinger, *Vigorous Spirit*, p. 148. In this respect, Jeremiah may have gone a step further up the supply chain than his mentor, John Warder, who appears to have acquired his beaver pelts from James Logan. Logan debited John Warder £5-5-0, on 6/26/1717, "to Acco[un]t of Beaver for 30 at 3/6." James Logan Account Book, 1712-1720, p. 227, HSP. Logan did a considerable business in "Peltry and Furs," many of which were "Indian dredit [dressed]." E.g., Logan Account Book, pp. 301, 311, 313; Logan Ledger, pp. 135 left and right, 176 left and right. Huge quantities of furs came to Logan via "Jame Le Tort Indian Trader," whose account Logan credited a total of £754-17-3 1/2 by 10/3/26. Logan Ledger, p. 167 right. Logan also supplied "Beaver skins" and other fur to Warder, debiting him £8-4-6, on 4/14/20. In return, Logan received cash, other goods, and "hatts," including a "felt hatt." Logan Ledger, pp. 95 left and right, 151 left and right. Logan also sold beaver to John Warder's competitors, "Hatter[s]" Daniel Durborough, Samuel Hisner, and Nicholas Roach. Logan Ledger, pp. 30 left, 150 left.

94. Head Account Book, p. 98 left. Lest the erroneous impression be left that Head's shop was not into selling fancy goods before Warder's arrival, reference is made to the "11 Silk Handikers [handkerchiefs]" which Head debited to Thomas Gilpin, on 10/7/22, at £1-16-4. Head Account Book, p. 19.

95. Head Account Book, p. 37 [Loyd], 66 left [Spafard].

96. Head Account Book, pp. 77 left, 137 left. Ruffled shirts were by no means a new style. A servant of New Castle, Delaware shopkeeper Thomas Smith was wearing an "old ruffel'd Shirt" when he ran off. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 26, 1732.

97. Miller, *Warder Family*, p. 2.

98. Head, who kept his large family well-shod, paid for shoes for Samuel from cordwainer John Richardson [Richardson], on 6/19/27; and from Joseph Daves on 2/16/41 and 7/19/41, each priced at £0-7-0. Samuel also got "a payer Bootes" from Daves, on 9/23/41, priced at £1-6-0. In 9 mo. 1743, John Green was credited "By a Coat for John maken - £0-10-0/ and a Jacot [jacket] for Samuel - £0-6-0." Head Account Book, pp. 72 right [Green], 87 right [Richardson], 136 right [Daves]; "Minutes of the Common Council, p. 129 ["John Richardson, Cordwainer" was admitted as a freeman on May 27, 1717].

99. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:34-35, 114. Many credit entries were made to Coates family members for brick supplied to Head. Head Account Book, pp. 48 right [Daniel Cotes], 70 right [William Coats], 76 right [John Cotes, Thomas Cotes Junor], 111 right [John Coats]; "Minutes of the Common Council," pp. 131, 133 ["Wm Coates, Brickmaker" and "John Coates, Brickmaker," admitted freemen on May 27, 1717]. Numerous credit entries also appear in the accounts of other Head customers for brick delivered by the Coateses, Cox and others. Head Account Book, passim. One is noteworthy. Some 12,000 bricks were delivered by James Stoops [Stoops], during 1747, and credited to Benjamin Hooton, Head's son-in-law. Head Account Book, p. 48 right. Stoops made bricks for the construction of the State House, according to Hamilton's original bills, reviewed by Watson but now lost. Watson, *Annals* 1:396; Edward M. Riley, "The Independence Hall Group," *Historic Philadelphia From the Founding Until the Early Nineteenth Century*, issued as Volume 43, part 1 of the *Transactions* of the American Philosophical Society (1953), p. 16, n. 64. Head debited only a few bricks to other accounts: 100 bricks to Owan [Owen] Carpenter, on 8/10/37; and 15,750 to Benjamin Hooton, between 4/18/48-5/18/48. Head Account Book, pp. 123 left [Carpenter], 138 left [Hooton].

100. Head Account Book, p. 70 left. John Coats and Edmund Woolley were two of five individuals designated to take in contributions of money, goods or labor, "towards finishing the Charity School and House of publick Worship begun" in 1740. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 11, 1741.

101. Head Account Book, p. 13; Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 5; Building, p. 300. Woolley was an early, but not a charter member of the Carpenter's Company. *The Carpenters' Company* (Philadelphia: The Carpenters' Company, 1925), p. 5. The names of some of Head's other clients for building materials, including Thomas Shomaker [Shoemaker] and Joseph Thornhill, appear as charter members. Head Account Book, pp. 120 [Thornhill], 123 [Shomaker]. Although a joiner himself, Woolley bought furniture from Head. These included cheaper items, a "pin[e] oval Table" and a "pine Chest," both of which Woolley may have used in his business. They also included Head's most expensive: a £10-0-0 "Chest of drawers and Table Charytrewood," on 5/23/23; and, on 6/23/23, a £5-0-0 "Clockcas of Char Tree wood," together with a £15-0-0 "Clock dd [delivered] by Peeter Stretch [Peter Stretch]. Head Account Book, p. 13; Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 5 [Woolley was a joiner in 1716].

102. Head recorded that the 28 bushels he had sold Thomas Canan [Cannon], on 3/11/26, at £1-13-0, "was deliverd out of ye Siler at Sundre Times and ye Siler cleared of it The 21st 8 mo 1726." Head Account Book, p. 65 left.

103. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:35. The lime pits created a problem, however. Around 1739 or thereabouts, "[s]anitary measures occupied the immediate public attention...an unsuccessful attempt was made to compel the removal of the slaughter-houses, tan-yards, lime-pits, and skinner's [sic] yards, the offal of which polluted the dock, on the margin of which they were placed." Franklin was to satirize the situation, "defending" the "sweetness and cleanliness" of the tanner's trade and the "stink from the pits" as a "sweet smell." Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:208-209, 209 n. 1.

104. Head's first debit for such sale was to Martha Truman, on 11/11/30, at £1-2-9, "To 39 sash Lights made by Benjamin Clark." Head Account Book, p. 112 left. These were probably part of the miscellaneous aggregate credit of £8-12-8, entered in Clark's account that same date, "By his account Brought In." Head Account Book, p. 112 right. Other sashlight sales were to Joseph Thornhill, on 12/10/42, at £1-13-0, "To - 57 sash Glas - 8 by 10 att d/7 pr;" to John Thornhill, on 1/15/43, at £2-2-0, "To - 6 dosen of Sash Glas Lighs 8 by 10 at s/7 pr, and on 3/13/43, at £2-9-0, "To - 7 dosen dito at s/7 pr dosen;" and to Thomas Maul [Maule], on 2/18/45, at £0-9-4, "To - 16 sashlights." Head Account Book, pp. 91 left, [Maul], 120 left [Joseph Thornhill], 135 left [John Thornhill]. Cf. Thomas Chalkley's advertisement for "Sash Windows of the best Crown Glass, ready Painted Glaz'd and Hung, with the choicest Lines and Pully's just fitt to put into Buildings," *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia), February 23-March 4, 1725, cited in Prime, *Arts and Crafts*, p. 292.

105. See the discussion of tools bought and sold by Head in the section describing the workings of his shop.

106. Samuel Head advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 7, 1760.

107. Warder was also charged £0-5-0, "To - 30 foot of Scantlen - 6 by 4," on the same date, which may afford some idea of how the stable was constructed." Head Account Book, p. 77 left.

108. According to the combination account book and daybook for carpenter Joseph Webb, which survives at Winterthur, Webb charged out Samuel Head by the day. On 5/0/45, Webb debited Aquillah Jones £20-0-0, "To building a two Story fram:d house;" and £2-5-0, "To 10 Days work pr [by] Samuel head." On 5/22/45, Webb charged himself out at £0-5-0 to Thomas James, "To 1 Days Work pr myself on ye hill covering ye kitchen." But, Webb charged James only £0-4-6, "To 1 Days work per Samuel head," indicating that Samuel was working for Webb as an experienced workman, but in a subsidiary role. Ledger of Joseph Webb, Downs Collection, Index no. 2158, pp. 4 left [James], 12 left [Jones]. The Webb Ledger contains entries by account name for 1744-1755 and, starting at p. 35, daybook entries for 1751-54. Webb's

name may have also survived on his work. "Webb" is inscribed on the back of paneling which Mr. and Mrs. Joseph A. McFalls saved from a house being demolished in what is now Upper Darby, which bore a "1732" date stone, now unaccounted for. Although Joseph McFalls could not recall the name of the family, for whom the house was built, he advised that it was occupied by a Colonel Benjamin Brannan (sometimes spelled "Brannon") later in the century, and was known as the "Colonel Brannan House." The "Webb" paneling is well-designed and executed, not surprising for a house with a date stone. Thère Fiechter has observed that "date stones are artifacts of the wealthy." Thère Fiechter, "Date Stones as an Indicator of Building Periods in Chester County, Pennsylvania" (MA Thesis, University of Delaware, 1999).

109. Head Account Book, p. 136 right.

110. Head Account Book, p. 90 left.

111. Thomas Brown, on 7/14/43, at £3-0-0, and clockmaker John Hood, on 7/29/43, at £4-0-0, bought Head's last two recorded clockcases. Head Account Book, pp. 74 left [Hood], 92 left [Brown].

112. "[C]lock-case freezes" were among the goods advertised by him in 1755. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 14, 1755.

113. Maule married Susanna Hogg, on December 18, 1744, in Philadelphia. FamilySearch.com, International Genealogical Index-North America.

114. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 17, 1746 (advertisement dated April 17, 1745); March 22, 1748, May 11, 1749, July 27, 1749, November 9, 1749 [foregoing all by Maule], September 2, 1756 [Head, Jr.]. "Joiners brass furniture" was also an expression used to mean the hardware for mounting on joiners' work. Execution advertisement by Nicholas Scull, Sheriff, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 16, 1747. The "Parcel of Joiners furniture" listed in the inventory of joiner Joseph Hall, above his tools and parcels of mahogany, walnut and poplar boards, probably referred to the hardware for use on furniture. Philadelphia Wills, 1761-3.

115. Head Account Book, p. 106 left.

116. See Head's earlier and firmer handwriting to that in a cash debit to George Rill. Head Account Book, p. 54 left. Head's final illness was alluded to in the opening lines of his will, where he was described as "being indisposed as to Health but of Sound Mind and memory." *Philadelphia Wills* 1754-136.

117. Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:211.

118. Cf., the 1743 Claypoole ball and claw foot, Philadelphia high chest of drawers, *Worldly Goods*, checklist #39; a "Pillar and Claw Table" and "an old Pillar and Claw Mahogy. Table," mentioned by Philadelphia cabinetmakers Joseph Hall and Henry Rigby, on January 17, 1746, Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 95; and a "Pillar and Claw Tea Table" made by joiner Thomas Gant in 1748, Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 143.

119. Head Account Book, p. 90 left. These entries will be discussed with greater specificity in the section on hardware.

120. Head Account Book, p. 138 left. Some of the material sold to Hooton may have been utilized in work done for him by Webb. Webb built and then altered Hooton's stable in 1749, and did alterations to Hooton's shop, in 1751. Webb Ledger, p. 6 left.

121. Another explanation for the sale of the drawer hardware may be that it was out of style and Head was disposing of it through Maule. Maule was later to advertise the sale of such goods. Maule advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 14, 1755.

122. That same day, Sewer also charged £0-14-6, for "Layen 1100 of Brik;" and £0-4-0, for "paven ye alle[y] - 8 yards." Head Account Book, p. 118a right. Others were also credited for doing brickwork for Head. Head Account Book, pp. 55 right [Charls Hansly], 57 right [John Karr], 98 right [Joseph Townsend], 105 right [Cristhofer Thompson], 118 a right [William Vallecot], 119 right [Thomas Carrall], 132 right [Thomas Pars], 135 right [Joseph Marshall].

123. Memoranda of information from George Vaux VIII, in letter of Charles C. Cresson to Thomas Stewardson, November 30, 1874, p. 3, Cresson Collection, HSP.

124. John Head's Will. See also the advertisement of Mary Pound's executor, describing her "old Building" and lot being "situate on the North Side of Mulberry-street, called Arch-street..., bounded North by a Lot of Ground late of John Head deceased, East by Ground late of John Head aforesaid, South by Mulberry-street, and West by a Shop and Ground of David Chambers, Stone-cutter...." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Philadelphia, July 8, 1762. The need to have the contiguous Third Street property may have been the result of either Head's expanding business or family. Neighbor Hugh Hughes was admitted a freeman, styled as a "carpenter," on May 6, 1717. "Minutes of the Common Council," p. 123.

125. John Head's Will. In 1728, Head had acquired a lot in Third Street. Presumably, it was the one given to Martha or sold to the Thornhills. Edward Peters Release to John Head, March 26, 1728, Gratz Collection, HSP, Case 14, Box 37.

126. By the will, Samuel was to get the 90-foot wide lot next to Jeremiah Warder. Adjacent lots of 100 feet and 110 feet in width were to go, respectively, to daughters Martha Lawrence and Hannah Hooton. Only the remainder of the Frankford Road property, including "all the buildings and Improvements," was to go to Mary Warder. By a codicil, signed September 19, 1754, all of the Frankford Road property went to Mary. John Head's Will.

127. The earliest record of Head paying ground rent to Steel on his Mulberry Street property is a £42-0-0 credit to James Steel, on 1/1/27, "Cr By SIX years Ground Rent Du ye 1/st of ye 1/st month one Thousand seven hundard and Twenty six seven." Thereafter, on 7/29/42, Head credited Steel £112-8-8, after deducting for some stone and paving work, "To a years Ground rent which is seven pound that he promis'd to aLou me Towards payen for the Ston in the front of the Lot In Mulbary Street that I rented of him and regulaten the Street Before The Said Lot." The offset probably related, in part, to the £0-17-0, charged Head by Thomas Radman "To paveing ye gutter and Regulation of it." Head Account Book, p. 29 [undated]. (The streets in Head's neighborhood had been undergoing transformation, which may have led to his own paving work. In April, 1719, an ordinance had been passed by the Common Council, for the paving of streets. In April, 1721, the arch at Mulberry and Front Streets was torn down and the rubble removed. Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:200-201.) On 1/1/42, Head also credited Steel a further £105-0-0, "the first mo - the first day By fifteen years Ground rent due this day att #7 - pr year." Head Account Book, pp. 10, 103 right. James Steel was agent for the Proprietor, John Penn. Beatrice Garvan, "30. The State House," *Philadelphia: Three Centuries*, p. 42. While not so stated in Head's book, Steel may have been collecting Head's ground rent on behalf of Penn, rather than for himself. Head also credited ground rent to two others: James Cooper, on 8/7/23, at £5-0-0; and Ralf [Ralph] Hoy, on 6/10/28, at £7-5-0, "By Ground rent paid by James Cooper." Head Account Book, pp. 36 [Cooper], 89 right [Hoy].

128. Head collected ground rent from John Roberds, unspecified rent from John Campbell, and rent for houses from John Tannant, John Redman, John Green, and the Estate of John Lamb. Head Account Book, pp. 67 left left [Redman], 72 left [Green], 73 left and 113 left [Roberds],

82 left [Esteat of John Lamb], 99 left [Campbell], 116 left [Tannant]. But something came up which required Head, on 8/20/27, to credit Roberds £0-6-0, "By ye use of his house one month." Perhaps work at Head's own house required that he and his family temporarily vacate. Charl Hansly had been doing some priming a few months earlier, and may still have been painting. Head Account Book , p. 55 right.

129. Head Account Book, p. 46. Another Irishman, "a plaisterer by trade" was advertised for sale as a servant some years later. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 24, 1750. The only other persons which Head described by national origin are "Ladwik Sipel the Dutch Loksmith," and "a duchman from Iermantown [Germantown]" who delivered "gallons of linsit [linseed] Ioyl [oil]," credited to Jeremiah Warder. Head Account Book, pp. 77 right [Warder], 82 left [Sipel]. Also, perhaps to distinguish his own perceived urbanity, Head credited Sary [Sarah] Griskam £0-4-0, on 4/5/22, "By Sundres dd to a Co[u]ntry Woman." Head Account Book, p. 130 right.

130. He bought, on 6/19/21, "300 2 foots" from Nathanal [Nathaniel] Zane, and "1000 Shingles 3 foots" from William Hains [Haines?]; and, on 10/13/21, another "800 Shingles" from Hains Head Account Book, p. 26. Other Zanes, Isaac and William, were to be among the charter members of the Carpenter's Company in 1724. Carpenter's Company, p. 5-6.

131. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:35-36.

132. Head Account Book., p. 32.

133. John Head Will; Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 192.

134. Head Account Book, p. 28. Another plasterer hired was Barnibas Talbot, who charged £3-8-8, on 9/10/23, "for plasting Work and Larth [lath] and Divers others Things." Head Account Book, p. 12 [Talbert]. Talbot was admitted a freeman on April 20, 1717, on payment of £0-15-6. "Minutes of the Common Council," p. 118.

135. Rakestraw charged £0-3-0, on 3/24/23. Head Account Book, p. 45. Watson notes that "as late as 1754, it may be seen in the Gazette, that William Rakestraw then advertises himself as living 'in the uppermost house in Water Street, near Vine Street,' and there keeping his board yard." Watson, *Annals* 1:154. Rakestraw was described as a "Carter" when admitted a freeman on May 20, 1717. "Minutes of the Common Council," p. 126.

136. Head credited "600 Shingles" more from Hains, on 6/22/23. Head Account Book, p. 26. More were bought from Charls [Charles] Read. Head Account Book, p. 38. Read advertisement, *American Weekly Mercury*, 4/28/20, reproduced in facsimile in Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, *Colonial Craftsmen*, p. 5, no. 22 [italics in original]. What was left over may have been sold to Susanah Prest [Susannah Priest?], who was debited a shilling, "To : 20 : 3 foot Shingles," on 8/26/23. Head Account Book, p. 27.

137. "To : a Louance for halpen To Shingelen ye Bak part of ye house when we agreed To Do ye Work for ye house Edmond Woolley was to allow for ye work yt was Done when He Came." Head Account Book, p. 13.

138. "Joseph Cros And Edward Warner mesured ye Carpenters Work of on[e] Tennement of our Hous And The aCount [account] They Brought In Was: Thirty five Squar And : Twenty five foot at Eightteen Shillenes a squar." Head Account Book, p. 14. The "Tennement" may have been an addition to Head's house. In today's terminology, Woolley was the general contractor, whereas Warner and Cross appear to have functioned as supervising architects.

139. Head charged him £0-8-3, on 1/26/24, "To ye parrti fance Be Twin [party fence between] His Lot and my [mine];" and £0-14-0, on 1/28/24, "To ye fance Betwin Chansler [Chancellor] and him." Brown also rented "Warter for : 8 months" from Head, at £0-4-0. Head Account Book, p. 57 left. "Chansler" may have been the William Chancellor [Chancellor] who bought and sold "Sacken Bottoms [sacking bottoms]" with Head. Head Account Book, pp. 57 left and right. William Chancellor was a sailmaker and an important member of Governor Sir William Keith's inner circle. Horle, Lawmaking, pp. 581, 588 n. 130. He also made the new £13-10-0 flag, which the Governor presented to the Common Council in the Spring of 1727, to be flown on the flagstaff above Society Hill. Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:204. His daughter Elizabeth advertised for sale "THREE Negro Men Sail Makers" after his death. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 5, 1743.

140. On 2/22/24, Charls [Charles] Hansly was credited by Head £2-14-3, for 217 yards of "Brik Work" at a cost of three pence per yard; and £4-9-4, for 178 yards and 7 feet of "plasteren Larth Work." Head Account Book, p. 55 right. On 11/2/24, 142 "Sash Lights" were billed from Edward Bradle [Bradley], at £5-18-4, based on a rate of ten pence "pr. Light." Head Account Book, p. 78 right. On 3/21/25, John Nicholas was credited £5-10-0, "To: - 166: Sash Lits maken." Head Account Book, p. 59 right.

141. Head credited John Nicholas £1-4-0 for that job, on 4/19/25. Nicholas was to be credited the same amount, on 8/27/29, apparently for another pair, "By ye Work of - 2 payer Banches done by Baker." On 4/7/31, Nicholas also got £0-3-6 credit, "By 3/4 days work by his man." This was an unusual entry, as the charge was for so large a fraction of a day, but not for the whole day. Head Account Book, p. 59 right.

142. Watson, *Annals*, p. 211.

143. Head Account Book, pp. 11 [Talbert], 15 [Boolen], 49 right [Poulitis], 56 right [Cordry], 62 right [Powell], 104 right [Rhoads]. Powell advertised "chambers for pumps." Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," p. 72, citing *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 7, 1755. Talbot was probably using the water in connection with bricklaying, as that same date Head debited him to a "Br[ic]k Layers Troval [trowel], at £0-2-6. Head Account Book, p. 11. Samuel Rhoads was a "Carpenter." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 6, 1750. So was John Nicholas. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 29, 1750. However, as previously mentioned, such professional labels can prove misleading. Quaker merchant Thomas Wharton preferred to style himself a "cooper" long after he had achieved prosperity by other means. Doerflinger, *Vigorous Spirit*, p. 61.

144. Head Account Book, p. 88 right; Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., *Patriot Improvers: Biographical Sketches of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia: APS, 1997), pp. 62-67. Godfrey otherwise charged by the square. Thus, on 3/12/26, Godfrey was credited £3-0-6, "By sixty-six squares done for James Steel of glase - 8 by 10." Confirming that Godfrey did the work himself is the corresponding debit, in double-entry symmetry, to Steel's account, "To Work done by Thomas Godfrey Sixty-six Squeares of Glas," at the same amount and on the same date. Head Account Book, pp. 10 [Steel debit], 88 right [Godfrey]. Thus, Head made no profit. It was simply a way of effectuating a barter transaction. In finding an outlet for Godfrey's glazing, Head could help work off his huge ground rent credit with Steel, and simultaneously sell Godfrey "a Chari Tree Chest of Drawers and a Table," on 6/27/26, at £9-10-0, at little current cash outlay to himself. While it appears that Godfrey had recorded in his own account book various additional charges to Head over time, he and Head didn't settle their accounts until some ten years later. On 12/17/36, Head credited Godfrey £5-11-6, "By Sundres omited as By his account Brought in," and only £0-1-6, "To Cash paid him In full." Head Account Book, pp. 88 left and right.

145. Leonard W. Labaree, ed., *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), p. 127.

146. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 30, 1740. In 1744, Godfrey became an original member of APS. Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:233-234.

147. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 19, 1749.

148. Head considered disposing of the shed later that year, but appears to have changed his mind. He recorded, on 12/25/26, in John Roberds's account "Sold him ye shad in ye yard," but put down no price and then struck through the entry. Head Account Book, p. 65 left [Canan], 73 left [Roberds].

149. Head Account Book, pp. 105 right [Thompson], 112 right [Rakstraw].

150. Head Account Book, p. 55 right.

151. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:84-85.

152. Head Account Book, p. 97 right.

153. Coats charged £1-2-6, on 6/1/27, "By five days work and four his man at s/2 d/6 pr." Head Account Book, p. 102 right.

154. "By Thirty four Squar of carpenters work mesuerd and SIX foot By Joseh Cros and Edward Worner att Eighteen Shillings a Squar." Head Account Book, p. 14 [Wooley], 32 [Worner].

155. Head Account Book, p. 113 right.

156. Kalm considered "labour...so dear," in 1748, at "eighteen pence to three shillings and upwards" for a day's work by a man. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:124. Unlike carpenter Joseph Webb with respect to Samuel Head's rate, Thompson's daily charge for his son was the same as for himself, attesting to his son's experience -- or to his father's shrewdness. On 1/23/28, Thompson charged £0-15-0, "By - 2 days work himself and nagro;" £0-7-6, for "one [day's work by] his son and nagro;" and £0-16-0 for the hearth and chimney work. Head Account Book, pp. 105 right. Benjamin Clark charged himself out for unspecified work, on 1/11/28 and 1/23/28, at £0-5-0 per day. Head Account Book, p. 112 right. Head doesn't indicate whether Thompson's "nagro" was a slave or freeman. Several years later, "A Likely young Negro Fellow, by Trade a Bricklayer and Plaisterer," was advertised for sale. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 29, 1740. Black slaves had first been brought to the Delaware Valley in the first half of the 17th century by the Dutch. By 1750, their number has been estimated at a thousand. Cotter, *The Buried Past*, p. 40.

157. On 1/28/28, Hansly was credited £4-12-0, "By one Hundard and Eightty five yards and seven foot of Larth Work at d/6 pr yar;" and £2-14-3, for "217 yards of Brik Work at d/3 pr." Head Account Book, p. 55 right.

158. On 5/19/28, Sewer charged £1-5-4, "By SIX parch and a d/3 of one parch of Stone att four shillings pr parch;" £2-0-0, "By paven the front of our four houses agreed for;" £0-4-0, for "paven ye alle - 8 yards;" and £0-14-6, for "Layen 1100 of Brik." Head Account Book, p. 118a right.

159. Kalm, *Travels*, 1: 301.

160. "By floreen [flooring] - Eight Squar and a 1/2 att s/6 pr squar," cost Head £2-11-0, on 7/20/28. Rakestraw may have also supplied "Three Sash Windows" for that project, his last specifically recorded by Head until 1739. They were eventually credited to Rakestraw's account,

on 1/2/38, at £0-18-0, with the notation "omited 1738 1 mo. - 2 By Three Sash Window frames." Head Account Book, p. 112 right.

161. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:47. Thompson charged £4-5-0, on 10/28/28, and Radman £2-10-0. Head Account Book, pp. 105 right [Thompson], 134 right [Radman]. "Thomas Redman, bricklayer" was deceased by April 21, 1748, when Penelope Redman, his Administratrix, advertised his property for sale. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 21, 1748. Redman was to dig another, shallower well later on at Head's Frankford Road property.

162. Head Account Book, pp. 88 right [Bates], 105 right [Thompson], 116 right [Kellay].

163. "1300 of Larth as By his account" cost £0-19-6. Head Account Book, p. 125 right. What appears to be Pearse's bill, or "account," survives as a loose paper in the front of Head's account book. "Thomas Pearse, Plaisterer" was admitted a freeman on May 20, 1717. "Minutes of the Common Council," p. 126.

164. Harman charged £4-12-3, on 6/2/29, "by Twenty Dayes Work and a 1/2 att s/4 d/6 pr day as appear by day Book." Head Account Book, pp. 89 right [Arman], 98 right [Townsend]; "Minutes of the Common Council," p. 126 ["Jos: Townsend, Carpenter" was admitted as a freeman on May 20, 1717].

165. Head Account Book, pp. 55 right [Hansly], 89 right [Walten], 105 right [Thompson].

166. Thompson was credited £0-6-0, "By 480 Brik Laid by Thomas Redman." Head Account Book, p. 105 right. On 10/6/32, Pearse was credited £3-2-1 1/2, By - 106 yards plasteren Larth work and 5 foot;" and £4-9-7, for "268 yards and 8 foot of Brik work." Head Account Book, p. 125 right [Pars].

167. A July, 1730, carving bill of Anthony Wilkinson survives. He charged £4-4-0 to Captain Bignell [Bicknell] for a "6 fut long" lion figurehead, at fourteen shillings a foot, for the ship Tryall. The Tryall was jointly owned by Samuel Powel, Jr. and Clement Plumstead. Powel Family Business Papers, 54.83.10, Winterthur, Downs Collection. "Anthony and Brian Wilkinson and the like were indicated as carvers, but their handiwork so far as is known was confined to architectural details, ships, barges, and tombstones; yet these men conceivably could have turned their attention to furniture." Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 48. "MASON Work done by Anthony Wilkinson, Ship Carver, in Water Street" was advertised as "to be done of the best marble." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 21, 1741. "Brian Wilkinson and Son" advertised their "Marble Stone cutting business, in all its branches," as including "chimney pieces of all kinds." *Pennsylvania Packet*, December 19, 1774, cited in Prime, *Arts and Crafts*, p. 311. The Head entry also predates by more than a decade a 1746 advertisement for "Slabs for Hearths" by George Harrison," at the new Marble shop." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 14, 1746, cited in Prime, *Arts and Crafts*, p. 295.

168. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:83-84. A rare surviving example of a slab-top table is a walnut one with a rectangular, thumb-moulded King of Prussia marble top. Circa 1740, the table has shelled-knees, trifold feet, chamfered fluted corners, and a sinuous skirt. Christie's, *Important American Furniture, Folk Art and Decorative Arts*, sale catalogue 7526, lot 138 (New York: October 24, 1992). It is now in a Pennsylvania private collection.

169. Austin was credited £0-8-0, on 3/16/34, "By 2 window frames;" £0-16-0, on 1/29/35 and again on 2/3/35, for making 48 sashlights each. Head Account Book, p. 46 right.

170. Head Account Book, pp. 49 right [Coster], 134 right [Radman].

171. Redman was credited £8-6-3 altogether on that date, £0-13-9, "By Work don In raisen my Kitchen In the house Joyning to Thomas Knights as pr day Book; £4-0-0, "By - Twenty parch of Ston work - don In my Siller Joyning to Sutens [cellar adjoining Sutton's];" and £3-12-6, "By Diging a Wall [probably a well] to my new house - Twenty and 9 foot deep att s/2 - d/6 pr." Head Account Book, p. 134 right.

172. Clark was credited £1-12-0, "By - 4 dore Cases;" and £0-10-0, "By - 3 Window frames maken." Head Account Book, p. 86 right.

173. Head Account Book, p. 58 right. "Stores" may refer to storage areas or "stories."

174. On 3/30/37, Carrall was credited £1-8-3, "By plasteren - 113 yards of Brik work at d/3 pr;" on 5/20/37, £4-16-0, "By - 192 yards plasteren Larth work att d/6," and £3-18-2, "By plastersn - 268 yards of Brik work att 3 1/2 pr yard;" and, on 6/5/37, £2-4-2, "By - 88 yard plastern Larth work and 3 foot att d/6 pr," £0-15-3 1/2, "By - 53 yards of Brik work at d/3 1/2 pr;" on 4/16/38, £3-1-3, "By - 122 1/2 yards of Larth work att d/6 pr," and £0-9-0 1/2, "By - 31 1/2 yards of plasteren Brik work a greed for d/3 1/2 pr." Head Account Book, p. 119 right.

175. Stoops was credited with £1-1-0, On 4/24/38, "By - 3 - Lode of Bats and Clnkers;" and £1-0-0, on 6/10/38, "By - 4 Lode of Bats at his Ciln [kiln]." Head Account Book, p. 113 right. This is consistent with entries for other brickmakers among Head's accounts, who charged less for pick-up at their kilns. Head Account Book, pp. 28 [Susanah Prest re brick from Abram Cox], 70 right [John Coats's kiln]. Twin surviving houses in the old Southwark section of Philadelphia (now Queen Village), at Workman Place (now 116 Pemberton Street), a few blocks south of Head's immediate neighborhood, incorporate glazed bricks to form the date "1748" on one house and the initials "G.M." on the other. The former resident of the "1748" house advises that the initials and date commemorate a Colonial commander whose troops were quartered there and drilled in the courtyard. Personal conversation with Bernard M. Stiefel, January 9, 2001.

176. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 9, 1747.

177. Head Account Book, pp. 112 right [Rakestraw], 118a right [Vallecot], 120 right [Thornhill].

178. Head Account Book, pp. 86 left and right. Part of this was Badson's £0-2-0 charge, on 6/3/39, "By horlen - 2 Lode of mould[ing?] we Loded." With respect to "750 Brik sent by Georg[e] Rial from Thomas Greens by dan Bresters Cart," for which Head was charged £0-18-0 by Badson, on 5/27/39, Head is specific as to the type of conveyance used. Head Account Book, p. 86 right. While "horlen" by cart may have been one means of delivery cited in the account book, other methods included the "3 flats" by which Thomas Pagler sent stone, credited to Charles Jenkins account; and the "Truk - at Sundre Times" credited to Nathanal [Nathaniel] Zane. Head Account Book, pp. 79 right [Zane], 121 right [Jenkins]. The term "Truk" appears frequently in connection with lighter purchases from the market and may refer to a hand truck, rather than something horsedrawn.

179. Head Account Book, p. 135 right.

180. Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution*, p. 2.

181. Head Account Book, pp. 118a right [Vallecot], 120 right [Thornhill], 125 right [Pars].

182. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 5, 1736.

183. "Petition of a Number of Inhabt of Philad about the Powder House," January 18, 1745, Society Misc. Coll., Box 4a, f. 2, HSP; Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:212. The petition is a useful reference for determining which of Head's clients, many of whose names appear, owned property in his immediate neighborhood.
184. Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:207.
185. Head Account Book, p. 134 right.
186. Head Account Book, p. 57 right.
187. On 8/21/40, Thornhill was credited £1-17-0, By 6 squar [yards] and 18 foot of floeren att s/6 pr;" £1-0-0, By - 2 days work don By him and his Brother;" £1-4-0, By - duing the stayers of frankford rod house." It is uncertain whether entries on the same date to 76 sashlights and another day's work related to the Frankford Road property, because they were listed after and in the same ink as work at Head's house adjoining Sutton's. That ink differs from that used for the Frankford Road entries. Thornhill was given a £4-0-0 credit, 'By finishen one stury In the house Joynen to Sutens;" £0-5-0, "By one days work omited as by his account;" and £1-18-0, "By - 76 Sash Lights omited as by his account." Head Account Book, p. 120 right.
188. Head Account Book, pp. 38 [Wilkinson], 71 right [Smith], 112 right [Rakstraw], 125 right [Pars]. The "fire shovel and tongues [tongs]" bought from Richard Blakham, on 2/19/44, at £0-12-0, may have been for use with this "marvel harth" or the earlier one. Head Account Book, p. 36.
189. Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," p. 48.
190. Head Account Book, pp. 35; Familysearch.com. John Jones is not mentioned in Head's will, unlike some of his other sons-in-laws. He may therefore have predeceased Head. If the Jones clock and case were brought to Head's home for safe-keeping that might explain why they were the only household furniture expressly described, and also why they went to Rebecca Jones, rather than to another child or in-law. That "John Jones Taner" was the John Jones who married Rebecca may also be circumstantially corroborated by another route. Their daughter, Hannah Jones, married Joseph Janney (c.1733, Bucks County, Pa.-1793, Va.) in 1764 at the Horsham, Pennsylvania Monthly Quaker Meeting. Janney moved to Loudoun County, Virginia, circa 1752, where he maintained a stable and tanning yard. Perhaps he had apprenticed in Philadelphia with his future father-in-law before moving on at about age 18. Janney also became a real estate investor and served as agent for his "cousins," Jeremiah Warder and John Head, Jr. *Gen-nections*, <http://my.ispchannel.com/~gennections/schedule.html>.
191. John Head Will; Head Account Book, pp. 74 right [Hood], 132 right [Stretch].
192. Head Account Book, p. 116 right [9/28/28]. Webster thought that such name applied in America "only to a bed cover for ordinary beds, and to a covering before the fireplace." He acknowledged that the term had formerly been given to "a coarse kind of frieze used for winter garments." Schiffer, *Chester County, Pennsylvania Inventories*, p. 90, citing Webster (ed. 1828).
193. Watson, *Annals*, p. 205 [carpets]. But Schiffer lists no "Floor Carpet" expressly described until the 1775 inventory of John Scott, Jr., of Easttown. Schiffer, *Chester County, Pennsylvania Inventories*, p. 90.
194. Head Account Book, p. 130 right [11/3/21, £0-2-2].

195. Other paper he bought and sold, including one "Rime [ream]" and one quire. Head may never have taken physical possession of the "Rime of paper," credited at £0-18-0 to Edwd [Edward] Horn, and debited that same date, at no profit, to Joseph Paschal. As such, it may have been a "paper transaction" in the modern sense. The other ream was bought from John White, on 4/10/8, at £1-2-0. The quire was bought from Franses Knowls [Francis Knowles], on 7/7/27, for an unrecorded price, and sold to John Campbell, on 4/20/28, at £0-1-4. Head Account Book, pp. 72 right [Horn], 94 left [Paschal], 99 left [Campbell], 105 right [Knowls], 117 right [White].

196. Four were sold in pairs of two. Head Account Book, pp. 13 [Edmond Wooley, a pair], 27 [Thomas Williams, two], 99 left [John Campbell, a pair].

197. John Seymour advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 24, 1740.

198. Head Account Book, pp. 8, 86 right.

199. William Morgan, who advertised that a man "Lately arrived from London" was working at his shop "over against the Three Tuns to Chestnut Street," and "turns all Sorts of Turning in Hard Wood, as Coffee-Mills, Pepper Boxes, Punch Bowls, Mortors, Sugar Boxes & in the best Manner." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 26-November 2, 1732, cited in Prime, *Arts & Crafts*, p. 187.

200. Griscom was credited £0-5-7 1/2, on 11/3/21. The "kitle" hired from Casper Wister [Caspar Wistar], at £0-3-0, on 4/18/30, may have had some limited specialized use in the shop, as Wistar was in the business of casting brass. Aspin was credited on 6/3/26 with £0-16-0. Head Account Book, pp. 79 right [Wallas], 87 right [Wister, Aspdin], 130 right [Griskam]. Head also sold pots: iron pots to Hugh Thomas, in 1722; and, a decade later, "[e]arthen pots" to Richard Hains, on 4/28/32, and Thomas Wilkins, in 9/0/33. Head Account Book, pp. 23 [Thomas], 41 left [Willkins], 68 left [Hains]. Earthenware pots may have also been used to display flowers, a frequent ornament in rooms. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:131.

201. Head Account Book, pp. 65 right [Carr], 70 right [Jonson], 98 right [Townsend], 101 right [Shut], 120 right [Canan]. Joshua Johnson was a London Quaker emigrant. His daughter, Sarah, married (1737) Quaker merchant Samuel Sansom (1707-74). Their son William Sansom married (1788) Susannah Head, daughter of his former partner, John Head, Jr. Crane, *Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, p. 334.

202. Head Account Book, pp. 54 right [Lingers], 70 right [Jonson], 125 right [Asp], 130 right [Griskam]; [Benjamin Franklin], *Poor Richard's Almanac*, 1740 (Philadelphia: B. Franklin, 1740), last page [Wilkinson advertisement]. There is no evidence that Head owned a Franklin almanac, but he did sell an earlier one, on 10/30/26, to Thomas Georg [George], at £0-0-5. Head Account Book, p. 93 left. Given the hardware items Head bought from his "William Lingers," it is assumed that he is the "Wm[.] Lingard, Smith" admitted as a freeman on May 20, 1717. *Minutes of the Common Council*, p. 126.

203. Head Account Book, pp. 8, 86 right.

204. Charles F. Montgomery, *A History of American Pewter* (New York: Praeger, 1973), pp. 2-4. Montgomery was former director of the Winterthur Museum and of the American Decorative Arts at Yale University.

205. Another reference found in the course of reviewing Logan's account book and ledger entries against those in the Head account book, is that Logan, debited £2-2-9 to his own account for "Household Goods," on 11/11/24, as "paid Simon Edgel for a Limbeck etc." Logan Ledger, p. 89 left. "Limbeck" is archaic for "alembic," an "obsolete kind of still

consisting of a gourd-shaped vessel or cucurbit, and a cap or alembic proper having a long beak for conveying the products to a receiver." *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), vol. 1:49, 1590.

206. Head Account Book, pp. 7, 86 left. As Edgell marked his pewter with "Edgell," the variant spellings of his name by Head are probably due to his inconsistent phonetic spelling, rather than to any name change on the part of Edgell. "Simon Edgell, pewterer" was admitted as freeman of the city on May 27, 1717. *Minutes of the Common Council*, p. 130.

207. Montgomery, *Pewter*, pp. 28, 116, 221..

208. Donald L. Fennimore, "Simon Edgell (c. 1688-1742)," *Philadelphia: Three Centuries*, p. 23. Edgell purchased a house, on High (afterwards Market) St., in 1718. Ledlie Irwin Laughlin, *Pewter in America: Its Makers and Their Marks* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940), vol. 2, p.155.

209. Montgomery, *Pewter*, p. 116.

210. Edgell bought a "Sader [cedar] Chest of drawers And Table," at £10-0-0, on 4/15/19; "a mahogany Dask," at £8-10-0, on 6/25/20; "a mehoganey Chest of Drawers, at £7-15-0, on 5/9/25; and "a Chamber Table," at £2-5-0, on 6/30/29. The "pine Table" that he ordered, on 6/16/32, at £0-13-0 1/2, appears incongruous, but may have been for a kitchen or his workshop. Head Account Book, pp. 7, 86 left.

211. Head Account Book, p. 8.

212. Head Account Book, p. 7. Edgell's "Cofins" for his children are discussed in detail in that section.

213. Montgomery, *Pewter*, p. 28.

214. Head Account Book, p. 50 left.

215. Montgomery, *Pewter*, pp. 28, 55, 116, 137.

216. Head Account Book, pp. 8, 86 right [Edgell credits], 85 left [Reeca debit].

217. Other objects of pewter-form also are mentioned, but no metal is specifically described. Head debited Thomas Radman £0-2-3, on 2/20/36, "To on Galon of melases and a porringer." Head Account Book, p. 134 left. John Mafel was credited £0-4-10, "To a Tankerd Re[ceive]d of Solaman Crison [Solomon Cresson, the chairmaker]," with no date shown, but probably in 1720. Head Account Book, p. 50 right.

218. Montgomery, *Pewter*, p. 201. The earliest usage of the term "salts" to mean salt cellars appearing in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* is an advertisement of 1740. Hamilton and Coleman advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 7, 1740.

219. Head Account Book, pp. 8, 86 right.

220. Edgell advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 10, 1739.

221. Head Account Book, p. 8.

222. Head credited Griscom £0-0-10 for them, on 11/4/21. Head Account Book, p. 130 right. Duché charged £0-2-0, on 1/15/32, for the stoneware mugs. Head Account Book, p. 62 right.

223. Head credited Edgell £0-6-4, on 1/6/25, "To : 2 Basens [basins] & mending a Tankerd." Head Account Book, p. 8 [Hagal].

224. Head must have had more than his personal requirements in mind, as on the next day, 9/9/26, he credited Wallas another £0-14-0, "By 4 dosen bottles." Head Account Book, pp. 79 right, 94 right.

225. Head Account Book, pp. 26 [Lucin], 46 right [Emblen], 68 right [Johns], 88 right [Bates], 94 right [Wallas], 134 left [Radman]; Johns advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 4, 1736.

226. Watson, *Annals*, 1:97.

227. Head Account Book, pp. 63 right [Toms], 88 right [Bates].

228. Her "Time was fit for Town or Country Business to be disposed of." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 26, 1744.

229. Head Account Book, p. 93 left.

230. Head Account Book, p. 28. The Assembly had adopted "[s]tringent measures...for the inspection of beef and pork for exportation...." Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:203.

231. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:49-50. Philadelphia's prosperous trade was even more far flung. Watson quoted Gabriel Thomas, writing in 1698, as crediting the "great and extended Traffique and Commerce both by Sea and Land; viz to New York, New-England, Virginia, Mary-land, Carolina, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Antego, Barmudoes, Maderas, and Old England...." Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," p. 1, citing Watson, *Annals*, p. 66.

232. Twice a year, in May and November, large-scale fairs were held. Unlike what Head was used to in England, sale by public outcry was uncommon in Philadelphia, except for oysters, perhaps because of their extreme perishability. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:54, 172. To accommodate those in the southern part of the city who didn't want to traverse Dock Creek to get to Market Street, a second market was established, in 1745, on Second Street south of Pine. Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:212.

233. Independence Hall National Historical Park Collection. The painting, which had formerly graced the chambers of a Philadelphia judge, is now on view at the Second National Bank, where INHP has organized an exhibit of paintings depicting pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia and its leaders. Personal conversation with Karie Diethorn, an INHP curator, November, 2000. John A. Woodside, Sr. (1781-1852) was a Philadelphia sign and ornamental painter who also decorated fire fighting regalia and equipment. In 1817, he began painting still lifes and pictures of animals at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. Nicholas B. Wainwright, *Paintings and Miniatures at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: HSP, 1974), p. 332.

234. Head Account Book, pp. 8 [Hagal/Edgell], 12 [Talbert], 58 right [Davis], 63 right [Colins], 64 right [Prichard], 70 right [Jonson], 84 right [Hillman], 89 right [Zane], 105 right [Knowls].

235. Kalm, *Travels*, 2:217, entry of May 30, 1749.

236. Head Account Book, p. 50 left.

237. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:71-72, 361. Kalm recorded how local berries were used and by whom. "BILBERRIES were likewise a very common dish among the Indians. They are called Huckleberries by the English here....The American ones grow on shrubs, which are from two to four feet high; and there are some species which are about seven feet in height." Kalm, *Travels*, 2:101. "The Europeans are likewise used to collect a quantity of these berries, to dry them in ovens, to bake them in tarts, and to employ them in several other ways. Some preserve them with treacle. They are likewise eaten raw, either quite alone or with fresh milk." Kalm, *Travels*, 2:102. He is exuberant about strawberries: "April the 20th [1749]. THIS day I found the Strawberries in flower, for the first time, this year: the fruit is commonly larger than that in Sweden; but it seems to be less sweet and agreeable." Kalm, *Travels*, 2:149. In Philadelphia, on May 25, 1749, Kalm found "THE straw-berries were now ripe on the hills." Kalm, *Travels*, 2:213. As to cherries, he wrote on May 30, 1749: "RIPE cherries were now already pretty common, and consequently cheap." Kalm, *Travels*, 2:217.

238. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:94-95, 184.

239. Schweitzer, "The Economy of Philadelphia and Its Hinterland," p. 102. Philadelphia exported corn, flour and unground maize to Portugal and some corn to Spain. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:50.

240. Schweitzer, "The Economy of Philadelphia and Its Hinterland," p. 103. In the second half of the 18th century, Philadelphia was to serve as the "breadbasket" of an expanding Atlantic community. Doerflinger, *Vigorous Spirit*, p. 15.

241. Head Account Book, passim.

242. On occasion, Head also bought empty containers or had them made. Thus, he got "Two Barels" from Artha [Arthur] Jones, and credited John Comins [Cummings?], "By hoopen some Tobs [putting metal hoops around wooden tubs]." Head may have used these containers for food or drink in his home or for storage of nails and other small items in his shop. When Head had no need of such containers, he would dispose of them. He sold John Prikett "an Empty Cask." Head Account Book, pp. 48 right [Comins], 75 left [Jones], 90 left [Prikett].

243. Head credited John Roberds £0-2-6, on 3/11/26, for the pound of chocolate. As he charged Thomas George [George] only £0-1-3, for half that amount, on 9/26/26, Head was not making a profit. The chocolate was simply one more medium of exchange, along with fabric, drink, soap, bleach, cash and a "Cofin," with which to acquire the large quantities of wood sawn by George. The butterscotches were credited to the account of Lawrence Boore, at £0-0-10, on 8/30/31. They were in partial payment for a stand debited to Boore, at £0-6-0, on 5/30/31. Head Account Book, pp. 73 right [Roberds], 89 left & right [Boore], 93 left & right [Georg]. Coincidentally, the price of a pound of chocolate was the same over twenty years later. See 6/4/47 credit given Sarah Lloyd by carpenter Joseph Webb, Webb Ledger, p. 5 right.

244. Head Account Book, p. 12; John Clifton advertisements, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 14, 1735 [location], July 14, 1737 [profession].

245. Credits to account of Hannah Turner, "she After becam Stampers Wife," Head Account Book, p. 66 [buckskin delivered by Stamper: 10/9/24, £0-5-6, & 2/2/25, £0-19-0; britches: 10/16/24, £0-14-0; gloves by the pair: 10/26/24, £0-2-4, & "omited" but recorded 7/29/25, £0-2-10].

246. Head Account Book, pp. 67 right [Fisher], 102 right [Hooper], 136 right [Daves].

247. Head Account Book, pp. 23 [Walter Luis debit], 25 [William Lucin debit], 51 right [John Hutten credit], 57 right [James Brown credit], 59 right [George Cunningham credit], 72 right [John Green credit], 74 right [William Crosewhit credit], 76 left [Thomas Georg debit], 83 right [John Guest credit], 85 left [Thomas Reeca credit], 87 left [John Richardson credit], 102 left [Moses Coats debit].

248. Head Account Book, pp. 72 right [Green], 92 right [Pound], 130 right [Griskam]. A "mantua," also called a "manteau," was "a loose gown worn by women in 17-18th c." *The Oxford English Dictionary* (London: Oxford University Press, 1897 et seq.), 6:141. Sarah Griscom, "living back of Thomas Byles, Pewterer, in Market Street, or near the Boar's Head, in Jones's (or Pewter Platter) Alley," advertised that she made "Very good Stays for Women and Children." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 12, 1741.

249. Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," p. 3, citing Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *The Founding of American Civilization* (New York: 1938), p. 201.

250. Head Account Book, pp. 1 & 2 [Pool], 32 [Snad], 98 right [Townsend], 134 left [Radman].

251. Head Account Book, pp. 2 [Joseph _____, 12/24/24], 38 [McCarl, 1720], 59 right [Cunningham, mounting 1725, shaving 1726], 74 right [Crosewhit, wig 5/11/25, mounting 12/27/26], 98 right [Townsend, 6/9/27]; Crossthwaite advertisements, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 23, 1730, December 5, 1734.

252. The first was bought from Peter Stelle, who was credited £10-10-0, on 6/23/25; the second from John Roberds, credited £8-10-0, on 10/22/25. Head also sold one horse, to Thomas Roberd (perhaps a relative of John), who was debited £9-0-0, on 3/18/27, "for which he [Thomas Roberd] gave me a bond." Head Account Book, pp. 73 right [John Roberds], 75 right [Stelle], 102 left [Thomas Roberd].

253. Head Account Book, p. 27.

254. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 10, 1730.

255. E.g., the £0-10-0 credited the account of "John Smith at noriss [Isaac Norris's] plantation," on 10/2/42, "By a Little Straw." Head Account Book, p. 71 right. Kalm observed a peculiar type of haystack while in Philadelphia: "I have mentioned before, that the cattle have no stables in winter or summer, but must go in open air, during the whole year. However, in Philadelphia, and in a few other places, I have seen that those people who made use of the latter kind of haystacks, viz. that with moveable roofs, commonly had built them so, that the hay was put a fathom or two above the ground, on a floor of boards, under which the cattle could stand in winter, when the weather was bad." Kalm, *Travels*, 2:106.

256. Head Account Book, pp. 2 [Pool], 71 right [Smith], 85 right [Louance], 86 right [Badson].

257. Head debited his son-in-law, Benjamin Hooton, £0-3-4, on 7/24/48, "To a Sader post - 10 foot long." Head Account Book, p. 138 left. Chestnut was supposed to be as good, but not found so by Kalm. In the absence of red cedar and chestnut, white and black oak were also used for fencing. Kalm described the appearance, woods used, and manufacture of such fences. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:91-92, 145-146.

258. John Roberds was debited £0-2-0, on 2/17/27, "To a hors hire one day." Joseph Townsend was credited £0-4-0, on 3/22/29, "By the hors hier 2 days." Cristhofer [Christopher] Thompson was charged £0-1-0, on 5/21/27, "To ye hors 1/2 a day." William Clar [Clare],

however, got a special rate of £0-1-6, on 7/5/26, "To a Hors to Germantown." Head Account Book, pp. 19 [Clar], 73 left [Roberds], 98 right [Townsend], 105 left [Thompson].

259. Head Account Book, pp. 61 right [Duncen], 65 left [Canan], 73 left [Roberds], 77 left [Stretch]. The standard nature of horse hire charges may have resulted from regulation. The justices of Quarter Sessions regulated ordinary rates charged travelers, including drink and hay for their horses. Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:206.

260. The £3-0-0 "womans Sadle" credited Benjamin Lee, on 2/14/21, was debited on the same date and same amount to Mickel Branin. Head Account Book, pp. 69 left [Branin], 117 right [Lee]. One contemporary whip maker was Israel Morris, who worked out of Joseph Saul's house. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 4, 1754, cited in Prime, *Arts & Crafts*, p. 181.

261. Head debited William Crosewhit's account £4-0-0, on 5/22/25, "To an order apon William Pascahl for Sadels;" and £2-0-0, on 4/2/26, "To an order apon Nichos. Ghiselno for sadles." Head Account Book, p. 74 right. Nicholas Ghiselin was a saddler by trade, who married Elizabeth Evans in Philadelphia, on 7/1/22. He died before his father, the celebrated Philadelphia Huegunot silversmith Cesar Ghiselin (1693-1733). Nicholas was buried on 10/3/32, dying intestate. Among his principal creditors was William Paschall. Harold E. Gillingham, "Cesar Ghiselin, Philadelphia's First Gold and Silversmith 1693-1733," *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 57:254-255. Others frequently involved in the saddlery trade had their accounts credited. Head Account Book, pp. 22 [John Dilen], 117 right [Benjamin Lee]. Dilen and Lee were also mentioned in the accounts of others as delivering saddles.

262. Head Account Book, pp. 35 & 36 [Jones]. There may be another reason that Head dealt with John Jones. A "John Jones" married Head's daughter Rebecca, on September 16, 1731. Familysearch.com. Head was also able to use riding gear, principally saddles, to debit the accounts of other customers and suppliers. Head Account Book, pp. 7 & 114 left [John Hains], 42 [Richard Hains], 69 left [Mickel Branin], 72 left [Robert Smoll], 84 left [Marchal Clark], 102 left [Moses Coats, Roberd Thomas]. Head also served as an intermediary in a leather transaction between tanner Samuel Hudson and cordwainer Matthew Burchfield, both of whom bought furniture from him. Head Account Book, pp. 7, 11 [both Hudson], 49 left & right [Burchfield]; *Minutes of the Common Council*, pp. 125 ["Matt Burchfield, Cordwainer" admitted freeman on May 20, 1717], 128 ["Samuel Hudson, Tanner" admitted freeman on May 27, 1717].

263. Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:200.

264. E.g., "To a chest of Drawers dd at his house," which was debited to chairmaker Solomon Crison [Cresson], on 7/28/28, at £5-10-0. Head Account Book, p. 95 left [Crison].

265. Head Account Book, pp. 71 left [Smith]; 75 left [Jones], 77 right [Forster]; Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:207 [as to sleigh use].

</body.



266. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:63-69.

267. Iron became a leading export of Philadelphia, first to the West Indies, and then to Europe. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:92-93, 302-303.

268. There are numerous references to "horlen [hauling]" wood. Head Account Book, passim. Another means of transporting wood, however, was "By Work done By himself and his man In Bringing a raft of Bords down To Grays mill from Christian Maryes [Christiam Mary's]." For that work Head issued a £0-17-0 credit to Moses Coats, in 9/0/27. Head Account Book, p. 102 right. Another supplier of wood to Head, who probably did so via water, was John Burr. Burr was credited £3-18-0, on 9/11/40, "By 1330 - foot Sader [cedar] Bord;" and £2-0-0, on 8/31/41, "By - 666 foot of pine Bord." Head Account Book, p. 53 right. Burr owned a Northampton Township, Burlington County, New Jersey saw-mill, with "a great Quantity of Timber and good Conveniences for Floating the Boards to Philadelphia." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 25, 1742. However, because the Delaware had cataracts some distance from Philadelphia which impeded the conveyance of goods to and from the city by water, wagons and carts remained a primary means of transport. Water transport was further complicated by the tendency of the river to freeze "almost every winter for a month or more." Kalm, *Travels*, 1:48-49.

269. The dimensions and forms of certain wood Head received suggest that they may have been employed in cabinetmaking, rather than another purpose. Cf., the advertisement of "Samuel Williams, Joiner...[who] Continues to sell Joiner's stuff as usual; such as season'd walnut boards, two and three-inch walnut plank, mahogany ditto, suitable for chair-making..., three-inch walnut scantling, mahogany and...half-inch poplar for chair panels, 2 foot 9 wide rule joint stuff, cherry tree boards, high and low post bedstead stuff." *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, September 9, 1767, cited in Prime, *Arts & Crafts*, p. 186.

270. A prime use for oak was for building ships in Philadelphia's shipyards. Oak ship planking and black walnut were also exported to England. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:49-50. John Bartram, however, did not view American oak as resistant to decay as European. It was for the latter reason that the boats plying the Hudson River were of black oak beneath the water line, and red cedar above, "which is reckoned the most hardy wood in the country." Black oak, being less brittle than red cedar, also held up better when the boats ran against river stones. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:115-116.

271. Kalm, in his section on Penn's Neck (across the river from Wilmington), written December 12, 1748, related joiners' descriptions of local woods, as follows: THE Joiners say, that among the trees of this country they chiefly use the black walnut-trees, the wild cherry-trees, and the curled maple. Of the black walnut-trees (*Juglans nigra*) there is yet a sufficient quantity. However careless people take pains enough to destroy them, and some peasants even use them as fewel. The wood of the wild cherry-trees (*Prunus virginiana*) is very good, and looks exceedingly well; it has a yellow colour, and the older the furniture is, which is made of it, the better it looks. But it is very difficult to get at it, for they cut it every where, and plant it no where. The curled maple (*Acer rubrum*) is a species of the common red maple, but likewise very difficult to be got. You may cut down many trees without finding the wood you want. The wood of the sweet gum tree (*Liquidambar*) is merely employed in joiner's work, such as tables, and other furniture. But it must not be brought near the fire, because it warps. The firs and the white cedars (*Cupressus thyoides*) are likewise made use of by joiners for different sorts of work." Kalm, *Travels*, 2:21.

272. Head Account Book, pp. 18 [Jones, 5/18/23, credited at £7-1-1 with "divers sorts of Linen & Goods"], 66 right [Owen, 8/12/25, £2-15-0], 78 right [Taylor, 8/24/25]. "Black Walnut Plank, Boards, and Scantling, suitable for all kinds of joiners work" were advertised by Samuel Williams, Joiner. *Pennsylvania Journal*, June 2, 1773, cited in Prime, *Arts and Crafts*, p. 186. Head bought "33 foot of Goom [gumwood] Bord," but no piece is listed as made of it. Head Account Book, p. 84 right [Daniel Hillman, 4/5/26, £0-2-9]. Gumwood pieces are rare in Philadelphia. "7 Sett Gum bedstead pillars," appear in the "15 10ber 1708" inventory of Charles

Plumley. Forman, American Seating Furniture, pp. 371-372, Appendix I; Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 9. In 1756, cabinetmaker John Elliott billed merchant Charles Norris for a "Gum" bedstead. Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," p. 65, citing Family Accounts, Norris of Fairhill, vol. I (1740-1773), p. 20, HSP.

273. Head Account Book, p. 69 right. Nor did Head ever record poplar by the name tulip or tulipwood. Kalm described the Tulip tree in Pennsylvania as growing "as high as our tallest oaks and firs, and its thickness is proportionable to its height." Kalm, *Travels*, 1:143. "The Englishmen in Pennsylvania call it the name of Poplar. It is reckoned a tree which grows to the greatest height and thickness of any in North America, and which vies in that point with our greatest European trees." Kalm, *Travels*, 1:203.

274. Head Account Book, pp. 48 left [Hooton], 77 left [Warder]; poplar advertisement of Samuel Williams, Joiner. *Pennsylvania Journal*, June 2, 1773, cited in Prime, *Arts & Crafts*, p. 186.

275. *Worldly Goods*, checklist #38 caption ("Walnut; poplar, white cedar, yellow pine"); contra as to poplar, Winterthur, Decorative Arts Photographic Collection, Data Sheet #89.220, September, 1989 ("Black walnut, yellow pine, cedar").

276. Head Account Book, pp. 2 [Pool, 11/22/23, £13-17-10 1/2], 8 [Hains, 3/4/21, £3-0-0; 6/7/21, £6-15-4].

277. Head Account Book, pp. 49 right [Coster], 76 right & 93 right [George], 101 right [Rambo]. Rambo and Georg also charged Head for "squares" logs. Head credited Nathaniel [Nathaniel] Pool £13-17-10, on 11/23/23, "By Sundres Timbr And Sawen To This day," but wasn't more specific as to what type of wood or its purpose. Head Account Book, p. 2. James Logan lists an account and transactions, in 1720, for "Nathaniel Pool Shipwright." Logan Ledger, p. 31 left.

278. Head credited Benjamin Hooton [Hooten] £4-14-0, on 2/14/47, "by 1558 foot of pine bord lay in my lot." Head Account Book, p. 138 right. The pine was not meant for cabinetmaking as, by then, Head had ceased recording its production.

279. Head Account Book, p. 77 right.

280. Head Account Book, pp. 16 [Harrison, 2/14/25, £0-4-0], 21 [Elger, 7/12/24, £0-0-8], 55 left [Hansly, 5/17/23, £0-4-0], 118a right [Smith, 5/20/28, £0-0-10 for one pound; 6/10/28, £0-11-2, for thirteen pounds].

281. Head Account Book, pp. 61 right [Griffith Jones], 87 right [Casper Wister], 77 right [Jeremiah Warder], 91 right [Thomas Maul]. Linseed oil received after 1744, which came when Head ceased recording sales of furniture, may have been for other purposes. Head also received unspecified oil from others. Head Account Book, pp. 72 right [Benjamin Shomaker], 121 right [Caleb Ransted]. It may have been linseed oil or some other oil, perhaps that required for lubricating Head's implements or machinery, such as his pump. Linseed oil was also exported in large quantities to Ireland at this time. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:50. Benjamin Shoemaker was a prominent Philadelphia Quaker. He served as its mayor and on the Pennsylvania Provincial Council. Crane, *Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, p. 335.

282. Head Account Book, pp. 8 [Simond Hagal/Edgell], 26 [Harns Lucin], 50 right [Josier Foster], 65 right [Thomas Canan], 130 right [Sary Griskam].

283. Deed of Settlement of the Philadelphia Contributionship, March 25, 1752. Head debited chandler "Thomas Canan" for "18 pound & 3/4 Randerd [rendered] Tallow, on 1/30/22. Head

Account Book, p. 25. By 1748, Kalm found that common tallow cost about six pence a pound. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:192. "Thomas Cannon, Tallow Chandler" had paid £0-15-6 to be admitted a freeman on May 6, 1717. *Minutes of the Common Council*, p. 122.

284. Head Account Book, pp. 4 [Woodrop], 53 left [Burr, 9/12/40, £3-0-0], 107 right [Pyewell, 1/5/28, £0-12-6].

285. Head Account Book, pp. 40 [Ranstad, 2/7/21, £0-0-8], 70 right [Jonson, 5/9/25, £0-2-0], 89 right [Hoy, 11/6/26, £0-8-0].

286. Head Account Book, p. 2.

287. Head Account Book, p. 4.

288. The other accounts credited, in chronological order, for nails to Head were those of William Clar [Clare] delivered by Jane Marrit, Thomas Canan delivered by William Branson, Isaac Noris Junor [Norris, Jr.], Jon [Jonathan?] Copson, Bangaman Shomaker [Benjamin Shoemaker], Riner Tison [Reiner Tyson?] delivered by Thomas Danham, Franses Knowls [Francis Knowles], Daniel Harrison delivered by Nathanel [Nathaniel] Jenkins, Richard Renshaw, Anthoney Nicholas [Anthony Nichols?], William Vallecot, George Kellay [Kelley?], and Thomas Maul [Maule]. Head Account Book, pp. 20 [Clar], 65 right [Canan], 50 right [Noris Junor], 53 right [Copson], 72 right [Shomaker], 71 right [Tison], 105 right [Knowls], 58 right [Harrison], 34 [Renshaw], 131 right [Nicholas], 118a right [Vallecot], 116 right [Kellay], 91 right [Maul]. The transactions with Kellay, which ran from 5/21/42 to 1/23/45, were both numerous and large, totaling £12-0-0, and including 146 pounds of otherwise unidentified nails, 28 pounds of larth nails, 18 pounds of two penny nails, and 8 pounds of brads. Head Account Book, p. 116 right. Another order for large tacks was credited to Joseph Paschal, at £0-4-8, on 1/11/27, "By 2 m [thousand] Large Taks." Head Account Book, p. 95 right.

289. Head Account Book, p. 91 right.

290. William Vestal was debited £1-11-0, on 9/6/23, "To : 36 : pound of nails & a Bage." Head Account Book, p. 57 left. Debits for nails appear in many other accounts. Head Account Book, pp. 35, 47 left, 93 left, 137 left, 138 left.

291. Head Account Book, p. 47 left.

292. Head Account Book, p. 116 right.

293. Head Account Book, p. 70 left.

294. Head Account Book, p. 4. The same quantity of till locks were bought from Boulah Coates, on 5/2/26, for slightly less, at £1-2-0. Head Account Book, p. 75 right.

295. Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 51. Rutter set up his furnace near Germantown in 1716, producing high quality iron. Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:191.

296. Head Account Book, p. 53 right. John Copson had for sale "[a] Servant Maids Time for Four Years." *American Weekly Mercury*, January 2, 1721, reproduced in facsimile in Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:200.

297. Head Account Book, p. 91 left. "Drawer locks" were among the hardware items which Maule later advertised for sale. Maule Advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 14, 1755.

Thomas Canan had earlier been charged £0-4-6 by Head, "To a drawer and Lok," on 8/13/31. Head Account Book, p. 120 left.

298. The shilling locks were purchased in small quantities. Three were credited to William Crosewhit [Croswhitt?], on 5/11/25. Head Account Book, p. 74 right. Six each were bought from pewterer Simond Edgal [Edgell], on 4/16/26 and 4/18/26. Head Account Book, p. 86 right.

299. Head credited Joseph Paschal, £0-10-0, on 1/11/27, "By one dosen of Loks." Head Account Book, p. 95 right.

300. Head Account Book, p. 13.

301. Head Account Book, p. 87 left;

302. Head Account Book, p. 35 [1/4/22]. As Cooper's account shows no furniture bought from Head, this must have been for something he had from another shop.

303. Head Account Book, pp. 40 [Williams, 4/11/19], 50 left [Foster, 2/2/24], 60 left [Canby, 4/10/27], 91 left [Maul, 1/6/44]. Thomas Georg [George] was debited £0-3-6, "To a Chest Loke & Sundres." Head Account Book, p. 75 left [5/2/26].

304. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:208.

305. Head Account Book, pp. 58 right [Davis, 12/8/23], 77 right [Shute, 7/15/25].

306. The actual credit was a combined £0-6-0, for "an ould lok and a gridiron." As Blakham had just been credited £0-4-0, "By a gridiron" alone, Head appears to have valued the "ould lok" at £0-2-6. Head Account Book, p. 36. As Head's first credit for locks is not until his 1721 purchases from Wooddrop, the source of the Williams's lock is unknown. Perhaps it was part of whatever tools and supplies Head may have brought with him from England.

307. Head Account Book, pp. 5 [Cox], 125 left [Asp]. The term "screws" was also used as we do today. Thus, Abraham Kinzing, from whom Head had purchased 18 pounds of "hooks & Inges," was credited £0-4-0, for "8 scrues for Loks," on 4/15/37. Head Account Book, p. 123 right.

308. Head Account Book, p. 82 left. Head may have identified Ladwick Sipel by profession so as not to confuse him with another of his clients, Lodwick Spregel [Lodwick Sproegel]. Head Account Book, p. 29.

309. This is another instance of Head charging no mark-up. Head Account Book, p. 28. The iron may or may not have been supplied directly by Leacock. Of the eight orders for iron credited to Leacock's account, six (but not this one or another) were noted as pursuant to orders given Anthony Nicholas [Anthony Nichols?]. Head Account Book, p. 28. Leacock identified himself as "at Pool Forge or at Philadelphia," when advertising a reward for the return of Anthony Lea, "a bandy kneed" servant who had run off "in Company with a young lusty Woman named Elizabeth." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 12, 1734. Located on Manatawny Creek, Pool Forge, "almost new, in good order," was later advertised for lease or sale "with upwards of three hundred acres of land thereto belonging." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 20, 1746.

310. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 3, 1747. Seipel's house was thus about the same dimensions as Head's own home. John Head's Will.

311. Head Account Book, p. 6 [2/25/37].
312. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 13, 1744.
313. Head Account Book, pp. 62 right [Duche, 1/15/32], 77 right [William Stretch, 10/22/26], 109 right [Peter Stretch, 4/12/28], 123 right [Kinzing, 2/25/37].
314. Two more orders are recorded that day for seven dozen more of the same, for an additional £1-8-6. Branson also supplied Head with joint hinges, butt hinges, a grindstone and 1500 feet of "Walnut Bord." Head Account Book, p. 6. In turn, Head supplied Branson with cords of wood, which may have been used in iron production. Head Account Book, p. 5. According to Garvan, Branson, who died in 1760, was a "shopkeeper" in 1720, and a "merchant" in 1726. Garvan, "13. Tankard," *Philadelphia: Three Centuries*, p. 18. Elsewhere, he is referred to as an "ironmaster." *Lanmaking*, p. 15. Branson delivered to the Pennsylvania State House iron chimney-backs for the Assembly Room, at £6-1-3, in 1744. Riley, "The Independence Hall Group," p. 17, quoting Votes of Assembly, *Pennsylvania Archives, Eighth Series* (Harrisburg 1931), 4: 3047, 7: 5903.
315. Head Account Book, p. 53 right. Handles were being used for drawer fronts even earlier. Head sold James Estugh, a "handle for a drawer," on 7/30/23, at £0-0-9. Head Account Book, p. 51 left. Of course this may have been for a counter drawer in a shop and not for the drawer of a piece of domestic furniture. Sary [Sarah] Griscom had been debited £0-3-4, "To a drawer in her Counter," on 5/13/23. Head Account Book, p. 130 left.
316. Joseph Peters had for sale, imported from Bristol, England, "plain and screwed handles and escutcheons of sundry sorts." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 15, 1747.
317. Head Account Book, p. 45.
318. Head Account Book, pp. 8 [Hagal], 86 right [Edgal].
319. Donald L. Fennimore, *Metalwork in Early America: Copper and Its Alloys from the Winterthur Collection* (Winterthur, Del.: Winterthur, 1996), p. 373.
320. Thomas Allen Glenn, *Some Colonial Mansions and Those Who Lived in Them* (Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates & Co., 1899), p. 109.
321. Head Account Book, pp. 60 right [Whit & Tailor], 75 right [Coates], 106 left [Linley].
322. Head had earlier purchased from Duché, "four dosen and 1/2 of nob[s]," at £0-9-0, on 5/7/31, but made no mention of their composition. On 5/7/31, he ordered a "gros[s] ditto," at £1-4-0. Head Account Book, p. 62 right. Brass knobs had been sold by Head even earlier, on 4/13/24, to Barni Eagelsfield [Barney Eaglesfield], for £0-4-2. Head Account Book, p. 60 left.
323. Head Account Book, p. 91 left [Maul].
324. No clues were otherwise offered by Head's other transactions with Boore, a credit "By Sundres," and a debit, "To a Stand." Head Account Book, p. 89 left & right.
325. Head Account Book, p. 2 [last name of account torn off page]. While Joseph was then a common name, perhaps "Colman" was the name torn off the account page. Although it would have been redundant to mention that the account holder had delivered an item credited to his account, Head sometimes did this.

326. Head Account Book, pp. 59 left [Nicholas], 62 right [Duche].
327. Head Account Book, pp. 37 [Loyd], 80 left [Cooper], 112 left [Clark]. Head does not identify from what wood these pegs were made. According to Kalm: "The wood of mulberry-trees is of all others reckoned the most excellent for pegs and plugs in ships and boats." Kalm, *Travels*, 2:22.
328. [Benjamin Franklin], *Poor Richard Improved*, 1752 (Philadelphia: 1752). That being true, one wonders to what "jest" Head wished to put the "Docters stuff" for which he credited Edward Owen on 11/27/29, at £0-9-6, as "By the widdowes account sent In for Docters stuf Received of her Husborn." Head Account Book, p. 96 right.
329. Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," p. viii.
330. Head Account Book, pp. 6 [Branson, 2/12/21, £0-15-0], 58 right [Davis, 9/2/23, £0-2-8 gimlets; 9/10/24, £0-7-0 hatchets], 116 right [Kellay, 10/18/42, £1-0-0]. Joseph Trotter advertised "Newcastle grind stones, and London steel, to be sold...Very cheap for ready money." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 26, 1749. Indicative of their use, hand irons were usually inventoried along with fire shovels and tongs. E.g., Philadelphia Wills, 1744-81 [Joseph Claypoole, Sr.], 1754-141 [Edward Warner], 1761-3 [Joseph Hall].
331. Head Account Book, pp. 11 [Talbert, 10/9/20, £0-10-0], 33 [McClellan, 12/2/22, £0-5-0], 37 [Loyd, 10/9/23, £0-10-0], 59 left [Nicholas, 4/15/24, £0-4-0 plane; 2/22/26, £0-18-0 saws], 61 left [Cassell, 10/1/24, £0-1-6], 126 left [Webb, 3/15/31, £0-1-6]. The "marken iron" may have just as readily been used to brand livestock as furniture. "John Head, hatter" described his stolen horse as "branded with a D on the near shoulder." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 19, 1747. For illustration and discussion of these and other tools of a slightly later period see Charles F. Hummel, *With Hammer in Hand: The Dominy Craftsmen of East Hampton, New York* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1968).
332. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:168.
333. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:165, 206.
334. Unless Head was implying theft on Rouse's part, this charge was probably to repairing Head's chisel with new steel. Head Account Book, p. 106 right [Rouse]. Given Maule's long relationship with Head, these tools may have been given to Head at much earlier dates, but only charged in 1746. Head Account Book, p. 91 right.
335. Head Account Book, pp. 3 [Mocombs, 1/5/20, £0-2-6], 5 [Cox, 7/9/22], 52 left [Dimsdild, 7/15/23, £0-5-6]. "John McComb, Junier" advertised for the return of a runaway 17-year old Indian "Girle." *American Weekly Mercury*, May 24, 1726, reproduced in facsimile in Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:200. The estate of a "Sarah Dimsdale, late of Hattonfield [Haddonfield], Gloucester County, New Jersey," sought payment of debts in 1741. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 1, 1741. As she was probably "Sary Dimsdild," she is another link to business which Head's shop did across the river.
336. Head Account Book, pp. 3 [Alexander Woodrop, £0-0-6 handle & knob for teapot, 7/24/21], 9 [James Steel, £0-1-0 pieces of wood, 1721; £0-0-6 nozzle, 8/1/24], 55 left [Charles Hansly, £0-2-6 two bed posts, 2/18/24], 59 left [John Nicholas, £0-2-6, 2/22/24], 112 left [Benjamin Clark, £0-1-0 four legs, 12/14/28], loose papers inside front cover [Joseph Chatam, £0-4-0 frame, £0-2-6 five legs, both 4/21/40].

337. The inventory, now missing, was said to be dated November 11, 1754. Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," p. 48.
338. The miniature chest of drawers, which may have functioned as a spice or valuables chest, was formerly in the collection of Robert Simpson Stuart.
339. Head Account Book, p. 74 right. The shape of these turned tables is not indicated. They were not necessarily oval, the only "rounded" shape indicated by Head. Some may have been round. A "Round Tea Table" was listed in the inventory of Head's best customer, James Steel, although not necessarily supplied by Head. Philadelphia Wills, 1741-261.
340. Head Account Book, pp. 3 [Woodrop, Mocombs], 9 [Steel], 53 left [Masters], 59 left [Nicholas], 120 left [Wells].
341. Head Account Book, pp. 29 [Snad], 31 [Parker], 103 left [Steel], 132 left [Stretch]. Undesignated tables were mended for Head's other customers, as well. Head Account Book, pp. 1 [Nathaniel Pool], 29 [Lodwick Sprengel], 55 left [Charles Hansly], 58 left [Daniel Harrison], 50 left [Isaac Noris Junor], 67 left [Samuel Burers Junor], 94 left [William Wallas], 122 left [William Lucin]. Three tables mended were specifically designated as "oval," in two instances for the same people as undesignated ones. Head Account Book, pp. 1 [Pool], 44 [Parsons], 103 left [Steel].
342. Head Account Book, p. 3 [Woodrop], 53 left [Masters]. Cf., James Logan debited to his "Household Goods" account £1-16-0, on 3/17/26, "To Cash for making leather seats to SIX Cane Chairs at 6sh." Logan Ledger, p. 89 left.
343. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged* (Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam Company, 1961), p. 705.
344. It is also possible that Head may be referring to a table made in Holland. However, there are no references to that country and only two references to the Dutch in the account book. See "By Ten gallons of linsit [linseed] Ioyl [oil] dd by a duchman at Iermantown onforbos [?]," for which Jeremiah Warder got a credit, Head Account Book, p. 77 right [4 mo. 1746, credit of £2-0-0]; and the account titled "Ladwik Sipel the Dutch Loksmith," *ibid.*, p. 82 left.
345. Head Account Book, p. 3; Hornor, *Blue Book*, pp. 18-19; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 12, 1732. By 1733, "Lovers of Decency, Neatness and TEA-TABLE DECORUM" could treat themselves to "all Sizes of the best white-metal Pewter Tea-Pots; likewise Tea-Stands,...Tea-Spoons," which had "JUST arrived from London." "Importer JOHN SACHEVERELL" advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 15, 1733.
346. Head Account Book, pp. 19 [Clar], 40 [Williams], 68 left [Johns].
347. As of 1/1/20, James Logan had in stock "15 doz & 9," valued at £8-6-6. On 3/14/20, he added an additional "Cargoe from Brittain" of "6 doz," at £4-6-5. Logan Ledger, p. 101 left. During 1721-1727, he purchased another 103 dozen and 8, of which 85 dozen were "from abroad." *Ibid.*, pp. 101 left, 220 left.
348. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 1, 1738.
349. Logan Ledger, p. 180 left; Head Account Book, pp. 59 left [Nicholas], 60 left [Eagelsfield].
350. Head Account Book, pp. 1 [two for Nathaniel Pool], 3 [Alexander Woodrop, John Mocombs Junor], 15 [Richard Harrison], 31 [Mary Parker Sanor], 56 left [Hugh Cordry].

351. In his most recent book, John Kirk entitles his chapter on high chests of similar construction as "Tall and Precarious." John T. Kirk, *American Furniture: Understanding Styles, Construction, and Quality* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2000), p. 59

352. Head Account Book, pp. 5 [Cox], 29 [Radman], 49 left [Coster], 53 left [Masters], 64 left [Allen], 118 left [Williams]. "Drawers" was a common abbreviation in probate inventories for chests of drawers and may thus have stood, in the Williams entry, for that form, rather than for the drawers themselves. Nehemiah Allen was a cooper who rented out and eventually sold a brewery to Joseph Taylor. Nehemiah Allen's account book, 1698-1736, is at HSP. Thompson, *Rum Punch*, p. 223 n. 35; *Minutes of the Common Council*, p. 125 ["Joseph Taylor, Brewer" admitted freeman on May 20, 1717].

353. Head Account Book, pp. 1 [Pool], 3 [Mocombs], 5 [Cox], 31 [Parker], 46 [Todd], 49 left [Preston], 53 left [Masters], 58 left [Harrison], 80 left [Cooper], 94 left [Wallas], 103 left [Steel], 109 left [Stretch], 120 left [Wells], 130 left [Griskam].

354. Cf., "fire screen" Henry Clifton supplied Doctor Samuel Preston Moore's wife. Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," p. 23, citing Ledger of Samuel P. Moore, 1745-1780, p. 37 [0-15-0, August 11, 1748], LCP.

355. Patricia E. Kane, *300 Years of American Seating Furniture, Chairs and Beds from the Mabel Brady Garvan and Other Collections at Yale University* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1976), p. 44; Joseph K. Kindig III, *The Philadelphia Chair, 1685-1785* (York, Pa.: The Historical Society of York County, 1978); Garvan, "24 Armchair," *Philadelphia: Three Centuries*, p. 28. Kane illustrates an armchair with 4-slat back, Delaware River Valley, c. 1720-1760, with two turned stretchers in front and traces of red paint. *300 Years of American Seating*, p. 44, fig. 18. The earliest evidence of slat-back chairs in the Delaware Valley is the representation of an early slat-back, mushroom-finial armchair in the watercolor on paper seated portrait of Johannes Kelpius (1673-1708), the Germantown pietist. It was purportedly sketched, c. 1705, by amateur painter, botanist, doctor, sometime clockmaker, and fellow mystic Christopher Witt (1675-1765). Hornor, *Blue Book*, pp. 6, 292; Benno M. Forman, "Delaware Valley 'Crookt Foot' and Slat-back Chairs, The Fussell-Savery Connection," *Winterthur Portfolio* 15, no. 1 (Spring, 1980):52, fig. 8. The date of the portrait was derived from that on a manuscript hymnal, to which it was appended. Both are at HSP. As Kelpius's robe covers part of the base of his chair, the shape of its front stretchers cannot be observed. The broad curvature to the arched slats, the squashed finials atop the rear stiles, and the slender vasoform turnings of the arm supports of the Kelpius chair may also be found on a slat-back armchair, now on the second floor of Independence Hall, in a room adjacent to the Governor's Council Chamber. Like the Yale chair, it also has two turned bulbous front stretchers. Collection of Independence Hall National Historical Park, gift in memory of Beverly & Israel Stiefel.

356. Solomon Fussell Ledger, 1738-1752, Stephen Collins Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; Downs Collection, Winterthur, microfilm #M-659. First identified in an anonymous note, in *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 40:121, the ledger is among the papers of Collins, an executor to Fussell's estate. The Fussell Ledger has been extensively analyzed. Forman, *Delaware Valley Chairs*, pp. 41-64; Forman, *American Seating*, pp. 78, 168, 170, 246, 298, 347. Leibundguth, who performed what is perhaps the first such analysis, states that the Fussell ledger was only "uncovered" in the summer of 1963. Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," pp. x, 49.

357. Kindig illustrates a rare six-slat sidechair, c. 1745, with "crookt foot," a type made by Solomon Fussell. Kindig, *Philadelphia Chair*, fig. 29. An armchair of that type is dated by Forman slightly earlier, c. 1735-49. Forman, *Delaware Valley Chairs*, p. 47, fig. 2. While Head's account book refers to at least one chair with slats, it does not refer to any with a "crookt foot." Credit to account of John Hudson, Head Account Book, p. 83 right. Nor are there any entries in the

Head account book mentioning Fussell. Head's chairs, like those of Fussell, were probably mostly of maple, a popular chair wood. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:168.

358. John Hudson charged Head £1-7-0, on 1/18/26. Head Account Book, p. 83 right.

359. Garvan, "24 Armchair," *Philadelphia: Three Centuries*, p. 28.

360. Watson, *Annals*, 1:203.

361. Head Account Book, p. 95 right.

362. Nancy Goyne Evans, *American Windsor Chairs*, (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1996), p. 719; Forman, *Delaware Valley Chairs*, pp. 42, 44.

363. *Philadelphia Wills*, 1754-141.

364. Windsor chairs appear sporadically in Philadelphia inventories from about 1742, with that of William Fishbourne. Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," pp. 43-44. The earliest advertisement by a Philadelphia Windsor chair maker is that of David Chambers: "David Chambers is removed from his house in Walnut Street, to his house in Plumb Street, on Society Hill, where he keeps shop, and makes Windsor chairs as formerly." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 25, 1748 [advertisement dated August 18, 1748]. The first documented sale of Windsor furniture would appear to be the September 14, 1754 bill to Quaker merchant John Reynall for "2 Double Windsor Chairs with 6 legs," at £3-0-0, from Jedidiah Snowden, who would later advertise himself as in the business of "Cabinet and Windsor chair-making." Coates-Reynall Collection, HSP; Charles Santore, *The Windsor Style in America* (Philadelphia: The Running Press, vol. 1 1981, vol. 2 1987), 1:42-43; Evans, *American Windsor Chairs*, p. 80; advertisement in November 24, 1773 *Pennsylvania Journal*, cited in Prime, *Arts and Crafts*, p. 183. Unlike either slat-back or banester-back chairs, Windsors have spindled-backs and solid wood seats. See the discussion of these terms in Evans, *American Windsor Chairs*, p. 719; Forman, *Delaware Valley Chairs*, p. 44.

365. E.g., the inventory of "Joyner" Joseph Armitt listed "5 Winsor Chairs" appraised at £1-15-0. *Philadelphia Wills* 1747-160.

366. Cresson also got good service from Head, including delivery to his home, at no extra charge. Debited to his "Solomon Crison" account were "a chest of Drawers dd at his house," on 7/28/28, at £5-10-0; "a Dask dd att his house," on 4/18/30, at £7-10-0; "a Clock Case dd to his son James," on 11/17/40, at £4-0-0; and "a Clock Case dd to John Hood Clockmaker." Head Account Book, p. 95 left. James Cresson was born 1709. Ethel Hall Bjerko, *The Cabinetmakers of America* (Exton, Pa.: Schiffer Limited, 1978).

367. Caleb Ranstead paid James Logan £12-0-0 per year for ground rent, starting on 12/28/21, for "his 2 houses in 2[nd] Str[reet]." Logan Ledger, p. 144 left.

368. See Elva Tooker, *Nathan Trotter, Philadelphia Merchant, 1787-1853* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955), p. 6, for a Trotter genealogy, including Benjamin Trotter's dates. Benjamin Trotter was an early member of what was to become one of Philadelphia's most prolific cabinetmaking families by the last quarter of the 18th century. Trotter also spoke regularly at Philadelphia Quaker meetings. Myers, *Hannah Logan's Courtship*, p. 80 n. 2.

369. Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 3. He appears to be the Solomon Cresson, who was christened on June 30, 1674, in the Dutch Reformed Church, New York City; married Anna Watson, on November 14, 1702, in Philadelphia; and died, in Philadelphia, September 10, 1746. They had a son, also Solomon, born October 4, 1711, in Philadelphia, who died January 27, 1761.

Familysearch.com. Solomon's executor, John Cresson, advertised for indebted persons to make payment to his estate. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 27, 1747. Jeremiah Cresson, a "Joyner and Chair-Maker," of the next generation, advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 9, 1761, to "all those who are pleased to favour him with their Custom." Prime, *Arts and Crafts*, pp. 163-164.

370. Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 3; *Minutes of the Common Council*, p. 130 ["Alex fforman, Turner" was admitted as a freeman on May 27, 1717]; Prime, *Arts & Crafts*, p. 167. The source of Hornor's uncited 1718 reference is unknown.

371. Hornor, *Blue Book*, pp. 3, 296; *Minutes of the Common Council*, p. 127 ["John Hudson, Chairmaker" was admitted a freeman on May 20, 1717]; Prime, *Arts & Crafts*, pp. 172-173.

372. The insertion of the word "maple" was by Hornor. Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 207. No such wood is mentioned in Trotter's inventory, whereas 100 feet of mahogany boards, 80 of walnut and 57 of red cedar are. *Philadelphia Wills*, 1768-164. But it is still conceivable that such rounds were of maple. Fussell used maple for his slat-back chairs. Maple was also frequently used to fashion the legs, stretchers and arm supports of Windsor chairs made in early Philadelphia. Santore, *The Windsor Style*, 1:57-62, figs. 20, 21, 23, 25, 26. It is however too far a reach to state that Trotter was a Windsor chairmaker, as have others. Harold E. Gillingham, "The Philadelphia Windsor Chair and Its Journeyings," *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 55:303; J. Bennet Hill & Margaret Howe Hill, "William Fisher, Early Philadelphia Quaker, and His Eighteenth Century Descendants Surnamed Bradford, Brown, Browne, Bunner, Cavender, Cooper, Corker, Fisher, Hartley, Leaming, Lloyd, Lyon, Trotter and Wilson," *Genealogies of Pennsylvania Families*, vol. 1, A-He, *Pennsylvania Genealogies*, p. 564. While Benjamin Trotter styled himself a "Chairmaker," and his inventory lists "Chair Rounds," "[a] parcel of Joyners & Chair Maker Tools," and "1 Windsor Chair," such information is still insufficient to establish Benjamin Trotter as a maker of Windsor chairs. His name is not included, or even discussed, in recent authorities as a Windsor chairmaker. Evans, *American Windsor Chairs*; Santore, *Windsor Style*. Indeed, the two lots of chairs he sold Head and the types of chairs left in quantity in his estate would indicate that, if anything, he made leather and rush bottom chairs.

373. *Philadelphia Wills*, 1768-164.

374. Gillingham, *American Windsor Journeyings*, 55:306. Trotter was "living in Arch Street," apparently close to Head, when he advertised a lot for sale or let, in 1750. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 5, 1750.

375. Most of his other turning was of small objects, "Pags [pegs]," "a [k]nob," "Two peses of wood," "a handle and nob [finial] for a tee pot," and a "Nosel for a pomp [pump nozzle]." Head Account Book, pp. 3, 9, 55 left, 59 left, 112 left, loose papers inside front cover [Joseph Chatam].

376. Too cheap to have been Japanned, the chairs were probably just painted black. As will be seen from an analysis of chairs in a similar price range, they were utilitarian chairs, probably slat-back, now commonly referred to as "ladder-back." The source of these chairs is not known, except that the chairs and the table were both delivered by "Stven [Steven] Miller of Salam [Salem, New Jersey, which is crossed out] Philadelphia." Head Account Book, p. 27. No reference has been found for Miller as a chairmaker or turner. As the debit entry for Hill's chairs cannot be specifically aligned with any credit to Head's later chair suppliers, their source may have been John Hugoford, who was credited £5-10-0, in 1726, "By Chayers at Sundre Times," leaving no precise idea of their quantity, prices, or order dates. Head Account Book, p. 18. Hugoford remains a mystery.

377. Head Account Book, p.121 right. These were not sold by Head and, therefore, may have been for the use of his household. Cf., Thomas Penington [Pennington] paid Fussell £1-7-0,

"To 6 black & Slats," on 11/20/46. Fussell Ledger, p. 17. Pennington was also Head's customer, but bought no chairs through him. Head Account Book, pp. 98 left & right. Another common customer was carpenter Edmund Woolley, who bought chairs and other items from Fussell between 1739-1742. Fussell Ledger, p. 41; Head Account Book, p. 13.

378. Head Account Book, p. 31.

379. Cf., *Worldly Goods*, checklist #s 33 [chest-on-chest], 59 [clockcase], 68 [desk], 71 [secretary desk and bookcase].

380. Alexander Foreman was credited for "Six Chayers," on 1/29/26, at £1-10-0, undoubtedly those debited Jonathan Hains [Haines], on 2/4/26. John Hudson sold two lots of six chairs to Head, each also at £1-10-0, on 2/22/26 and 4/18/28, which were those apparently resold, respectively, to Daniel Hillman, on 3/14/26, and Bangman [Benjamin] Moore, on 4/27/28. Head started acquiring chairs from Solomon Cresson in 1726. The six chairs debited to Joseph Louance [Laurence] on 4/11/26, at £1-10-0, were credited to Cresson that same date quite specifically, "By 6 - Chayers dd [delivered] to Joseph Louance," no doubt to distinguish them from two six-chair lots, credited to Benjamin Trotter, at the same price, and on the same date. Cresson was also credited £1-10-0 for six-chair lots, on 9/19/26, possibly going to Joseph Cooper Junor [Jr.], on 8/18/27, the next chair debit in Head's book; and on 8/7/29 and 7/13/40, neither of which was recorded as sold. The foregoing, as priced at £1-10-0, were probably all 5-slat chairs. By comparison, the six at £1-7-0, which Cresson sold Head, on 7/20/40, were probably 4-slat chairs. Head Account Book, pp. 31 [Moore], 39 [Hains], 51 left [Street], 74 right [Forman], 76 right [Trotter], 80 left [Cooper], 83 right [Hudson], 84 left [Hillman], 85 left [Louance], 94 right [Crison].

381. "The type most frequently mentioned in the Fussell ledger were '3 slat,' '4 slat,' '5 slat,' and occasionally '6 slat' chairs. These account for the bulk of the shop's production. He priced chairs with three slats at 4s. each and increased the price at the rate of 1s. per slat unless he added other options, such as arms. On the basis of this pricing formula, perhaps the 3s. common chair had two slats." Forman, *Delaware Valley Chairs*, p. 42.

382. Head Account Book, p. 95 right.

383. Foreman, who supplied the "13 Chayers" to Richard Hains, did other turning work for Head, including turning at least seven "Tables," probably table tops. Foreman also charged Head for "Turn Work by John Smith," who may have been in his employ. Head Account Book, pp. 42 [Hains], 74 right [Forman]. The Head account book does not have a corresponding credit as to who supplied Branson's chairs. Head Account Book, pp. 84 left [Branson], 94 right [Crison]. Less informative was the £3-0-0 credited to Cresson and debited to Joseph Wood, on 10/3/28, respectively described as "By Chayers dd to Joseph Wood," and "To an order upon Solomon Crison for Chayers," without stating their number or type. Head Account Book, 92 left [Wood], 94 right [Crison]. Joseph Wood Parchment Maker," had an account with James Logan. Logan Ledger, p. 97 left. A Joseph Wood married, shortly before 7/29/29, Mary Pound, youngest child of Mary Pound (d. 1762), a widow, and next-door neighbor to John Head. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Philadelphia, July 8, 1762, advertisement by her executor, Thomas Say, for the sale of land of Mary Pound, deceased, adjacent to that of the late John Head; Lewis D. Cook, "David Meredith of Radnor, Chester County, and of Plymouth, Philadelphia County, Penna. And His Step-children Surnamed Moore," *Genealogies of Pennsylvania Families*, vol. 2, Hi-So, Pennsylvania Genealogies, p. 256.

384. Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," p. 48.

385. Cresson's entires, both as of 8/7/29, credited £1-4-0, "By a Couch;" and £1-0-0, "By a Couch omitted dd to James Cofe." Head Account Book, p. 95 right. The lack of an inventory

for Head's estate makes it impossible to corroborate whether a daybed was among his effects. The account of John Mocombs Junior [McComb, Jr.] was debited £0-0-6, on 2/25/21, "To mending a Couch." Head Account Book, p. 3. William Clar [Clare] bought the "Couch Hide," on 12/18/22, at £0-3-0. Head Account Book, p.19.

386. Mary McKinney Schweitzer, "The Economy of Philadelphia and Its Hinterland," in *Shaping a National Culture*, p. 99. Kalm estimated Philadelphia's population at above ten thousand in 1746. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:57.

387. Legend on "An East Prospect of the City of Philadelphia; taken by George Heap from the Jersey Shore, under the Direction of Nicholas Skull [Scull] Surveyor General of the province of Pennsylvania," engraved by Gerard Vandergrucht (London: George Heap, September 1, 1754), 20 1/b x 82 1/8 inches, illustrated in Martin P. Snyder, *City of Independence: Views of Philadelphia Before 1800* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), fig. 17. Cf., In 1749,...the houses in Philadelphia were counted, and found to be two thousand and seventy six in number." Kalm, *Travels*, 1:58: The Scull view clearly shows Market and Arch (Head's street, which he commonly wrote down as Mulberry) Streets as wider than others. Kalm states that Market was "near a hundred" feet wide and Arch "sixty six feet," whereas most other streets were "fifty foot." Kalm, *Travels*, 1:33-34.

388. Head Account Book, p. 49 left. Only one other chest of drawers appears at this price, but as it was debited long afterwards, on 2/25/37, it is doubtful that it was veneered. Head Account Book, p. 119 left [debit to account of Benjamin Brian].

389. The earliest American cabinetmaker's inventory, the 10th mo. 15, 1708 estate inventory of Charles Plumley, valued, at £6-0-0, "6 ffeneaireing Screws [clamps]." *Philadelphia Wills*, 1708-113; Forman, *American Seating Furniture*, pp. 371-372. The 1718 inventory of joiner Robert Streeter, who was from Chester, sixteen miles south of Philadelphia, listed a "finnering iron." Chester County Archives #75, cited in Lee Ellen Griffith, *The Pennsylvania Spice Box* (West Chester, Pa.: Chester County Historical Society, 1986), p. 136 n. 1.

390. Hornor is wrong in citing as two survivors the "William and Mary matching highboy and lowboy...from Cedar Grove," which descended in the Morris family, as examples of drawers with veneered fronts in a solid walnut carcass. Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 10, & pls. 12 & 13; accord, PMA MS Word Label ID #979 for the "Graydon Wood, 1994" photograph of the pair ["walnut veneer"]. The drawers are of solid walnut, as well. Garvan, "22. High Chest and Dressing Table," p. 26; accord, conservator Christopher Storb, in a personal conversation, November, 2000.

391. One spice box on frame, a scaled down version of a full-size chest of drawers on a frame of turned legs, is faced with 1/16" mahogany veneer on its pine sides, base and large drawers. Lee Ellen Griffith, *Pennsylvania Spice Box*, fig. 48; Parke-Bernet Galleries, *Important XVIII Century American Furniture & Decorations: Property of Mrs. Francis P. (Mabel B.) Garvan*, auction catalog (New York, October 31, 1970), lot #142. Another spice box with a mahogany veneered pine door is in a private collection. *Worldly Goods*, checklist #8. The small scale of these pieces may have aided their survival and that of their veneer. First, the veneer had smaller surfaces to span and, thus, was less susceptible to movement, swelling and cracking. Also, these smaller pieces may have been used principally for display. They never underwent the sort of heavy use given full scale chests of drawers.

392. John T. Kirk, *American Furniture & the British Tradition to 1830* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), figs. 547, 551, 552. Geoffrey Beard and Lady Goodison describe in detail the process of veneering and the various "cross-banded" and "feather-edged" veneers, which continued to be popular on walnut furniture into the reign of George I (1714-1721), a time contemporaneous with John Head's emigration. Geoffrey Beard and Judith Goodison, *English Furniture 1500-1840*

(Oxford: Phaidon Christie's Limited, 1987), p. 13. Walnut had previously replaced oak as the fashionable wood for furniture coincident with the restoration of the English monarchy in 1660. Herbert Cescinsky, *English Furniture from Gothic to Sheraton* (New York: Dover Publications, 1968), p.100.

393. Kalm records the reminiscence of Isaac Norris, Sr. (1671-1735), "one of the first English merchants in this country, [who] observed, that in his younger years, the river Delaware, was commonly covered with ice...." Kalm, *Travels*, 2:127-128. The "severe winter of 1732-33" had accumulated some "fifteen inches of ice on the Schuykill," and was "succeeded by a hot, oppressive summer, in which many died from sunstroke." Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:206-207. That observation is confirmed by a July 11, 1734 contemporary report that "[t]he Weather has been so excessive hot for a Week past, that a great Number of People have fainted and fallen into Convulsions, and several have died in a few Hours after they were taken." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 11, 1734. In the "long winter" of 1741, "there fell such a quantity of snow, that the squirrels could not get to their store, and many of them were starved to death." Kalm, *Travels*, 1:313. A "great drought," in May 1748, dried up all the plants and grass in the fields. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:184. James Logan, observing barometric readings for several years, was reported to have found the fluctuations between 28" 59 and 30" 78. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:56. Kalm himself found the climate "temperate...,the winter not being over severe, and its duration short, and the summer not too hot...." But Kalm was comparing Philadelphia's climate to "the middlemost parts of Sweden, and the southern ones of Finland." Kalm, *Travels*, 1:47.

394. Both curled walnut and maple were not as common and, consequently, were more expensive than uncurled wood. Nor was it always evident which maple trees were curled within. "[Y]ou frequently find trees, whose outsides are marbled, but their insides not. The tree is therefore cut very deep before it is felled, to see whether it has veins in every part." Kalm, *Travels*, 1:168-169.

395. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, p. 128.

396. Head Account Book, p. 75 left [Jones, 8/4/27]. With drawers, pine chests cost nearly double: a "pin Chest with 2 drawers," for which £1-5-0 was debited Christofar Topam on 6/5/20, and a "pine Chest with drawers," for which £1-8-0 was debited Mathias Tison. Head Account Book, pp. 39 [Topam] & 33 [Tison]. As the £1-4-0 charged Jones falls within the range of prices charged for pine chests without drawers and those with, it is probable that his chest was of pine, as well.

397. Of course, the fact that the same price appears for the same form over a prolonged period is not dispositive of the issue. Head may have been debiting for models that were different but, coincidentally, priced the same.

398. Head Account Book, pp. 7 [John Hains debit, 8/22/20], 53 left John Burr debit, 9/28/41]. While Samuel Woolman was debited £9-2-0 for the "Three Chest of Drawers dd to himself", on 2/22/24, it is unclear from this aggregate price whether any £3-0-0 chests of drawers were included. Head Account Book, p. 52 left.

399. The eleven orders, each consisting of two chests of drawers and billed at £6-0-0 per order, are here listed chronologically by debtor. Head Account Book, p. 39, 12/24/21 debit to accounts of Jonathan Haines [Haines] for delivery on each to Will Sharp and John Sharp; p. 42, 2/2/23, and p. 132 right, 3/23/23, both debits to account of James Lippincott [Lippincott]; p. 52 left, 7/25/23 debit to account of Sary [Sarah] Cart; p. 33, 6/8/24, debit to account of Mathias Tison [Matthias Tyson?]; p. 81 left, 9/29/25, debit to account of Joseph Gilpin; p. 110 left, 7/25/28 & 8/16/40, both debits to account of Thomas Fitzwater [Fitzwater]; p. 25, 7/13/29, debit to account of William Lucin Lucan?]; and p. 90 left, 4/28/33 & 1/29/34, both

debits to account of John Prikett [Prickett]. The last order to Prikett was delivered by John Makentosh, together with an oval table at £2-5-0.

400. However, there is always the possibility that Head may have been charging the same price in any wood for this, his smaller "entry level" standard model, irrespective of his material cost, as an inducement for further and more substantial orders. Regrettably, he does not describe the wood of each chest of drawers sold.

401. Head Account Book, p. 42.

402. Head Account Book, p. 132 right, 3/23/23.

403. Head Account Book, p. 118 left [2/10/29].

404. Head Account Book, p. 126 left [Robert Webb, 2/23/30 debit]. Of these 25 chests of drawers, two, possibly a pair, were debited in a single £7-0-0 entry, to Peter Shomaker [Shoemaker]. Head Account Book, p. 80 left [5/25/34].

405. Head Account Book, p. 69 left, 10/23/43 debit to account of Mickel Branin [Michael Brannon?].

406. Josier [Josiah] Foster was charged £3-2-0, on 2/2/24, "To a Chest of Drawers & a Loke." Head Account Book, p. 50 left. But, apparently, on other occasions, Head did not charge for custom work. Presuming it was otherwise the same size as or smaller than his regular £3-0-0 chest of drawers, or that the required custom features were not costly to execute or supply, Head charged Thomas Gilpin no more, on 11/7/22, "To a Chest of drawers Be Spok," ordered by Mary Parker and delivered to Thomas's brother, Samuel. Head Account Book, p. 19.

407. Head charged Caleb Ransted [Ranstead] £0-1-1 1/2 "To a Box duftailen" on 7/13/29. Head Account Book, p. 121 left.

408. But, absent other, more expensive features, this would assume that the cost of producing bracket feet would be more expensive than turned feet. Thomas Bradford had "One walnut Chest wth Drawers on balls", in 1722. Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 30.

409. Paul Preston was charged the least of any account, for an en suite chest of drawers and chamber table, at £6-15-0 on 3/15/19, as well as for an individual chamber table, at £1-7-0 on 8/27/19. Head Account Book, p. 49 left. The combinations generally brought £9-10-0, as in the account of William Clar [Clare], on 8/13/23. Head Account Book, p. 19 & passim. Chamber tables generally were debited at £1-15-0, as in the account of Samuel Hudson, on 1/3/21. Head Account Book, p. 7 & passim.

410. Head Account Book, p. 27. This specificity was either done to accomodate Leacock's bookkeeping practices or simply to differentiate which cherry and maple chests of drawers were at issue, as Leacock had earlier purchased one of each, at higher prices. Head Account Book, p. 27.

411. The three chests of drawers sold at £4-15-0 were within a relatively short timeframe of a little over two years: the 4/17/21 order from John Pris [Price?] delivered to William Vallocot, the 3/2/22 order from William Hains [Haines], and the 7/28/23 order from Nathaniel [Nathaniel] Zane. Head Account Book, pp. 9 [Pris] & 25 [Hains & Zane].

412. The three chests of drawers sold at £5-0-0 span an even shorter timeframe than the £4-15-0 chests of drawers, i.e., less than a year: the 11/19/19 order from Thomas Shute, the

12/26/19 order from Archab [Archibald] Mikel, and the 6/16/20 one from John Mafel. Head Account Book, pp. 39 [Shute], 40 [Mikel] & 50 left [Mafel].

413. The forty-eight chests of drawers sold at £5-10-0 were over a span of twenty years, from the 11/18/21, order from John Comins "dd [delivered] to his Sister," to the 10/30/41 order from Mickel Branin [Michael Brannon?]. Head Account Book, pp. 48 left [Comins] & 69 left [Branin]. One of those chests of drawers, as previously noted, was purchased on 4/19/27 by John Campbell and returned at full credit on 10/5/27. Head Account Book, pp. 99 left & right. The cost of another, delivered to Mathias Lucan, was split, on 7/27/25, between two accounts, Lucan debited £3-0-0 and Peter Tison £2-10-0, each for "part of" a chest of drawers. Head Account Book, p. 76 left.

414. The twenty-two chests of drawers sold at £5-15-0 also spanned nearly twenty years, from the 10/1/20 order from Mathew Burchfield [Birchfield?] to the 9/14/39 one from Isaac Janiens. Head Account Book, pp. 49 left [Burchfield] & 102 left [Janiens].

415. The £6-0-0 walnut chest of drawers went to Calap [Caleb] Cash, in 1721. Head Account Book, p. 7. The seven chests of drawers sold at £6-0-0 were over a roughly twenty-year period from the 12/12/19 purchase by Nathanal [Nathaniel] Pool, to the 3/16/41 order from Anthony Williams. Head Account Book, pp. 1 [Pool] & 68 left [Williams].

416. Chalfant Collection. While in the basic form of the Beake-type chests [fig. 3], this chest exhibits additional refinements. There is greater complexity to the turnings of its feet and the moulded edge of its top. String inlay enhances the drawers fronts and top, lightening the entire effect.

417. The £4-15-0 and £5-0-0 may not have been "models," as such. Perhaps they were in the same form as the £3-0-0 model, but in different, more expensive woods, or even in a higher grade of wood such as curled walnut, although undesignated in the account book.

418. Head Account Book, p. 132 right.

419. The inventory was taken on 1/2/50 by Joseph Lownes and Joseph Mariott. Philadelphia Wills, 1749-147.

420. Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 29. Margaret Schiffer lists only one, the "high Chist of Drawers," which belonged to Margaret Miller of Kennett Square, Chester County, in 1744. Schiffer, *Chester County, Pennsylvania Inventories*, p. 111.

421. Debited to Daniel Cotes [Coates], on 9/28/34. Head Account Book, p. 48 left.

422. Debited to the accounts of Andrew Duche [Duché], on 5/7/31; and Daniel Hillman, on 10/30/36. Head Account Book, pp. 62 left [Duché] and 84 left [Hillman].

423. Debited to Philip Johns, on 10/1/24. Head Account Book, p. 68 left.

424. Debited to the account of "Susanah Feirman Excexetreks of her husborn Benjamin Terman" [Susannah Fairman, Executrix of her husband Benjamin Fairman], on 5/16/40. Head Account Book, p. 90 left.

425. Debited to Simond Hagal [Simon Edgell, the pewterer], on 5/9/25. Head Account Book, p. 7.

426. Debited to Benjamin Brian [Bryan?], on 2/25/37. Head Account Book, p. 119 left.

427. The "Charytre" one was debited to Edward Bradle [Bradley?], on 5/25/33; and the other one to Joseph Cooper, on 2/28/35. Head Account Book, pp. 78 left [Bradle] & 80 left [Cooper].

428. The "Charitree" one was debited to the account of John Leacock, on 6/24/33; the undesignated one to the account of James Steel, on 3/31/34; and the "Charytree" one to Richard Renshaw, on 6/19/35. Head Account Book, pp. 27 [Leacock], 103 left [Steel], & 33 [Renshaw].

429. Debited to William Horn, on 8/1/37. Head Account Book, p. 72 left.

430. Head Account Book, pp. 63 left [Calender] & 27 [Leacock].

431. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 9, 1748.

432. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:50. As will be discussed in the section on chests of drawers with ensuite dressing tables, three pairs were described as in cedar. Head also charged Thomas Redman, on 5/11/24, "To mending a Sader Chest of Drawers With drops & scuchons And Sader Together Conto [which came to]" £0-10-0. Head Account Book, p. 29.

433. Head Account Book, p. 40; FamilySearch.com, compact disc #4, pin #983691.

434. Head Account Book, p. 106 left.

435. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Bequest of Lydia Thompson Morris, 1932-45-101; *Worldly Goods*, checklist #35 ("cherry; cedar, pine, poplar"); contra as to poplar secondary wood, Cedar Grove Inventory, January 9, 1991, Cedar Grove, Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, p. 17 ("long leaf pine drawer sides and white cedar drawer bottoms"). An absence of poplar secondary wood may further support a Head attribution, as Head did not expressly record such wood until the forties, well after the Shinn commission.

436. E.g., Thomas Shinn's grandson, James Thornton Shinn (born, Philadelphia, January 9, 1834-1909), married Emma Morris (Philadelphia, April 20, 1870). FamilySearch.com, compact disc #4, pin #986751 & #986755, and film #1985447; Moon, *Morris Family*, 5:247. See also a Queen Anne corner chair descended in the Morris-Shinn-Maier Family. Hornor, *Blue Book*, pp. 199-200, pl. 319.

437. The Morris cherry triple chest of drawers bears a paper label inside one drawer which reads: "[C]hest of drawers from our old home Cedar Grove, believed to date from about 1748 and that it belonged to our great-great grandmother Elizabeth Coates Paschall. John T. Morris [brother to Lydia] 1906." Cedar Grove Inventory, pp. 16-17. The chest of drawers, however, stood at "Compton," the Chestnut Hill home of John T. Morris and Miss Lydia T. Morris, when photographed, c. 1909, for Moon's book. Moon, *Morris Family*, 5:248 plate opposite. Cedar Grove was originally constructed at Harrowgate near Frankford, about four miles north of Philadelphia. Lydia Thompson Morris donated Cedar Grove, together with all of its contents to the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1928. It was then taken down and re-erected in Fairmount Park. Roger W. Moss, *Historic Houses of Philadelphia: A Tour of the Region's Museum Homes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), pp. 86-89. Cedar Grove was built in 1748 by Elizabeth Coates Paschall, on land purchased from her brother Samuel. It stood on part of a plantation, originally acquired by her father Thomas Coates, Sr. in 1714, to which Elizabeth had moved, after the death of her husband Joseph Paschall in 1742. Elizabeth was related to at least three of Head's customers: her husband, her mother Boulah Jacques Coates, and her brother Thomas Cotes Junior [Coates, Jr.]. "Elizabeth Coates Paschall (1702-1767)," *Philadelphia: Three Centuries*, p. 49. There is no record of Elizabeth or any of her relatives purchasing the triple chest from Head. There is the possibility that it came into Cedar Grove

from another close source, like the Shinns, especially given the high degree of inter-relationships, commercial and marital, among Head's customers. Hornor provides the following information regarding furniture owned by Elizabeth and the Coateses: "Elizabeth Coates reveals in her account book the purchase, during the year 1721, less than a month after her marriage to Joseph Paschall, of 'A Mahogany Chest of drawers & Table' costing £9-16-0, and 'A Mahogany Bedsted' at 11s. Two years before, her father Thomas Coates had had a mahogany bedstead...." Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 47. Hornor also states that brickmaker Thomas Coats, presumably her brother, had a "Low Desk" a few years after the middle of the century. *Ibid.* p. 118.

438. As Head described and charged for entries "To a Chest of Drawers and a Table" as a single unit, they have been counted separately herein, and thus are not among the tabulations for individual "chests of drawers" and "chamber tables."

439. Head Account Book, p. 49 left. Two other pairs were also ordered that year, at £10-0-0, one debited to Simond Hagal [Simon Edgell] ("Sader"), on 4/15/19; the other to Abram Cox ("Chary Tree"), on 5/27/19. Head Account Book, pp. 7 [Hagal] & 5 [Cox].

440. Head Account Book, p. 87 left. Anthony Morris also appears in a £5-0-0 transaction debited, on 2/3/34, to Samuel Powell Sanor [Sr.], "To a Clockcase dd to his son Anthony Morris." Head Account Book, p. 62 left. Head here uses "son" to mean "son-in-law," as he later did in his Will. Philadelphia Wills, 1754:136. Both of these entries refer to Anthony Morris, IV (1705-1780), who married, in 1730, Sarah, daughter of Samuel and Abigail Powell. *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 7:351, 495; Index to #1-75:715; Crane, *Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, p. 327. Samuel Powell Sr. (d. 1756) was the first member of his family to settle in Philadelphia. He and his son both amassed substantial fortunes from the mercantile business and the triangular shipping trade. Notes to the Powel Family Business Papers, Winterthur, Downs Collection.

441. Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 46. There are two reasons why red cedar may not appear more frequently as a primary wood in Head's furniture. Neither its appearance nor its protective properties against insects appear to have held up well over time. On his visit to the plantation of Isaac Norris, Jr. (1701-1766), Kalm noted: "I saw a parlour in the country seat of Mr Norris, one of the Members of the Pennsylvanian House of Assembly, wainscoted many years ago with boards of red cedar. Mr Norris assured me that the cedar looked exceedingly well in the beginning, but it was quite faded when I saw it, and the boards looked very shabby, especially the boards near the window had entirely lost their colour; so that Mr Norris had been obliged to put mahogany in their stead: [sic] however, I was told, that the wood will keep its colour if a thin varnish is put upon it whilst it is fresh, and just after it has been planed, and if care is taken that the wood is not afterwards rubbed or hurt. At least it makes the wood keep its colour much longer than commonly. Since it has a very pleasant smell, when fresh, some people put the shavings and chips of it among their linen to secure it against being worm-eaten. Some likewise get bureaus, &c. made of red cedar, with the same view. But it is only useful for this purpose as long as it is fresh, for it loses its smell after some time, and is then no longer good for keeping off insects." Kalm, *Travels*, 2:182-183. A piece of furniture with red cedar as its only secondary wood is a diminutive walnut ball-foot chest of drawers with line inlay on its drawers and top. Chalfant Collection [fig. 25].

442. The inventory was made "12th month 27th 1754" by Wm. Callender and Charles Jones. Warner's will was proved November 28, 1754. *Philadelphia Wills*, 1754-141. Unfortunately, the opening lines of the will are missing, but Hornor recorded that Warner styled himself a "House-Carpenter." Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 67. Head twice credited Warner for "measuren" tenements. Head Account Book, pp. 32 [measuring credits], 64 left [furniture debit]. Head, respecting his Mulberry Street property holdings, left "half of the Lot or piece of Ground joining to Edward Warners House" to John Head, Jr. John Head Will. Warner, who died in 1764, also became a merchant. Crane, *Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, p. 339.

443. The probate inventory of clockmaker Samuel Stretch, nephew to Peter Stretch, "Taken the 30th of 7 m 1732," by Jno Cadwalader and Edward Roberts, lists a "Chest Drawers Dress Table & Spice box," and also is illustrative of how a spice box might be displayed. *Philadelphia Wills*, 1732-268. That chamber and dressing tables were synonymous may be gleaned from the 1754 inventory of William Lewis of Haverford, which listed "1 Chamber dressing Table." Schiffer, *Chester County, Pennsylvania Inventories*, p. 128. In today's parlance, such form would be called a "lowboy." *Ibid.*; Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 29. In an intervening period, not applicable here, the term "toilet table" was also used as a synonym for dressing table. *OED*, 10 (part 1):108 citing definition in Simmonds, *Dictionary of Trade* (1858) for "toilette" (French) as a dressing table. A "toilet table" is listed in the probate inventory of Benjamin Franklin's great-grandson, Dr. Franklin Bache, who had been agent for Franklin's property holdings. Stiefel, "The Franklin Table," *Franklin Gazette*, 9:8.

444. Debited to the account of William Crosewhit [Croswhitt?], on 5/22/25. Head Account Book, p. 74 left. Head may have been more descriptive as to this particular table, in order to differentiate it from Crosewhit's order of a second chamber table, on 1/6/27, at £1-15-0. Head Account Book, A "John Croswhitt", as Hornor transcribes the name, was a joiner, who died in 1715. Hornor, *Blue Book*, pp. 3 & 32.

445. In chronological order (with designated woods described parenthetically), these £9-10-0 chests of drawers and their accompanying chamber tables were debited to the accounts of William Clar [Clare], on 8/13/23; Peter Stretch ("maple"), on 9/20/23; John Nicholas ("maple"), on 3/13/24; James Brownell, on 8/8/25; Thomas Godfrey ("Chari Tree"), on 6/27/26; David Hary/harve [Harvey?] ("mehogany"), on 8/13/26; and George Cosins ("Chare Tree"), on 6/3/28. Head Account Book, pp. 19 [Clare], 45 [Stretch], 59 left [Nicholas], 78 left [Brownell], 88 left [Godfrey], 89 left [Hary/harve], and 118a left [Cosins]. Further corroboration may be found in the £10-0-0 debited to Casper Wister [Caspar Wistar], on 4/14/26, "To a Chest of drawers and a Chamber Table and an oval Table." Indeed, as will be discussed, *infra*, under oval tables, there seems also to be some coincidence in the number of chests of drawers and oval tables ordered at the same time, of which this Wister entry is but one example.

446. Head Account Book, p. 9 [Steel, 3/13/24]; *Philadelphia Wills*, 1741-261.

447. In chronological order with wood described parenthetically, those at £10-0-0, were debited to the accounts of Simond Hagal [Simon Edgell] ("Sader"), on 4/15/19; Abram Cox ("Chary Tree"), on 5/27/19; Alexander Woodrop [Wooddrop] ("mohogany"), on 6/21/21; Edmund Woolley ("Chartrewood"), on 5/23/23; Peter Stelle ("mehogany"), on 6/24/25; and John Norris, "Ship Carpeneter" ("mehogany"), on 5/16/26. Head Account Book, pp. 7 [Hagal], 5 [Cox], 3 [Woodrop], 13 [Wooley], 75 left [Stelle], & 87 left [Norris, the ship carpenter]. Cf., joiner Thomas Stapleford left his daughter Elizabeth "a Maple Chest of Drawers & Chamber Table." Will dated December 13, 1739, proved December 20, 1739. *Philadelphia Wills*, 1739-130.

448. This, of course, presumes that Head is not charging extra for different grades of woods, such as highly figured or more densely grained mahogany, or curled maple or walnut.

449. Garvan, "22. High Chest and Dressing Table," pp. 26-27. The "cusp curves" of the skirt are usually referred to as "Persian arches." They are also exhibited in the Richardson family high chest [fig. 7].

450. Head Account Book, p. 42 [Lippincot, 10/3/23, £5-12-0], loose paper in front of account book [Chatam, 4/21/40, £0-2-6].

451. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Bequest of R. Wistar Harvey, 1940-16-18; Hornor, *Blue Book*, pl. 19; McElroy, "Furniture in Philadelphia," p. 69, figs. 7, 8. The floral marquetry on the top of

this dressing table is itself a vestige of an earlier period, having been most popular in Britain during the last forty years of the 17th century. Beard and Goodison, *English Furniture, 1500-1840*, p. 13. By 1720, marquetry was definitely unfashionable, and would remain so until a revival in the 1760's with the advent of French-trained crafts people like Pierre Langlois. Kirkham, *London Furniture Trade*, p. 18. Marquetry, particularly of the "line and berry" motif, was however to remain popular in Chester County, to the Southwest of Philadelphia. See generally Griffith, *The Pennsylvania Spice Box*.

452. Head Account Book, pp. 13, 19, 45 [1723]; 9, 58 left, 59 left [1724]; 72 left, 74 left, 75 left, 78 left [1725]; & 87 left [two entries], 88 left [two entries], 89 left [1726].

453. Private Philadelphia Collection; *Worldly Goods*, pp. 132-133, fig. 193, checklist #53; personal conversation with Alan Miller, May 6, 1985. The secondary woods are long leaf pine on the drawer sides and backs and white cedar on the drawer bottoms.

454. Some even earlier examples of turned leg high chests and dressing tables have single mouldings around their drawers. Personal conversation with Skip Chalfant, January 12, 2001.

455. If Head did make this piece, the darkening of legs to match another component of a piece was not an unknown practice to him. See the "Tray & Staining : 4 Lags [legs]," Head did for Sarah Dimsdale. Head Account Book, p. 52 left [Sary Dimsdild, £0-5-6, 7/15/23]. Skip Chalfant has suggested that Dimsdale's piece may have been a tray top tea table. Personal conversation, January 12, 2001.

456. A high chest that went through Pook & Pook's auction, Downingtown, Pennsylvania, about ten years ago. One possible source for forward-facing rear legs may be two earlier Bermuda chests-on-frame on short cabriole legs, displaying the same orientation. These two chests are also on ankleted Spanish feet. See Bryden Bordley Hyde, *Bermuda's Antiques Furniture and Silver* (Hamilton, Bermuda: Bermuda National Trust, 1971), pls. 317, 319. While anklets were to become common on Philadelphia Spanish feet, they were rare on Bermuda Spanish feet. *Ibid.*, p. 116. Forward-facing, rear legs soon disappeared in Philadelphia, although they do appear on some case pieces from New Hampshire, where they are referred to as "walking legs." Conversation with the late John Walton, a dealer from Connecticut and New York City.

457. Courtesy of H.L. Chalfant Antiques; now in a private collection.

458. Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc, *Important Americana: Property from the Estate of Mabel Brady Garvan*, auction catalog (New York: June 7, 1980), lot #161; *Worldly Goods*, checklist #54; now in a Delaware Private collection.

459. The Smith family of Burlington included Philadelphia merchant John Smith (1722-1771), husband of James Logan's daughter Hannah, and John's brother, Samuel Smith (1720-1776), author of the first histories of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Myers, *Hannah Logan's Courtship*, pp. 24, 28 n. 3, 56.

460. Alan Andersen suggested this distinction from the photograph. Personal conversation, December, 2000.

461. Christie's, *Important American Furniture, Silver, Prints, Folk Art and Decorative Arts*, sale catalogue code Animal Farm - 9054, lot 709 (New York: January #15-16, 1999).

462. Hornor, *Blue Book*, pl. 59.

463. Mary G. Stoddart and Reed L. Engle, "Stenton," *The Magazine Antiques* (August, 1983), p. 270, fig. 5.
464. Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," p. 20, citing Fussell Ledger, p. 89 [account of carpenter Thomas Sugar].
465. While not contemporaneous to the kitchens Williams had plastered for Head four months earlier, they could have related to Williams's other work. Head Account Book, pp. 27 [7/26/23, £ 0-17-6 debit], 28 [3/8/23, £4-16-6 credit].
466. Head Account Book, p. 49 left. Preston owned a house on Front Street. He was dead by 1738. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 3, 1738.
467. Head Account Book, p. 63 left.
468. Head Account Book, pp. 7 [Hudson & Hagal], 124 left [Clar], 126 left [Radman].
469. Benjamin Clark was debited £1-10-0, on 3/31/29; and Thomas Shomaker [Shoemaker] was debited £1-12-6, on 2/13/32. Head Account Book, pp. 112 left [Clark] & 123 left [Shomaker].
470. The earliest £1-15-0 chamber table was debited, on 2/12/21, to the account of Joseph _____. Head Account Book, p. 1 [last name has largely disintegrated from the top edge of the first numbered page]. The latest, was debited, on 1/24/30, to the account of Reuben Foster. Head Account Book, p. 77 left. The others were debited passim.
471. In chronological order, the following accounts were each separately debited for chests of drawers at £5-10-0 and for chamber tables at £1-15-0: William Clar [Clare], on 2/28/24; John Roberds, on 5/15/25; William Wallas [Wallis? Wallace?], on 9/9/25; Ralf [Ralph] Hoy, on 7/12/26 for the chest of drawers and on 7/15/26 for the chamber table; William Bell, on 5/22/27 for the chest of drawers and on 5/28/27 for the chamber table; Samuel Smith, on 5/20/28; and Joseph Olman for delivery to Paul Preston, on 10/13/28 for the chest of drawers and on 3/6/29 for the chamber table. Head Account Book, pp. 19 [Clar], 73 left [Roberds], 79 left [Wallas], 89 left [Hoy], 118a left [Smith], & 111 left [Olman for Preston]. All may be of the same wood, probably walnut, as no wood is designated for any of them.
472. Peter Stretch was separately debited, on 4/3/23, for a chest of drawers at £5-15-0 and a chamber table at £1-15-0. Head Account Book, p. 45. Another possible such combination, although not precisely contemporaneous, involves Lodwick Spregel [Lodwick Sprögel], who ordered a "Chamber Table," from Head, at £1-15-0, on 11/4/22. Head Account Book, p. 29. A "Chest of Drawers delivered To Lodwick Spregel," was debited, on 4/9/23, at £5-15-0, to Matthew Tison's account. Head Account Book, p. 33. These may be the "1729 Mahogany Chest Drawers Table - Lodowick Christian Sprogell," cited by Hornor. Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 30. If the same, the additional 5 shillings paid for the £5-15-0 chests of drawers for Stretch and Spregel may have been to the mahogany. Lodwick Christian Sprögel, a dyer by occupation, was also a land speculator. In 1718, "he was one of almost 200 inhabitants of Pennsylvania to petition the Assembly to raise the value of coin in the province to reduce the chronic drain." Horle, *Lanmaking*, p. 98.
473. The only subsequent suggested pairing of a separately billed chest of drawers and a chamber table may be found in the less proximate debits to the account of William Calender [Callender], for a £12-0-0 chest of drawers on 5/19/37 and a £2-0-0 chamber table on 9/26/37, both of "mapel." Head Account Book, p. 63 left.

474. En suite pairs of chests of drawers and chamber tables, were debited in combined entries to the accounts of Edwd [Edward] Horn, on 7/15/25, at £7-10-0; Ebeneser Larg [Ebenezer Large], on 10/5/27, at £7-5-0, which had been "dd to his son prier" [delivered to his son prior]; and John Peter Junor [John Peter, Jr.], on 1/5/29, at £7-10-0. Head Account Book, pp. 72 left [Horn], 56 left [Larg], & 119 left [Peter].

475. This also corroborates that Head meant "chamber table" when he simply wrote "table" in the combined entries.

476. John Mocombs Junor [McComb, Jr.] ordered the earliest, at £2-0-0. Head Account Book, p. 3. Peter Shomaker [Shoemaker] ordered the latest, at £2-5-0, over seventeen years later. Head Account Book, p. 80 left. The others may be found passim.

477. In chronological order, they were debited to the accounts of Alexander Wooddrop, on 6/27/21, at £1-10-0; Joseph Gilpin, on 6/22/22, at £1-10-0; Jon Loyd [Jonathan Lloyd?], on 1/15/23, at £3-0-0; Peter Stelle, on 6/24/25, at £1-10-0; Joseph Gilpin, again, on 9/29/25, at £1-10-0, accompanying "Two Chest of Drawers," at £6-0-0; Casper Wister [Caspar Wistar], on 4/14/26, at £10-0-0, but in a combined entry, "To a Chest of drawers and a Chamber Table and an oval Table;" Matthias Aspdin, on 5/21/26, at £3-10-0; Jonathan Hains [Haines], on 9/20/30, at £1-10-0; Joseph Forster, on 9/7/33, at £1-17-6; John Prikett, on 1/29/34, at £2-5-0, accompanying "Two Chests of drawers," at £6-0-0; and Joseph Cooper, on 2/28/35, at £3-0-0. Head Account Book, pp. 3 [Woodrop], 44 & 81 left [Gilpin], 37 [Loyd], 75 left [Stelle], 87 left [Aspdin & Wister], 118 left [Hains], 106 left [Forster], 90 left [Prikett], & 80 left [Cooper].

478. Head Account Book, p. 41 left [6/16/33].

479. Head Account Book, p. 60 left [8/24/28]. A "Thomas Canby, at Wilmington [Delaware]" advertised in 1743. If he is the Canby who dealt with Head, this would be one indication of the extent of Head's trade south of Philadelphia. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 16, 1743.

480. Head Account Book, pp.1 ["Smal" table, Joseph _____, 2/20/21], 87 left ["Two oval Tables," £3-10-0, Aspdin, 5/28/26]. Cf., "a Three foot Dining Table" was valued at £1-5-0 in the November 8, 1760 inventory of joiner Joseph Hall's estate. Will dated October 10, 1760, proved November 19, 1760. The appraisal was made by Jedidiah Snowden and Jonathan Shoemaker. *Philadelphia Wills*, 1761-3.

481. The "pin" oval table was debited to Edmund Woolley, on 11/30/21, for delivery to "his : sist : Wales." Head Account Book, p. 13. The other £1-10-0 oval tables may be found passim.

482. Head Account Book, p. 41 left. This is the only oval table specifically designated as "walnut," perhaps to differentiate it from the pine one ordered the same date.

483. Head Account Book, p. 1 [10/16/20].

484. Head Account Book, passim.

485. That "with two Loks" was ordered by Thomas Canby, on 4/10/27. Head Account Book, p. 60 left.

486. Head Account Book, pp. 1 [Joseph _____, 2/13/21, £2-12-6 debit], 3 [Alexander Woodrop, 7/23/21, £2-11-6 debit]; 60 left [John Whit and Abram Tailor, 3/15/24, £2-5-0 debit].

487. Debited to the account of Rabakah Carney [Rebecca Karney], on 5/31/24. Head Account Book, p. 67 left.

488. Head Account Book, pp. 27, 37, 80 left, 90 left, 100 left, & 110 left.

489. Head Account Book, p. 27 [5/24/23].

490. Minutes of the Chester County Monthly Meeting of Friends, minute entered October 2, 1725, cited in Margaret Berwind Schiffer, *Furniture and Its Makers of Chester County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966), pp. 190-191, pl. 85. Chester County is one of the three original counties formed in Pennsylvania in 1682, pursuant to King Charles II's Charter to William Penn. In Head's time, it included much more area than today. Chester County included what is today Delaware County, which was not formed until 1789. Until the formation of Lancaster County in 1729, Chester County's western boundary had not been delineated. Its northern boundary was demarcated in 1752 with the formation of Berks County. The establishment of the Mason-Dixon Line in 1764 determined its southern boundary. Schiffer, *Chester County, Pennsylvania Inventories*, p. 3.

491. Head Account Book, on a loose sheet inside the front cover.

492. A Philadelphia mahogany oval table on frame, incorporating many of the features described above, recently sold in New York. It has two drawers and is 60.5 inches deep. Christie's, *Important American Furniture, Silver, Prints, Folk Art and Decorative Arts*, auction catalog, sale code DOLPHIN-9592, lot #50, "A William and Mary Mahogany Drop-leaf Table, Philadelphia, 1710-1730" (New York: January 18-19, 2001). The note to the lot description identifies a small group of extant large-scale Philadelphia oval dining tables.

493. Schiffer, *Furniture and Its Makers of Chester County, Pennsylvania*, pls. 120,121.

494. The oval table was consigned with "One Side bord Table & Frame," at £2-12-0, on the second voyage of the ship New Bristol Hope, Thomas Chalkley, Master, from Philadelphia to Barbadoes, on December 27, 1729. Indicated on the invoice were "Returns in Rum, Or Mollasas," presumably meaning that payment in those items would be acceptable to Shute. Thomas Chalkley Account Book, pp. 15 left, 23 left, in miscellaneous papers of the James, Lewis, Thompson and Chalkley families and the Welsh Society, at HSP. A "Thomas Shute" bought a "Chest of drawers" from Head, on 11/29/19, at £5-0-0. Head Account Book, p. 39. Logan has an account for a "Thomas Shute near Philad[elph]ia." Logan Ledger, p. 33. Another account in Head's book is for a "Thomas Shut sope biler [soap boiler]," perhaps the same individual. A Chandler, he bought "6 : Sope Boxes" from Head, on 8/26/24, at £0-7-0; and was credited between 10/23/34 and 6/26/35 for 168 pounds of soap and 29 pounds of candles. Head Account Book, pp. 39, 40. While Thomas Shute is not recorded as having bought from Head the oval table & frame, that was consigned for sale in Barbadoes, the Chalkley entry still suggests the possibility that not all of Head's production was destined ultimately for Philadelphia. It may have been exported by some of his customers. Cf. , furniture debited by Head to Aaron Godforth Junor [Jr.] for delivery to [sea] captains. Head Account Book, p. 100 left. Certainly, his son-in-law, Jeremiah Warder, was to distinguish himself in the triangular trade routes between Philadelphia, the Carib, and Britain. Doerflinger, *Vigorous Spirit*, pp. 118-119.

495. Head Account Book, p. 103 left. It is not surprising that this unique order should be to Steel's account. His account contains the greatest number of orders from Head of any non-craftsperson. Several of the forms he ordered were expensive, unusual or complex. That he should be so important a customer of Head is undoubtedly due, in part, to his being so big a creditor. Head owed Steel ground rent, for which a credit was inscribed, on 7/29/41, in the amount of £112-8-8, after subtracting a small credit for some paving stone. Head Account Book, pp. 103 left & right.

496. Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 60. At 55-to-1, the weight of Head's account book entries for oval tables would clearly support Hornor's supposition.
497. Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," p. 10, citing Business Papers of Coates-Reynell, 1702-1744, HSP.
498. *Philadelphia Wills*, 1754-141.
499. "Inventory of the Goods and Chattels of William Callender deceased," which was [a]ppraised 6th & 8[th] days 6th mo. 1763 By John Reynell [&] Abel James." *Philadelphia Wills*, 1763-294. As Callender's inventory was taken in 1763, Callender's table may date from a later period. Like Reynell, Callender also had a "Square Mahogany Tea Table," the latter appraised at £2-0-0.
500. Hornor, *Blue Book*, pl. 73. The simpler table is shown, courtesy of H.L. Chalfant Antiques, and is now in a private collection.
501. Head Account Book, p. 52 left [Sary Dimsdild, £0-5-6, 7/15/23].
502. Head Account Book, pp. 19 [DuBary], 37 [Loyd, 1/11/31], 56 left [Cordry, 11/13/23], 89 left [Boore, 5/30/31].
503. Head Account Book, pp. 56 [Logen, 10/30/23] & 9 [Steel, 12/12/25].
504. Head Account Book, passim.
505. Head Account Book, pp. 60 left [Clifton, 11/2/24], 61 left [Dunken, 9/1/24].
506. Head Account Book, p. 1 [Joseph _____, 4/24/21].
507. Head Account Book, p. 68 left [11/27/24].
508. Head Account Book, p. 74 right [1725].
509. Head Account Book, p. 10 [a debit to Steel]; *Philadelphia Wills*, 1741-261.
510. Head Account Book, p. 9 [Steel, 1/11/24], 72 left [Horn, 4/18/26], 75 left [Coates, 5/23/26].
511. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:329.
512. A paper has been published on Philadelphia vernacular furniture of the latter half of the 18th century. Nancy Goyne Evans, "Unsophisticated Furniture Made and Used in Philadelphia and Environs, ca. 1750-1800," in John D. Morse, ed., *Country Cabinetwork and Simple City Furniture* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1970), pp. 151-203.
513. Chests of undesignated wood may have also included poplar, although Head does not specifically record acquiring poplar until 1743, near the end of his furniture-making career. See American Art Association Anderson Galleries, Inc., "Small Tulipwood Ball-foot Chest, Pennsylvania, 1710-25," *Selections from the Collections of Francis P. Garvan*, auction catalog sale #3878 (New York, January £8-10, 1931), lot #96.

514. William Branson supplied "6 payr Buts," on 2/12/21, at £0-6-0, and "8 : payer Buts," on 3/26/23, at £0-8-0. Head Account Book, p. 6. Simond Hagal [Simon Edgell, the pewterer] provided "6 : payer Buts," on 4/11/26, at £0-9-0. Head Account Book, p. 8.
515. Alexander Wooddrop supplied "2 dosen Till Loks," on 4/11/21, at £0-13-0. Head Account Book, p. 4. Boulah Coates provided "3 dosen of Till Loks," on 5/2/26, at £1-2-0. Head Account Book, p. 75 right.
516. Head Account Book, p. 39.
517. Head Account Book, p. 49 left.
518. Even though the next cheapest chests cost double, or £0-12-0, it is unlikely that the £0-6-0 was merely a delivery charge, as Head specifically records this entry as being "To a Chest," and no charge for a chest or its repair is elsewhere recorded in this account. Head Account Book, pp. 21, 103 left. A "Larg pine Chest" cost Jon [Jonathan?] Lade £1-0-0, on 6/9/26. Head Account Book, p. 54 left. Also, Head usually started entries for delivery with a phrase such as "To horlen [hauling]." Conversely, Head's use of the word "Chest" immediately after the words "To a" also focuses attention on that object rather than its delivery. Head Account Book, passim.
519. Credited to the account of William Branson, on 2/12/21, at £0-10-0. Head Account Book, p. 6.
520. Head Account Book, p. 54 left.
521. Head Account Book, p. 75 left.
522. Head Account Book, p. 78 left.
523. "Cedar resists moth, cockroach, cricket, termite, and mildew." Hyde, *Bermuda's Antique Furniture & Silver*, p. 2. This may be one reason why Philadelphian Nathaniel Allen ordered "3 red cedar chairs" from Bermuda. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20, citing Allen's April 7, 1720 letter ordering those chairs for a friend, in the Letterbook of Nathaniel and Hannah Allen 1716-1735, Winterthur, Downs Collection, MS #53.165.270.
524. Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 70.
525. In chronological order, the orders for two bedsteads were to the accounts of James Steel, on 4/8/23 and 3/15/27, both at £2-8-0 for two; and of Jon [Jonathan?] Lade, on 6/9/26, at £1-8-0 for two. Head Account Book, pp. 9 & 103 left [Steel], & 54 left [Lade].
526. At £0-10-0, cots were Head's least expensive beds. In chronological order, they were debited to the accounts of Jon Loyd [Jonathan Lloyd?], on 3/1/24, "To a Cote Badstad;" James Steel, on 12/17/30, "To a Cote;" and Thomas Wells, on 1/14/32, "To a Cott." Head Account Book, pp. 37 [Loyd], 103 left [Steel], & 120 left [Wells]. Wells, a "Ship Carpenter in Front Street," may have been making use of the "Cott" on board. Wells advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 21, 1747.
527. Pallets were more expensive than cots. Ester [Esther] Parker's account was debited £1-4-0, on 7/18/24, as follows: "Joseph Brintnall [Breintnall] Dr [debtor] to a palit Badstad." Head Account Book, p. 42. Breintnall, first Secretary of LCP, impressed leaves for scientific study, when not being active in mercantile and public affairs in Philadelphia. Edwin Wolf, 2nd and Marie Elena Korey, eds., *Quarter of a Millennium* (Philadelphia: Library Company of Philadelphia,

1981), pp. 16-17. John Norris, "ship carpenter," paid £1-15-0, on 8/25/31, "To a palit Badstad," which may have been of different design, perhaps a special order for placement on a ship. Head Account Book, p. 87 left. Presumably, John Norris is identified by his profession to distinguish him from the son of the same name of Isaac Norris, Sr., holder of many political offices, including being twice Speaker of the Assembly. Horle, *Lawmaking*, 2:760-61.

528. Head Account Book, pp. 1 [Masters], 49 left [Coster]. The location of Thomas Masters's establishment can be identified through another's advertisement: "Very Good Season'd Pine boards and Cedar Shingles to be sold by Charles Read opposite to Mr. Thomas Masters at the Corner of the Front and Market Streets...." *American Weekly Mercury*, April 28, 1720, reproduced in facsimile in Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, *Colonial Craftsmen*, p. 5 no. 22. At that corner, Masters had built in 1705 "a stately house, five stories from the lower street and three the upper...." Watson, *Annals*, p. 169. Michael Hillegas is among those in Pennsylvania known to have traded with Irish-born merchant and dry-goods importer, William West. Horle, *Lawmaking*, 2:1058.

529. Charles Hansly was charged £0-2-6, on 2/18/24, "To turning: 2 Bad posts." Head Account Book, p. 55 left.

530. One or more of the individuals whose accounts are credited for supplying bedsteads to Head may, therefore, have functioned as turners, although they may have styled themselves differently. The credits were to the accounts of: John Hains [Haines], on 4/24/20, at £1-8-0, "To : 7 badstads;" on 9/19/20, at £2-0-0, "To - 10 : badstads;" and, on 6/31/26, at £1-8-0, "To Ten Badstads;" James Lippincot [Lippincott], on 2/19/26, at £1-4-0, "To six badstads;" and, on 2/1/29, at £1-0-0, "By 5 Badstads;" Enoch Core, on 2/18/30, at £2-14-0, "By 12 Sat of Badstads;" on 3/30/30, at £0-17-0, "By four Badstads;" and John Prikett, on 2/19/26, at £1-4-0, "By - 40 Badstads." Head Account Book, pp. 8 [Hains], 43 [Lippincot], 106 right [Core], & 90 right [Prikett].]. A "John Haines, Joiner," advertised for the return of his runaway slave in the following year. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 29, 1742. Arts and Crafts, p. 169. If this is the same individual who supplied Head with the 27 "Badstads," he was dead within a few months of his ad. Head notes that it was "his Widow," who supplied Head with "1868 foot of pine Bord," on 7/9/42, at £5-12-0. Head Account Book, p. 114 right. The account of John Hains [Haines] had frequently been credited in the past with supplying Head with large quantities of pine board and scantling. Head Account Book, pp. 8, 114 right.

531. Head Account Book, pp. 1 [Masters], 8 [Hains].

532. The account of Elizabeth Roberds was credited £0-2-6, in "1739," "By Turning - 5 pilers [pillars]," which may have been for a bedstead. Head Account Book, p. 56 right. Cf., the notation, "[B]edstead pillows [pillars]," in the 1708 inventory of Charles Plumley's effects. Forman, *American Seating Furniture*, Appendix I; Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 9. Head's account for Edward Worner [Warner] was also credited with £0-0-6, on 7/9/35, "By a Bad post." Head Account Book, p. 64 right.

533. Head Account Book, p. 64 right [Worner]; Kalm, *Travels*, 1:145, 168. Across the Delaware River, in Raccoon Creek, at least one joiner was making bedposts from sassafras wood, purportedly because its aromatic qualities expelled bugs. Kalm was unconvinced, having inspected a twelve-year old bed riddled with bugs. By contrast, Kalm found sassafras chips in chests or drawers in Pennsylvania to be effective as a preventive against moths attacking wool stuffs. The closed chest or drawer preserved the scent of the wood. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:342-343.

534. The £0-14-0 bedsteads were debited to the accounts of Abram Cox, on 11/9/22; Sarah Griscom, on 3/2/23; Charles Hansly, on 6/5/23; Nehemiah Allen, on 8/30/24; Jno [Jonathan] Fisher "ye Shoumaker," on 11/29/24; Thomas Georg [George], on 6/18/25; Jon [Jonathan?] Lade, on 6/9/26, at £1-8-0 per order of two; and John Williams "the Tailer," on 5/26/35.

Head Account Book, pp. 5 [Cox], 130 left [recopied from p. 17] [Griskam], 55 left [Hansly], 64 left [Allen], 67 left [Fisher], 75 left [Georg], & 62 left [Williams]. Griscom's account was also debited £0-3-0, two months later, on 3/2/23, "To mending her Badstad." Head Account Book, p. 130 left.

535. Head Account Book, *passim*. Of these, two £2-8-0 orders were for two each, suggested their use as pairs. Both orders were to Head's best customer, Receiver General James Steel, on 4/8/23 and 3/15/27. For extensive information on James Steel, see Horle, *Lammaking*, pp. 225 et seq.

536. Debited to the account of William Clar [Clare], on 6/4/27. Head Account Book, p. 19. This also shows that Head's shop did its own painting of furniture, unlike at least one other joiner. George Claypoole charged John Reynell an additional seven shillings for "Cash paid for painting ye bedstead," on June 29, 1758. Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," p. 11, citing Business Papers of Coates-Reynell, 1755-1767.

537. Head Account Book, p. 5. The word "Cornish" [cornice] has been interpreted to mean the tester frame and, sometimes, the valance. Abbott Lowell Cummings, *Bed Hangings: a Treatise on Fabrics and Styles in the Curtaining of Beds 1650-1850* (Boston: Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1961), p. 8.

538. A "compass roof" is defined as "a timber roof in which each truss has its rafters, collar beams, and braces combined into an arched form." *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, p. 463. Head charged Samuel Asp £0-14-0, "To the Comparst Curtin Rods and 2 scruces," on 4/8/30, the same date he ordered a "Badstad" for £1-4-0, and "Six Staples," for £0-1-6. Head Account Book, p. 125 left. John Campbell was charged £0-16-0, "To a Sat of Curtten Rods Cumparst," on 3/26/27. *Ibid.*, p. 99 left. As late as, 10/4/42, "By Curtin Rods for a Bad Comperst," Head credited George Kellay [Kelley?], £0-16-0, the same price he had charged Cox, over twenty years earlier, underscoring a remarkable persistence in price. Head Account Book, p. 116 right. That Barnabas Talbot paid only £0-1-0, "To Curtin rods for a Bad," suggests that his bed may have had a flat tester. Head Account Book, p. 11. The following probably also bought flat, rather than arched, testers: Andrew Edg [Edge] who, after buying a "Badstad," on 10/23/21, paid only £0-8-0, "To a Sat of Cortin rods," on 5/20/22; and John Roberds, who paid £0-10-0, on 6/11/25, "To a Sate of Curtion Rods." Head Account Book, pp. 15 [Edg] & 73 right [Roberds].

539. Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 70.

540. Head charged James Steel only £1-0-0, on 9/11/26, "To a Badstad he found scruces," i.e., a bedstead for which Steel found his own bed bolts. Head Account Book, p. 10 [debit].

541. Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 49.

542. "Boston japanners simplified the European process in two ways. The base paints were applied directly over the wood, usually maple in casepieces and pine in clocks, rather than the paint being over a layer of whiting which was used by the English and New Yorkers to fill in the surfaces of oak or other coarser-grained woods. In English japanning the colors were transparent ones, with seed-lac varnish mixed in with pigments. The Boston japanner used plain oil colors and after raising his figures with whiting, a gesso-like material, gilded them with metallic powders or leaf, painted in details with lampblack, and then varnished the finished product." Dean A. Fales, Jr., "Boston Japanned Furniture," *Boston Furniture of the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1986.), pp. 49-50. Just as in Boston, Japanning was a separate trade in England. Japanning had caught on in England, as a cheaper imitation of Oriental lacquer work, which had been in vogue since the Restoration. English Japanners were successful in protecting their trade by getting duties raised in 1701 on

importation of the real thing. The popularity of Japanned goods fell off, perhaps not coincidentally, after the death, in 1746, of England's most eminent Japanner, Abraham Massey of Great Queen Street, London. Pat Kirkham, *The London Furniture Trade 1700-1870*, p. 33.

543. Advertisements for Japanned furniture included: "A HANDSOME new fashion'd Japan'd Case of Drawers, and Chamber Table to be sold by John Brown," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 23, 1737; "PETER TURNER intending for London [selling]...Handsome Japan Desks," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 30, 1741; Plunket Fleeson advertised that "He has a neat japan'd Chest of Drawers to be sold Cheap." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 23, 1742. Hornor also infers that Philadelphia craftsmen had access to copies of John Stalker, *Treatise of Japaning and Varnishing* (Oxford, 1688). Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 49.

544. Thus, no "contemporary exemplifications brought forth at Philadelphia" could be shown in an exhibition of American Japanned Furniture, according to a the *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin* (March, 1933). Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 49; accord, Garvan, "18. Desk and Bookcase," *Philadelphia: Three Centuries*, p. 23 ["not a piece of Philadelphia japanned work has survived"].

545. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 14, 1744. Christopher Marshal also sold "Sundry Patterns for Japan and Glass Painting." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 10, 1745.

546. The earliest reference in Hornor is dated 1734 and, apart from the Fleeson advertisement, all appear to be derived from inventories, and thus provide only the name of the then owner, and no information as to who made it, when, at what price, and whether made in Philadelphia. Hornor, *Blue Book*, pp. 49-50.

547. Head Account Book, pp. 53 left [Burr, 9/1/40], 85 left [Chancellor, 3/11/26] & 99 left [Campbell, 3/2/27]. Plunket Fleeson advertised for sale, among other bed goods, "Feathers, Beddticks, Blankets, Sacking-Bottoms...." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 7/3/40, as reproduced in Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, *Colonial Craftsmen*, p. 4, no. 13. Chancellor, a sailmaker, may have also used duck and canvas for producing other items. He sold Logan "a bed bottom and cott, on 8/3/23, at £2-10-6. Logan Ledger, pp. 22 left, 147 right. Although Head does not use the term, some of his contemporaries used the expression "corded" to refer to a sacking bottom. Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 70.

548. Head Account Book, pp. 80 left [Cooper, 8/8/27] & 112 left [Clark, 10/22/29].

549. Head Account Book, p. 49 left. The same amount was charged Thomas Canan, on 9/18/31, some dozen years later, for his "Bad Larth;" and also to James Steel, on 10/25/32, for his. Head Account Book, pp. 120 left [Canan] & 103 left [Steel].

550. Head Account Book, pp. 1 [Thomas Masters, re "Cornish"], 5 [Abram Cox, re "Cornish"], 103 left [Steel], 120 left [Canan].

551. Bedstead "furniture," i.e., that with which the bed was outfitted, was usually the most expensive or among the most expensive items in any estate inventory, attesting to the dearth of fabrics. The inventory of the Estate of clockmaker Peter Stretch, "taken the 26th day of 9 mo; 1746," and appraised by cabinetmakers Joseph Trotter and Enoch Flower, listed four "Bedstead[s] & furniture." Two were valued apart from other items at 16-0-0 and £14-0-0, respectively. Philadelphia Wills, 1746-108. The inventory of the Estate of Richard Armitt, taken "this [blank] day of 7th mo 1748," by William Logan and silversmith Joseph Richardson, Sr., listed "A Bedstead, bed and furniture" at £15-0-0. Philadelphia Wills, 1748-236. William Logan, a son of James Logan, moved to Stenton in 1754. Horle, *Lawmaking*, p. 924. Gratitude is here expressed to Rick Mones for providing copies of the wills and inventories of Richard Armitt and Peter Stretch, as well as those of other 18th century Philadelphians: Joseph Armitt; merchant William Callender; joiners Enoch Flower and Joseph Trotter; and clockmakers

Thomas Stretch (one of Peter's sons), Samuel Stretch (nephew to Peter), John Wood, Sr., and Joseph Wills.

552. Head Account Book, pp. 24 [Endecot], 43 [Lippincott], 73 right [Roberds], 88 right [Cloak]. This suite may have been more extensive than just for a bed. Perhaps it was for windows or en suite treatment of a bed and windows.

553. E.g., Joseph Prichard's account was credited £0-9-4, on 3/22/25, "To muselen & Thrad." Head Account Book, p. 64 right & passim. Among the heavier fabrics used for bed drapery the rest of the year, Hornor identifies "chintz, calico, silk, taffeta, needlework, and woolen curtains." Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 70.

554. Kalm described the nuisance of "*Musquetoos*:" "In day time or at night they come into the houses, and when people are gone to bed, they begin their disagreeable humming, approach always nearer the bed, and at last suck up so much blood, that they can hardly fly away." Kalm, *Travels*, 1:143-44. As Philadelphia's chimneys had no valves for shutting them up, they "afford the gnats a free entrance in the houses." In summertime, "they are so numerous in some places, that the air seems to be quite full of them...." Kalm, *Travels*, 1:144. When the gnats stung Kalm at night, he complained that "my face was so disfigured by little red spots, that I was almost ashamed to shew myself." Kalm, *Travels*, 1:145.

555. The "Walnut" clockcases were debited to the accounts of Peter Stretch and Bangman Troter [Benjamin Trotter]. Head Account Book, pp. 45 [Stretch, 5/3/24] & 76 left [Troter, 8/19/25].

556. Both of the "Squar Case" clockcases were debited to the account of Peter Stretch, on 8/15/29 and 10/27/29, the latter being "dd att his house." Head Account Book, p. 109 left.

557. Head Account Book, pp. 13 [Edmond Wooley, 2/14/22], 92 left [Thomas Brown, 7/14/43].

558. Head Account Book, pp. 15 [Richard Harrison, 7/16/21, "Clock cas Archit plat"], 54 left [Gray, 10/16/23, "To on[e] Archit Clock Case"], 46 left [Peter Stretch, 2/26/26, "To a Clock case Arched"], 88 left [John Tomas, 5/8/26, "To an archet Clock Case"], 109 left [Peter Stretch, 8/15/29, "To an Arched Clock Case"], 112 left [Joseph Rakstraw, 9/24/27, "To a Clockcas Arched"].

559. Examining copies sent him of Peter Stretch account entries, Christopher Storb was the first to suggest that all £4-0-0 Head clockcases may have been arched. Chris also observed that Head's listing of an arched clockcase to Stretch in 1726 was noteworthy, as the earliest date he had previously found for American arch dial clocks was a "1727 listing for an Arched clock case @4-0-0." See Christopher Storb letter to Stiefel, July 27, 1999 (acknowledging "packet including your research on...the John Head daybook," discussing significance of Stretch entries, and requesting further information). Stiefel Papers. See also letter from Jaqueline M. DeGroff, Associate Curator, The Dietrich American Foundation, to Stiefel, October 13, 1999. Stiefel Papers. This information also updates that in Hornor, who apparently relied on much later probate data in attempting to pinpoint the first introduction of arched dial clocks to Philadelphia: "Benjamin Fairman, whose home in 1739 was at Kensington, was one of the first to have "1 Arch'd 8 Day Clock," which was the style made by the elder Peter Stretch not long after." Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 57.

560. Head Account Book, p. 15. The latest of the £4-0-0 clockcases is that debited to John Hood, on 7/29/43. Head Account Book, p. 74 left.

561. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, p. 1734.

562. *South Carolina Gazette*, March 22, 1740, transcribed in Prime, *Arts and Crafts*, p. 163.

563. Head Account Book, p. 109 left. This shows that Head, who knew how to spell his own name, was differently pronouncing the term.

564. When Head wanted to spell hood, he spelled it as "hode." Thus, on 9/6/22, he credited £0-6-0 to the account of Mary Snad Junor [Mary Sneed, the Younger], who had done other tailoring for his household, "To maken a Hode." Head Account Book, p. 32.

565. Head Account Book, p. 91 left. Blind fretwork, when affixed to the clockhood, also served a practical purpose. It often masked holes bored through the clockhood to permit the sound of the clock's bell to be heard more clearly. In front of those holes, but behind the fretwork was placed fabric, in order to further mask the holes, while at the same time adding some color to the fretwork. The fretwork is referred to as "blind" because, unlike that open fretwork, one can't see through it. Christopher Storb first pointed out its function and construction to me. Rick Mones believes that blind fretwork was also used extensively on clock hoods as decoration, even where no holes were made through the hood. Personal conversations with each.

566. Thomas Maule advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 14, 1755.

567. Foreman had done other turning for Head, including chairs and "Tables," probably table tops. It is unclear why Head wanted the debit, rather than simply not paying for the "pilers," as there is no indication that he had previously credited Foreman for them. Head Account Book, p. 74 left.

568. Twelve clockcases are listed together with their clocks as single-priced entries, making it difficult to differentiate what was being charged for the cases alone. The most expensive clockcase and clock, priced as a single entry, was debited, at 18-0-0, to John Loyd [Lloyd], on 1/13/29, simply described as "To a Clock and Case." Head Account Book, p. 37. Peter Stretch was contemporaneously charging about £12-0-0 to £15-0-0 for his clocks, which aids in deducing what Head was charging for the cases in combined entries.

569. The "Sader" clockcases, in chronological order, were debited to the accounts of John Mocombs Junor [McComb, Jr.], on 4/11/20; Georg Mc Carl [Mc Call?], on 8/19/20; Calap Ranstad [Caleb Ranstead], on 5/15/21; and Charls [Charles] Read, on 9/14/23, spelled as "Sadr." Head Account Book, pp. 3 [Mocombs], 39 [Ranstad] & 37 [Mc Carl & Read].

570. The "mehoganey" clockcases, in chronological order, were debited to the accounts of William Spafard [Spofford?], on 9/23/24; Nathanel [Nathaniel] Owen, on 9/25/24, "dd To his Wife"; and John White, on 3/6/29. Head Account Book, pp. 66 left [Spafard & Owen], & 117 left [White].

571. The cherry clockcases were debited to the accounts of Edmund Woolley, on 6/23/23, as "Chary Treewood;" to Peter Stretch, on 4/14/32, as "Charetre," and another, on 7/22/32, as "Chare Tree;" and to John Morris, on 3/14/36, as "Charetre." Head Account Book, pp.13 [Wooley], 109 left & 132 left [Stretch], & 59 left [Morris].

572. The "Blak" clockcase was debited to the account of Peter Stretch, on 5/1/32. Head Account Book, p. 109 left.

573. While Plunket Fleeson had advertised a "neat japan'd Chest of Drawers," as being sold "Cheap," that is a relative term. Plunket Fleeson advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 9/23/42.

574. Head Account Book, Without corroboration, it is impossible to state categorically whether any piece of furniture described as "black" or "painted black" was Japanned. James Logan, according to Hornor, "had a 'Painted Tea Table' which is definitely known to have been 'Japand.'" Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 49. Cf., a "one month clock, in a handsome blue japann'd case," offered for sale by Benjamin Bagnall, Jr., at his Front Street house. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 16, 1750.

575. Artha [Arthur] Jones, was debited the £2-5-0, on 9/9/38, "To a Clockcas and a Table." Head Account Book, p. 74 left. On the same date, he paid £3-10-0, "To a Chest of Drawers," which may or may not have been made en suite with the foregoing. Ibid.

576. Cf., Charls [Charles] Hansly was debited £6-0-0, on 2/14/25, "To a Clock & Case & a pine Table." Head Account Book, p. 55 left.

577. Head Account Book, p. 132 right.

578. Hornor opined that it "probably stood on the 'Marvel Table' [presumably inventoried in the same room] or on the mantelpiece. Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 57. William Chancellor, while never serving in the Pennsylvania Assembly, appears to have been "an important member of [Governor, Sir William] Keith's inner circle." Horle, *Lawmaking*, pp. 581, 588 n. 130. Logan debited £4-5-0 for "Duck & Canvas for 2 pcs [pieces] deld [delivered] Wm Chancellor," to the account of Thomas Masters. Logan Ledger, 1720-1727, p. 22 left. Chancellor had somewhat abbreviated dealings with Head. Head recorded that William Chanceler [Chancellor] was debited, £2-4-0, on 3/11/26, "to Two Sacken Bottoms Dr [debtor] By the order of John Roberts which he Accepts." Thereafter, Chancellor was credited for two "Saken Botom[s]," possibly returns, at £1-2-0 each, on 3/2/27 and 1/30/29. Head Account Book, pp. 85 left & right.

579. May 25, 1744 probate inventory; will dated January 18, 1738. *Philadelphia Wills*, 1744-81.

580. The clockcases expressly noted as glazed, in chronological order, were debited to the accounts of Joseph Elger, on 10/25/22, at £3-3-0, "To a Clock Cas & Glasen;" Edward Horn, on 5/3/25, at 17-8-0, "To a Clock and Case and Glasen;" Josier [Josiah] Foster, on 1/30/26, at £3-6-0, "To a Clock case and glasen;" Jonathan Hains [Haines], on 4/15/28, at £3-6-0, "To A Clock Case and Glasen;" John Leacock, on 3/14/36, at £3-6-0, "Clock cas and Glasen;" Isaac Tison [Tyson], on 1/16/37, at £15-5-0, "To a Clock - and Case glazed;" and Joseph Paul, on 3/16/41, at £3-6-0, "To a ClockCas and Glasen it." Head Account Book, pp. 21 [Elger], 72 left [Horn], 50 left [Foster], 118 left [Hains], 27 [Leacock], 107 left [Tison], & 130 left [Paul].

581. Head Account Book, p. 78 right.

582. Advertisement of "James Reynolds, Carver and Gilder," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 14, 1768, cited in Prime, *Arts & Crafts*, p. 225. See also the advertisement of "Thomas Ellis, Glazier, in Front-street," for "London crown [glass], of any size, fit for clocks...." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 24, 1755, cited in Prime, *Arts & Crafts*, p. 300.

583. Edward Bradle [Bradley?] received a credit of £0-8-0, as of 11/2/24, "omited By Glasen a Clockcase." (The term "omited," which appears frequently throughout the account book, indicates that this was a transaction which had been omitted from earlier recordation.) Head Account Book, p. 78 right. Bradle was again credited, on 4/12/28, in the amount of £0-6-0, "By Gleasen a Clockcase we reckon for it." But as this entry is crossed out, and they had "reckend for it," it appears that the credit was revoked through mutual agreement. Head Account Book, p. 117 right. Bradle also glazed many sashlights for Head. Head Account Book, p. 78 right. Griffith [Griffith] Jones was debited, £0-6-0, on 4/10/28, "To Glasen his Clock

Case," under the same date entry for a separate charge of £3-0-0, "To a Clock Case." Head Account Book, 17.

584. Head Account Book, p. 27 [Leacock]. Packing cases for clockcases, however, do not appear to be the norm, as only four others were charged for them. Each case cost £0-8-0. Head Account Book, pp. 88 left [John Tomas, 5/8/26, 9/10/27]; 59 left [John Morris, 3/14/36]; & 132 left [Peter Stretch, 6/1/37].

585. Head Account Book, p. 95 left.

586. Head Account Book, p. 74 left.

587. An undated listing for John Hood appears in Wallace Nutting, *The Clock Book* (Framingham, Mass.: Old America Company, 1924), p. 217. Rick Mones has advised that Hood is similarly listed in Brooks Palmer, *Book of American Clocks* (New York: McMillan Company, 1950), p. 214.

588. No mention of Hood appears in G.H. Baillie, *Watchmakers and Clockmakers of the World*, 3rd ed. (London: N.A.G. Press Ltd., 1951); George H. Eckhardt, *Pennsylvania Clocks and Clockmakers* (New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1955); or James Biser Whisker, *Pennsylvania Clockmakers, Watchmakers and Allied Crafts* (Cranbury, N.J.: Adams Brown Company, 1990).

589. Rick Mones suggested this possibility. Indeed, on one occasion, Head himself misspelled Hood's name as "Wood." Head Account Book, p. 31 [Mary Snad Junor].

590. *Philadelphia Wills*, 1721-226.

591. *Philadelphia Wills*, 1775-165.

592. Rick Mones made this observation.

593. Head Account Book, p. 95 left.

594. Head Account Book, p. 74 right.

595. Head Account Book, p. 92 left. As often appears throughout the account book, Head appears to be turning over the work of others at no profit to himself. Here, his profit would be from the clockcase sold to house Hood's alarm clock.

596. Hornor's references to alarm clocks were also slightly later and do not establish when and at what price such clocks were sold. He cited "'1 Clock Alarm,' acquired by Hatton Wormley, 1747; 'An Alarm Clock,' in the dwelling of William Daniell, 1748; and 'a Larum Clock,'...in the home of Thomas Lacy, the baker, 1755." Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 57.

597. This may have been Head's own clock, as no corresponding debit is found in the account of Head's customers Head Account Book, p. 74 right. All other clock cleaning noted in Head's account book was by Peter Stretch. Head Account Book, pp. 46 [debit to John Ingrem], 132 right [credits to Stretch]. While Francis Richardson, Jr. advertised the cleaning of clocks, on September £9-16, 1736, no entries appear in his account for having done this for Head or his customers. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Prime, *Arts & Crafts*, pp. 86-87; Head Account Book, p. 104 left.

598. Head Account Book, p. 31; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 21, 1743.

599. "John Wood, Watchmaker" took out an advertisement for a "lost watch," in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 14, 1755.
600. The first entry spells Wood's name as "Woode." Head Account Book, p. 111 left. Hornor stated that joiner Henry Clifton sold a £4-0-0 clockcase to John Wood, in August 1750. Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 127.
601. John Wood, Jr. took out many advertisements in Philadelphia newspapers. See Prime, *Arts and Crafts*, pp. 269-271; Carolyn Wood Stretch, "Early Colonial Clockmakers in Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 56:227-228.
602. *Philadelphia Wills*, 1761-20.
603. Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 56.
604. Mones Collection [arched]; Philadelphia Private Collection [arched dial clock with flat top case]. The latter clock bears signatures of approximately a dozen early Philadelphia clockmakers who serviced it, for which reason it was especially prized by a former owner, Gebhardt Appel, then owner of William A. Heine Co., clock repairers in the Chestnut Hill section of Philadelphia. The back of its dial and many of its other parts are numbered "4." Joseph A. McFalls, Jr., the owner of a square dial John Wood, Sr., clock, in a flat top case, the parts of which are numbered "3," has suggested that these numbers may indicate the sequence in which the clocks were produced by Wood. Personal conversations. Another explanation may be that the numbers were meant to keep track of the parts of different movements being simultaneously assembled, and not necessarily with regard to their sequence of manufacture.
605. The will was proved 8/29/29. Seaman, *Thomas Richardson*, p. 41.
606. The clock, marked "Francis Richardson Philada: Fecit," is in the collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art. PMA's catalogue card attributes the clock to Francis Richardson, Sr., c. 1725. Winterthur Museum, DAPC Data Sheet, Acc. No. 64.1918. Rick Mones raises the possibility that this clock may be earlier or, conversely, if 1725 or later, perhaps the work of Francis Richardson, Jr. (c. 1705-1782). Personal conversation, December, 2000.
607. Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 55. The earliest published reference to this entry appears to be Harold E. Gillingham, "The Cost of Old Silver," *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 54:44.
608. *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 29:122; Horle, *Lawmaking*, pp. 401, 408 n. 8. The 1732 reference to the Growdon clock provides other documentary evidence of the appearance of arched dial clocks in that period.
609. Head Account Book, p. 104 left. A member of LCP, Francis, Jr.'s share has appropriately been reissued to Skip Chalfant, who deals in similar goods.
610. Head Account Book, p. 104 left.
611. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September #9-16, 1736; April 28, May 5, 1737; Prime, *Arts & Crafts*, pp. 86-87. He had been admitted a freeman, styled as a "Goldsmith," on May 20, 1717. *Minutes of the Common Council*, p. 126.
612. Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:198.
613. Head Account Book, pp. 1 & 2 [Masters], 37 & 38 [Read], 54 left & right [Grifits], 64 left & right [Allen].

614. Stiefel-Storb correspondence. Stiefel Papers. Storb first publicly announced the links between the group of cases and the shop of John Head at the *Worldly Goods* symposium. Lita Solis-Cohen, "Seminar Sheds New Light on Early Philadelphia Decorative Arts," p. 10-A. More recently, he has lectured to Pennsylvania horologists.

615. Personal conversations with Skip Chalfant and Rick Mones, December, 2000.

616. Stretch's premises were at the corner of 6th & Chestnut Streets, for which he paid James Logan ground rent of £6-0-0 per annum. On 11/27/21, Logan credited Stretch £6-0-0, "By Plantation for a Clock for a Years Rent." Logan Ledger, pp. 140 left, 144 left & right. It is unclear whether "Plantation" meant Stenton or Logan's "Plantation in Bristol Township." Ibid.

617. Head Account Book, p. 109 left [Peter Stretch, 5/1/32].

618. Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 57.

619. Head Account Book, p. 46 left [Peter Stretch, 8/15/26].

620. The walnut case was debited on 5/3/24, and the square cases on 8/15/29 and 10/27/29. Head Account Book, pp. 46 left, 109 left, 132 left [all Peter Stretch].

621. The arched cases were debited on 2/26/26 and 8/15/29. As the latter entry was on the same date as a square case, Head may have indicated their shape to differentiate one from the other. Head Account Book, pp. 46 left, 109 left, 132 left [all Peter Stretch].

622. The cherry cases were debited on 4/14/32 and 7/22/37. Head Account Book, pp. 109 left, 132 left [both Peter Stretch].

623. Only one other wood is noted in connection with furniture debited to Peter Stretch's account: maple. On 9/20/23, Stretch was charged £9-10-0, "To: a maple Chest of Drawers and Table." Head Account Book, p. 46 left.

624. Head Account Book, p. 27 [Leacock]. The corresponding credit entries for these clocks appeared in Peter Stretch's account on the same respective dates and show that Head charged no profit margin on clocks: "By a Clock dd to Jno Leacock £15-0-0" and "By a Clock dd to William Calender on John Leacocks account." Head Account Book, p. 132 right [Peter Stretch]. The Calender entries may relate to his furnishing of the first of the houses recorded as having been bought by him in Philadelphia several months beforehand. "William Callender made his first known purchase of property in the city, a brick house on the west side of Second Street in the block between Chestnut and Walnut streets, acquired from Ebenezer Large in April, 1734. Five years later Callender bought the adjoining brick building, also from Large." Horle, *Lawmaking*, p. 253. Callender was born in Barbados in 1703 and died in Philadelphia in 1763. A member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, he resigned in 1756, in protest over the French and Indian War. Crane, *Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, pp. 310-311. Callender's daughter Hannah (1737-1801), who married Samuel Sansom in 1762, also kept a diary. See George Vaux, "Extracts from the Diary of Hannah Callender, *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 12:432-456.

625. It was then valued at £10-0-0. Callender Inventory, p. 1.

626. Head Account Book, p. 46 left. By this time, Stretch had long been established as a clockmaker. On February 26, 1718, the Common Council had authorized payment to him of £8-18-0 for work done by him on the town clock. Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:199.

627. Head Account Book, p. 132 left.
628. Head Account Book, pp. 46 left, 132 left.
629. One Peter Stretch arched dial clock in a case probably too early to have been made by Head is shown [fig. 30].
630. Head Account Book, pp. 78 left and right [Taylor].
631. Of the down payment, £8-0-0 was in "Cash," and £3-10-0 was "To an order upon Thomas Gilpin." Head Account Book, p. 78 left [Taylor].
632. Head Account Book, p. 83 left [Guest]. Although no credit was recorded until "1739," it is possible that Head had owed Guest for awhile, as the credit was described as for "shoues [shoes] at Sundre Times." Head Account Book, p. 83 right [Guest].
633. Several chests of drawers appear in Peter Stretch's probate inventory. *Philadelphia Wills*, 1746-108. Two of them may have been from Head, as two were debited to Stretch's account. Head Account Book, pp. 46 left [4/3/23, £5-15-0], & 132 left [1/1/39, £3-10-0].
634. The mending for Stretch included three clockcases. Head Account Book, pp. 46 left [2/12/25, £0-6-0], 109 left [8/19/27, £0-12-0; 6/31/32, £0-15-0].
635. Head Account Book, p. 46 left.
636. Prime, *Arts and Crafts*, pp. 61 [Daniel Dupuy, Pennsylvania Packet, November 3, 1777], 92 [Philip Syng, *Pennsylvania Journal*, March 17, 1763].
637. Mones Collection. Cf., oak English scale box labeled Joseph Richardson and dated 1774, at Winterthur. Martha Gandy Fales, *Joseph Richardson and Family, Philadelphia Silversmiths* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press for HSP, 1974), fig. 30. Joseph Richardson also sold "Gold Scales and Weights, from one Ounce to half a Grain, in black Shagareen Cases," which he "Lately imported from London." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 19, 1744.
638. Head Account Book, p. 132 left.
639. The inventory of his estate, which included a number of cast items, including spandrels and faces, also listed substantial quantities of "Brass" and "Tinn." *Philadelphia Wills*, 1746-108.
640. Kalm, *Travels*, 2:162.
641. Head Account Book, pp. 109 right, 132 right.
642. Debited and credited, simultaneously, to Leacock, on 3/31/34 and, with delivery to Calender, 8/25/34. Head Account Book, pp. 27 [Leacock debits], 132 right [Stretch credits].
643. Miflen's clock was debited and credited 7/12/29. Head Account Book, pp. 97 left [Miflen debit], 109 right [Stretch credit].
644. Guest's clock was debited and credited 3/16/38. Head Account Book, pp. 83 left [Guest debit], 132 right [Stretch credit].
645. Head Account Book, pp. 117 left [Lee debit], 132 right [Stretch credit].

646. *Philadelphia Wills* 1746-108.
647. Head Account Book, pp. 103 left [Steel debit], 109 right [Stretch credit].
648. Head Account Book, pp. 114 left [Hains debit], 132 right [Stretch credit].
649. *Philadelphia Wills*, 1746-108.
650. However, Stretch probably put them in working order before selling them to Head. Head Account Book, pp. 109 right, 132 right.
651. Head Account Book, pp. 109 right [Stretch credit], 110 left [Fitswarter debit].
652. Head Account Book, pp. 119 left [Carrall], 132 right [Stretch credit].
653. Head Account Book, p. 109 right [4/12/28, £0-3-6 for one pair; "1730," £0-7-0, for two pair].
654. Head Account Book, p. 132 right. See also Thomas Chalkley Account Book, owned by the LCP, and on view at HSP. Its April 26, 1722 entry recording the mending of a clock by Peter Stretch is cited in *Philadelphia: Three Centuries*, p. 15.
655. However, entries from the Head account book pertaining to William Stretch have recently advanced research about him. See Richard A. Mones, "A Rare Philadelphia Longcase Clock by William Stretch with Bolt-and-shutter Maintaining Power," *Antiquarian Horology and the Proceedings of the Antiquarian Horological Society* XXV, no. 4 (December 2000), pp. 680-682. Dr. Mones is admitted to the freedom of the Clockmakers Company, London. The clockcase housing the William Stretch movement has been attributed to John Head. Conversation with Rick Mones, December, 2000.
656. Personal Conversation with Rick Mones, December, 2000.
657. *Philadelphia Wills*, 1746-108.
658. Head Account Book, p. 77 left ["1727," 4/27/30, 6/29/30, and 10/28/30].
659. The first pair of hinges and the clock were credited on 10/15/26; and the second pair on 10/22/26. Head Account Book, p. 77 right.
660. *Philadelphia Wills*, 1746-108.
661. Head Account Book, p. 77 right.
662. Thomas Stretch's February 1, 1762 will was proved on October 23, 1765, and his estate inventoried on October 8, 1765. *Philadelphia Wills*, 1765-228.
663. Thomas was paid #494-5-5 1/2 for that clock "and for his Care in cleaning and repairing the same for six years." Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 304. An eight-day, arched dial clock by him, in a flat top case, also stands on the second floor of that same building, now known as Independence Hall. A search of contemporary newspapers for any advertisements by him yielded one in which he sought a "STOLEN...Negro Man named Jack," that he had acquired through litigation. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 31, 1739.

664. Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:233; Crane, *Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, p. 311. Another son of Peter Stretch, according to Rick Mones, was Joseph Stretch, a hatter. He must have therefore been a competitor to Head's son John and his sons-in-law Jeremiah Warder and Benjamin Hooton. Joseph's name appears in the ledger of carpenter Joseph Webb, who charged John Knight £0-3-0, on 9/24/44, "To putting in a new Sill & mending ye floor of a Store in Warter Street Joseph Stretch." Webb Ledger, p. 2.

665. Head Account Book, p. 109 left. See also *Minutes of the Common Council*, p. 131 ["Samuel Stretch, Watchmaker" was admitted as a freeman on May 27, 1717]. James Logan debited "Samuel Stretch Watchmaker" for 20-0-0 "lent him" [2/20/20]. It was repaid the following month. Logan Ledger, pp. 79 left & right.

666. Samuel Stretch's March 7, 1732 will was proved on December 9, 1732, and his estate inventoried on 7/30/32. *Philadelphia Wills*, 1732-26

667. Head Account Book, p. 11; Horle, *Lawmaking* 2:518. Hudson bought a broad range of basic furniture from Head, including a "a Chamber Table," "an oval Table," and "a Clos Stoll [close stool]." The most interesting debit was "To maken a naden Trof [kneading trough]," obviously for use in Hudson's profession. Head Account Book, p. 11. An inventory of Hudson's estate has not been found. Horle, *Lawmaking* 2:519.

668. A.S.M., "Replies," under "Notes and Queries," *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 7:495.

669. Head Account Book, p. 98 left.

670. The £5-10-0 "Walnut Dask" was debited to Samuel Brian [Bryan], on 11/9/27. Head Account Book, p. 29.

671. Head Account Book, passim.

672. Head Account Book, passim. The "Writen Dask" was bought by Jon [Jonathan?] Lade, on 3/23/24. Head Account Book, p. 54 left.

673. This was the second desk bought by Isaac Norris Junor [Isaac Norris, Jr.] (1701-1766), who had earlier bought a £6-0-0 model with no wood described. Head Account Book, p. 50 left [7/19/23, 3/13/25]. Norris was one of Head's most prominent customers. Like his father, a Speaker of the Assembly, he had established a reputation for being "learned and influential." Norris married (1739) Logan's eldest daughter, Sarah (1715-1744). Myers, *Hannab Logan's Courtship*, p. 20.

674. Debited to George Kellay [Kelley?], as "To a Dask," it was, thus, at least £3-10-0 more expensive than any other desk. Head Account Book, p. 116 left. It is possible that it was a more elaborate secretary desk, a form which will be soon discussed.

675. Head Account Book, p. 58 left.

676. Robins advertised that he was "Over against the George Inn." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 25, 1737.

677. Head Account Book, p. 120 right. "Thomas Wells, Ship carpenter, in Front Street" advertised the sale of an assortment of fabrics. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 21, 1747. His account with Head was also credited for "Camblit [camlet]" and "Twill." Head Account Book, p. 120 right. Camblet, or camlet, has been described as "a rich stuff used for dress as early as the thirteenth century, and made of hair, especially that of goats, with silk or wool, presenting a

veined or wavy appearance." Myers, *Hannah Logan's Courtship*, p. 250 n. 1. Pepys, the diarist, wrote that, on June 1, 1664, when he put on his "new camelott suit, [it was] the best I ever wore in my life...." Ibid.

678. Nathanal [Nathaniel] Pool ordered a "Bookcas dd [delivered] to Richard Warder," on 8/13/20, at £5-0-0; Joseph Gilpin ordered his, on 10/4/25, at £1-10-0; Thomas Masters, Jr., had one mended, on 2/14/24, at £0-1-6. Head Account Book, pp. 1 [Pool], 53 left [Masters, Jr.] & 81 left [Gilpin]. None of these accounts even lists a desk.

679. Head Account Book, p. 103 left.

680. Head Account Book, p. 103 left. Secretaries were spelled in many variants. They were also not used exclusively to store books and papers. Timothy Scarth advertised that his "escrutore" was broken into by some thieves, who stole a gold necklace and locket, a pair of gold buttons, six silver teaspoons, two large silver spoons, a quilt and some linens. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 21, 1747. A "scrutoire" was searched for infection in Boston. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 20, 1743. Joiner Francis Trumble operated his business at the "Sign of the Scrutore." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 8, 1754, cited in Garvan, "22. High Chest and Dressing Table," p. 26.

681. *Philadelphia Wills*, 1741-261.

682. Head Account Book, passim.

683. Head Account Book, pp. 11 [Talbert], 15 [Harrison], 81 left [Tison].

684. Head Account Book, pp. 67 left [Samuel Burers Junor, 4/17/24, pine], 114 left [John Hains, 5/13/28].

685. This entry also leaves no doubt that Head's shop was producing its own cradles, rather than acting as middleman. This is also the only record of Head having made a cradle in this wood. The relatively low price paid versus walnut, or even pine, cannot be accounted for on the basis of this being an early transaction, because Head had already sold a walnut cradle to Talbot at his normal £1-0-0 charge. Head Account Book, pp. 1, 11; Horle, *Lanmaking* 1:534.

686. Horle, *Lanmaking* 1:536.

687. Head Account Book, p. 1.

688. Highly curled walnut such as that on the drawers fronts of the Wistar/Morris family high chest and dressing table attributed to Head can, however, approach the lush figuring of mahogany. It has been erroneously taken for it. E.g., Moon, *The Morris Family of Philadelphia*, 5:248 plates opposite.

689. Only £0-2-2 was owed, as Head had already credited Masters £4-16-2 for 146 pounds of nails and "1 - Galon of Rumb." Head Account Book, p. 2; Horle, *Lanmaking* 1:536-537.

690. Head Account Book, pp. 19, 66 left, 83 left.

691. Sary [Sarah] Dimsdild was debited that amount, on 9/8/23, To a Corner Coberd & painting." Head Account Book, p. 52 left.

692. Head Account Book, p. 1 [Nathanal Pool, 12/16/22], the earliest sold.

693. Head Account Book, p. 3. Hornor, *Blue Book*, pp. 49-52, 62, 64-65, 67, 200, 230, 274. The plantation, after Wooddrop's demise, was advertised for "Let" by his executors as "containing one hundred and Forty three Acres, the greatest part being mowable Meadow, with a large brick House and Kitchen, a large Barn and Stable, with sundry other Conveniences necessary for a Plantation...." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 11, 1744.

694. Head supplied a "Lok for a Coberd" to Edward Williams at a much earlier date, 4/11/19, than any corner cupboards he produced. However, he doesn't identify whether this was a corner cupboard, as well. Williams paid £0-1-6 for the lock. Head Account Book, p. 40.

695. William Clar bought the last one, on 12/26/35. Head Account Book, p.124 left, passim.

696. McElroy's research found no clothes presses referenced in estate inventories beyond 1724. McElroy, *Philadelphia Furniture: The First Fifty Years*, p. 79. The Head account book establishes that such forms were being made new as late as that year.

697. Head Account Book, p. 23.

698. In recopying this entry to the page on which Gilpin's account continued, Head changed the spelling to "Close Prase." Head Account Book, pp. 44, 81 left.

699. Head Account Book, p. 64 left. Nehemiah Allen (1685-1736) was an importer and exporter of corn and salt, who served as a member of the Common Council in 1701 and 1705. He was styled a "cooper" in his will. His son, Nehemiah Allen, Jr., was also described as a "Cooper," when admitted as a freeman on May 27, 1717. Seaman, Thomas Richardson, pp. 92-93. As the account in Head's book does not describe "nemier Allen" as "Sanor" or "Junor," it is uncertain with which Head dealt. Either of them may have had the account, as all transactions were in 1724-1725, while both were alive. Head Account Book, pp. 64 left & right. The account was not that of a third Nehemiah Allen, whose coffin was ordered, on September 1, 1746, from joiner George Wilson by his father, merchant Nathaniel Allen. He had been the nephew of Nehemiah, Jr., and still a minor at the time of the Head transactions. (The third Nehemiah's parents had not wedded until 1713.) Seaman, *Thomas Richardson*, p. 93. Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," pp. 16, 18, citing Account Book of Nathaniel Allen, p. 169.

700. Head Account Book, p. 103 left [Steel], 121 left [Ransted]; *Philadelphia Wills*, 1741-261 [Steel].

701. Head Account Book, pp. 59 left & right.

702. Head Account Book, p. 60 left [Clifton], 69 left [Roach], 77 left [Stretch]. Undescribed boxes were also sold. Head Account Book, pp. 19 [Jacob DuBary], 99 left [John Campbell], 103 left [James Steel].

703. Head Account Book, pp. 103 left, passim.

704. Head Account Book, pp. 7 [Samuel Hudson], 13 [Wooley], 15 [Andrew Edg], 21 [Joseph Elger], 58 left [Jon Huntsman], 60 left [Danis Radford], 75 left [Artha Jones]. Another undesignated "Trof" was delivered to William Ball, and debited to John Roberds. Head Account Book, p. 73 left.

705. Head Account Book, p. 3 [Woodrop, Mocombs]. Head was later to get large quantities of candles and soap from Thomas Canan. In part payment, Head provided Canan with "18 pound & 3/4 Randerd [rendered] Tallo[w]," on 1/30/22. Head Account Book, p. 25. Head was also a big seller of candles. E.g., Head Account Book, p. 73 left [John Roberds]. Cf., George

Claypoole supplied John Reynell with "a board to cut candle wicks on, a frame for candle molds, as well as three dozen candle rods and a 'Mould to Dip' them in." Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," pp. 11-12, citing Business Papers of Coates-Reynell, 1702-1744, without more specific date.

706. Head Account Book, pp. 5 [Cox], 99 left [Campbell], 132 left [Stretch]. Cf., "Abram Cox, Bootmaker," admitted as a freeman, April 22, 1717. "Minutes of the Common," p. 118.

707. Head Account Book, pp. 1 [Joseph _____, £0-3-0 washing form; Pool], 52 [Dimsdild], 59 left [Worner]; Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," p. 12, citing Business Papers of Coates-Reynell, 1702-1744, without more specific date [Claypoole]. Cf., as to "Trusels," the "Iyring [ironing] board and Trusils for it," supplied by Claypoole to Reynell. Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," p. 12, citing Business Papers of Coates-Reynell, 1702-1744, without more specific date.

708. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:365. Some told Kalm that the "Fever and Ague," which commonly afflicted those in Pennsylvania ten times as much as those in New York "was occasioned by the vapours arising from stagnant fresh waters, from marshes, and from rivers...." "[B]y experience," Kalm concluded that "standing and putrid water" was to blame. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:241-242, 366.

709. Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:203, 206-208.

710. Head Account Book, p. 39.

711. Head Account Book, p. 64 left.

712. Mason was charged £2-0-0, "To his Wifes Coffin," on 11/17/40. Head Account Book, p. 64 left.

713. The least expensive charges described as "To a Child's Coffin," were the £0-6-0 to Nathanal [Nathaniel] Pool, on 5/3/21; the £0-6-8 to nemier [Nehemiah] Allen, on 11/2/24; and the £0-7-0 to Simond Hagal [Simon Edgell]. Head Account Book, pp. 1 [Pool], 7 [Hagal], 64 left [Allen].

714. Head Account Book, p.111 left.

715. Nineteen were designated as for a "Child's Coffin." Head Account Book, passim. Another, "To his Boyes walnut Coffin," was debited to Thomas Master Junor [Jr.], at £1-5-0, on 6/30/33. Head Account Book, p. 53 left. Other Head coffins were described as for a "son" or "dafter [daughter]." But, it is not possible, without reference to genealogical materials, to deduce how many of these may also have been children.

716. The daughter's coffin was ordered on 6/5/29, and the son's, on 6/21/29. Head Account Book, p. 105 left.

717. The account of Simond Hagal [Simon Edgell] was charged £0-15-0, on 6/29/19, "To a Sader [cedar] Coffin for his Child;" £0-7-0, on 11/3/22, "To a Childs Coffin;" and £0-18-0, on 9/14/24, "To a Childs Coffin." Head Account Book, p. 7.

718. Emma J. Lapsansky, "Patrotism, Values, and Continuity: Museum Collecting and 'Connectedness,'" *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 114:81. The article depicts an infant's coffin, c. 1835-1842, by an unknown maker, which was dug up in 1984 from the cemetery of Philadelphia's First African Baptist Church, and donated to HSP.

719. Head Account Book, p. 111 left.

720. Probably part of the brickmaking Coates clan, William paid in 3950 bricks and eight hundred feet of "pine Bords." Head Account Book, p. 111 right. Numerous entries for John Coats and Moses Coats also appear in Head's book. They, too, often paid him in brick, tile, and other building material. ead Account Book, pp. 70 [John Coats], 102 [Moses Coats]. A "John Coats" also appears in Hornor's list of early cabinetmakers as a "joiner" from an uncited "documentary reference [dated] 1721." Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 3. But this probably is not Head's man, whose credit transactions go as late as 1749, and include at least 21,720 bricks. Head Account Book, p. 70 right. See, generally, Harold E. Gillingham, "Some Early Brickmakers of Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 53:1-27.

721. Head Account Book, p. 121 left

722. Head Account Book, p. 121 right

723. Head Account Book, pp. 3 [Woodrop, 6/26/21], 102 right [Hooper].

724. Head Account Book, p. 21.

725. Head Account Book, p. 55 left.

726. Head Account Book, p. 111 left.

727. Head Account Book, p. 103 left. Black women, trained for housework, were advertised in Philadelphia. Among the "several likely Negroes" from Barbados, advertised by Alexander Wooddrop, were "two likely Women bred to House work." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 13, 1736. Learning that this was how Wooddrop may have in part financed his purchases of furniture from Head adds a sad but necessary dimension to those transactions. Head Account Book, pp. 3,4.

728. "[A]nd Moravian brethren bury where they can." Kalm, *Travels*, 1:43-44.

729. Head Account Book, p. 103 left; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 27, 1736.

730. Head Account Book, p. 52 left

731. Head had many alternate spellings for "ridged." Head Account Book, p. 21 ["Ridged"], 33, 52 left ["Ridgd"], 47 left ["redged"], 62 left ["riged"] - entry recopied by same account, on p. 21]. Head's earliest such coffin was the £1-15-0 charged Archabil [Archibald] Mikel, on 11/9/30, "To his sons Cofin redged." Head Account Book, p. 47 left. However, Head generally got either £2-0-0 or £2-5-0 for a ridged coffin. Head Account Book, pp. 21, 33, 47 left, 52 left. Cf., George Claypoole charged John Reynell £2-0-0, on October 30, 1738, for a "Mahogany Ridgd Coffin," for his daughter. Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," p. 11, citing Business Papers of Coates-Reynell, 1702-1744. John Hill later advertised "Coffins, with Ridged or Flat Tops...." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 12, 1760.

732. Head Account Book, p. 121 left. It is also helpful in showing how much material was used in this instance, information lacking elsewhere in the account book for coffins.

733. Philadelphia's Quaker meeting house, except for "seats and sconces," was devoid of ornamentation. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:42.

734. Head Account Book, pp. 9, 53 left, 97 left, 103 left, 111 left, 134 left.

735. "Excerpts from the Day-books of David Evans, Cabinet-maker, Philadelphia, 1174-1811," *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 27:49-55. Giving renewed meaning to the phrase "not worth a Continental," on July 14, 1779, Evans charged the estate of George Ross, Esquire, £175 in Continental currency, for a mahogany coffin, inscription plate, handles & case." Evans Daybook, p. 49. By contrast, only £13-0-0 was charged the estate of the late Chief Justice, William Allen, for making his mahogany coffin, with plate, horse hire, and attendance on the corpse. Evans Daybook, p. 50. Evans's last reference in the daybook to a mahogany coffin is on October 6, 1808, when he charged Richard Bache £10-10-0, for making one for Bache's wife, Sarah, daughter of the late Benjamin Franklin. Evans Daybook, p. 55.

736. As "Cofin Screws" were considerably more expensive than the screws Head bought cheaply in bulk, the term appears to mean some sort of "clamp" with which to secure the coffin lid. Moxon portrays a clamp affixed to a joiner's worktable, and calls it a "Bench-Screw." Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises; or, The Doctrine of Handy-works Applied to the Arts of Smithing, Joinery, Carpentry, Turning, Bricklaying*, 3rd ed. (London: Dan. Midwinter & Tho. Leigh, 1703), pl. 4 opposite p. 69. Other cheaper "Cofen scrues," such as the £0-4-0 Head credited to Simond Edgal [Simon Edgell, 8/14/26], may have been screws, not clamps. Head Account Book, p. 86 right.

737. The earliest transaction was a £0-0-4 debit to Alexander Wooddrop, on 6/26/21, "To 2 Cofin Screws." Head Account Book, p. 3. John Pris [Price?] was debited for a far more comprehensive amount of coffin supplies, suggesting that he was either in the business of making coffins or had had more than his fair share of deaths at home. On 7/9/21, Pris was debited £0-3-0, "To 2 payer Cofin Handles;" £0-0-3, "To 1/2 hundard d/3 [e penny] Brads;" and £0-5-7 1/2. "To 22 foot & 1/2 of 1/2 Inch Bord." Head Account Book, p. 9. A week later, on 7/16/21, Pris was debited an additional £0-1-0, "To 3 Screws." Head Account Book, The next month, on 8/10/21, Pris was charged £0-1-0, "To 6 Cofin Screws." Head Account Book, The following year, on 2/18/22, Pris ordered "2 payer Cofin handles, at £0-2-8. Head Account Book, As with coffin handles, clamps for securing coffins also appear to have come in different sizes, as the following year, Pris had two different orders for "2 Cofin Screws," on 4/4/22, at different prices, £0-0-4 and £0-2-8. Head Account Book, p. 9. Head's last order for "a payer of Cofin handles," was the £0-1-6 debited, on 1/2/24, to Jonathan Cockshaw. Head Account Book, p. 51 left. One wonders whether the £0-3-0, "To Goods Delivered To Jonathan Cockshaw," which Head credited to the account of Thomas Canan less than two weeks later, on 1/15/24, had any connection to Cockshaw's "payer of Cofin handles." Canan was obviously a chandler, as his accounts show many credits for vast quantities of soap and candles to Head, and debits for boxes within which to store them. Perhaps Cockshaw required soap in connection with cleansing the decedent's quarters or candles in connection with a ceremony in the decedent's memory. Head Account Book, p. 26. This sort of knowledge may be useful to those researching funeral practices and any prophylactic measures taken against disease in early Philadelphia.

738. Head Account Book, p. 71 right.

739. Head Account Book, p. 91 right.

740. Watson, *Annals*, 1:164.

Footnotes for "The Head Account Book as Artifact"

1. Franklin arrived from Boston just prior to the first limited experiments with paper currency in Pennsylvania, introduced by the Currency Acts of 1723 and 1726. Benjamin Franklin, *A Modest Enquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper-Currency* (Philadelphia 1729), as reprinted in Leonard W. Labaree, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 1:142. The shortness of currency worsened the already difficult economic circumstances following the bursting of the South Sea Bubble. Peter Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), p. 127.
2. See, e.g., joiner Lambert Emerson's advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 1, 1738.
3. As Kalm was to note twenty years later: "But all the money, which is got in these several countries [from Philadelphia's exports], must immediately be sent to England, in payment for the goods which are got from thence, and yet those sums are not sufficient to pay all the debts." Kalm, *Travels*, 1:50. Kalm provides a table of the value of goods shipped yearly from England to Pennsylvania from 1723-1747. During that period, English manufactured goods rose in annual value from andpound;10,793 to andpound;73,819, a nearly seven-fold increase. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:52. Kalm found that he met "with excellent masters in all trades, and many things are made here full as well as in England. Yet no manufactures, especially for making fine cloth are established." Kalm, *Travels*, 1:58. As evidenced by the numerous transactions in the Head account book, Philadelphia's furniture industry was to become a notable exception to Philadelphia's dependence on foreign manufactured goods. The incidence of imported furniture lessened the more Philadelphians became accustomed to buying from their local cabinetmakers.
4. Labaree, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* 1:140.
5. Labaree, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* 1:144. The shortage of paper currency also may have encouraged some to leave. Peter Turner, "intending for London," advertised that his fabrics and other wares were "to be Sold extreme cheap for ready Money or short Credit." Turner advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 30, 1741
6. Labaree, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* 1:148. However, in 1740, after a loan of eighty thousand pounds was issued in support, Franklin was to become alarmed at the proliferation of irredeemable paper currency and changed his tune: "I now think there are limits beyond which the quantity may be hurtful." Scharf, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:196.
7. Of course, what was a disadvantage to Head, his suppliers and customers, is a boon to modern scholarship. Head's records of barter are a cornucopia of information regarding previously unknown tradesmen, their goods, and their lifestyles.
8. Crediting the account of Edmond [Edmund] Woolley, Head wrote: "Minde the note of my hand That I gave Edmond Woolley for Balance I paid by his order To Caleb Ransted which was In full of all accounts." Head Account Book, p. 14 [1/29/29].
9. Head Account Book, pp. 56 left and right. No other business was recorded with Logan [1674-1751], who had been William Penn's secretary.
10. Head Account Book, pp. 41 left and right.
11. Head Account Book, pp. 74 left and right.
12. Head Account Book, pp. 88 left and right.

13. Head Account Book, pp. 119 left and right.

14. Head Account Book, pp. 73 left and right.

15. Head Account Book, p. 68 left. The recordation of even a single non-cash payment for a piece of furniture could become complicated. On the same date as the debit for the chest of drawers, Johns was credited for paying partly in cash, £3-4-0, and the remaining £4-1-0, "To an order upon Charles Hansley." That same date Charles Hansl[e]y's account was debited "To an order from Christian [not Philip] Johns." A year to the day later, on 10/1/25, an order in the exact amount, £4-1-0, showed up as a credit to Hansly's account as "By an order from Christian Johns dated 10/1/24/And paid to William Clare 2/12/25." On the latter date, Clar's account was credited, "To an order upon C[h]arles Hansley," but in a greater amount, £4-7-5." The inconsistencies were nowhere explained. Head Account Book, pp. 19 [Clar], 55 left [Hansly], 68 left and right [Philip Johns].

16. Head Account Book, p. 76 left [Lucan; Tison].

17. Head Account Book, pp. 98 left and right. By then Head was seemingly out of the furniture business, but his son-in-law, Jeremiah Warder, the latter, was very much into the business of hats and shirts. Head Account Book, pp. 77 left and right. Beaver hats were the most esteemed. "Raccoon...was next in goodness." Kalm, *Travels*, 1:97.

18. Head Account Book, pp. 118a left and right [Vallecot], 119 left and right [Carrall]. "Wm[.] Vallicot" was admitted freeman on April 30, 1717. *Minutes of the Common Council*, p. 121.

19. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 27, 1750.

20. "The town not only furnishes most of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania with the goods which they want, but numbers of the inhabitants of New Jersey come every day and carry on a great trade." Kalm, *Travels*, 1:53-54. Kalm wrote that in New Bristol, now simply Bristol, in Pennsylvania some twenty miles north, "[t]he inhabitants carry on a small trade, though most of them get their goods from Philadelphia." Kalm, *Travels*, 1:219. The trade of even well-situated larger towns was adversely affected, and not always fairly. Burlington, New Jersey, across the Delaware River from Bristol, which Kalm visited on May 31, 1749, was described, as follows: "The town has a good situation, since ships of considerable burden can sail close up to it: but Philadelphia prevents its carrying on an extensive trade; for the proprietors of that place have granted it great immunities, by which it is increased so as to swallow all the trade of the adjacent towns." Kalm, *Travels*, 2:219 [footnote omitted]. In 1718, a petition had been presented in the Pennsylvania Assembly to bar Jersey inhabitants from selling meat in the Philadelphia market. Watson, *Annals*, 1:97. Even Trenton, another ten miles up river, got its goods from Philadelphia and carried on only a "small trade." Its chief source of income was as a transit point for travelers between Philadelphia and New York. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:221. John Head sold furniture in New Jersey. One chest of drawers, at £3-0-0, was ordered by "John [?] Hanby at Raccoon Crik," on 3/17/40. Head Account Book, p. 46. Raccoon Creek lay across the Delaware and a few miles south. Many in its population descended from earlier Swedish settlers. Kalm spent a substantial amount of time there. Kalm, *Travels*, 1:330, 2:3-212. Philadelphia also dominated the commerce of the upper Chesapeake Bay region. Luke Beckerdite, "An Identity Crisis[.] Philadelphia and Baltimore Furniture Styles of the Mid Eighteenth Century," in *Shaping a National Culture*, p. 243.

21. Joiner Josiah Claypoole supplied "9 Pickturs Sent to John Hawes of Antequa" and a "pr of chest of Drawes of Walnutt for Moley," as credited in Nathaniel Allen's book on January 20, 1738. "Moley" was Allen's ship, the "Molley," for which joiner George Wilson also supplied a bedstead with black cornice, on February 23, 1748. Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," pp. 13-14, 18, citing Account Book of Nathaniel Allen, pp. 149 [Claypoole], 169 [Wilson].

22. Head Account Book, pp. 100 left and right. An "Anthony Atwood" had a wharf located under Society Hill, between Pine and Cedar Streets, as of 1748. "Restoration of the Schuylkill Gun to 'The State in Schuylkill,' April 23d, 1884," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 8:211. Aaron Goforth, Jr. "Joyner" was admitted as a freeman on May 20, 1717. *Minutes of the Common Council*, p. 127. He came to Philadelphia with his father, Aaron Goforth, Sr., also a joiner, in 1711. Hornor, *Blue Book*, p. 3. Aaron Goforth, Jr.'s dealings as an intermediary between Head and the captains, in which he was transacting furniture made by Head not him, indicates that he was also acting as a merchant. See also the discussion, in the section on oval tables, of the consignment by Head customer Thomas Shute of an oval table for sale in Barbados.

23. "Marriage Certificate of Samuel Bryan and Sarah Head," 12/17/46, HSP, Marriage Certificates, vol. 1, Am.10155; Head Account Book, p. 29 [4/6/23-4/24/28]. Samuel Brian or Bryan was born about 1721 to Thomas Brian and Susannah Hearn. FamilySearch.com, film #452894, ref. #18338. With respect to dates derived from FamilySearch.com: FamilySearch's International Genealogical Index has no means of indicating Julian vs. Gregorian dates, resulting in an ambiguity not necessarily present in the original documents cited. This deficiency was noted in Mike Spathaky, "Old Style and New Style Dates: a Summary for Genealogists" (1995), posted on Scott Crevier's Family History: Old Style and New Style Dates, <http://www.family.crevier.org/dates/>.

24. Wells advertisement, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 21, 1747; Head Account Book, p. 120 left [5/5/32, 5/20/32]. Cf., repairs to multiple looking glasses by George Claypoole for merchant John Reynell, on August 15, 1746, and April 4, 1748, suggesting that Reynell was trading in them. Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," p. 12, citing Business Papers of Coates-Reynell, 1702-1744.

25. Head Account Book, pp. 56 left [Cordry, 4/19/23], 105 left [Lawrence, 9/20/46].

26. See, e.g., the workings of such arrangements in the sections on chairs and clockcases.

27. Head credited Thomas Wells "By an ould desk apon a frame;" and Peter Stretch for an "ould Clock." Head Account Book, pp. 120 right [Wells, £1-7-6, 11/26/31], 132 right [Stretch, £4-10-0, 8/4/33]. An example of a desk-on-frame that would have been old by the time of Head's transaction with Wells is that illustrated in Hornor, *Blue Book*, pl. 6; and Samuel T. Freeman and Co., *The James Curran Collection of Rare Eighteenth Century American Furniture*, auction catalog (Philadelphia, March £11-12, 1940), lot 284, dated c. 1700.

28. The "ould Clock" that Head got from Stretch, on 8/4/33, at £4-10-0, was the part of the "Clock and Case," that he debited to Thomas Fitzwarter [Fitzwater] the next week, on 8/10/33, at £7-10-0, presumably in one of his £3-0-0 "Squar" cases. Likewise, the £3-10-0 credited Stretch for another "ould Clock", in 5/0/37, was probably part of the "Clock and Case," that Head charged Thomas Carrall [Carroll?], on 5/14/37, at £7-10-0, presumably in one of his £4-0-0 arched cases. Head Account Book, pp. 120 right [Wells], 109 right and 132 right [Stretch], 110 left [Fitzwarter], 119 left [Carrall].

29. Head Account Book, pp. 87 left [Aspdin, 6/22/26], 97 left [Loyd, 2/4/33], 99 left [Campbell, 3/20/27 table £2-5-0 debit, 4/19/27 chest of drawers £5-10-0 debit] and right [Campbell, 9/10/27 table £2-5-0 credit, 10/5/27 chest of drawers £5-10-0 credit].

30. Head Account Book, pp. 48 right [Benjamin Hooton credit], 80 right [James Lipencot credit], 113 left [Stoopes], 136 right [Mickel Branin credit], 138 left [Benjamin Hooton debit]. Mathias Aspdin was "Attorney" for Ralph Sandiford, publisher of a "Negroe Treatise," for sale at twelve pence each. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 22, 1730.

31. Head Account Book, p. 112 right. "TWO Brick Houses, two storey each, in Fourth Street, (Part of the Estate of Benjamin Clark, deceased)" were advertised for sale by his executors, including Benjamin Hooton. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 21, 1744.

32. Head Account Book, pp. . 49 left [Poultis], 59 right [John Morris], 66 right [Hannah Turner], 78 right [George Boon], 94 right [Clifton].

33. Head Account Book, p. 50 left.

34. Head Account Book, p. 99 left.

35. Head Account Book, pp. 82 left and right. Head made careful notes before entering them in the account book, as George Vaux VIII noted in pencil: "Inventory of these goods in old Head Pocket Book in my collection 4/2 1900." Head Account Book, p. 82 right. Alexander Forbes also sold fabrics and thread from "his house, in second street, two doors from Black Horse Alley." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 23, 1748.

36. Wilson, "Early American Account Books," p. 3, quoting historian W.T. Baxter.

37. The general comments in this section regarding account books are substantially derived from the scholarship of two former Fellows in the Winterthur Program in Early American Culture. See Yolanda Van de Krol, *Records of Distribution*; William N. Hosley, Jr., "The Theory and Practice of Bookkeeping in America During the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries and the Application of Surviving Business Records in the Study of Material Culture" (May, 1979), University of Delaware, History 804, Winterthur, Downs Collection.

38. Because Colonial bookkeepers often combined in a single book elements of ledgers, daybooks, and diaries, it has been recommended that all such books should be accessioned by libraries and historical societies under the general heading of "Account Books," to avoid problems of technical nomenclature. Wilson, "Early American Account Books," p. 3.

39. A daybook is a form of single-entry bookkeeping. Head's daybook would have been ordered chronologically with transactions listed under the date when they took place. In an adjacent column, cross references to the ledger would probably have been made. The earliest reference in Head's account book to a daybook is dated 11/20/27. Head Account Book, p. 99 left. The latest is dated 5/19/50. Head Account Book, p. 123 right. References to the daybook in the Head Account Book are often for the purpose of correcting an erroneous entry. Thus, Head gave James Lipencot [Lippincott], a credit of £3-8-4, on 10/28/39, "By a parcel of scanlen reduced as by day Book mak[ing] 11139 foot." Head Account Book, p. 80 right. Head appears to have also used his daybook to aggregate small charges for sundries and then later posted them together in his ledger. E.g., John Campbell was debited £9-19-7, on 11/20/27, "To Sundres as apere [appear] By day Book." Head Account Book, p. 99 left.

40. In the handwriting of George Vaux VIII, on a page in the account book, is the following note in pencil: "Inventory of these goods in old Head Pocket Book in my collection 4/2 1900." Head Account Book, p. 82 right. Head, in crediting Hannah Turner £0-2-6, on 7/29/24, did so "By abatment [abatement] In ye drawer." Head Account Book, p. 66 right.

41. Head Account Book, p. 94 left.

42. Hereafter, in instances where Head used but one number for facing pages, reference to the lefthand side of pages shall be cited as "p.# left," and to the righthand side as "p. # right." Unless otherwise stated, all lefthand entries were entered as debits and all righthand ones as credits. Remembering what debits and credits signified is made easy by a couplet from an

accounting instructional book of the 19th century: "Profit and Loss Accounts are plain/I debit Loss and credit Gain." Quoted in Wilson, "Early American Account Books," p. 3.

43. See account of William Clar [Clare]. Head Account Book, p. 124 right.

44. On one occasion. Head noted that "The Lafe over [leftover] is [page] no 118." In his haste, Head numbered the next page the same, "118," so this account was actually carried forward to what is here designated "118a." Head Account Book, p. 118 right [Thomas Williams]. Sometimes, Head noted on the subsequent page that the account had been carried over from an earlier one. In one instance, he did so by writing "Brought from page - 97." Head Account Book, p. 118 right [William Shute].

45. While the Head account book's pages are numbered up to 138, there are 231 pages on which entries are written. Until page 40, Head numbered his pages consecutively, one number per page. On page 41, he numbered only the upper right-hand corner of the right page, that number serving to identify the left facing page, as well. For pages 42-45, Head reverted to one number per page. Thereafter, he used the one number per two pages system. Page 118 appears twice, i.e., covers four pages. [Hereafter, references to the second pair of pages 118 will be cited as "118a left and right."] The left hand (debit) side of what would have been numbered page 126 survives, but the right-hand (credit) side and both sides of pages 127 and 128, and the left-hand side of page 129 are missing. The right-hand side of page 129 survives loosely inserted in the book, as do both sides of pages 130 and 131 and the left-hand side of page 132. The right-hand page of page 132 is securely bound in the volume, as are the remaining pages. The last page of the book, which is unnumbered, contains all entries on a single page, in split-column format, with debits to the left and credits to the right.

46. Head Account Book, p. 16.

47. For an explanation of the changeover and how it was effected, see [Benjamin Franklin], *Poor Richard Improved* (Philadelphia: B. Franklin and D. Hall, 1752); Scharf, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:246; William H. Harris and Judith S. Levey, eds., *The New Columbia Encyclopedia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), p. 422. It is certain that Head utilized the Julian method prior to January 1, 1752, for a couple of reasons. First, the signed, simultaneously dated Bollen entry clearly shows that Head attested to using the 8th month to refer to October. This would be consistent with his usage of the Julian calendar, which recognized the new year as beginning with the vernal equinox in March. If March were the first month of Head's calendar, then October would correspond to his eighth. Second, Head recorded many 31st day entries for numerically-indicated months that would not have that many days under the Gregorian calendar. E.g., Head credited Isaac Noris Junior [Isaac Norris, Jr.] for some cloth on 6/31/23; Head charged Peter Stretch, on 6/31/32, for mending a clockcase. Those entries cannot mean June, which has only thirty days. Head's sixth month was August. Head Account Book, pp. 16 [Boolen], 50 right [Noris], 109 left [Stretch]. For further consistency and avoidance of confusion, dating has also been normalized to eliminate Head's use of consecutive years divided by an oblique (or forward slash) to indicate changes in calendar years, as was done for certain Julian dates. Thus a date of 11 mo. 1 1739/40 has been normalized as 11/1/39, and a date of 1 mo. 11 1739/40 has been normalized as 1/11/40.

48. Head Account Book, p. 3. Cf., the "Mop pail and handle" supplied merchant Charles Norris by John Elliott. Leibundguth, "Furniture-making," p. 26, citing Family Accounts, Norris of Fairhill, vol. 1 (1740-1773), p. 20.

49. Head Account Book, p. 46.

50. All were from John Roberds in 1725. Head Account Book, p. 73 right.

51. Perhaps this was the "siler," from which Head delivered his lime. A debit entry, dated 8/21/26, to Thomas Canan (Thomas Cannon), states that: "The Lime above was delivered out of ye Siler at Sundre Times and ye Siler cleared of it." Head Account Book, p. 65 left. Editorial notes: The thorn, "ye" or "yt," will be understood by the reader to refer to "the" or "that." They will not be replaced by "th," so as to maintain the flavor of the original. Superscript letters will, however, be brought down to the baseline. In instances where the meaning of one of Head's terms or the identity of those named is not immediately apparent, a proposed translation will follow in brackets.

52. The Logan accounts books are at HSP. The exigency of having to have his books open to audit by the Proprietors may have dictated the manner in which Logan maintained them.

53. Head Account Book, pp. 9 and 103 left [Steel debit], 11 [Clifton debit], 64 right [Mason], 71 right [Smith credit], 84 right [Hillman credit], 88 right [Bates credit], 93 left [Georg debit], 101 right [Rambo], 102 right [Janiens], 113 left and right [Burel Ground], 117 left [Lee debit], 121 right [Ransted credit]. John Smith, who did a lot of hauling for Head, may have been the wheelwright admitted as a freeman on April 30, 1717. "Minutes of the Common Council," p. 121. Ranstead advertised his intended removal to England in June 28, 1744. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 28, 1744. The reference to haggis may be the earliest American reference to what today is considered almost exclusively a Scottish "delicacy." The Quaker burial ground was "on one side out of town." Kalm, *Travels*, 1:43. By 1770, town had reached it, as joiner Henry Clifton advertised as "removed into Arch Street, opposite the gate of Friends burying-ground...." *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, August 13, 1770, cited in Prime, *Arts and Crafts* p. 163.

54. Richard Holmes, *The English Primrose* (London: Richard Cotes, 1644). Holmes, a London schoolmaster, accented written words as they were pronounced in Southwark, as an aid to their correct spelling by his pupils. Shakespeare Exhibition, The New Globe Theatre, Bankside, London. Southwark, south of the Thames, was home to the Globe, the Rose and other venues for plays presented by Shakespeare and his contemporaries. But just as *The English Primrose* does not inform us as to how all Londoners spoke, nor does Head's phonetic spelling give us the speech of all of his Philadelphia contemporaries. I am reminded of the three tailors of Tooley Street, a pettifogging coterie from Southwark that fancied itself representing the entire English populace, who, in addressing their grievances to the Commons, opened with the words: "We, the people of England...." *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, n.d.), p. 885, citing Canning.

55. Head Account Book, passim.