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Contents

“That They May Long Remember Me. . . . Henry Lamond, Cabinetmaker from Edinburgh, North Britten” ROBERT F. DOARES	1
The Wheeler House in Murfreesboro, North Carolina, 1809–1832: Insights from Documentary Research AUDREY H. MICHIE	45
BOOK REVIEWS	
Luke Beckerdite, ed., <i>American Furniture</i> BRADFORD L. RAUSCHENBERG	89
Carl Lounsbury, <i>An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape</i> JOHN LARSON	94

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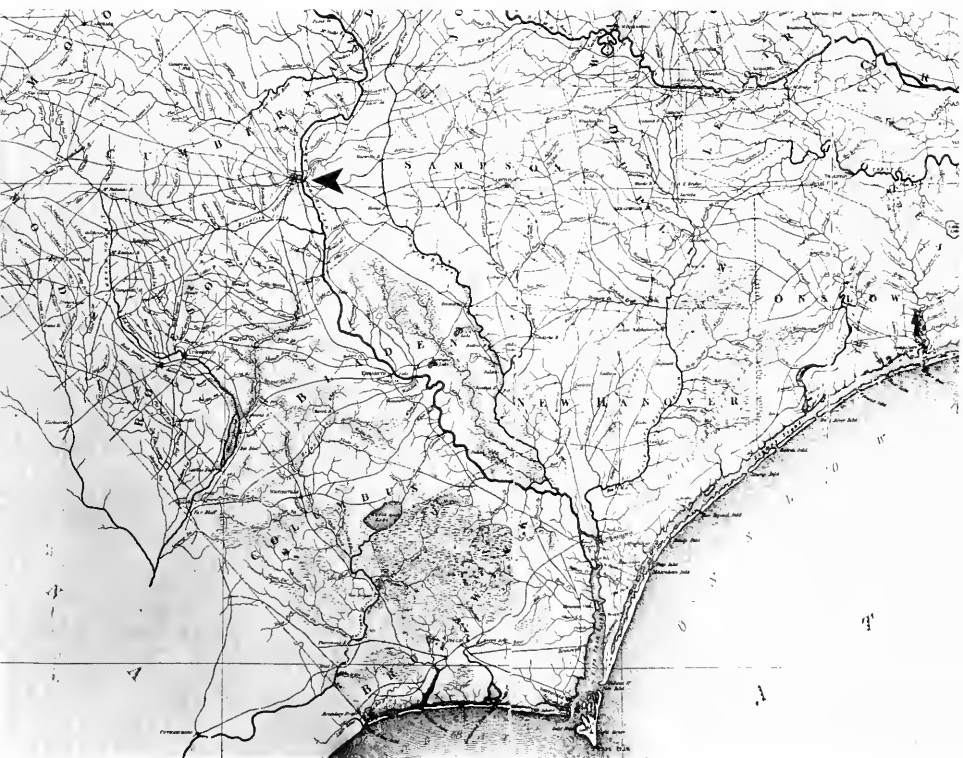
“That They May Long Remember Me . . .

*Henry Lamond, Cabinetmaker From Edinburgh,
North Britten”*

ROBERT F. DOARES, JR.

In *The Furniture of Coastal North Carolina 1700–1820*, author John Bivins identifies ten pieces of furniture made in the coastal plain of North Carolina that can be attributed definitively to specific furniture makers by signature or label.¹ Only one of these, a Fayetteville piece with a printed label, has its origin in the Cape Fear region of the coastal plain (fig. 1). No cabinetmaker’s actual written signature was found on any furniture documented from the southeastern coastal plain before 1820.

Bivins does make brief reference, however, to a Scottish-born cabinetmaker named “Henry Lamont” who was active in Robeson County in the lower Cape Fear, according to 1850 census records. Since publication of *The Furniture of Coastal North Carolina* in 1988, a private study in the Robeson County area has documented a number of pieces of early- to mid-nineteenth-century furniture by Henry Lamond (as the cabinetmaker himself spelled his surname). Ten of these pieces are signed and dated, and four others are attributable to Lamond by style, workmanship, and provenance. The signed pieces range in date from 1833 to 1857, and all have Robeson County origins. This furniture by Henry Lamond comprises the largest body of attributed and signed work of any early North Carolina cabinetmaker discovered to date. Although the Lamond furniture considered here was built later than the



1. Detail of John MacRae, *A New Map of the State of North Carolina*, 1833, showing the Cape Fear region. The arrow indicates Fayetteville. From W. P. Cumming, *North Carolina in Maps* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1966), plate X.

usual MESDA period of focus, Lamond was surely active in the furniture trade before 1820; furthermore, his work reflects the influence of his earlier neoclassical training. The documentation of these pieces provides an unprecedented opportunity for detailed study of the life and work of a single North Carolina coastal plain cabinetmaker, and the results of this research indicate that further study is definitely warranted in this heretofore meagerly documented part of North Carolina.

Henry Lamond was born on All Hallows' Eve, 31 October 1785, in the city of Edinburgh, Scotland. He was the son of John Lamond

and Margaret Elliot, whose marriage was recorded in St. Cuthbert's parish, Edinburgh, on 29 June 1776.² Henry had at least two older siblings: John, born on 14 July 1782, and Martha, born on 30 March 1784. Christening records for the Lamond children identify their father John as "Indweller" or "Residenter," variant designations for a citizen residing within the boundaries of the Ancient Royalty of Edinburgh proper. Likewise, the names and location of the three parish churches where the Lamond children were christened place the family squarely in the heart of old Edinburgh in the early 1780s. At the time of his marriage, John Lamond was listed as a "Gentleman's Servt. at Dean House," a private estate near Edinburgh. His profession is given in the 1782 church record as "Servant in the College of Edinb.," he was probably a so-called "servitor," a sort of glorified porter, assigned to assist university professors in minor custodial and administrative matters. Of John Lamond's wife, Margaret Elliot, little is known except that she was the daughter of John Elliot, "gardener at Dean Path."³

Henry was christened on his twelfth day of life, 12 November 1785, in High Kirk Parish, St. Giles Cathedral, the most prestigious parish in the Scottish capital (fig. 2). St. Giles—Catholic before the Reformation, Episcopal for part of the seventeenth century, and mother church of Presbyterianism since 1690—had been grossly altered in form some two centuries before Henry Lamond's birth. The interior of the great Gothic church had been partitioned with masonry walls, and separate areas of the building served the public simultaneously as four socially distinct parishes of the Church of Scotland—each with its own entrance.⁴ For Henry's christening, the Lamonds would have entered the choir, the part of the church designated as High Kirk.

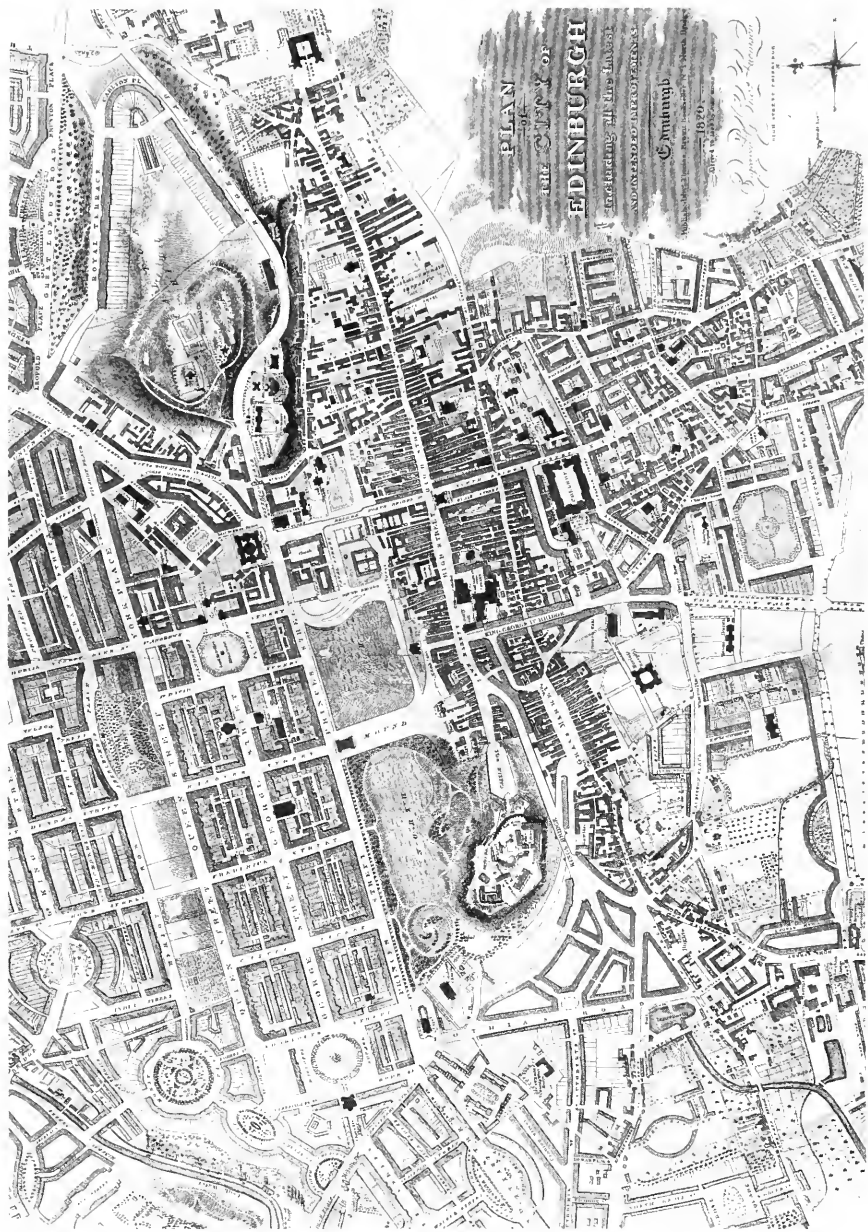
Notwithstanding the seedy appearance of much of the Old Town—nicknamed "Auld Reekie" for the smoky pollution from its many chimneys—the Edinburgh into which Henry Lamond was born was acclaimed in its heyday as the literary and artistic capital of Europe. The planning and building of the spacious New Town of Edinburgh (fig. 3) had begun in 1767 under the direction of architect James Craig, and construction would continue apace for the next three quarters of a century. The artistry of Edinburgh



2. St. Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh, as it appeared ca. 1870. Photograph courtesy of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.

bookbinders, silversmiths, and other craftsmen peaked during the period. Literature flourished as well, culminating in the genius of Sir Walter Scott. Scott's mentor, the novelist Henry Mackenzie, author of *The Man of Feeling*, was the foremost man of letters in the Scottish capital in the 1780s; John and Margaret Lamond undoubtedly had the famous novelist in mind when they christened their new son Henry Mackenzie in St. Giles in 1785.

No records have surfaced that give precise information about Lamond's early years, the time between his christening in St. Giles in 1785 and his appearance nearly thirty-five years later in the United States in public records in southeastern North Carolina. Lamond's own penciled inscriptions on pieces of his furniture sug-

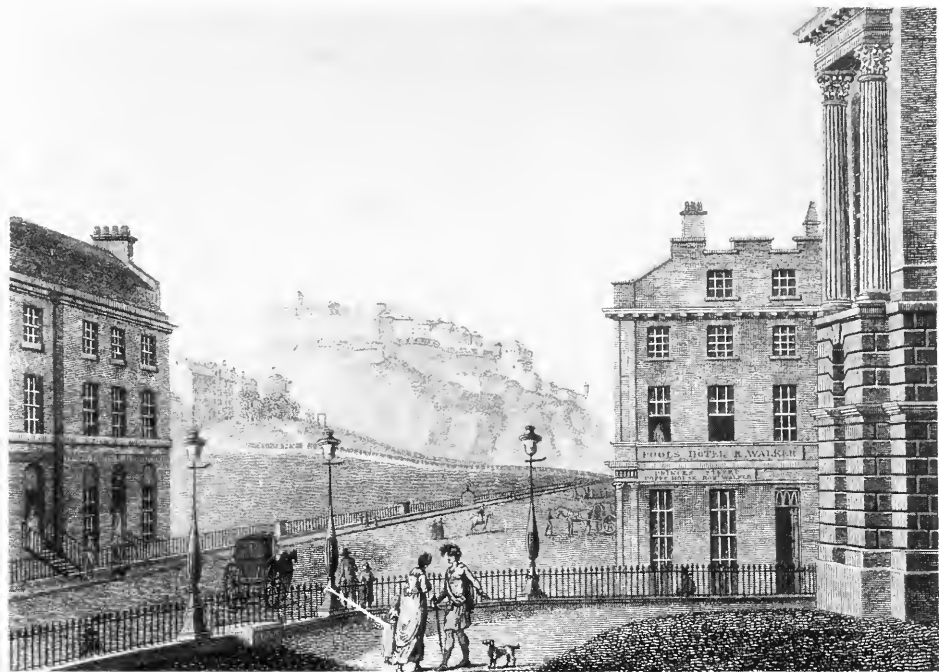


3. John Wood, Plan of the City of Edinburgh, 1820. Reproduced with permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.

gest, however, that he trained as a cabinetmaker in Edinburgh before emigrating to America. Several social and economic factors affecting the Scottish furniture trade before 1820 prompted the emigration of many furniture makers from the Edinburgh of Lamond's youth to America and elsewhere.

Edinburgh was already the acknowledged center of Scottish furniture manufacture before Henry Lamond's birth; the quality furniture that the city's cabinet shops produced has been unfairly overshadowed by a historical preoccupation with London style. Edinburgh's furniture industry expanded rapidly in the third quarter of the eighteenth century because of the demand for furnishings for the spacious new homes being built in the New Town across the North Loch. Many residents of the medieval city were relieved to escape their cramped quarters for the private luxury of a well-appointed home in the new Georgian Edinburgh. Others were resistant to change and chose to remain in the Old Town. The furniture makers, for the most part, stayed in their shops on the High Street, filling orders which conformed to an ever more standardized set of conventions for the proper decoration of a New Town house. Standard prices for these socially mandated furniture forms were eventually codified in the *Cabinet Maker's Price Book*, published in Edinburgh in 1805.⁵ The firm of Young and Trotter was the first furniture company to relocate from the High Street and to open, in 1772, the first furniture wareroom in the New Town, situated on Princes Street near the New Market (fig. 4).

For a generation before 1790, the Edinburgh furniture trade had been dominated by the respected firm of Francis Brodie, which supplied most of the furniture for Town College, as the University was then called.⁶ The importance of the Brodies came abruptly to an end, however, with the death of Francis Brodie in 1782 and the subsequent execution of his son, "Deacon" William Brodie, in 1788. William Brodie had inherited his father's furniture enterprise and his seat on the Edinburgh Town Council, but in short order he had squandered both his father's fortune and good name by turning to hard drinking, gambling, and housebreaking. After masterminding several sensational robberies of private and public buildings in the capital, including the theft of the ancient university



4. Princes Street, Edinburgh. Engraving, c. 1800, showing the firm of Young, Trotter, and Hamilton (corner building at left). Courtesy of David Jones, University of St. Andrew's, Fife.

mace, William Brodie was eventually apprehended, convicted, and hung.⁷ One cannot help but wonder if members of the Lamond family were among the crowd of forty thousand onlookers who turned out to witness Deacon Brodie's execution in Edinburgh on 1 October 1788.

The demise of the Brodies fortuitously cleared the way for the rise of their competitors, Edinburgh cabinetmakers Young and Trotter. Established by 1760, the firm of Young and Trotter (later Young, Trotter, and Hamilton), with its wareroom on Princes Street, had by 1790 attained a preeminence among Scottish furniture makers that it would enjoy for the next half century. William Trotter, who became sole owner of the firm about 1805, would

control a monopoly in the furniture market for the first third of the new century until his death in 1833. It thus fell to Trotter and his competitors, most notably Morison and Co. and Bruce and Burns, to rescue the reputation of the Edinburgh cabinet trade, which had been badly compromised by the escapades of William Brodie.⁸

William Trotter's dominance of the furniture trade at the end of the eighteenth century notwithstanding, there were still many other smaller shops in Edinburgh. It is almost certain that Henry Lamond entered into apprenticeship with a cabinetmaker in Edinburgh about 1795, since most boys apprenticed at the age of nine or ten. Henry Lamond's name does not appear in the "Register of Edinburgh Apprentices" for the appropriate period, but this is not surprising in view of the fact that apprenticeship records from the late eighteenth century are, in general, sadly incomplete. By this time the ancient system of apprenticeship was already giving way to the pressures of new forms of industrial organization, and only a fraction of masters and apprentices continued to fulfill the letter of the law by legally registering their contracts. By 1790, most apprenticeships were not recorded at all. Be that as it may, in the normal course of events Henry Lamond would have completed his training by about 1802, as the usual length of apprenticeship for cabinetmaking was six or seven years.⁹

Despite the burgeoning furniture trade in Edinburgh at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the time was not especially favorable for young cabinetmakers like Lamond to establish themselves independently or to aspire to great fortunes. Francis Bamford maintains that very few Edinburgh furniture makers became wealthy; indeed, a good many of them died in poverty.¹⁰ The tradition of commissioned furniture, built to order by individual cabinetmakers for specific patrons, waned with the advent of showrooms of ready-made furniture built from standard patterns by large firms like Trotter's. This resulted in increased competition among the rest of the city's furniture makers for the remaining custom cabinet market. Some of these found advantage in leaving Edinburgh to set up shop in the smaller cities and regional centers of Scotland, while others emigrated to America and elsewhere.¹¹

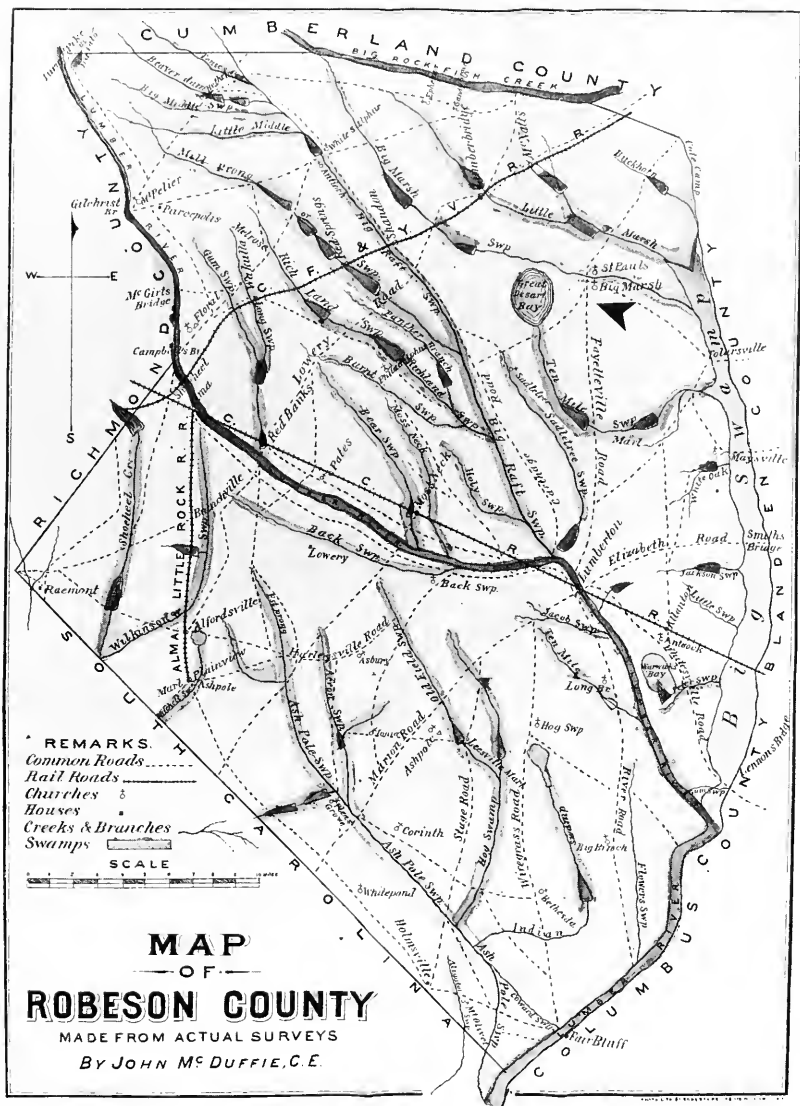
Whatever Henry Lamond's motivation for leaving Scotland may have been, his name first appears in America on a deed dated 19 January 1820, registered in the county of Robeson in the south-eastern coastal plain of North Carolina. This deed recorded the twenty-dollar purchase by a George Thompson and Henry Lamond of a forty-four-acre farm in Robeson County. Lamond was thirty-four years old at the time. The conveyance referred to both men as residents of the town of Fayetteville, administrative seat of the county of Cumberland, which lies just to the north of Robeson County. By another deed dated 21 October of the same year, Lamond acquired George Thompson's half interest in the farm for twenty-two dollars and fifty cents, becoming sole owner of the property. Henry Lamond thus appeared in the 1820 census as a new resident of Robeson County; the unnamed adult female listed in the household was undoubtedly his wife Christian. Three years later, on 28 July 1823, Lamond executed a somewhat confusing deed, perhaps as security for a loan, in which he transferred title to his forty-four acres and two much smaller tracts to Duncan Lamond, who may or may not have been a relative. This transfer was not permanent, however, for Henry Lamond continued to reside on his forty-four acres by the Stage Road, near the settlement of Saint Pauls in Robeson County, for the next fifty-two years.¹²

How and when Henry Lamond first came to Fayetteville, a thriving center of Scottish settlement and one of the provisional capitals of North Carolina in the early post-Revolutionary period, and why he resettled in isolated, rural Robeson County, is not known. Lamond's move from Fayetteville did occur, coincidentally or not, on the heels of the national economic panic of 1819. In any case, the town of Fayetteville on the upper Cape Fear and the port of Wilmington at the river's mouth defined a ninety-mile corridor of settlement and trade that was influenced heavily by Scottish immigration beginning in the early eighteenth century. Scots arriving at Wilmington initially established settlements all along the Cape Fear River corridor. Lands more removed from the river's banks, including the area that became Robeson County in 1787, absorbed the overflow of settlers well into the first decades of the nineteenth

century.¹³ Henry Lamond seems to have been borne, at least for a time, by this tide.

Whatever personal circumstances he had left behind in Edinburgh, and then again in Fayetteville, Henry Lamond most assuredly attained a modicum of independence and tranquility in early Robeson County (fig. 5). Today still North Carolina's largest county in land area, the Robeson County of the early nineteenth century was a vast, flat coastal plain landscape of pine forests and forbidding swamps. Transportation problems contributed to the relative isolation of the county's small farmers and planters, primarily Scottish and English families who had begun filtering into the region from the Cape Fear and from neighboring South Carolina in the 1730s. These European settlers and their African slaves shared the county's borders with a small population of mixed-blooded native Americans, the ancestors of the present-day Lumbee Indians. The only town of any size was the county seat of Lumberton, which was founded on the banks of the Lumber River, or Drowning Creek, when the North Carolina legislature carved Robeson from the western part of old Bladen County in 1787. Robeson's agrarian populace was dependent on some overland trade with Fayetteville to the north and, to some extent, on the Lumber and Pee Dee river route to the sea at Georgetown, South Carolina.¹⁴

Henry Lamond settled in the northeastern part of Robeson County, an area of fairly dense Scottish settlement not far from the Cumberland County line. According to a probate document from 1872, Lamond's farm lay "on the Fayetteville Road about fourteen miles from Lumberton," near the little community established by 1799 around Saint Pauls Presbyterian Church.¹⁵ By no means a farmer by birth, Lamond was nevertheless actively engaged in agriculture on his homestead on the Lumberton-Fayetteville stage road for the rest of his long life. In 1850, Henry Lamond, age 65, and wife Christian, age 60, both natives of Scotland, appeared by name in the Robeson County census survey of that year. Although Lamond listed his profession as cabinetmaker, the supplementary agricultural schedule for the 1850 census indicates that he also occupied himself as a small farmer.¹⁶



5. John MacDuffie, Map of Robeson County, from D. P. McEachern, ed., *All About Robeson County* (Lumberton, N.C.: W. W. McDiarmid, 1884), showing the approximate location of Lamond's farm. Courtesy of Charles Thomas Smith, Humphrey-Williams-Smith Plantation, Lumberton.

In the 1850 census he also reported income from the production of unspecified home manufactures in the amount of twenty-five dollars. We may well assume that this included at least some cabinet work done for his local patrons. Indeed, two thirds of the known signed and dated examples of Lamond's Robeson County furniture pieces are from the decade from 1848 to 1858. All told, Lamond's life in antebellum Robeson County would be reasonably characterized as that of an independent yeoman farmer and craftsman who enjoyed the flexibility inherent in plying his two complementary trades as the seasons and other exigencies allowed.

A number of the families who own inherited pieces of Lamond's work today share some oral tradition about the "itinerant" Scotsman who designed and built furniture for their ancestors from their own home-cured lumber. The term "itinerant" is, of course, inaccurate in view of Lamond's half century of residency in Saint Pauls Township. Imbedded in that word choice, however, is the notion that Lamond traveled to visit his rural patrons and consulted with them on site, in their homes, about their wishes and needs. In his rural Robeson setting, Lamond in a small way revived the tradition of custom furniture manufacture, the general decline of which may have prompted him to leave his native Edinburgh for North Carolina. In any case, the humble farmers and planters of early Robeson County and their wives, most of whom led truly unadorned lives, may well have considered themselves fortunate to have access to the services of an Edinburgh-trained furniture maker there in the backwoods of the coastal plain upcountry.

If Lamond attended an area church, his name does not appear on the surviving membership rosters of the chief Presbyterian churches near his home.¹⁷ Lamond's spirituality did find certain expression in his relationship to the brotherhood of Ancient, Free, and Accepted Masons. Lamond embellished each of his furniture signatures with mystical symbols and legends of the Masonic order, and on the drawer bottom of one desk he plainly stated that he was a Mason. It is not known when or where Lamond was elected to the fraternity, but it is clear that he was already a brother in 1834, the date of the earliest of these inscriptions.¹⁸

When St. Alban's Masonic Lodge was organized in the town of

Lumberton in 1847, Henry Lamond became a charter member and officer. His name appears on the charter as the lodge's first Senior Warden, and he remained active in the organization as member and officer for many years.¹⁹ Lamond's particular devotion to the lodge was expressed in his will of 21 October 1864, in which he named St. Alban's as ultimate, sole beneficiary of his estate upon the death of his beloved wife Christian.²⁰ Unfortunately, St. Alban's Lodge was destroyed by fire at least three times in the nineteenth century. Besides the loss of most of the lodge's earliest records, no fixtures or furnishings have survived from the early lodge buildings.²¹ Thus perished whatever decorative or functional items of furniture Henry Lamond most assuredly supplied the lodge he had helped to found.

We glean a few insights into Lamond's later years from agricultural census statistics from 1860 and 1870, which reflect a steady decline in the productivity of his farm with the onset of old age. Lamond's twenty improved acres of 1850 had shrunk to fifteen by 1860, and to only eight by 1870. The value of his land declined as well, from two hundred and fifty dollars in 1850 to one hundred dollars in 1860, and forty dollars during Reconstruction in 1870. According to this last census, Lamond still kept one working ox and four hogs valued at thirty dollars and produced ten bushels of corn and five bushels of sweet potatoes, probably as feed for the livestock. He estimated the value of the year's farm produce at sixty dollars, slaughtered livestock valued at thirty dollars, and produced home manufactures in the amount of ten dollars.²²

Despite this report of sustained albeit reduced activity, it is unlikely that Henry Lamond was capable of managing his farm on his own in 1870. He was then eighty-five years old and his wife was eighty; the general census for Saint Pauls Township described him as "old, infirm, no occupation."²³ Records of outstanding debts settled in probate after his death, indicate that for the last three years of his life, Lamond was purchasing many basic necessities on credit: food, firewood, feed for livestock, the services of a washer-woman—and whiskey.²⁴

The 1870 census recorded two other members of the Lamond household—a "daughter" Sarah and a six-year-old black servant,

whose name is illegible. It is unclear what the relationship of these two females to the octogenarian Lamonds may have been, and there is no other record of them before or after this one reference in the census. In any case, Lamond's last two years of life must have been difficult and lonely, as he suffered penury, ill health, and the loss of his wife. Though not a slaveholder himself, the eighty-year-old Lamond had nevertheless experienced the collapse of the old order in the South in 1865. The worries of his old age were surely exacerbated by the uncertainties of the Reconstruction era and the violent Indian rebellion in Robeson County that began at the end of the Civil War and continued for two years after Lamond's death until 1874.²⁵

Annual returns from St. Alban's Masonic Lodge No. 114 in Lumberton to the Grand Lodge of North Carolina in Raleigh reported the death of Henry Lamond in the Masonic year AL 5872, or 1872. Robeson County court records place Lamond's death more precisely near the beginning of June, as his will was probated on 12 June 1872.²⁶ He had lived eighty-seven years. Lamond's Masonic brother Alfred Rowland was appointed executor in place of his deceased father John A. Rowland, whom Lamond had designated in the will. The will directed the executor to use the entire estate for the support of Christian Lamond during her lifetime; any property left at her death was then to be sold at public auction. Apparently Lamond's wife had predeceased him sometime in the two years since the 1870 census, for Lamond's personal property was inventoried soon after his death and sold at auction on 6 July 1872 for a total of fifty-six dollars and eighty-seven cents. The farm sold at auction to neighbor Colin Baxley on 2 December 1872 for one hundred and five dollars. Except for twenty-five dollars for the executor, the proceeds from the estate sale were to pass to St. Alban's Masonic Lodge No. 114 at Lumberton.²⁷

For the most part, the inventory of Lamond's personal property contains items typical of the estate of a farmer. The few hand tools listed that a cabinetmaker might have used—saws, a hatchet, a screw driver, a hammer, and an old square—could have belonged to anyone living on a farm; perhaps Lamond had sold most of his woodworking tools as his health and ability to work declined. The

listing of his household furniture is surprisingly meager as well: a bedstead, a chest, a few chairs, three tables, two benches, a bookcase, a clock, and a meal chest. Except for an ox, which sold for fifteen dollars, and the clock, which brought ten, not a single item sold for more than two dollars.

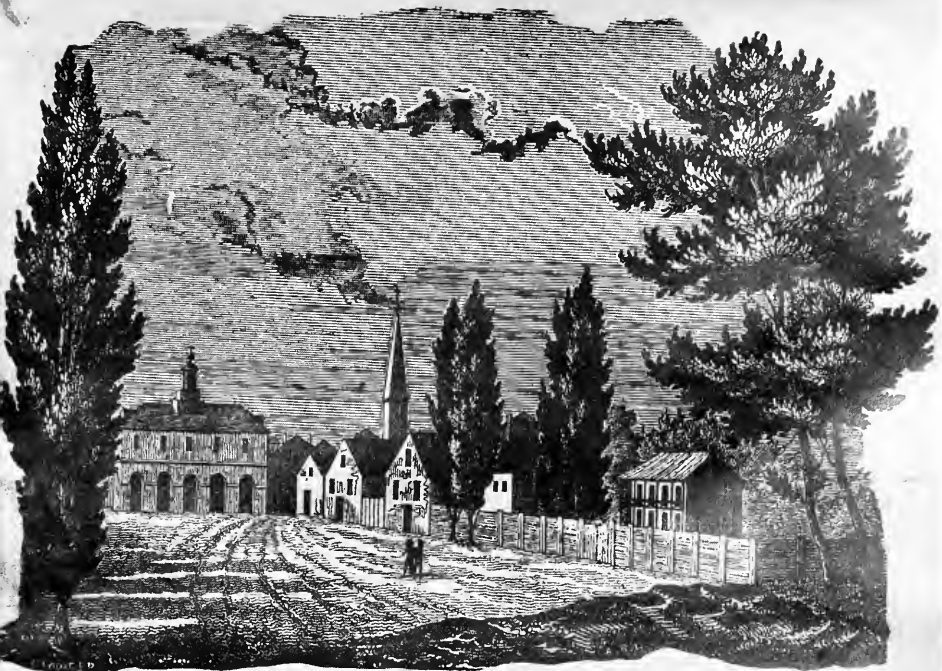
Through pure serendipity, on the first page of the earliest minute book to survive the repeated fires at St. Alban's Masonic Lodge, in a report dated 16 July 1875, an order reads: "that the Finance Committee report at our next regular meeting the settlement with the administrator of Bro. Lammon [*sic*]." The finance committee, however, deferred its report on the matter of Lamond's estate for nearly four years. Finally, on 17 March 1879, the committee reported that "the amount of the assets of the Personal estate in the hands of Bro. Alfred Rowland Exr. appears to be . . . one hundred and sixty one dollars and eighty seven cents." The cabinetmaker's bequest to his Masonic brothers was an amount roughly equivalent to the Lodge's entire budget for one year. It came to them during the economically depressed decade of the 1870s, when many of the brothers could not scrape together the money for annual dues and at a time when the Lumberton Masons were without their own meeting place. A building committee for a new Lodge had been appointed in January 1879, just before the committee report on Lamond's estate. The Scotsman's legacy probably made possible the completion of the project, which culminated in the raising and dedication of a bell on the new building on 20 August 1880.²⁸

In any case, these notes from St. Alban's minute books are the last documented references to the life and death of Henry Lamond, cabinetmaker. Whether Henry Lamond and his wife were buried on their Robeson County farm or in an area churchyard, their graves are now long lost. Lamond's will made no provision for permanent gravestones, and the simple pine boards that more typically marked graves in this region without stone would have since burned or rotted away. The Masons of St. Alban's Lodge disbanded for most of the decade of the 1880s and probably did not memorialize Lamond beyond the usual notation in their minute book. Lamond's farm—the most likely site of his final resting

place—has changed hands several times since 1872, and its exact boundaries are no longer discernible. Indeed, Henry Lamond would have been forgotten completely over the century and a quarter since his death but for the durable quality of the furniture he produced and his penchant for inscribing with pencil the pieces he built.

It is impossible to determine just how much furniture Henry Lamond produced in his long life, but the relatively large number of surviving Lamond pieces suggests that there once existed a prodigious quantity of cabinet work by the man. The fourteen examples of Lamond's work discovered to date comprise the largest body of early North Carolina coastal plain furniture by a single identifiable artisan. Indeed, the discovery of such a quantity of work by one cabinetmaker is rare for the South as a region. The survival of these many examples reveals little, though, about Lamond's overall rate of production during his lifetime. Lamond was probably active in the furniture trade for more than sixty years, a length of time sufficient to leave a considerable legacy of work, even at an unhurried pace.

A study of Henry Lamond's furniture is of interest in several important respects, though at first consideration a body of post-1830 work by a cabinetmaker from rural Robeson County, North Carolina, would seem to lie outside MESDA's focus of interest. It is evident that the part of early Bladen County which, in 1787, became Robeson County never had towns large enough to support an established cabinetmaking tradition. The county's residents were dependent on commerce with other places, like Fayetteville, North Carolina, and Georgetown, South Carolina, for many commodities, including some of their furniture. Moreover, stylistic evidence suggests that when Henry Lamond came to Robeson County in 1820, he brought characteristics of two different furniture traditions, Edinburgh and Fayetteville. This elicits the question of just which British or American traditions may have influenced this Scottish immigrant's Robeson County work. Finally, in view of the great fires of 1792 and 1831, which twice devastated the town of Fayetteville and contributed to the relative scarcity of early



VIEW OF FAYETTEVILLE.

6. Early view of Fayetteville before the 1831 fire. Engraving by J. Cloquet. Private collection. MRF S-2294.

Cape Fear furniture today, we may wonder what strains of “lost” Fayetteville style in particular may be preserved in the craft of this Edinburgh native who sojourned in North Carolina’s early capital on the Cape Fear (fig. 6).

The relative isolation of nineteenth-century Robeson County works to our advantage in the quest for answers to these questions. Henry Lamond’s move from the town of Fayetteville to rural Saint Pauls Township in 1820 effectively removed him from the mainstream of changing urban taste and style. It is not surprising, then, that Lamond’s works are primarily *retardataire* examples of the earlier neoclassical style, strongly evocative of Fayetteville cabinet-work prior to 1820. This is understandable in light of the conservative preferences of Lamond’s rural patrons in mid-nineteenth-cen-

ture Robeson, who would have required of him custom furniture in the comfortably familiar style of an earlier generation. In serving this conservative market, Lamond never completely abandoned what was, by mid-century, the outmoded neoclassical style.

The appearance of Henry Lamond's furniture, and of Fayetteville furniture in general, has its roots in the traditions of his native northern Britain of the late eighteenth century. Jonathan Prown, in his discussion of the furniture of Petersburg, Virginia, makes much of the influence of the mid-eighteenth century British preference for neat and plain forms on American furniture in the coastal South, even as late as 1820.²⁹ Lamond's furniture certainly retains some of the straightforward elements of this simple style, including typical scratch-beaded drawer fronts and minimal decoration, which Prown sees as conservative influences on the development of neoclassical fashion after 1780 in some Tidewater urban centers of the United States. The persistence in Lamond's work of neat and plain influences, as well as of decidedly neoclassical elements like the use of tapered legs, makes the discussion of Lamond germane to the study of the influence of earlier neat and plain forms on southern neoclassical style.

Perhaps the furniture form most representative of Lamond in the Cape Fear region is the sideboard. Six Henry Lamond sideboards, five of them signed, have been discovered to date. These sideboards span three decades and provide, in a sense, the broadest view of Lamond's career. Although all are distinctly attributable to Lamond by method of construction, the variation among them does reveal some metamorphosis of style over time. These sideboards also hint at what sort of furniture Lamond may have made prior to his move from Fayetteville in 1820.

Although constructed in Robeson County after 1830, Henry Lamond's sideboards are stylistically related to the general group of documented Fayetteville sideboards (fig. 7) from the neoclassical period up to about 1820. Both groups of sideboards are characterized by simple lines and framing, tapered legs, exposed pinning of the joints, relatively heavy dovetailing, and similar fenestration. According to Bivins, the typical Fayetteville sideboard is three bays wide with two or three center drawers flanked by cabinets on each



7. Fayetteville sideboard, c. 1805–1810. Walnut with yellow pine secondary. HOA 42", WOA 62¼", DOA 20½". Private collection. MRF S-2756.

side. There may be drawers above or below the cabinets, both characteristic variations found in sideboards by Lamond. Most of the documented Fayetteville sideboards and all but one of Lamond's pieces are constructed primarily of walnut, with yellow pine used as secondary wood.³⁰

The most notable differences between the Fayetteville sideboards and Lamond's Robeson County work lie in the finer, superior dovetailing on Lamond's furniture, his use of scratch- rather than cock-beading, and the complete absence of any inlay or stringing in Lamond's work. It is impossible to reckon whether this simplicity in Lamond's cabinetwork reflects more the limited monetary resources and conservatism of his rural Robeson County patrons or the cabinetmaker's preference for the straightforward neat and plain traditions of his native north Britain.

The earliest known signed furniture by Lamond is a walnut and yellow pine sideboard (fig. 8) built in the Fayetteville neoclassical style for William C. McNeill in the Lumber Bridge vicinity of upper Robeson County during the winter of 1833–34. The sideboard has been compromised only by the removal of the original pulls. The arrangement of the doors and drawers clearly conforms to an upper Cape Fear convention: three center drawers and two side cabinets with a smaller drawer under each. This sideboard is inscribed with pencil in three places and in typical Lamond fashion. A very large inscription across the back of the piece reads: “Henry Lamond/Cabinet Maker/from Edinburgh/NB Decr 31, 1833.” On the bottom of the top center drawer is a second inscription: “Henry Lamond/Cabinet Maker/from Edinburgh/Jan'y 3, 1834/NB.” The inscription under the center drawer employs a bit of scripture used in Masonic ritual: “Hol[l]iness to the Lo[u]rd/Cast Thy Shoes Of[f] for/ Where thou standest is Hol[l]y Ground.” Beneath these words Lamond then sketched two mystical symbols of the Masonic order, a compass and square enclosing the letter G (for God), and a ladder, which represents spiritual striving.

Aside from the characteristics it shares with Fayetteville examples, Lamond's earliest sideboard exhibits the distinctive hallmarks of much of the rest of his work. The drawers and unusual batten doors are scratch-beaded and are flush with the face of the carcass. Iron locks are mortised into the drawer fronts and attached with screws. The top edge of the back of each drawer is about one eighth of an inch lower than the sides, while the drawer bottoms on the front and sides are beveled two to three inches wide and fit into grooves. The drawer bottoms do not extend beyond the back and are lapped over and fastened to the drawer back with square-cut nails. Where more than one board is used for a drawer bottom, the boards are joined with tongue and groove and run parallel to the drawer front. There is no evidence of glue blocks on the drawer bottoms, but the drawers stop against vertical blocks applied to the back of the case. The bottom edges of the drawer sides serve as runners, and there are no dust boards in this or any other Lamond piece. The back of the carcass is fashioned of vertical boards joined with tongue and groove and the interior partitions are mor-

tised into the back of the case, with the flush butts of the tenons visible from behind. Lamond tightened these joints by driving thin vertical wedges into grooves in the ends of the exposed tenons (fig. 8a).

A similar “Fayetteville” sideboard (fig. 9) by Henry Lamond has descended in the Humphrey/Williams/Smith family of Robeson County. Built of walnut and yellow pine for Richard Blount Humphrey, the piece is signed on a center drawer bottom, “Made by Henry Lamond/Cabinet from Edinburgh, N.B., June 7, 1839.” Beneath this inscription are penciled the same Masonic symbols used on the McNeill sideboard—compass and square and ladder—as well as two other Masonic emblems: a coffin (symbol of human mortality) bearing the Masonic benediction “So mote it be” and a beehive (symbol of our social interdependence) labeled with the word “Industry” (fig. 9a). This is the only signed piece by Lamond to bear four such Masonic emblems. Below these drawings is again the cursive inscription: “Hol[l]iness to the Lord. Take thy Shoes of[f], for where thou standest is Hol[l]y Ground.” This scriptural admonition is punctuated by a bold, florid monogram of the initials “HL,” the only example of such a monogram by Lamond found thus far. A second, fading inscription of Lamond’s name and the date are faintly discernible on the bottom of one of the small side drawers. Except for slight differences in dimensions and in the retention of much more of its hardware and original wooden drawer pulls, the Humphrey sideboard is virtually identical to the McNeill sideboard (fig. 8) built nearly six years earlier. As in much of Lamond’s work, the top of the sideboard is attached by means of gouged screw pockets, interior on the sides and exterior on the back.

Two signed and dated sideboards by Henry Lamond from the end of the 1840s represent slight departures from the forms of the two earlier sideboards; nevertheless, they are still basic variations of familiar Fayetteville antecedents. Made just twelve months apart, in October 1848 and October 1849, these two sideboards have descended in the Caldwell and MacLeod families of Robeson County respectively. They vary only minimally in dimensions and exhibit precisely the same three-bay fenestration of three center



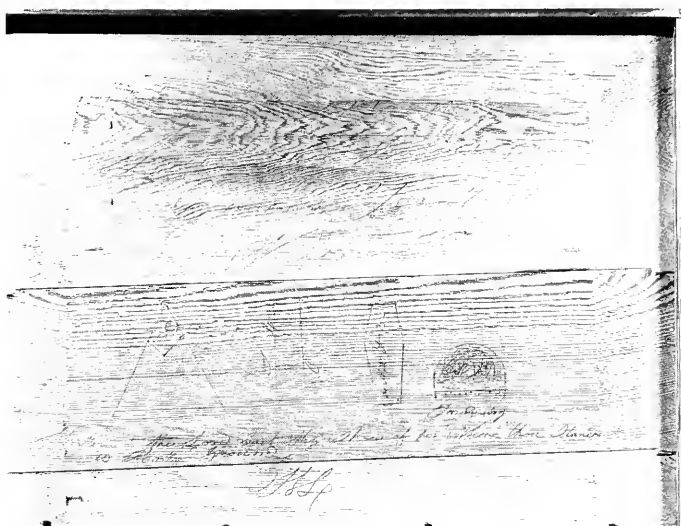
8. Sideboard, signed by Henry Lamond and dated 1833–34. Walnut with yellow pine secondary. HOA $43\frac{7}{8}$ ", WOA $61\frac{7}{8}$ ", DOA $21\frac{1}{8}$ ". Private collection. MRF S-20171.



8a. Detail showing Lamond's use of vertical wedges to tighten mortised joints on the sideboard in figure 8.



9. Sideboard, signed by Henry Lamond and dated 1839. Walnut with yellow pine secondary. HOA 43", WOA 59", DOA 22". Private collection. MRF S-17043.



9a. Drawer bottom from the sideboard in figure 9 showing four Masonic emblems, a scriptural quote used in Masonic ritual, and the initials "HL," inscribed in pencil.



10. Sideboard, signed by Henry Lamond and dated 1849. The splash board is not original. Walnut with yellow pine secondary. HOA 46½", WOA 60⅞", DOA 20⅛". Private collection. MRF S-20176.

drawers and two side cabinets with a drawer above each; the MacLeod sideboard is shown here in figure 10. The use of flat-paneled cabinet doors on both sideboards distinguishes these pieces from Lamond's batten-door sideboards of the 1830s. The earlier sideboard bears three inscriptions, two of them dated 31 October 1848 (Lamond's sixty-third birthday) and the other from 1 November 1848. Though all three signatures on this sideboard are similar to Lamond's usual inscriptions, the birthday inscription on the back of the case identifies the piece as being made at "St. Pauls, N.C."; this was the township of residence of both Lamond and the Caldwells, for whom the sideboard was built.

Another unsigned sideboard, most likely from the 1840s and undoubtedly the work of Lamond, was built for tailor and yeoman



11. Sideboard, attributed to Henry Lamond, undated. Yellow pine. HOA $43\frac{5}{8}$ ", WOA $60\frac{1}{4}$ ", DOA $21\frac{1}{4}$ ". Private collection. MRF S-20197.

farmer Alexander Humphrey of Robeson County (fig. 11). This sideboard is made of yellow pine throughout and is the only documented piece of furniture by Lamond that is not constructed primarily of walnut. Similar in dimensions and fenestration to other Lamond sideboards in the Fayetteville neoclassical style, the piece has two beaded center drawers and two side cabinets with flat-paneled doors and no smaller drawers beneath. Of note is the four-leg design that distinguishes this humble pine sideboard from Lamond's walnut sideboards, all of which have the more customary six legs. Although the piece is neither signed nor dated, the capital letters L and R, penciled on the inside of the left and right cabinet doors respectively, appear to be in Lamond's bold, cursive script. Identical markings are found on the doors of other Lamond



12. Sideboard, signed by Henry Lamond and dated March 1852. HOA 44½", WOA 60¼", DOA 21⅞". Private collection. MRF S-20178.

sideboards. The dovetails of the drawer joints on this pine sideboard are unmistakably Lamond's handiwork, as well.

Lamond's last documented sideboard (fig. 12), which has descended in the Rowland/McMillan family of Lumberton in Robeson County, bears a partly legible signature and date inscription from March 1852. Although the piece exhibits many of Lamond's familiar technical hallmarks, its size and fenestration represent a significant departure from the design of his earlier sideboards. Still three bays wide, this very large sideboard displays two full rows of drawers above a row of cabinets; two side cabinets flank a wide center cabinet with two doors. The six drawers of the piece are all scratch-beaded and the four doors of the three cabinets are flat-paneled, as in Lamond's sideboards from the 1840s.



12a. Back view of sideboard in figure 12, showing the use of raised panels.

The ends of the case are also flat-paneled, the only example of such a treatment on any of the Lamond furniture. This sideboard is, furthermore, the only case piece examined in the study whose back is paneled.

For the construction of the paneling of the doors and of the back of this last sideboard, Lamond used a technique found nowhere else in his work. Whereas the inside surfaces of the flat door panels on other Lamond sideboards are beveled simply and set into the grooves of the door frames, the inside surfaces of these late door panels are precisely fielded, giving a finished look to the piece when the doors are open. The same raised-panel treatment is seen on a larger scale on the back of the sideboard (fig. 12a). The three great fielded panels that comprise the back of the carcass are quite



13. Sideboard, Duplin County, 1800–1825. Walnut with light and dark wood inlays, with yellow pine secondary. HOA 43", WOA 61¼", DOA 22". Private collection. MRF S-2713.

refined in comparison to the vertical board treatment of the earlier sideboards, though Lamond's usual exposed tenons of the interior compartment sides are visible here as well.

Lamond was able to incorporate an extra row of drawers in this sideboard while conforming to the same basic height of his earlier sideboards by lowering the bottom of the case to within nine inches of the floor. The massive case, resting on six nine-inch tapered legs, gives this late Lamond sideboard a chunky appearance. It may be related to an earlier Duplin County sideboard (fig. 13) from the town of Faison, about sixty miles east of Fayetteville, which is very similar to the Lamond sideboard in its drawer and cabinet fenestration. Such chunky case pieces from the neoclassical

period appear as transition pieces in the stylistic evolution toward the massiveness of the subsequent Empire mode. We see in Henry Lamond's tendency toward heaviness in some of his *retardataire* neoclassical furniture the only hint of a concession he seems to have made to the influence of the contemporary Empire fashion of the mid-nineteenth century.

The second earliest of the ten signed and dated pieces by Lamond is a simple walnut and yellow pine chest of drawers (fig. 14), which descended in the Blount/MacLeod family of Robeson County. The piece is five drawers tall, and the drawer fronts are



14. Chest of drawers, signed by Henry Lamond and dated May 7-8 1834. Walnut with yellow pine secondary. HOA 51 $\frac{1}{8}$ ", WOA 45 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", DOA 20 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Private collection. MRF S-20177.



15. Chest of drawers, signed by Henry Lamond and dated September 3 1857. Walnut with yellow pine secondary. HOA 42 $\frac{1}{4}$ ", WOA 43 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", DOA 22 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Private collection. MRF S-20174.

decorated with simple scratch-beading, as expected. The chest rests on squat, turned legs and is otherwise unadorned. The penciled inscription on the top right drawer reads "Henry Lamond/Cabinet Maker/from Edinburgh/N.B./May 7, 1834."

An examination of this chest of drawers reveals two Lamond construction techniques not found on his sideboards. First, a loose piece of walnut veneer reveals that the drawer blades are set in from the front; a thin veneer strip on the face edge of each side of the case hides the dovetails that join the drawer blades to the sides. The second technique that distinguishes this and at least one other Lamond chest of drawers from the sideboards is the use of



15a. Back view of the chest of drawers in figure 15, showing Lamond's use of three vertical boards, joined using tongue and groove.

vertical tongue-and-groove joined boards for the back of the piece.

A second chest of drawers (fig. 15), descended in the Harrell/Tolar family of Robeson County and dated 3 September 1857, is the latest documented Lamond piece but has practically the same design as the early chest described above. It is nearly a foot shorter than the early chest, however, being only four drawers tall instead of five. The piece displays Lamond's characteristic scratch-beading and the same short, turned legs as the early chest. Like the earlier chest, the back is constructed of three vertical boards, joined with tongue and groove (fig. 15a). The two signed chests, built in the same style but twenty-three years apart, once again illustrate

the cabinetmaker's persistence in the use of earlier forms over time.

A relatively early Lamond desk-and-bookcase (fig. 16), which descended in the Blount/MacLeod family of Robeson County, is particularly interesting. Signed and dated 24 March 1837, it is in several respects the finest example of Lamond's craft. The desk rests on tall, rather delicate legs, whose decorative ringed turnings are a significant departure from the square tapered legs found on most Lamond case pieces. The slanted writing surface is constructed of two tongue-and-groove joined boards with straight battens and is hinged at the back. The top lifts from the front to reveal a storage compartment with pigeonholes (fig. 16a). Beneath the desk compartment are two scratch-beaded drawers, both inscribed underneath.

The back of the bookcase has been replaced, but the original back undoubtedly consisted of horizontal tongue-and-groove boards as found on a later Lamond desk-and-bookcase. The lattice tracery and glass of the two bookcase doors appear to be original, and the two sides of the door frames that meet in the middle are decorated with scratch-beading along their vertical edges. Lamond applied a scratch-beaded batten to the front edge of each bookcase shelf; the bed molding of the bookcase is reeded.

The prototype for this desk-and-bookcase is problematic; it is unlike any other documented piece of American furniture, and no similar Scottish form can be identified. It is somewhat evocative of the so-called plantation desk of the coastal Carolinas, whose top cabinet contained pigeonholes for filing documents rather than shelves for books. The Lamond piece is considerably taller than these plantation-type desks, and the case of the desk itself seems somewhat oversized for the frame and legs on which it rests. Perhaps the piece is a vernacular derivation of the type of northern-influenced secretaries with three drawers and tapered legs discussed by Bivins in his treatment of early furniture of the lower Cape Fear.³¹

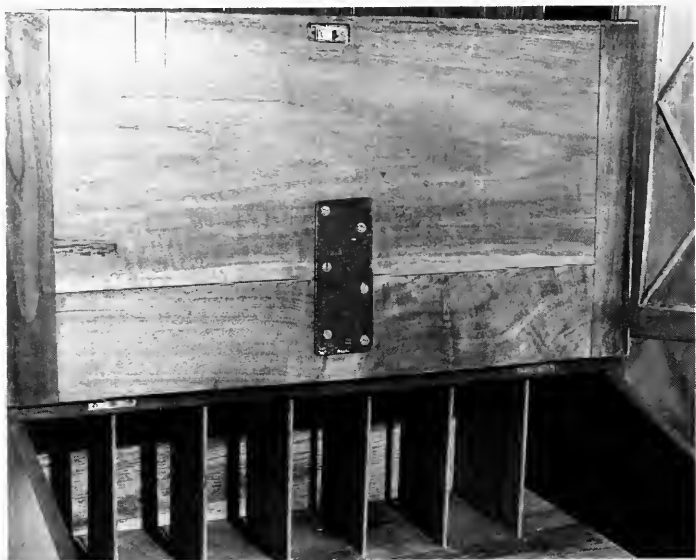
The inscriptions on the two drawers of the desk are the most autobiographical of any of Lamond's signatures, evocative of the



16. Desk-and-bookcase, signed by Henry Lamond and dated March 24th 1837. Walnut with yellow pine secondary. HOA 76", WOA 35½", DOA 24¾". Private collection. MRF S-20175.

ebullient sort of inscriptions seen on pieces by another native Edinburgh cabinetmaker and contemporary of Lamond, John Shearer of Martinsburg, Virginia (now West Virginia).³² The bottom of the left drawer reads: "Henry Lamond/made for Elias Townsend March 24th 1837/H.L. was bornd in the city/of Edinburgh, North Britten/October 31st, A.D. 1785/Is a mason and wishes to/do one last job, all my friends/to see that they may long/remember me." On the right drawer appear these words: "Henry Lamond/Cabinet Maker/from Edinburgh, N.B./ March 24 (?) 1837." Beneath this inscription Lamond again sketched the Masonic symbols of the ladder, beehive, and coffin.

Henry Lamond was fifty-one years old when he penciled these inscriptions on the desk he made for his friend Elias Townsend. It is ironic that Lamond labeled this piece "one last job," for he continued to make and sign furniture for at least another twenty years. In fact, most of the other Lamond furniture under study postdates the 1837 desk and bookcase the Scotsman may have intended as a last great effort before the decline in ability he regarded as inevitable with the onset of old age. Lamond surely surprised his



16a. Detail of the interior of the desk-and-bookcase in figure 16.



17. Side table, signed by Henry Lamond and dated 1857. Walnut with yellow pine secondary. HOA 28½", WOA 22½", DOA 18". Private collection. MRF S-20170.

friends and himself with his continued productivity and longevity over the decades of the 1840s and 1850s. Indeed, another desk and bookcase signed by Lamond and dated 5 December 1851 has descended in the McNair and McKinnon families of Robeson County. This piece, except for some variation in the proportions, heavier molding around the top, different turning of the legs, and rebuilding of the doors (which may not have had the lattice tracery of the earlier bookcase), is a less decorative rendering of the Townsend desk made nearly fifteen years before.

Lamond was in his seventies when he built one of his last known pieces, a signed side table (fig. 17) with a faint date inscription from May 1857, which has descended in the Harrell/Tolar family of

Robeson County. Although the top of the table appears to have been replaced and the penciled inscriptions on the drawer bottom have been traced over, most of the piece is undoubtedly the work of Lamond. Made in the second half of the century and near the end of Lamond's career, this small table is, nevertheless, still of basic neoclassical design. Though otherwise unremarkable in design and construction, the table's tapered legs and scratch-beaded drawer (with dummy keyhole) bear late testimony to Lamond's lifelong persistence in neoclassical forms.

Three dining tables, all associated with Lamond sideboards, are probably the most remarkable of Lamond's furniture production. They are further examples of the Scotsman's *retardataire* application of neoclassical form. The first of these tables (fig. 18) has descended in the Humphrey/Williams/Smith family of Robeson County. Though unsigned, this drop-leaf walnut dining table with simple lines, tapered legs, and sturdy rule joints of the top and leaves is undoubtedly contemporary with the 1839 sideboard built for Richard B. Humphrey (fig. 9), with which it is historically *en suite* and with which it shares similar two-board top construction. The dovetailing of the table frame is unmistakably Henry Lamond's work.

Most compelling is the unexpected construction of this rare six-leg table. The few documented examples of other dining tables with six legs have two fixed center legs, each attached to one end of the table, that supplement the swing legs located at the corners of the frame and provide greater stability when the leaves are open. The Lamond table represents a unique departure from this customary six-leg arrangement in that the two fixed legs are not attached at the ends of the table. Instead, each of the central support legs is attached to one of two heavy cross braces, located about one quarter of the length of the frame from each end of the table top (fig. 18a). These two braces, built like vertical partitions, occupy the entire height of the frame and are joined to the sides of the frame by two strong mortise-and-tenon joints on each brace end (fig. 18b). The eight brace tenons pass through the sides of the frame, and their exposed ends are notched to receive the thin wooden wedges driven into them to expand the tenons and tighten



18. Dining table, attributed to Henry Lamond, probably 1839, with one leaf extended. Walnut with yellow pine secondary. HOA 29½", WOA 45¼", LOA 53¾". Private collection. MRF S-17044.

the joints—the same technique visible on the exposed tenons on the backs of Lamond's sideboards. The legs are attached to the center of these cross braces by means of vertical dado cuts, and each joint is fastened with a large machine-cut screw near the top of the leg stile. All four corner legs swing out to support the leaves.

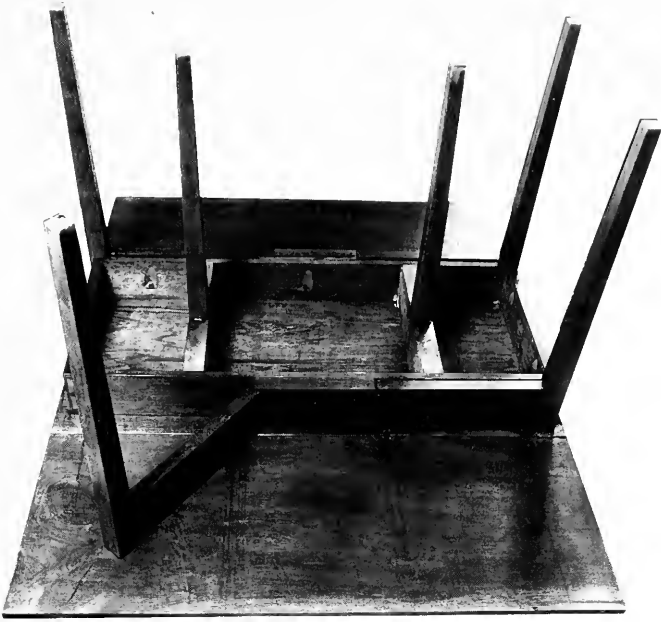
Two other such six-legged Lamond tables are both associated with the 1833–34 sideboard made for William C. McNeill. The first is in excellent repair, but the top of the second has been compromised by the cutting off of its rule joints and the shortening of its leaves. The former differs from the Humphrey table in that its top and each of its leaves are made of as many as six boards joined together, while the top of the Humphrey table consists of two boards and each leaf of only one wide board. Except for this detail

and some variation in dimensions, all three tables are identical in their method of construction.

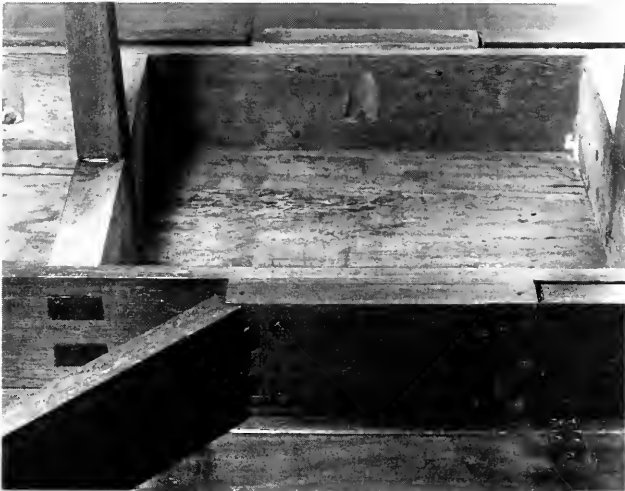
Aside from an unusual treatment of the gate frames, in which Lamond sandwiched a thin board between each gate frame and the inner frame and notched it to provide sufficient clearance for the movable parts of the square-cut gate hinges, the framing of these tables is fairly conventional. The unique treatment of the center legs, however, distinguishes the tables from other southern styles. No other American example of such a six-leg table with the center legs attached to their own frame braces is known to MESDA or to this researcher. Neither is it readily evident that the form is at all British, since English six-leg tables are generally of the more usual variety, with center legs attached at the table ends. Only if we return to Scotland, to the city of Lamond's birth, do we solve the mystery of a specific prototype for the Robeson County design.

Thousands of visitors to Edinburgh pass annually through the Georgian House at Number 7, Charlotte Square, the showcase house museum of the National Trust of Scotland. Formerly the late eighteenth-century town house of John Lamont, of Lamont in Argyllshire (the surname is pure coincidence), the Georgian House today has been furnished to provide a glimpse of the fashionable life in Edinburgh's New Town two centuries ago. The main dining table in the house is for most of the year covered with linen and bedecked with period tableware. In the off season, stripped of its covering and demilune banquet ends, it becomes a straightforward mahogany version of Lamond's six-leg Carolina table, with the very same two center legs attached to frame braces and with its top attached by means of interior-gouged screw pockets. Aside from insignificant variations in dimensions and construction details, the Edinburgh and Robeson County tables are a near-perfect match, built in the neoclassical style, though perhaps a half a century and an ocean apart.

According to Shelagh Kennedy, curator of the Georgian House, the table has an Edinburgh provenance and is presumed to be the work of an Edinburgh cabinet shop. Furthermore, Kennedy considers the use of such fixed center legs to be a normal convention of eighteenth-century Edinburgh cabinetmakers. David Jones con-



18a. Bottom view of the dining table in figure 18, showing construction of the frame and legs.



18b. Detail of the dining table in figure 18, with a square-cut gate hinge and brace tenons holding one of the two center legs.

curs that the form is not uncommon in and around Edinburgh, though he does not know of any signed or clearly attributed example.³³

As there has never been, to date, a comprehensive, published study of Edinburgh or Scottish furniture, more research is required to determine whether this particular six-leg arrangement was indeed Edinburgh-specific or if the design found a wider application in Scotland and elsewhere. Nevertheless, the serendipitous discovery of an example in a house in the Scottish capital suggests that Lamond, during his apprenticeship and youth in that city, would surely have been familiar with the form. That he constructed at least three tables in the same fashion after many intervening years in North Carolina is powerful evidence of a direct transmission of the design, through his work, from eighteenth-century Scotland to Robeson County, North Carolina.

We have already demonstrated the importance of Lamond's work to the discussion of the relatively scarce furniture of Fayetteville and the upper Cape Fear. The Scotsman incorporated some of the neat and plain traditions of his own eighteenth-century British training—including simple lines, straightforward framing, fine dovetailing, and scratch-beading—into the late neoclassical forms he encountered in his adopted Cumberland County before 1820. Lamond's preservation of these forms later in Robeson County contributes to our present knowledge of certain elements of Cape Fear regional style perhaps otherwise forever lost.

Much about Henry Lamond remains a mystery. The oldest known examples of his furniture were constructed as Lamond approached the age of fifty, leaving the first, probably more prolific half of his career undocumented. However, the recognition of Lamond's six-leg dining table as a specific style from Georgian Edinburgh suggests one possible scenario for his early life. That this particular table construction is the only distinctly Scottish form that Lamond later incorporated into his otherwise fairly typical Cape Fear repertoire may be evidence that young Lamond indeed apprenticed or worked for a time in one of the larger Edinburgh cabinet shops such as Trotter's. In such an enterprise he may have been assigned to a group of cabinetmakers engaged exclu-

sively in the mass production of standard dining tables that were in increasing demand for the homes of the New Town. While apprenticeship would have imparted to him all the solid construction techniques required to produce any of the various contemporary forms he later encountered in America, early extended specialization in the production of dining tables could account for Lamond's seeming unfamiliarity with other typical Edinburgh forms, such as the "double-top" sideboard produced by Scottish cabinetmakers in South Carolina, for example.³⁴ In the case of Lamond's six-leg table design, the discovery of its direct transmission from Scotland to North America may make possible the correct identification and attribution of other similar Scottish-American furniture in the future.

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Robert F. Doares, Jr., formerly instructor of modern languages for Davidson College and Flora Macdonald Academy, is a private curator and scholar-in-residence at the 1772 Humphrey-Williams-Smith Plantation in Robeson County, North Carolina.

NOTES

1. John Bivins, *The Furniture of Coastal North Carolina 1700-1820* (Winston-Salem, N. C.: Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, 1988), 449. Hereafter cited as Bivins, *FCNC*.
2. Old St. Cuthbert's Church, Edinburgh, built in 1775, was demolished in 1890 except for the 1789 spire, which now decorates the present church.
3. Information about Henry Lamond's parents and siblings from Old Parochial Registers of Births, 1780-1786, Edinburgh, Midlothian, Scotland, 141, 227, 306; also from comprehensive marriage index for Edinburgh parishes, courtesy of the Genealogical Society of Utah, Salt Lake City.
4. Frederick W. Watkeys, *Old Edinburgh*, 2 vols. (Boston: L. C. Page & Company, 1905), 1: 299-300.
5. David Jones, "Scottish Furniture 1791-1900" in *The Macmillan Dictionary of Art* (London, 1994). Hereafter cited as Jones, "Furniture."
6. Francis Bamford, *A Dictionary of Edinburgh Wrights and Furniture Makers 1660-1840* (Leeds, England: Furniture History Society, 1983), 28.
7. *Ibid.*, 16-28.
8. Jones, 5, and Bamford, 32.
9. "Register of Edinburgh Apprentices 1757-1800" (manuscript copy in Edinburgh City Archives); also Records of the United Incorporation of Mary's Chapel 1739-1842, MSS Deposit 302, National Library of Scotland.
10. Bamford, 35.
11. Jones, "Furniture," 4.
12. Robeson County, North Carolina, Record of Deeds, Book S, 226; Book 5V, 484; Book T, 275; also Federal Censuses for Robeson County, North Carolina, 1820-1870.
13. Maud Thomas, *Away Down Home: A History of Robeson County, North Carolina* (Lumberton, N. C.: Historic Robeson, Inc., 1982), 28-30; hereafter cited as Thomas, *Robeson County*.
14. *Ibid.*, 51-57.
15. Robeson County Estate Records, North Carolina Department of Archives and History.
16. Federal Census for Robeson County, North Carolina, 1850, Agricultural Schedule. According to the information Lamond gave the census taker, his farm consisted of twenty acres of improved and thirty acres of unimproved or wooded land, valued together at two hundred and fifty dollars. Livestock valued at one hundred and eight dollars included two horses, two milk cows, three other head of cattle, and sixteen swine. That year he had slaughtered animals valued at thirty-five dollars and had produced twenty pounds of butter. Lamond reported an annual harvest of eighty bushels of Indian corn, fifteen bushels of oats, fifty pounds of rice, twenty bushels of peas and beans, ten bushels of Irish potatoes, and fifty bushels of sweet potatoes.
17. Church rosters checked include First Presbyterian Churches of Saint Pauls, Lumberton, and Fayetteville.

18. The comprehensive membership index of Scottish Masonic Lodges at the Grand Lodge in Edinburgh, ostensibly a complete record, does not record the admission of Henry Lamond to the fraternity in any of the lodges in Edinburgh or environs for the appropriate period.

19. *Minutes of St. Alban's Lodge No. 144, 1875-1896*, courtesy of B. H. Blake; hereafter cited as *St. Alban's Minutes*.

20. Robeson County Record of Wills. The original will of Henry Lamond is on file at North Carolina Department of Archives and History.

21. R. C. Lawrence, *History of St. Alban's Lodge No. 114, Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons* (Lumberton, N.C., 1939), 3.

22. Federal Censuses for Robeson County, North Carolina, 1850-1870, Agricultural Schedules.

23. Federal Census, 1850, Population Schedule.

24. Robeson County Estate Records, North Carolina Department of Archives and History.

25. Thomas, *Robeson County*, 154-161.

26. Lamond Estate Papers, Robeson County Record of Probate, North Carolina Department of Archives and History; also *St. Alban's Minutes*.

27. *St. Alban's Minutes*.

28. Robeson County Account Records, CR083,501.1, 140-42, North Carolina Department of Archives and History.

29. Jonathan Prown, "A Cultural Analysis of Furniture-making in Petersburg, Virginia, 1760-1820," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts* 18, 1 (May 1992): 24, 34, 73, 77-78.

30. Bivins, *FCNC*, 438-39.

31. *Ibid.*, 413-16; also John Bivins, *Wilmington Furniture* (Wilmington, North Carolina: St. John's Museum of Art and Historic Wilmington Foundation, 1989), 48.

32. John J. Snyder, Jr., "John Shearer, Joiner of Martinsburgh," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts* 5, 1 (May 1979): 1-25.

33. David Jones, telephone conversation with the author, 18 March 1994.

34. "Furniture," 3. The Scottish/British term for a double-top sideboard is *stage-top*.

The Wheeler House in Murfreesboro,
North Carolina, 1809-1832
Insights from Documentary Research

AUDREY H. MICHIE

On the corner of Broad and Fourth streets, in the middle of the historic district of the small northeastern North Carolina town of Murfreesboro, stands the two-story brick house that once belonged to merchant John Wheeler (fig. 1). It is a proud-looking house with a white double portico and a large, arched doorway with a fanlight and vertical sidelights. Four windows are aligned symmetrically at the front, as are four windows on the two chimney ends. A low porch crosses the back, providing access to a small brick two-story dependency at the southwest corner. As late as World War I a kitchen house, now gone, stood at the southeast corner.¹ The house faces south onto Broad Street, once Main Street. Behind it is a part of the acreage acquired by John Wheeler, which once reached to the Meherrin River. John Wheeler bought the house in 1814, and lived there until his death in 1832. His son occupied it until 1867, and it was sold out of the family in 1872. From 1872 until 1970 it belonged to another Murfreesboro family, the Traders. In 1970 the house was acquired by Mrs. Virginia Camp Smith and donated by her to the Murfreesboro Historical Association, which restored and furnished it as an interpretive site with emphasis on Wheeler family history.² It opened to the public in 1980.

The house's architecture and history are representative of Murfreesboro's history and of John Wheeler's rise as a prosperous

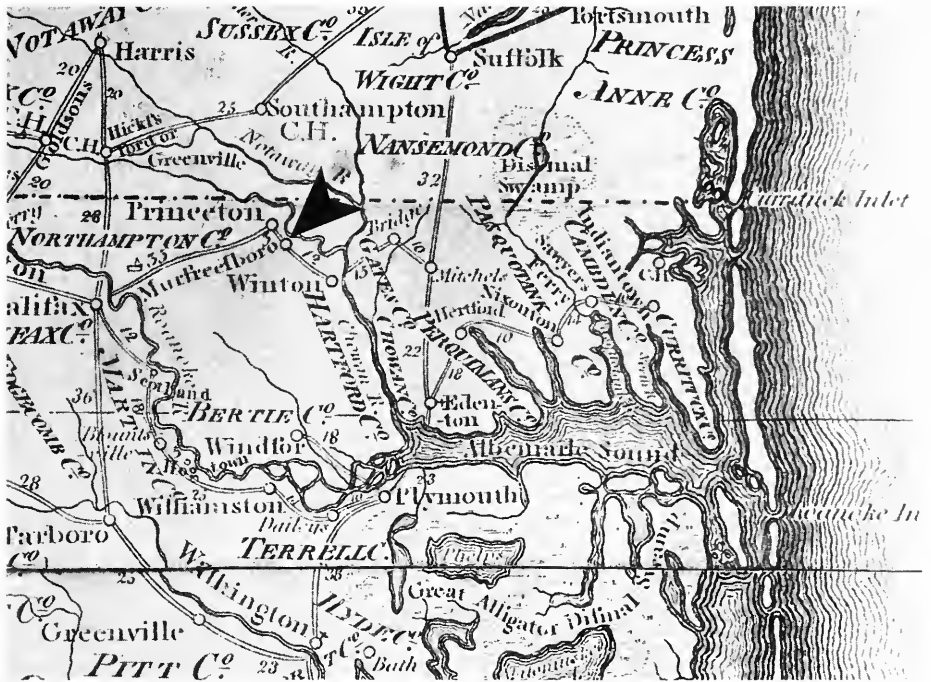


1. *The Wheeler house, built ca. 1809, after restoration. Courtesy of the Murfreesboro Historical Association, Inc.*

merchant. Two of John Wheeler's descendants became famous: his son John Hill Wheeler, the first native-born North Carolinian to write a history of the state, and his grandson John Wheeler Moore, an historian and poet. Of special interest to architectural historians and students of material culture is the fact that the house was first built as a store and was converted into a dwelling by the Wheelers. During its twentieth-century restoration, some early nineteenth-century block-printed wallpaper was discovered that could date from this conversion. In the course of the search for historical documentation of the house, a ledger containing estate accounts for John Wheeler and his third wife, Sarah, from 1832 and 1833, was found at the State Archives in Raleigh, North Carolina.³ These accounts consisted of four very complete household inventories. Considering that the Hertford County Court records in the Winton Courthouse were destroyed twice by fire, in 1830 and 1862, this is an important find.

The town of Murfreesboro was founded on ninety-seven acres deeded to the state by Hardy Murfree in 1787.¹ Murfree was a prominent plantation owner, Revolutionary War hero, and politician. The location was chosen because of its potential for trade; the original petitioners for the town site pointed out that its position on the south side of the Meherrin River made it ideal for a port⁵ (fig. 2). The fact that this port would be at the highest river point accessible to sea-going vessels meant that it would capture most of the land trade in the surrounding countryside.

By the 1790s, Murfreesboro's promoters were proven right. Vessels arrived by way of the Albemarle Sound and Chowan River to disgorge or pick up cargos. Coastal shipping grew, and a flourish-

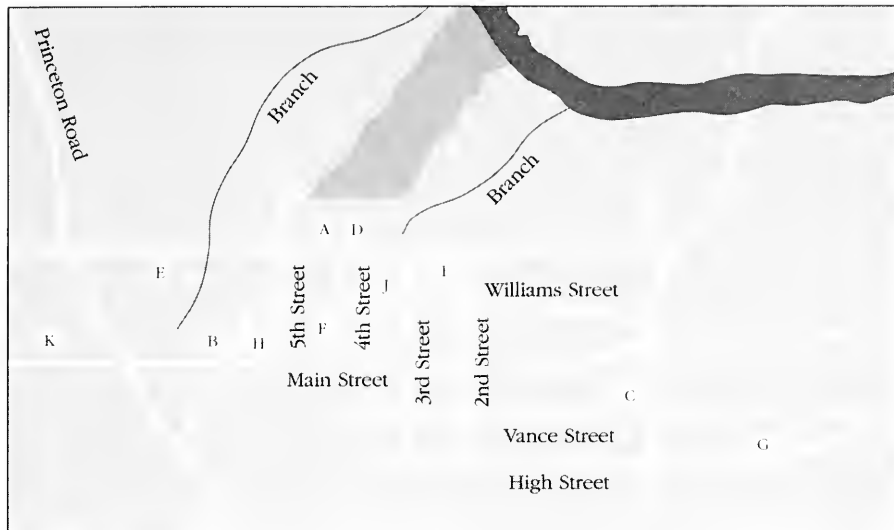


2. Detail of Map of the United States, Exhibiting Post-Roads, the Situations, Connections, and Distances of the Post Offices, Stage Roads, Counties, Ports of Entry, Delivery for Foreign Vessels, and the Principal Rivers. Abraham Bradley, Jr.; engraved by William Hamilton. Washington, D.C., 1796. The arrow indicates Murfreesboro.

ing trade developed with the West Indies. Merchants were attracted to Murfreesboro from New England and several settled there, such as the Rea brothers of Boston. Stores and warehouses were built. Rum and whiskey distilleries sprang up, and several ships were built there. William Rea, who operated a store with his brother Joseph, built his 96-ton schooner *Melinda* at the landing.⁶ Export commodities, such as tar, turpentine, bacon, lard, corn, wheat, cotton, and tobacco, arrived from northeastern North Carolina and southeastern Virginia.⁷ Imports included textiles, tools, farm implements, paints, drugs, tablewares, stationery, and books.⁸ In 1798 Hardy Murfree's petition to lay off and add twenty-four new lots to the town was enacted.⁹ All early research for Murfreesboro is hampered by the lack of a town plat. What is left is only the documents that miraculously survived in private hands, or what can be pieced together by reading early histories, biographies, diaries and later deeds recording earlier agreements.¹⁰ Figure 3 is a reconstruction of the early town plan, with selected sites noted, based on research by Thomas C. Parramore.

Restrictions of coastal trade caused by overseas embargos followed this halcyon period, with a corresponding effect on Murfreesboro. A memoir published in 1860 gave a Connecticut tradesman's impression of just how quiet things had gotten in the town: "At the beginning of the century there was a considerable number of trading houses but no mechanics exercising their trade except a blacksmith and a tailor. There was not a church, a clergyman, or a lawyer in the place; there was however a barber and two physicians. A Masonic hall supplied the place of all public buildings except the office of the Surveyor of the Port, being a port of delivery. The offices of Surveyor, Inspector, Postmaster, etc. were held by Col. Murfree, the founder of the town. The town contains the Masonic hall, a tavern, a boarding house, and a race course."¹¹ The writer was mistaken about the absence of a local church. Parker's Meeting House, a Baptist church (later renamed Meherrin Church), was a mile outside of town.¹²

In 1809 President Madison lifted the embargo on American trade with Europe and the West Indies. In 1810 new post roads were established, and Murfreesboro was included in the North



3. Plan of Murfreesboro, North Carolina, ca. 1825, indicating properties mentioned in the text. A. John Wheeler house. B. John and Ephraim Wheeler store. C. Wheeler tanyard site (1832). D. John Wheeler's lot 4. E. Hertford Academy. F. Lots owned by George Gordon. G. Samuel Everett sites. H. Clifton house and store site. I. Dr. Thomas O'Dwyer's house. J. William Rea store. K. Murfreesboro Historic Foundation. Plan by Kerry Horne, based on research by Thomas C. Parramore.

Carolina circuit.¹³ Commercial prospects brightened once more.

Hardy Murfree moved to Tennessee before 1809, but his son William Hardy Murfree, an attorney, chose to stay on in North Carolina. He began to practice law in 1803 and around 1809 formed a partnership with merchant George Gordon. Gordon moved to Murfreesboro from Pitch Landing before November 1809, when he and William Murfree (as well as John Wheeler) were listed among the twenty-four trustees in the "Act to Establish an Academy in Hertford County." In a business letter of January 1810, Gordon asked John Gray Blount to send a bill payable to "Murfree & Gordon," indicating that a partnership existed by that time.¹⁴

The years 1809 to 1811 were filled with building activity in Murfreesboro. In 1810 a Dr. William L. Smith of Connecticut arrived at Pitch Landing and visited Murfreesboro with a view to settling there. On 9 March he wrote his parents, "The borough is a

very flourishing place. The merchants do a great business here and they are building rapidly. Gordon and Murfree are building several houses. They are also building by subscription a very large and elegant brick academy.”¹⁵ In 1811 he reported that the town then had about five hundred inhabitants, two public houses, and ten stores with two to four clerks in most of them. Contract specifications for the Academy stated that it be built “in the form of an L to front 40 feet two ways by 20.” It was completed by 12 March 1811, and is still standing today.¹⁶

With so much building going on during this period, there must have been artisans or “mechanics,” as they were called, who were active in the town. Unfortunately, the names of brick masons, plasterers, carpenters, painters, and glaziers who may have been involved are elusive. The destruction of court records in the area is largely responsible for this. Such papers as deeds, wills, and estate inventories, which might have indicated trades, are unavailable. However, two artisans’ names can be found in some extant issues of the 1812–1813 newspaper, the *Hornet’s Nest*. Robert Warren advertised from nearby Princeton on 25 February 1813 as a “brick-layer, plasterer, painter and glazier” seeking work. Samuel Everett was looking for two carpenter’s apprentices in the borough on 12 November 1812.¹⁷ It is possible that either or both of these men were involved in the construction mentioned by Smith. A Robert Warren died in 1819 in Northampton County; the contents of his 22 June 1819 estate sale included plastering trowels, brick trowels, and other such tools, suggesting that this was the same man.¹⁸ Samuel Everett, carpenter, was listed in both the 1810 and 1820 Hertford County censuses, and in the 1815 Murfreesboro tax list, where he owned several lots.¹⁹ Information like this, much of which remains to be discovered, contributes an important perspective on the construction of the Wheeler house and the later changes.

Murfree and Gordon probably built their store in response to revived optimism for commercial expansion in 1809. At this late date we may never know their original intentions for the building, how they used it, or why they sold it to John Wheeler so soon. They may have found their fortunes affected by the War of 1812,

which caused setbacks in shipping and a recession for some.²⁰ The partnership remained active, and they kept their other store.²¹ The building, identified in the deed as of brick, was signed over to John Wheeler by William H. Wheeler on 4 November 1814.²²

Murfree became engrossed in politics, representing Hertford County in the House in 1812, and the Edenton district in Congress in 1813. He was reelected in 1815. He became Public Register for the county and later Clerk of Court. In 1824 he followed his father's example and emigrated to Murfreesboro, Tennessee, another town named for his family. He died there in 1827.²³

George Gordon stayed in Murfreesboro until his death around 1824. In 1813 he was also treasurer of Hertford Academy.²⁴ By 1815 he had acquired lots 200 and 201.²⁵ He was Clerk of the County Court from 1822 to 1823.²⁶

John Wheeler had moved to Murfreesboro, North Carolina, by at least 1796. He was born in Essex County, New Jersey, on 23 June 1771, the oldest son of nine children of Dr. John Wheeler and Elizabeth Longworth.²⁷ From New Jersey he and his family, who were loyalists, moved first to Long Island, New York, and then to St. John's, New Brunswick, Canada, in 1783. His career as a merchant seems to have started at about the age of eighteen in New York, when he worked with his cousin David Longworth, merchant and printseller. Longworth was first listed in the *New York City Directory* for 1789 with his occupation unspecified, from 1793 listed as "clerk," and from 1796 as "printseller." He became quite well known and was himself the publisher of the *Directory* from 1797 to 1842.²⁸ An 1800 entry for "Longworth and Wheeler" is misleading as an indication of a partnership between the two cousins. Wheeler was listed in the Hertford County census by 1800. The only John Wheeler listed in the *Directory* around that time was "John Wheeler, labourer," in 1789.

According to Wheeler family information, John Wheeler was persuaded to come south, to Bertie County, directly south of Hertford County, by Zedekiah Stone, father of the later governor David Stone.²⁹ On 1 January 1796 Wheeler married Maria Elizabeth Jordan of that county. By 1 November 1796 he was in Murfreesboro as one of the partners of Walter Hubbell & Co. of

Windsor; his first child, Elizabeth Maria, was born on 4 January 1797.

Biographical material for John Wheeler, especially regarding his business ventures, is patchy. His personal records such as memorandum books, account books, diaries, and letters have been either lost or destroyed. The only documents we have are federal censuses; the Hertford County tax lists; the 1814 deed to the house; the estate accounts recorded after John's and Sarah's deaths, including household inventories and real estate sold; genealogical information; and occasional mentions in local newspapers. Some of his business activities, such as the years in which he was actively involved in a store, must be surmised by inference as much as by known facts.

Maria Elizabeth bore eight children before she died in 1810, only three of whom survived infancy. As well as Elizabeth Maria, two sons reached adulthood. John Hill Wheeler (1806–1882) was elected to the state legislature twice, in 1827 and 1852, became Superintendent of the state branch of the U.S. Mint in Charlotte in 1836, was State Treasurer in 1842, and was minister to Nicaragua from 1854 to 1857. He published a history of North Carolina, *Historical Sketches*, in 1851. Samuel Jordan Wheeler (1810–1879) entered the medical profession and became one of the owners of the house. He too had literary talents, publishing a *History of the Meherrin Church* in 1844, producing the Murfreesboro newspaper the *Citizen* (1858), and contributing articles to several newspapers.³⁰

In the 1800 census John Wheeler's household consisted of himself, his wife, their daughter Elizabeth Maria, another free white male between the ages of twenty-six and forty-five (possibly John's brother Jabez, who had settled in Winton by 1806), and four slaves. Two other children had died in infancy. By the 1810 census, the family had expanded to include Wheeler, Maria Elizabeth, Elizabeth Maria, John Hill and Samuel Jordan, and a newborn baby girl.³¹ Two other children had died as babies. By late 1810 the youngest daughter also died, followed by Maria Elizabeth, who died on 18 October of that year.

John Wheeler married his second wife, Sally Ford Wood, in

April 1811. They had a son, born in 1812, who lived only seven months, and a daughter, Julia Munro, born in April 1814. Then Sally Ford died on 9 October of the same year. This was only one of a series of tragedies to strike the Wheeler family in the course of John's marriage to Sally Ford: John's oldest daughter, Elizabeth Maria, who had married Jonas Clifton at the age of fifteen in 1811, died in 1813 in childbirth; Jonas died the next year, leaving their baby Eliza Ann to be raised by John and Sally Ford. John's father also died in 1814, a few weeks before Sally's death. Two years passed before John remarried. A female member of his family, possibly his mother or his widowed sister Elizabeth Mullen, who moved to Murfreesboro around 1812, may have stepped in to help raise his children and granddaughter.

John Wheeler probably began negotiating to purchase Murfree and Gordon's store during his marriage to Sally Ford. He may have been anticipating an increase in either his family size or his business. He had apparently given up one store location in 1812, since the *Hornet's Nest* announced that September that editor and storekeeper Minor Huntington, had books and stationery for sale "at the store lately occupied by John Wheeler, Esq." By 5 April 1813 another merchant, J. Dawley, had "taken the store of Mr. John Wheeler."³² This may have been the same store mentioned in connection with Huntington, since store premises and property were occasionally identified by their most prominent occupant rather than the most recent one. Huntington had left Murfreesboro by 1814. Wheeler ran his own advertisements in 1812, offering potatoes, molasses, and salt brought from New York on the sloop *Mars*, and, in the same paper, the notice "Irish potatoes for sale by John Wheeler, Esq."³³

John Wheeler's former house is mentioned in the 1814 deed. From information in the 1798 town expansion (adding twelve lots), the lot number (188) given in the deed, the 1814 Hertford County tax list enumerating the lots and acreage Wheeler owned that year, and two newspaper notices of sheriff's sales in Murfreesboro, it appears that it was on lot 4.³⁴ According to the 1815 tax list Wheeler owned lot 188 (valued at £400), lot 4 (£400), lot 3 (half-ownership with merchant Patrick Brown; £300), lot 47 (half-own-

ership with William B. Cheatham; £50), and seventeen acres (£68).

A few weeks after Sally Ford died, John Wheeler signed the deed to the store owned by William Murfree that was to be his future home. The deed called it a "brick store" and described the lots as "one piece of land situated immediately back of the house of the said John Wheeler, separated from his lots by a street,—One hundred and twenty six feet in front and forty four yards back towards the river—Another lot in the town of Murfreesboro, on which is the Brick Store, known and distinguished in the plan of the said town by the number One hundred and eighty-eight, bounded as follows beginning on the North Edge of the Main Street twenty feet above Benjamin Roberts' ware House, thence along the edge of said Street South 88d. West Eighty four feet, thence North 2d. West Eighty eight yards, thence North Eighty eight degrees East eighty four feet, thence to the beginning. . . ." The sale amount of \$2,569.50 was declared in the deed "in hand paid by the said John Wheeler the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged." This was a large sum, even if, as is probable, it was given in the form of a promissory note.³⁵ Wheeler may have been relatively confident of his financial future.

As his business developed, Wheeler seems to have become increasingly involved in gainful financial transactions. He is documented as executor of several estates, both of family and business associates, from which he profited. For instance, he was executor of his son-in-law Jonas Clifton's estate after his death on 5 April 1814, and Clifton's two lots ended up in his hands. He also made money by charging interest, both on the running accounts at the store and on lending amounts outright. It was common for merchants to play a banker's role in their own locality.

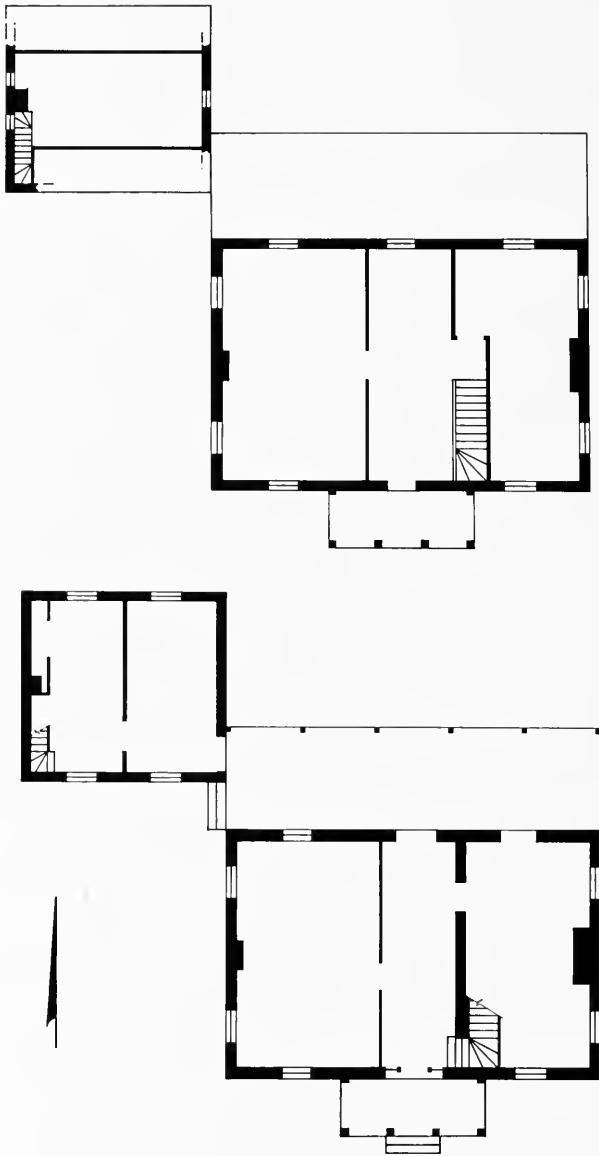
Also significant is the role his family played in John Wheeler's growing prosperity. Several of his brothers and sisters followed him to North Carolina, and his parents moved to Northampton County in 1807.³⁶ His brother Jabez, who married Mary Bell in 1806, lived in Hertford County by 1810, and made his home in Winton, where he left a house and tannery when he died in 1812. John Wheeler attended to his brother's estate, selling his personal property and renting the tannery.³⁷ Two widowed sisters and his

sister-in-law Mary eventually moved to Murfreesboro with their children, and one sister, Martha, remarried there. John's youngest brother, Ephraim, came to Murfreesboro by 1809 and was a trustee of the Hertford Academy in that year.³⁸ At some point the two brothers became business partners, and after 1815 they owned a store together.³⁹ Ephraim owned town lot 194 (valued at £300) and half of lot 23 with William Trader, another merchant. The "Trader & Wheeler" partnership appearing in the *Hornet's Nest* may have been Ephraim's with Trader.⁴⁰ In October 1820 Ephraim's marriage to Mary Kimberly Waring of Brooklyn, New York, was very likely the result of business connections. Her father Henry Waring, a merchant listed in the *New York City Directory* from 1796 to 1817,⁴¹ had business dealings with John Wheeler. An extant manifest, now the property of the Murfreesboro Historical Foundation, lists a parcel of goods, shipped from New York to Murfreesboro on the schooner *Mary*, directed to John Wheeler from Henry Waring & Co.⁴²

Almost two years elapsed between Sally Ford's death and John Wheeler's marriage to his third wife, Sarah Clifton, on 9 September 1816. Sarah brought a substantial dowry of slaves to the marriage, as well as some furniture.⁴³ The conversion of the building from store to private dwelling could have preceded her, or it could have been caused by her arrival in the house.

While documentation concerning the structural changes to the building is lacking, the architectural evidence for the changes is clear (fig. 4). The house originally had a large first-floor store room reached through an entrance at the front, with an adjacent smaller room that had its own external entrance from the back. A staircase (fig. 5) led up from the store room to the second floor, which had a passage and two more rooms. All rooms except the store room had fireplaces, and the store room had only one window.

The conversion involved closing the exterior store room entrance and placing a graceful, fanlighted doorway (fig. 6) at the center of the front facade. A batten board partition divided the store room into a smaller room and a central hall. The original front door was moved to the back, where another centered door-



4. Floor plan of the Wheeler house, pre-restoration, 1975. Above: second story. Below: first story. Plan by Kerry Horne, based on architectural drawings by Edwards, Dove, Knight & Associates.



5. *Panelled staircase, before restoration. Photograph courtesy of the Murfreesboro Historical Association, Inc.*

way was created. The original back door from the east room was left in place. It is uncertain whether the small back porch was extended at the same time, but a portico was probably added at the front to set off the new doorway. On the second floor, at some undetermined time the center window became an external door to the portico.

The present portico replaces the original one. Modern archaeological and architectural investigations yielded insufficient evi-

dence for an accurate reconstruction. The second, present portico appears to post-date 1840, and thus would have been put up after John Wheeler's death in 1832.⁴⁴

A letter from Emily Bland Southall ("Blannie") supports the post-1840 date. Blannie was the daughter of Sarah Clifton and James Southall, John W. Southall's brother, who married and moved to Columbus, Mississippi, in 1837. After her mother's death in 1861, Blannie visited her grandparents' house in Murfreesboro for the first time, and described the house in a letter to her sister Julia: "I can't describe that quaint old brick house better than she [their mother] has often done. It stands just as she left it, with the exception of a new gallery in front. The furniture is the same, even to the carpets. In the stories she has often related connected with the house, I recognize rooms, closets, and pieces of furniture. It is such a pleasure walking over it and remembering these things."⁴⁵



6. Fan-lighted front door from interior, before restoration. Photograph courtesy of the Murfreesboro Historical Association, Inc.



7. Wallpaper from the south room, ca. 1815–1825. Photograph courtesy of the Murfreesboro Historical Association, Inc.

Besides the hall partition, a few other architectural changes were made on the interior. Wallpaper was added to the west first-floor room, the original store room, above a relatively plain wainscoting. It has been identified as a French block-printed paper with neoclassical motifs (fig. 7), dating around 1815 to 1825.⁴⁶ Extant fragments still on some of the pieces of batten board from the west room interior partition, where it was found, have no intervening coats of paint; they are glued to the bare wood. The wallpaper, therefore, must have been part of the installation of the partition.



8. *The Wheeler house from the northeast, showing the relationship of the house to the dependency. The outbuilding at the left is a later addition. Photograph courtesy of the Murfreesboro Historical Association, Inc.*

Up-to-date French wallpapers were being imported to New York quite early,⁴⁷ and it is known that there was shipping between New York and Murfreesboro. John Wheeler, with his merchant contacts, could easily have obtained wallpaper for his house from New York.

The first-floor east room, which already had a fireplace and finished woodwork, was left unaltered, as were the second floor rooms with their woodwork and fireplaces. It is not known whether John Wheeler placed a stove in the unheated first-floor west room, or whether this was a later addition.⁴⁸

Most of the changes from store building to residence can still be seen in the external brickwork. The three windows and doorway of the first-floor east room are original. Where the store room door was closed and moved there are definite signs of disturbances in

the brick, and the same is true for the three windows added to that room. On the interior, the first doorway location overlaps the placement of the new hall partition, clearly indicating that the hall was partitioned off later. The staircase to the second floor appears to be in its original position, and the space beneath it, contained in an east room closet, reveals no signs of changes there. Both second-floor fireplaces had been converted for stoves, but this may have been much later.⁴⁹

Whether the brick dependency (figs. 1, 8) at the southeast corner of the house was built before, during, or after John Wheeler's occupancy of the house has not been documented. One theory is that it was put up several years after the main house. The paneling of the first-floor room can be identified as Federal, but since this style continued to be in fashion for a long time, it is no proof of an actual date. Other conjectures concern the kitchen house and whether it was built for the store or added on by Wheeler. It may be that the other rooms in the store were meant to house a store-keeper, which would explain the finished panelling and fireplaces in the rooms not intended for storage. If so, the kitchen building might have been contemporaneous. There is, however, no documentation for the early years of the store, so this cannot be proven. It may also be that the finished rooms were intended as a counting room and working rooms for clerks. In any case, the kitchen house had to have existed when John Wheeler lived there, fulfilling the needs of his family. Its size, location, and the remains of a hearth and some brick flooring were discovered through archaeological excavation in 1975.⁵⁰

The surveys for the restoration of the building clearly indicated that the store was not first built as a smaller building and then expanded. All the walls and the two chimneys had gone up at the same time, including a brick interior north-south wall creating the original partition between the store room and the east room. This brick wall may also have been built to provide four fireproof walls for the store room.

Sarah and John had sixteen years together, from 1816 to 1832. She bore nine children, of whom seven were still living at his death in 1832; four reached adulthood. Sarah helped raise Julia Munro, Sally

Wood's child, and Eliza Ann, John's granddaughter. Impressions of the house during this period, and how it was used, depend mainly on records of family births and deaths, on census records, and on a few facts about John Wheeler's activities. The census records show that from 1816 to 1822, five children, including infants, were generally present. After 1823, these increased to between six and eight. All were not constantly present, especially when older children went off to school or married and moved away.

A good deal is known about the events of 1825, since Dr. Thomas O'Dwyer, a friend of John Wheeler's, kept a record of what was going on around him in a daily journal.⁵¹ He described how on 23 February Henry Waring came to Murfreesboro after Ephraim's death. On 10 March there was a sale at Ephraim's house. O'Dwyer reported that it took place at "the house belonging to Jno. Wheeler and the estate of E.W. [Ephraim]. The lot and buildings where E. Wheeler lived sold for \$600. to Mr. Waring."⁵² O'Dwyer also attended the later property sale and made some purchases. On the eleventh he "took a walk to the Sale of the Goods in the store of John & E. Wheeler." He bought five pairs of Negro shoes (probably for his slaves) at sixty cents a pair, a pair of blankets for \$3.15, and a few yards of cotton sheeting at twenty-two cents apiece. He went back to the sale the next day to buy two books, some black and gray thread, and a *Treatise on Female Education* for thirty-five cents. Finally, he called on John Wheeler and gave him a note payable in six months for the purchases.⁵³

Other references to John Wheeler in O'Dwyer's diary dealt with their encounters as trustees of Hertford Academy, with a subpoena to enlist Wheeler as a witness in a lawsuit (16 March), and with his help in distributing Bible Society tracts and in remitting money collected to the parent Bible Society in New York (24 August). O'Dwyer obtained notes on New York from Wheeler, who charged him 4% interest. He also mentioned buying a quarter of a lamb (11-12 May) and a quart of good quality rum (27 September) from Wheeler.⁵⁴

Carpenter Samuel Everett also featured in O'Dwyer's diary.⁵⁵ On 12 May 1825 O'Dwyer reported that he had gone to see the benches Everett had made for a room in the Academy. In other entries

O'Dwyer mentions his slave Henry, who was a carpenter. Henry built him a new stable and was hired out to take down a partition at the Academy. He was also hired out to Major Cooke for \$18.00 a month. O'Dwyer describes how Henry went off in a cart, taking his chest of tools, and how he had to return for a plane iron.⁵⁶ Slaves were frequently hired out for their particular skills, their masters pocketing their hire. O'Dwyer's references are valuable because very little slave artisan work has been recorded. They also act as a reminder that some of the work done at the Wheeler house may have been done by slaves who lived in the town.⁵⁷

After Ephraim died in 1825, John took over his position as postmaster.⁵⁸ He continued to keep a store, and it may have stayed at the same location as their joint store. Several references help locate this building. In February 1826, as noted in the *Intelligencer*, William C. Copeland is mentioned as having his saddlery "opposite the store of Mr. John Wheeler."⁵⁹ Copeland put in another notice in the 1 April 1827 *North Carolina Chronicle* explaining that he was next door to John W. Southall. Southall's store was at the west end of Williams Street, where it forms an angle to meet the present Main Street. Wheeler's store is known from an 1826 town expansion petition to have no house "above" (i.e., to the west of) it. The previous expansion stopped at the junction of present Main and William streets.⁶⁰ This locates the Wheeler store near that junction.

By 1827 Wheeler had other property on Williams Street. He had acquired lots 202 and 203 at his son-in-law's death in 1814.⁶¹ They became part of Wheeler's real estate sold after his death, listed as "the Clifton house & lot & store where John Wheeler dect. kept in front of J. W. Southall."⁶² This is the only store mentioned in the estate papers (see Appendix I). He also owned George Gordon's former lots 200 and 201. The exact details of the acquisition are missing, but they became his in the course of the widow Elizabeth Gordon's conveyance of her inherited dower rights to the property.⁶³

Wheeler became a town commissioner in 1825.⁶⁴ Both John and Sarah belonged to the Baptist Church, and in 1826 John was one of the supervisors for the rebuilding of Parker's Meeting House.⁶⁵

Another of John Wheeler's activities was his membership in the American Colonization Society. This society was formed in 1816 to allow free blacks to emigrate to Africa. It had a North Carolina chapter in 1818, and a Hertford County chapter was established in 1824. John Wheeler was treasurer in 1830 and apparently was an enthusiastic supporter of its aims. He is credited by descendant and historian John Wheeler Moore with having freed and sent off his slaves.⁶⁶ However, according to the 1830 census he held seventeen slaves, including three children, and in his 1832 will he bequeathed eleven slaves and their increase to his wife. Perhaps he was able to release only a few. Official Colonization Society records counted only sixteen migrations from Hertford County before 1830.

On 13 July 1832 John Wheeler wrote his will, and on 7 August he died at the age of sixty-two. His widow Sarah was thirty-six. John Hill was named executor of the estate, along with Wheeler's brother-in-law James Worrell (his sister's husband). John Hill was married and living in Washington, and presumably returned to carry out these duties. John left individual gifts of money, personal property, and real estate clearly defined. He left the house and lot to Sarah for her lifetime. The boundaries of this property were described as starting "opposite John Anderson's brick house (formerly James Morgan)"; touched Lewis M. Cowper's line on the west, a gully separating him from the field he rented Patrick Brown; and went along Main Street (now Broad). He directed his executors to draw up the deed for his brother Ephraim's house, sold to Henry Waring. He asked for a deed to be made to James Banks for the "houses & lots known as the Academy lot" already sold to Banks, as soon as "he pays the Bond which I hold against him" (£2 to £3000). John Hill Wheeler was bequeathed the 250 acres on the Princeton road deeded to him at age 21, and "the fee simple on Houses & lots now occupied by Mrs. Gordon as a tavern." Daughter Sarah Clifton was to receive his piano forte. There was a \$5000 gift to Samuel J. Wheeler, after deducting amounts already given him. Sarah was bequeathed the negroes she brought to her marriage plus three more, \$1000 in cash, and \$500 for a year's provisions. With the \$1,000 she was to purchase necessary

articles from their household furniture which was to be evaluated and then taken by her at three-fourths its assessed value. The residue of John Wheeler's estate was to be divided between his daughter Julia, by then married to Godwin Cotton Moore, and his children by his present wife. He provided for his granddaughter Eliza Ann Clifton by directing that if her portion from her deceased father Jonas Clifton was not equal to that of his children, it should be made so.⁶⁷

His estate was large. Accounts made by his executors after his death in 1832 and brought up to 24 May 1834 totalled \$43,392.36, out of which \$23,253 was still uncollected. Part of this was interest from August 1832 to May 1834.⁶⁸

Sarah Wheeler died less than a year after her husband. She made her will on 11 July 1833, and died on 13 July. She left cash to her youngest daughter, Anna Stoughton, and son Junius, and gave them each a "Burrow Bed and furniture." She gave her daughter Sarah C. Wheeler "one carved mahogany bed stead with bed & bedding & her choice of a sett of Bed Curtains also my new black cloak." She gave Julia W. Moore "a curled maple Bed Stead with Bed & Bedding and a Sett of Bed Curtains." She gave her "beloved Brother William Cheatham now in the state of Alabama" \$30.⁶⁹

Following John Wheeler's death on 7 August 1832 and Sarah Wheeler's on 13 July 1833, inventories were made of their property, real and personal, and of their notes due and expenses paid out. These were duly entered in the large ledger entitled "Hertford County Record of Accounts," 1830-36, 1836-40, which fortunately escaped the 1862 courthouse fire. The extensive Wheeler inventories and estate accounts contain much information that is useful in interpreting how the Wheeler family lived.

First was a general inventory of John Wheeler's personal property, taken on 15 November 1832. It itemized goods that were probably sold in the store and tanyard, as well as a separate listing, "Household and Kitchen Goods." Next was "an inventory of notes belonging to the estate," covering seven ledger pages and a much shorter inventory of "money & notes" received since last return. Another inventory listed the evaluation and sale of his personal property, entered item by item, with amounts realized and buyers

named; it took up ten and a half pages in the court ledger. These were objects not chosen by the widow or of no concern to her. What did concern Sarah was the subsequent evaluation of household and kitchen furniture chosen in accordance with her husband's will. This evaluation gives the clearest picture of the contents of the Wheeler house at the time of John Wheeler's death.

Money received and property sold continued to take up the executors' time and were duly entered at May Court 1833. Then Sarah Wheeler died, and her estate property was inventoried. Her estate sale took place on 1 November 1833. John Wheeler's son Samuel Jordan bought almost all the items at her sale. A few objects were bought by his brother John Hill and his brother-in-law Godwin C. Moore, who was Sarah Wheeler's executor. Sarah's estate accounts were entered also. By February Court 1836 sales of John Wheeler's real estate were returned, and, finally, a long "accounts current" up to 24 May 1834 was submitted by James Worrell and John H. Wheeler. This last account was entered in the 1836 to 1840 section of the ledger, even though it was entered at May Court 1835.⁷⁰

The inventories that best reflect the Wheeler household goods are reproduced in Appendix II: (A) the general inventory of John Wheeler's personal property, from 15 November 1832 (household entries only; the sections relating to the store goods have not been included because of length); (B) the sale of his personal property and the evaluation of the household items chosen by Sarah Clifton Wheeler under the terms of her husband's will (again, only the household entries are reproduced here); (C) the inventory of Sarah Clifton Wheeler's estate property after her death, entered in the November court term 1833; and (D) the estate sale of her property on 1 November 1833. Sarah Wheeler's inventories involved only the household and kitchen goods.

The first inventory was of John Wheeler's personal, as opposed to real, property. Items were entered in continuous running form without punctuation or monetary values. There was a kind of rough grouping in the list, which may indicate more than one inventory source, although attempts to categorize them as a whole are not conclusive. The store inventory was first, the items mainly

grouped in "parcels," such as "parcel of saddlery and harness materials," "parcel of shoemakers' tools," "large parcel of books," "parcel of lining skins. . . upper Leather hog skins." Then came a brief list of equipment, such as a two-horse wagon, a Jersey wagon, a cart and wheels, a wheelbarrow, two boilers, and a stove.

The store goods were followed by a few articles of furniture: a looking glass, two curtained bedsteads, a sideboard, bureau, and bookcase desk. The furniture group appears to be the beginning of the second division, as another large group of store goods followed it. This contained "parcels of crockery," "parcel of glass ware," "parcel of nails," "a box of needles and combs," plus pocket knives, scissors, drugs, spices, paints, chalk tobacco, etc. Interspersed among these were objects related specifically to storekeeping, such as brass scales, medicine scales, and a tin canister, and personal items like a shaving box, a teapot, and a jug and basin. At the end were "2 hair trunks, 1 easy chair & cover, 1 mahogany cradle one four wheel carriage and harness Large parcel of Leather now in the Vats of the Tan Yard Negro Slaves to wit Will & wife Patsy Jacob Isaac Dick Sam Chunk Sam Britt 2 smal Negroes bill & luiza 1 Tan Yard horse 1 bridle & saddle."

A review of the store goods reveals them to have been primarily utilitarian. Luxury items such as jewelry and silver were not part of this stock; nor were the many textiles and clothing items carried by some merchants. Wheeler's few textiles included some coachmaker's trimmings, a few yards of shirting and vesting, some serge, and a few wool hats. He had large amounts of saddler's, harness-maker's, and coachmaker's supplies. Among household needs he stocked buttons, scissors, needles, knives, brushes, etc., and quite a lot of crockery and glass. There were 330 lots of store goods, including books. Some of the books up for sale had been intended for retail, while others—various volumes related to religion, "Cowper's Poems, "9 vols. B. Poems" [Byron's poems?], "Dants" [Dante's?], and "5 B. Library [Bible?]"—would have been in John Wheeler's personal library.

The estate sale, whose results were recorded in the second inventory (Appendix IIB), was attended by a few members of the family: John Hill Wheeler, Samuel Jordan Wheeler, Godwin C. Moore,

and Sarah Wheeler, although it was mainly patronized by other area residents. John Hill bought about fourteen items, including a gun and an astragal lamp. Samuel Jordan bought the "Bookcase & desk" for \$24.25. Godwin C. Moore bought the carriage and harness and two slaves for \$454. Sarah bought the easy chair and two trunks. William Trader, father of James M. Trader, who would eventually own the Wheeler house, bought the sideboard. The sale realized \$1969.59. The leather in the tanyard vats was sold separately to Thomas Finney, who later gave his note for the tanyard as well.

The inventories are useful in casting light on how the house was used. They also represent what a relatively prosperous merchant may have had in his house. The four lists of household furnishings at first glance look a great deal alike. They each start off with a large Brussels carpet and a hearth rug, mahogany dining tables, a dozen hair bottom chairs, a sofa, and brass andirons. But as they progress, matching them up side by side by entries becomes increasingly difficult, especially when the "parcels" are separated into actual lists, and objects are compared in different ways. However, the comparisons do add more information to some of the entries. Thus it becomes clear that the dining tables were a set of three, that the mahogany chairs and sofa were upholstered with hair cloth, that what appear to be "painted landscapes" in one inventory were actually "printed" when compared to the entry for "engraved landscapes" in another. The cupboard was also called a "beaufat," the "common" sitting chairs were "Windsor chairs," a set of iron andirons were "common" andirons, two busts were plaster of Paris, and a "bureau" was "a toilet bureau and glass." The "buggy" listed at the end of the first inventory was called a "4 wheeler carriage" in the second, and the two food safes were described as a "wire safe" and a "cloth safe." The repetition of items is also helpful for deciphering the court clerk's handwriting, especially where abbreviations are involved.

The inventories examined together create the impression of room-by-room entries, but only certain objects can be placed with any degree of confidence. The room on the first floor where all four lists begin is probably the east room, where there was a fire-

place. The hearth rug, the fireplace tools and fender, two "fancy" flower pots, and the large overmantel mirror all belong to a fireplace and are listed at the beginning. A settee and lamp are listed as standing in the passage. China, glass, and silver were probably in the cupboard, or "beaufat." Some objects may have been collected from several places for the inventory. An example of this may be the following items: a jar of arrowroot, two demijohns, two large "waiters" (trays), some medicine bottles, a traveling case, a pine table, two wash basins, a water pail, and three brass candle sticks. These may have been scattered among the cupboard, the back porch, part of the passage, and the closet under the stairs.

Fourteen curtains were listed in the house. These were described as a set of four "white dimity curtains," "four white curtains," "two white curtains," and four "callico window curtains." The calico curtains were evaluated at \$20.00. Their high worth and the fact that they were calico strongly suggests that they were reception room furnishings. "Furniture calicoes," as curtain material was called in the earlier nineteenth century, were fashionable and costly. Many were imported from England and they were generally printed with floral patterns, although plain colors were also available. Like chintz, they were often glazed. Calico curtains would have been fringed and tied either up or back with cords and tassels.

Calicos were available in Murfreesboro as early as 1813, as indicated by storekeeper J. Dawley's advertisement listing "furniture calicoes" among his goods.⁷¹ Textile imports could also have come from Norfolk or New York. In 1827 the North Carolina Chronicle carried advertisements of goods shipped in on the schooner *Pigot* to the firms of Southall & Parker and Morgan & Cowper. The latter's wares included "calicoes, some very rich patterns."⁷²

Overall, the quantity of objects in the inventories is not large. The given value of individual pieces may say more than the number entered. For instance, the large Brussels carpet and hearth rug were valued at \$50.00, and the other two room carpets at \$35.00 and \$25.00. Brussels carpets, made of looped pile, were considered luxurious and fashionable. Since they were woven in strips and seamed, they could be any desired size. The other carpets are not

described. They were either smaller or of a different weave, such as ingrain or double-weave.

Sarah Wheeler's inventory (Appendix IIC) added a "Venetian" carpet, listed near the kitchen inventory, which went for \$25.00 in the sale of her estate. This was a striped flat-weave carpet, usually utilitarian and hard-wearing. The stair carpet was the least expensive of the lot, worth, with its rods, only \$5.00. It may have been old and even rolled up, since it was listed with the loom gear. Godwin C. Moore bought it at Sarah's sale.

Other valuable pieces were the bedsteads with their bedding. In Sarah's inventories was a "large Bed [featherbed] Bedstead and furniture [hangings]," which can be recognized by its \$55.00 sale price as the large maple bedstead owned by John Wheeler. It seems likely that this was John and Sarah's own bed. The complete list of beds and bedding in the 1832 evaluation (App. IIB) was as follows:

- 1 large maple bedstead and furniture & bed \$55.00
- 1 sophia bedstead & bed 25.00
- 1 cot 2.50
- 1 mahogany carved bedstead upstairs & bed and furniture
35.00
- 1 maple bed & furniture 30.00
- 1 crib & [?] 8.00 [not in Sarah Wheeler's estate sale]
- 1 bed & furniture 15.00
- 1 trundle bedstead bed & furniture 10.00 [not in the first
inventory]
- 1 bed & furniture 15.00
- 2 suits of bed curtains 15.00.

There were actually only four regular bedsteads of the size we now consider "double beds." The "sophia bedstead" was probably some sort of daybed. The separate "beds" were mattresses. Considering the general size of John Wheeler's family, the number of bedsteads does not seem large. It must be remembered that the inventories represented the house as it was in 1832 and 1833. Two "curtain bedsteads" (high-post bedsteads) were sold for \$3.00 and \$3.50 at John Wheeler's personal property sale. These may

have been in the house and not wanted by Sarah. Two extra mattresses with bedding ("beds and furniture") were part of the inventories, possibly kept because of their greater value, \$15.00 each.

The many changes in the family over the years suggests that sleeping arrangements could have fluctuated widely. Most high-post and low-post bedsteads could be taken apart quite easily and moved or stored at will. What we now seem to need in the way of privacy was generally rare, and reserved more for invalids or the very old. Beds were usually shared by at least two people, and more than one bed could be placed in a room.

An 1830 North Carolina document that describes a family bedroom can be found in the Pettigrew papers. After his wife died in childbirth, Pettigrew, devastated, wrote: "I retire to my cell [bedroom] and what are my reflections? There is the crib, where my dear wife had nursed her infants . . . and where I expected my last would be, now vacant. There is the spot where my three other little innocents were wont to lay, and where I so often have got on my knees & kissed them. Now a bare floor. . . . There is the mattress [on which his wife died]. . . . There is the beadstead on which I am to lay my weary limbs."⁷³ The parents slept in one bed, except during childbirth, when the wife would lie on a mattress; three small children slept on a trundle, and the baby slept in the cradle. This picture makes it possible to imagine some of the ways the Wheelers put their children and themselves to bed; it also is a reminder of the many births and deaths of the Wheeler children.

The first inventory of John Wheeler's personal property mentions a cradle, but it is referred to in no other property list. This is probably because it was being used for the baby Anna Stoughton Wheeler and then was given to Julia Moore for her first baby in 1833. A mahogany cradle (fig. 9) has descended in the family through Samuel Wheeler's descendants, and was used for his daughter Kate. It is conceivable, although difficult to tell by its general style, that this is the same cradle mentioned in the inventory.

John Wheeler may have patronized local cabinetmakers for his furniture. Two men identified as cabinetmakers were Morriss Hatchell and Jordan Beale.⁷⁴ Both featured in Wheeler's estate



8. Cradle, mahogany, early to mid-nineteenth century. This is documented as being in the Wheeler family since at least 1837, and may be the cradle mentioned in John Wheeler's personal property inventory. Private collection, on loan to the Wheeler House.

records, thus establishing a connection with him, but neither was listed in a way proving patronage. Hatchell, listed in the 1820 Hertford County census, bought land from John Wheeler's estate.⁷⁵ Beale appears to have lived in neighboring Northampton County. He attended the sale of Wheeler's personal property on 15 November 1832.⁷⁶

A quite common source of household purchases was the auction or estate sale. For instance, in 1827 there was a sale at James M. Hill's house consisting of "Beds, Tables Chairs, Bureaus, one very useful Beaufat, &c. &c." Wheeler is known to have attended at least one such sale. He purchased a looking glass at George Dunn's estate sale in 1830.⁷⁷

The Wheelers had twenty-six Windsor chairs. They may have been from a North Carolina maker, or, more likely, imported. Importing from the north became even easier with the advent of

steamships, especially after the Edenton and Plymouth Steamboat Company was founded in 1818-1819.⁷⁸ Goods could come by special order or be bought from stores stocking them. Edenton was close enough to be a supplier of Windsor chairs, and Murfreesboro itself could have been a source. Cheshire & Cox of Edenton kept an assortment of Windsor chairs on hand in 1818 and 1819, as did William & Joseph Rea of Murfreesboro, advertising "300 Fancy & Windsor Chairs."⁷⁹

Wheeler also owned a piano forte, which he willed to his daughter Sarah Clifton. It was valued in his estate at \$250.00. This type of fine furniture was available in Murfreesboro: Morgan & Cowper's 30 June 1827 advertisement announced "some elegant FURNITURE, among which are Side-boards, Bureaus, Chairs and an elegant PIANO FORTE."



The author has found much material on the post-1832 period of the house that has not been included in this article. Later material can often shed valuable light on early records, but the sheer bulk of the nineteenth-century documents makes it difficult to choose and compress the materials effectively for this article. The Southall-Bowen papers have already been mentioned, and there are important diaries, such as Kate Wheeler's 1860 diary and Samuel J. Wheeler's diaries from 1865 to 1879, two years of which were written while he lived in the Wheeler house.⁸⁰ The post-1862 Hertford County deeds are also valuable for the information they provide by copying parts of lost deeds or by making references to former property holders. Some of the property owned by John Wheeler has been traced in this way.

After Sarah Wheeler died in 1833, Samuel Jordan returned from his medical studies in Philadelphia, and by 1834 had bought the house. He married in 1836, and he and his wife Lucinda Pugh Bond lived in the house until 1867, when they moved to Willow Hall, a Bond family home in Bertie County. Samuel Jordan declared bankruptcy in 1842. His brother-in-law, Godwin C. Moore, purchased Samuel's real estate and furniture in 1844, and on the same day sold half of all these holdings to Samuel's father-in-law, Lewis Bond.⁸¹ At some point Bond acquired Moore's half of

the house, and willed the whole to his daughter Lucinda.⁸² She came into possession of the property on her father's death in 1851. In 1872, the house was sold to James M. Trader.

Later nineteenth-century (post-1862) Hertford County deeds contain important materials for identifying John Wheeler's real estate holdings. Some of the property not found in the list of his real estate sold or in other estate records has been found there. Boundaries of properties described can be checked against other known boundaries. Architectural understanding of the house is also subject to change. When all the available documentary material is reviewed, an even more complete picture of the house should certainly emerge.

It is often said that the best research is "ongoing." This is certainly true of research for a historic site, where information is never static. It is to be hoped that the documentary research presented here for the Wheeler house will add to the plans and expectations of all those involved in its preservation and historic interpretation.

Audrey H. Michie is a freelance consultant engaged in research relating to historic interiors.

APPENDIX I

Account of Sales of the real Estate of John Wheeler decd. made by the Executor 1836 on a Credit from the 1st Jany.⁸³

One Warf & Ware house at the river	To Southall & Johnson	\$202.00
1 house at the River where Wadkins Malone lives	" Lewis M. Cowper	34.00
1 house & field near the Tanyard	" Samuel J. Wheeler	50.00
1 house & lot near Lawrence Wevers	" " "	100.00
lot & Stable adjacent Thereto	" John W. Southall	26.00
lot & house down Town near Mr. P. Browns	" Lewis M. Cowper	67.00
The fields adjacent thereto	" " "	81.00
The Clifton house & lot & store where John Wheeler Dect kept in frount of J.W. Southall	" The Commissioners of the Presbyterian Church	600.00
The Houses & fields where John Wheeler Dect died	" Samuel J. Wheeler	500.00
2 unimproved lots up town	" Barney B. Usher	30.00
Stable & Lot in back of the Howell Jones lot	" John W. Southall	51.50
2 small Negroes Sold for Cash	" Edward K. Jegets	500.00

This 30th of May 1835

James Worrell
Jno. H. Wheeler
Exec of J. Wheeler Decd.

From the Hertford County, North Carolina, February Court of Pleas &c, 1836. This account of sales was returned to Court on Oath by James Worrell & ordered to be Recorded—

Test. L. M. Cowper

APPENDIX II

The Wheeler Estate Inventories and Estate Accounts⁸⁴

A. An Inventory of the property of the Estate of John Wheeler dec[ease]d taken the 15 of November 1832. [Sale property list first].

House hold & Kitchen Furniture [originally in paragraph form].

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Large Brussels Carpet & hearth rug 1 Sett Mahogany Tables 1 mahogany folding Table 1 dozen hair bottom chairs [seats of hair cloth] 1 do. Sophia [mahogany sofa with haircloth upholstery] 1 pr. brass hands irons & shovel & tongs 2 fancy flour [flower] pots 2 glass shades [candle shades] 2 plated Candle Sticks 1 Large mantle Looking Glass 4 Callico Window Curtains 2 Large printed Landscap 2 tin Spit Boxes [spittoons] 1 Settee & Lamps 1 Large dining Table 1 small do. [dining table] 26 commin setting chairs 1 Cupboard 1 andIrons parcel of Silverware parcel of Glass & crockery plated tray & Snuffers parcel of Knives & forks parcel of China 1 Stone Jar of arrowroot 2 Large Waiters Medicine bottles 1 Traveling Case | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2 Large demijohns 1 pine Table 2 Wash bassons [basins] parcel of pails & Tubs 3 brass Candle Sticks 1 set Casters 1 set Britania Ware 4 white dimity Curtains 1 maple bidd stead [bedstead] bed [featherbed] & hair mattress 1 Mahogany Rocking Chair 1 Sopha bed Stead & bidd cott 1 Bureau & Glass 1 Work Stand 2 bust plaster parris 1 Wash Stand baisin & pitcher 1 Ivory Clock parcel of flour [floor] Carpits 2 sets bed Curtains 1 Mahogany Carvd bedStead [carved mahogany bedstead] beds & furniture [featherbeds and bedding] 1 maple do. [bedstead] Two Card Tables 1 Large Looking Glass 4 White Window Curtains 3 pitchers 1 p[air] of and Irons 1 Bearreu [bureau?] crib |
|--|---|

bed & furniture
 2 brass Candle Sticks & Snuffers
 1 Looking Glass
 2 beds & furniture
 1 pine Table
 1 picture
 1 mahogany do. [table]
 1 Loom & Warping Barrs
 1 Baithing Tub
 1 set Weaving Gear
 1 pr. of Iron Andirons
 1 Stair Carpet & Rods
 2 pr. flatIrons
 1 Tin Kitchen
 2 brass Kittles
 Parcel of Pals [pails]
 Kettles
 parcel of Tin Ware
 1 Stone Chearn
 parcel of stone Jars
 2 Safes
 1 wooden Churn
 parcel of Jugs & bottles

1 Large Leather Trunk
 1 buggy & Harness
 1 Wagon & Gear
 1 cart & wheels
 2 horses
 3 Cows & 1 cow shelter [or corn
 sheller]
 parcel of plows [ploughs] & Weeding
 hoes
 Shovel & Spade
 1 half peck Measure
 1 Garden Rake & 2 axes
 1 wheel Barrow [sic] & Grind Stone
 1 Cutting Knife
 1 Coffee mill
 17 hogs
 1008 lb. of Bacon
 parcel of Lard
 7½ bushels of Wheat
 17 Bbls. [barrels] of Corn
 the above property was taken by the
 Widow in pursuance to the Will
 [Cash . . . up to date \$2573.48]

B. The following Articles were among the Household and Kitchen furniture of the Late John Wheeler decd. and were Settled by the Widow Sarah and the following valuations were placed upon them. . . . [in columns in the original]

1 large Brussels Carpet	
1 Hearth Rug with Carpet [combined]	\$50.00
1 Set (3) Mahogany Tables	50.00
1 Mahogany folding Table	12.00
1 doz. Hair bottom Chairs	48.00
1 do. do. do. Sopha [mahogany sofa with haircloth upholstery]	40.00
1 pr. brass And irons fender Shovel & Tongs	10.00
2 fancy flower pots	13.00
2 Glass Shades & 2 plated candle sticks	5.00
1 Large Mantle Looking Glass	20.00
4 Callico Window Curtains	20.00
2 Large printed Land scapes	5.00
2 tin Spit boxes	1.00
1 Settee & Lamp (passage)	10.00
1 Large Dining Table	8.00
1 small Mahogany Table	4.00
26 Common Sitting chairs	15.00
1 Beau fat [cupboard]	4.00

1 pr. Iron Andirons	2.00
1 Silver Coffee pot 1 silver Tea pot	40.00
2 Glass pitchers	1.00
2 do. decanters	1.00
6 do. [glass] dishes	2.50
1 plated Tray & Snuffers	2.50
2 Glass Stands	2.50
14 wine Glasses	3.00
2 Glass Cake dishes	1.00
1 do. [glass] Sugar dish	1.25
1 do. [glass] Milk pot & butter dish	.75
2 Glass bowls	3.00
3 Waiters	1.00
6 Glass Tumblers	.75
2 Lamps	1.50
1 hous[e] bell	.50
½ dozen Silver Spoons (Large)	20.00
13 do. do. [silver spoons] (Small)	20.00
1 do. [silver] Sugar tongs	2.50
7 Sauce Spoons	.50
½ " [doz.] Tea Spoons (Small)	15.00
1 Silver Ladle	5.00
2 doz. Knives & forks	2.50
1 carving Knife & Fork	.25
1 set Large Knives & forks ½ doz. Small do.	5.00
1 Sett Gilt Edgd. China	8.00
1 do. [set] blue China (broken sett)	2.00
1 Stone Jar Arrow Root	.50
2 Large Waiters	
Medicine bottles	1.00
1 traveling case	.75
1 Large Demijohn	2.00
1 pine Table & 2 Wash basins	1.25
1 water Pail & 3 brass Candle sticks	1.00
1 set Casters	2.50
1 Set Britannia Ware Coffee/tea/sugar dish & milk	2.50
7 blue dishes	3.00
½ doz. blue plates (Soup)	.75
½ doz. Large Dinner do. [plates]	.62
1 do. [doz.] Breakfast	.38
½ doz. Supper do. [plates] 4 dinner do. [plates]	.25
3 coverd dishes & Gravy do	2.00
2 coverd Gravy dishes	1.00
2 Milk pots & 1 Slop bowl	.25
1 salt Cellar & 2 pickle dishes & Coffee pot bucket	1.85
4 White dimity Curtains in beed Room	8.00
1 large Maple bed Stead & furniture & bed	55.00

1 Rocking Chair mahogany & bed & Hare Mattress	16.00
1 Sopha bed Stead & bed	25.00
1 Cot	2.50
1 Toilet Beaureau & Glass [dressing table & mirror]	1.00
1 Work Stand	.50
2 bust plaster of parriss	2.00
1 Wash Stand bason & pitcher	1.00
1 time piece Ivory Clock	35.00
1 Carpet	33.00
2 suits bed curtains	15.00
1 mahogany carvd. bed Sted up Stairs & bed & furniture	35.00
1 Large Looking Glass	4.00
4 white window Curtains	2.00
3 pictures	.75
1 R [?] andirons brass	.25
1 wash Bowls & pitcher	1.25
1 Carpet	28.00
1 Crib & Barn [bureau?]	8.00
1 bed & furniture	15.00
1 Trundle bed Stead & bed Furniture	10.00
2 brass Candle sticks & Snuffers	1.00
1 pr. Andirons	.25
1 Looking Glass	2.00
2 white Window Curtains	.75
1 bed & furniture	15.00
1 pine Table & Picture	.50
1 Mahogany Table	2.00
1 Loom & Warping Bars	1.00
1 Baithing tub	1.00
1 Set Weaving Gears	1.00
1 Pr. Iron andirons	1.00
1 Stair Carpet & Rods	4.00
2 [pr.?] Flat Irons	.75
2 Large Tubs & 3 pails	.75
1 Tin Kitchen 1 Brass Kettle Heater & pan	1.15
3 Bred [bread] trays 2 Iron Kettles & pots	1.50
1 pan 2 Sieves 2 Ovens [dutch ovens] 1 Spider 1 Gridiron	2.50
1 R. [K?] Shovel & Tongs & andirons	
Waffle & Wafer Irons	1.50
1 Iron & Brass Morter Tea Kettle pot Hooks &c.	1.87
1 pine Table 1 Tin basin 3 Tin bake pans	1.65
1 Safe & 1 Large Iron Kettle & Stone Churn	3.50
4 Large Washing tubs	.75
2 tin Milk buckets 1 Large Brass Kettle	4.50
1 pot & racks	.75
1 Stone jar 2 Milk Pails	2.00
2 Crockery Milk pans 2 bowls	7.50

1 Stone Jar	2.00
1 Wire Safe & Cloth Safe [wire mesh food safe]	5.00
1 Wooden Churn & Jugs & a parcel of bottles	1.25
1 Large Leather Trunk	12.00
1 buggy (4 Wheeler Carriage) & Harness	150.00
1 Wagon & Gear	25.00
1 Cart & wheels	10.00
2 Carriage Horses & Bays [?]	145.00
1 Corn Sheller [?]	4.00
2 Dagger plows [ploughs] 1 frame 3 hors[e] culler [collars] plow Gear	2.50
2 Weeding hoes 1 Grubing do. [hoe] 2 Shovels 1 spade	1.50
½ & peck Measures 1 Rake 2 axes	1.00
1 wheel barrow & Grindstone	1.50
1 Cutting Knife	1.95
17 Head of Hogs	38.00
1 Coffee Mill	3.00
1008 lb. bacon c. 8½ cents a lb.	85.65
128 lb. Lard 49 lb. a 7¢ and 79 lb. a 9¢ [incorrect total]	7.11
7½ bushels wheat a 1	\$7.50
17½ bbls. c[orn]	\$352.50
[Total]	1478.29
From which Sum 25 pcent is to be deducted in pursuance of the will to be charged to Mrs. Wheeler	368.51
[Total]	1109.78
[February Court of Pleas 1833]	

C. An Inventory of the property found by Execu[tor] belonging to the Estate of Sarah Wheeler dec[ease]d returned an oath to the court of Pleas & Quarter Sessions . . . at November Term A.D. 1833.

[This account originally ran together rather than being listed in columns.]

Household Furniture Cons[is]ting of	2 printed Land Scapes
Large Brussels Carpet & Hearth Rug	2 tin spit boxes
1 Set Mahogany Dining Tables No. 3	1 Settee
1 do. [mahogany] folding Table	1 Large Glass Lamp
1 doz. hair bottom Mahogany Chairs	1 Large Dinning Table (Injur[e]d)
1 Sofa	1 Small Mahogany Table
1 Large Mantle Glass Mirror	1 Beafat
1 pr. brass and irons fender Shovel & Tongs	26 Common Setting Chairs
2 Glass Shades	1 pr. brass andirons
1 pr. plated Candle sticks	1 Silver Coffee & Silver Tea pot
Snuffers & Tray	2 Glass pitchers
4 Callico Window Curtains	2 decanters
	4 dishes

2 Glass Cake dishes
 1 Glass Sugar dish
 1 butter dish
 2 Glass Lamps (Small)
 1 house bell
 1 doz. Large Table Spoons (Silver)
 1 doz. Silver Tea Spoons
 1 doz. Knives & forks
 1 t[ea]. Sett Gilt Edged China
 1 Set blue do. (Broken) [blue tea set]
 2 Large Waiters
 2 demijohns
 2 Wash bowls
 3 brass Candle Sticks
 1 Sett Casters (Injurd)
 1 Jar (Arrow root)
 1 traveling Case
 3 blue dishes
 ½ doz. blue Soup plates & Break fast
 do. [plates]
 2 Cove[red] dishes
 1 Milk pot & 1 Slop bowls
 2 Salt Cellars
 4 white dimity Curtains
 1 Large bed [featherbed] bed Stead &
 furniture
 1 hair bottoms Rocking Chair
 [haircloth-covered seat]
 Sofa bed Stead bed & furniture
 2 Silver Ladles
 10 Silver Tea Spoons
 salt spoon & sugar Tongs
 1 Cot & 2 bust (plaster)
 1 Wash Stand Basin & pitcher
 1 time piece
 1 carpet
 2 Mahogany Card Tables
 1 Large Looking Glass
 & White Window Curtains
 1 pr. brass Andirons
 1 Warsh bowl & pitcher
 1 Carpet
 1 Crib & Bureau
 1 bed & bed Stead & furniture
 1 Trundle bed Stead bed & furniture
 [trundle bed & bedding]
 1 pr. Andirons

1 Looking Glass
 1 Stairs [sic] Carpet and rods
 1 silver plated Cake barsket
 1 Venetian Carpet
 1 leathern [sic] Trunk

Inventory of Kitchen Furniture as follows

1 tin Kitchen Heater
 1 brass Kettle
 2 bread Trays
 1 Iron Kettle
 1 pot
 1 pan
 2 sieves
 2 Ovens & 1 Spider
 one pr. flat Irons
 2 Tubs & three pails
 1 pr. Tongs Shovels & andirons
 1 Brass Morter [sic]
 1 Tea Kettle
 1 pot Hooks & Tubb & basin
 3 bake pans
 1 Safe [food safe]
 1 Large Iron Kettle
 1 Stone Churn
 2 Wash Tubs
 2 tin Milk bucketts
 1 brass Kettle
 1 pot & Racks
 7 Stone Jars
 2 Milks pails
 2 milk pans & 2 bowls
 11 Stone Jars
 1 Wire Safe
 1 Wooden Churn
 1 Loom & Warping bars
 1 Baithing Tub
 2 Tubs & 3 pails
 1 Coffee Mill

and of other articles as follows

1 buggy & Harness
 D. An a/c [account] of Sales of the
 property belonging to the Estate of
 Sarah Wheeler dec[eased] made by
 Ex[ecut]or November 1, 1833

1 Waggon & Gear	2 axes
1 Cart & Wheels	2 Weeding Hoes
2 Horses	one Grubing Hoe
3 Cows	1 Measure
25 head of Hoggs [sic]	1 Grind Stone
25 Bbls. [barrels] Corn	1 Wheel barrow
one Corn Sheller	one Cutting Knife
one dagger [plough]	Of valuable papers . . .
1 frame	
Collers [horse collars]	November Court of Pleas . . . 1833

D. An a/c [account] of Sales of the property belonging to the Estate of Sarah Wheeler dec[ceased] made by Ex[ecutor] November 1, 1833

[All items were bought by Samuel J. Wheeler except those marked "GCM" for Godwin C. Moore or "JHW" for John Hill Wheeler—their names were written out in the original]

1 Large Brussell Carpet & H[earth] Rug	\$50.00
1 set of Mahogany Tables No 3	Not Sold
1 folding do. do. [mahogany tables] GCM	12.50
1 doz. hair bottom Chairs Mahogany JHW	48.00
1 Large do. do. [hair bottom mahogany] Sophia	40.00
2 Glass Shades & Plated CandleSticks GCM	5.00
1 Large Mantle Glass	20.00
4 Callico Window Curtain	\$20.00
2 engraved Land Scapes	5.00
2 tin Spit boxes Settee & Lamp	11.00
1 Large Dining Table In (ar) [injured]	4.00
1 Boffat 26 chairs Windsor	19.00
1 pr brass Andirons Shovel fender & Tongs	10.00
1 pr. Andirons (common)	2.00
1 Silver Coffe & 1 do. Tea Pot & Case JHW	40.75
2 Glass Pitchers	1.00
2 decanters 4 Glass dishes	2.69
1 Pr. plated Snuffers & Tray GCM	2.50
1 Glas Cake dish 1 butter do. [dish]	2.25
2 do. [glass] Bowls & 3 Waiters	4.00
2 Glass Lamps	1.50
6 Large Silver Table Spoons	20.00
17 Small do. [silver] Tea do. [spoons]	26.41
1 house Bell	.50
1 small Mahogany Table	4.00
1 pr. Silver Sugar Tongs	2.50
6 Large Silver Table Spoons GCM	20.00
11 Silver Tea Spoons	26.00
1 do. [silver] Ladle	5.00
1 do. do. GCM	5.00

1 doz. Knives Forks [<i>sic</i>] (Broken)	2.78
1 Broken Set Knives & forks	2.00
1 Set Guilt Edged China	8.00
1 Broken set Blue do. [China]	2.00
2 Large Waiters & Jar Arrowroot	1.00
2 do. [large] Demijohns	2.00
1 pine Table 2 wash Bowls	1.25
1 water pail & 3 Brass Candle sticks	1.00
1 set Castors & Lot of Crockery	6.42
4 White dimity Curtains GCM	8.00
1 Large Bed Bedstead & furniture	55.00
1 hair Bottom Rocking Chair GCM	16.00
1 Sofia [<i>sic</i>] Bed Bedstead & &c.	25.00
1 Cot & 2 bust [<i>sic</i>] plaster	4.50
1 White Bowl & pitcher & Stand	1.00
1 Time Piece (Clock)	25.00
1 Carpet & Glass Mirror (Large)	32.00
4 White Window Curtains	2.00
2 Mahogany Card Tables	12.00
2 pitchers & pr. brass andirons	1.00
1 Carpet 1 Wash Bowl & Pitcher	26.25
1 [<i>sic</i>] 1 Stair Carpet GCM	5.00
1 Bid [<i>sic</i>] Bead Stead & furniture	18.00
1 Trundle bed & do.	10.00
1 Bed & furniture	Not Sold
1 Looking Glass & Andirons	2.25
2 white Window Curtains	.75
1 Loom & Warping Bars	1.00
1 Baithing Tub	
1 set Weaving Gear & andirons	2.00
1 pr. flat Irons 2 Tubs & 3 pails	1.50
1 Tin Kitchen heater & pan & 1 brass Kettle	1.75
2 Bread Trays 1 Iron Kettle & pots	1.00
1 pan 2 Sieves 2 Ovens & Spider	2.00
1 pr. Shovel & Tongs Andirons & Waffle [iron]	1.00
1 Brass Morter Tea Kettle pot hooks &c.	1.87½
1 pine Table tin bainin 3 Bake pans	1.65
1 Safe 1 Large Iron Kettle 1 Stone Churn	3.50
2 wash tubs 2 tin Basins 1 Brass Kett[le]	1.75
1 pott Racks 1 Stone Jarr 2 milk pails	2.87
11 Stone Jars 2 milk pans 2 bowls	3.57
1 wire Safe 1 Cloth Safe	5.00
1 Wooden Churn	1.25
1 Buggy & Harness	150.00
1 Waggon & Gear	25.00
1 horse (Kentucky)	75.00
1 do. [horse] (Delaware)	65.00

1 Cart & Wheels	10.00
3 Milch Cows	35.00
25 head of hogs	38.00
1 Corn Sheller & Cutting Knife	5.25
25 bbls. Corn a 3.00	75.00
1 Venitian [<i>sic</i>] Carpet @ \$25.00	25.00
1 Coffee Mill	3.00
1 Glass Lantern	1.25
1 Grind Stone & Wheel Barrow	1.50
2 axes 1 Rake Bl measure	1.00
2 Weeding hoes 1 Grubing ditto [hoe]	1.50
1 dager plow frame & Coller	1.75
1 plated Cake Basket	
1 Trunk	10.00
153 lb. bacon	13.71
800 lb. blade [?] fodder	8.00
23 bushels of sweet patato	5.87

[The total given after the sale is not correct.]

NOTES

1. Interviews with E. Frank Stephenson and George T. Underwood, 1977–1978.
2. Deed from the Trader heirs to Virginia Camp Smith, 20 January 1970, Hertford County Record of Deeds, Book 344, 634. The site was donated on 23 January 1970.
3. *Hertford County Record of Accounts*, 1830–36, 1836–40, Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, N.C. Division of Archives and History (henceforth cited as N.C. Archives).
4. “An Act for Establishing a Town on the Lands of William Murfree, on Meherrin River, in the County of Hertford,” in Walter Clark, ed., *State Records of North Carolina*, 24, pp. 859–60. The town name was originally spelled “Murfreeborough.”
5. “Petition to the North Carolina Assembly for an act to create a town on the south side of the Meherrin River . . .,” 13 September 1786. Copy on display at the Municipal Building, Murfreesboro.
6. Thomas C. Parramore, “Federal Murfreeborough: An Exploration of the Trinity,” unpublished lecture, 7 June 1991.
7. Letter from Dr. William L. Smith to his parents in Lyme, Connecticut, 20 March 1811, William Nathan Harrell Smith papers, N.C. Archives; also quoted in E. Frank Stephenson, Jr. *Renaissance in Carolina 1971–1976* (Murfreesboro, N.C., 1971), 7.
8. Murfree & Gordon advertisement, *Hornet’s Nest*, 3 September 1812.
9. “Act to Enlarge the Town of Murfreeborough,” 19 November 1798, in *Laws of North Carolina* (1798), 38.
10. Not all copies of Murfreesboro newspapers have survived, and there was no continuously published newspaper in the town. The *Hornet’s Nest*, Murfreesboro’s first newspaper, published from 1812 to 1814, contains several interesting references to commercial activity in the town. U.S. Census records and Hertford County tax records are useful in piecing together early history and property holdings. Some Murfreesboro news is to be found in other North Carolina papers, such as those from Edenton or Raleigh.
11. John P. Foote, *Memoirs of the Life of Samuel E. Foote*, (Cincinnati, Ohio: Robert Clark & Co., 1860); Roy Johnson papers, Box 5, N.C. Archives.
12. Winborne, Benjamin B., *The Colonial and State History of Hertford County, North Carolina* (1906; reprint, Baltimore, 1976), 124.
13. “Act to Establish Post Roads . . . from Warrenton, by Jones’ Store, Halifax, Northampton c.b. Murfreeborough, Winton, Colrairie, Windsor, Edenton . . .,” *Raleigh Register*, 12 July 1810.
14. Winborne, 91–92; “Act to Establish an Academy in Hertford County,” 20 November 1809, *Laws* (1809), 25–26; David T. Morgan, ed., *The John Gray Blount Papers* (Raleigh, N.C., 1982), 4.
15. Smith letter, 20 March 1811.
16. *Edenton Gazette*, 9 October 1809, 12 March 1811.
17. *Hornet’s Nest*, 25 February 1813, 12 November 1812.
18. Robert Warren sale in *Northampton County Guardian Accounts, 1815–1825*, in

Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, *Index of Southern Artists and Artisans* (New York: Clearwater Publishing Co., 1985), microfiche, record no. 42319 (henceforth cited as MESDA *Index*).

19. U.S. *Census for Hertford County*, 1810 and 1820; Hertford County, "List of Taxables in the Town of Murfreesborough: 1815" (henceforth cited as 1815 Tax List).

20. Parramore, "Federal Murfreesborough."

21. The 1815 Tax List included a store owned by "Murfree & Gordon."

22. Deed from William H. Murfree to John Wheeler dated 4 November 1814; David A. Barnes papers, Folder 1, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (henceforth cited as SHC).

23. Thomas C. Parramore, "The Wheeler House in Murfreesboro: A History of the House and Its Early Inhabitants," manuscript, 1976, 20.

24. *Hornet's Nest*, 4 November 1813.

25. 1815 Tax List.

26. Winborne, 139.

27. Albert Gallatin Wheeler, *The Genealogical and Encyclopedic History of the Wheeler Family in America* (Boston, 1914). All genealogical information about the Wheeler family is taken from this source unless otherwise noted.

28. George McKay, *New York City Register*, and the *New York City Directories*. Information courtesy of May N. Stone, New York Historical Society.

29. John Hill Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina from 1584 to 1851: Compiled from Original Records, Official Documents, and Traditional Statements* (1851; reprint, Baltimore, 1961), ch. 39; *Edenton Gazette*, 15 December 1796.

30. Parramore, "Wheeler House," 3.

31. U.S. *Census, 1800*, Murfreesborough, 738; U.S. *Census, 1810*, with Jabez entered under "Jabe Wheeler" with a wife and two daughters.

32. *Hornet's Nest*, 3 September 1812, 15 April 1813.

33. *Ibid.*, 31 December 1812.

34. Parramore, "Wheeler House"; the two sheriff's lists were in the *Halifax Journal*, 19 December 1796, and the *Raleigh Register*, 2 March 1809.

35. Deed, 1814.

36. James Elliott Moore, "Wheeler Reunion Address," speech presented in Murfreesboro, 26 April 1980.

37. The *Hornet's Nest*, 26 November 1812, 28 January 1813. On 24 June 1873, William P. Morgan and Garrison M. Smith rented the Winton tanyard. This is not to be confused with John Wheeler's Murfreesboro tanyard.

38. "Act to Establish an Academy in Hertford County," 20 November 1809, *Laws* (1809), 25–26. This document named twenty-four trustees.

39. The 1815 Tax List does not include a Wheeler store. Knowledge of their jointly owned store comes from Dr. Thomas O'Dwyer's 1825 diary (Samuel J. Wheeler papers, Folder 1, SHC), and Ephraim's death notices in 1824.

40. *Hornet's Nest*, 1 October 1812, 15 December 1812, 1 June 1813.

41. *New York City Directory*, 1798, in MESDA *Index*.

42. E. Frank Stephenson, *Renaissance in Carolina II* (Murfreesboro, 1973), 101. A payment to Henry Waring & Son is also listed in Sarah Wheeler's estate accounts (*Record of Accounts*, 1830–36, p. 457).

43. *Hertford County Record of Wills*, 1829–1867, 56–58. John Wheeler's will named Negro slaves received by his marriage to Sarah; Sarah's will named Negro slaves and some furniture among her bequests.

44. F. M. Young, "Final Report: Wheeler Site Excavations, July 1976," North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Archaeology section, unpublished manuscript.

45. Undated letter from Emily Bland Southall to Julia Southall, ca. 1862, Southall-Bowen

papers, Folders 7–8, SHC. This group of papers includes several 1833 Wheeler letters and is part of a very large collection to 1906. It was discovered by James Elliott More in Jackson, N.C., and presented by him to the Southern Historical Collection in 1977.

46. Personal communication, Richard C. Nylander. The Brunswick & Fils, New York, reproduction of the Wheeler house wallpaper for restoration is illustrated in Nylander, *Wallpapers for Historic Buildings*, 2d ed. (Washington, D.C.: Preservation Press, 1983), 53.

47. Rita Gottesman, *The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1800–1804* (New York Historical Society, 1965), 166–72.

48. The *Hornet's Nest* mentions the dissolution of the firm “J. Clifton and Edward Wood” on 22 July 1813. A loose account between Edward Wood and “Williams & Felton,” 1815–16 (John Vann papers, N. C. Archives) details the cost of several stove pipes, suggesting the availability of stoves in town in 1816.

49. Young, “Final Report.” Other architectural theories are based on information provided during visits to the site with architectural historians A. L. Honeycutt of the N.C. Preservation Office and Peter Sandbeck, formerly of the Preservation Office, Eastern division.

50. Further excavation of the kitchen site is underway in 1994, and reconstruction of the kitchen house is planned.

51. O'Dwyer diary.

52. Waring returned to New York with “Mrs. Wheeler, Mrs. Mullen & little Henry” (Ephraim's son). Since Ephraim's wife died in 1822, this may have been Sarah Wheeler.

53. O'Dwyer diary, 21 February, 21 March, 15 April, 18 April, and 12 May 1825.

54. *Ibid.*, 6 May, 9 May, 15–16 June, 20 June, 4–5 July, and 11 July 1825.

55. Other Murfreesboro artisans in O'Dwyer's diary are coach- or gigmakers Charles Spiers and Thomas Weston. Ebenezer Slocum was a clockmaker, and Rebecca Taylor a weaver. “Granny Peg” wove carpets.

56. O'Dwyer diary, 21 March, 15–16 April, 18 April, 12 May 1825.

57. There were free black artisans in the county as well. One mentioned in the diary was “Nickens,” probably a painter, and a member of the free black Nickens family listed in the 1820 census. On 24 May he borrowed two ounces of Prussian blue from O'Dwyer to paint the preaching room in the Academy.

58. The Raleigh notice of Ephraim's death described him as “recently postmaster.” L. S. Neal, *Abstracts of Vital Records from Raleigh North Carolina Newspapers*, II 1820–29 (Spartanburg, S.C.: Reprint Co., 1979), 741. The *Chronicle*, on 7 April 1827, published a list of letters left at the post office that was submitted by postmaster John Wheeler.

59. *Intelligencer*, 23 February 1826. This is the only extant issue of this newspaper, published 1825–26.

60. Unpublished notes on Murfreesboro lent to the author by Thomas C. Parramore.

61. In the 1815 Tax List, lots 202 and 203 are listed under Jonas Clifton's estate.

62. *Record of Accounts*, 1830–36, 492.

63. “On 20 March 1826, Mrs Gordon, George Gordon's widow, conveyed her dower interest in the lots to James Morgan and L.M. Cowper, with John Wheeler as third party to the contract.” Parramore notes.

64. Facsimile on exhibit in City Hall, Murfreesboro. According to the document, seven town commissioners were appointed in 1825.

65. Samuel J. Wheeler, “History of the Meherrin Church,” *North Carolina Baptist Historical Papers*, I. (Henderson, NC.: North Carolina Baptist Historical Society, 1896–97), 49.

66. Thomas C. Parramore, “A Passage to Monrovia,” paper presented at Chowan College, Murfreesboro, 1973.

67. Wills, 1829–67, A56–58. A lawsuit was instigated by William Barnes, Eliza Ann Clifton's father-in-law. The executors paid up.

68. "Estate of John Wheeler Dect. in Acct. with James Worell and John H. Wheeler Exrs.," *Record of Accounts*, 1836-40, 108.
69. *Wills*, 1829-67, A56.
70. *Record of Accounts*, 1830-36.
71. *Hornet's Nest*, 5 April 1813.
72. *North Carolina Chronicle*, 30 June 1827.
73. Sarah McCulloh Lemon, ed., *The Pettigrew Papers*, 2 (Raleigh, N.C., 1971), 151.
74. *MESDA Index*.
75. *Record of Accounts*, 1836-1840, 107. He was owed 88 cents by the estate in May 1833.
76. *Record of Accounts*, 1830-36, 274-85. He owed Wheeler \$21.03 (*Record of Accounts*, 1836-1840, 104).
77. *North Carolina Chronicle*, 16 June 1827; George Dunn estate sale, 13 June 1830, in *Record of Accounts*, 1830-36, 9.
78. Thomas C. Parramore, *Cradle of the Colony* (Edenton, N.C., 1967). President Monroe arrived in Edenton on the steamboat *Albemarle* on 4 April 1819.
79. *Edenton Gazette*, 18 December 1818.
80. Kate Wheeler diary, Eastern Carolina University Special Collections, Greenville, S.C.; Samuel J. Wheeler diaries, SHC.
81. Deed of 3 January 1844 witnessed by J. H. Wheeler and signed by G. C. Moore on 7 August 1868 (*Deeds*, A378).
82. Samuel J. Wheeler diary, 10 December 1866; Thornton W. Mitchell, *North Carolina Wills: A Testator Index 1665-1900*. A proviso in the will was that none of the property willed to Lucinda was to go to pay Samuel's debts.
83. *Record of Accounts* (1830-36), 492-493.
84. *Ibid.*, 247-49, 285-87, 326, 344.

BOOK REVIEWS

Luke Beckerdite, ed. *American Furniture*. (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Chipstone Foundation, 1993. Distributed by University Press of New England. Pp. xiii, 298, b/w and color illus., index. Paper, \$45.00. ISSN 1069-4188, ISBN 0-87451-648-x.)

With the birth of *American Furniture*, a significant annual contribution to “furniture made or used in the Americas from the seventeenth century to the present” has begun. This interdisciplinary journal, devoted to new research encompassing furniture history, technology, connoisseurship, and conservation, will fill a lacuna obvious since the emergence of the English journals *Furniture History* in 1965 and *Regional Furniture* in 1987. Funded by the Chipstone Foundation, this journal aptly demonstrates an extension of the vision and resources of Stanley Stone and Polly Mariner Stone, who assembled an impressive collection of American furniture, American historical prints, and early English pottery.

This inaugural issue, edited by Luke Beckerdite, reflects a determination for quality and promise that can make America proud. Beckerdite begins the volume with a brief chronology of American furniture scholarship, from the 1891 publication of Irving W. Lyon’s *Colonial Furniture of New England* to the present, in the process revealing the 1987–1988 genesis of *American Furniture*. The eleven articles, two book reviews, and one review article cover subjects ranging from early eighteenth-century Boston furniture to early twentieth-century Scandinavian craftsmanship in California.

“Protective Covers for Furniture and Its Contents” by Linda Baumgarten offers fine documentation and detail photographs for surviving evidence in America and England. The embossed leather table and commode covers of English origin, and the London clothespress with its evidence for green baize clothes covers for each tray, offer new insights for the scholar and collector. This is also true of the evidence cited for easy-chair case covers over a

frame with only a linen covering and no evidence for a final cover being nailed on. This all-too-short article left this reader wanting more.

Luke Beckerdite has contributed a remarkable article in “Origins of the Rococo Style in New York Furniture and Interior Architecture,” in which he connects the wonderful interior carving of the Philipse Manor in Yonkers, New York, to equally fine carving on several examples of furniture, all which he believes to be attributable to the carving shop of Henry Hardcastle. This reader could not connect the link between the fine deep carving on several examples of furniture and the flatter (less skilled?) carving on a Charleston chair. Beckerdite uses this chair as the basis for attributing a large group of architectural and furniture carving to Henry Hardcastle because he was the “only New York carver known to have moved to Charleston before the Revolution.” The field of attribution based on carving technique is one left to a narrow field of specialists. Such assuredness in making connections like this runs the danger of mystifying many curators and collectors.

“The Stock-in-Trade of John Hancock and Company” by David Conradsen offers an extensive 1835 inventory of this Philadelphia company after a brief introduction. What this reader found lacking was an analysis of the inventory that would have offered a more in-depth understanding of the company.

Edward S. Cooke’s “Scandinavian Modern Furniture in the Arts and Crafts Period: The Collaboration of the Greenes and Halls” provides an overview of connections between designers and craftsmen and the resulting design influences and construction. A slight drawback to the article was the lack of good photographs illustrating the “blind tongue-and-groove joints” or the “Swedish joint” that marks a Scandinavian craftsman. The X-rays of joints of the chair produced in the Hall shop for the Robert Blacker house in Pasadena, California, during 1908–1909 revealed unexpected rough construction features. It would have been useful to compare this with an example of Scandinavian furniture and its “Swedish joint.”

Nancy Goyne Evans’s contribution, “Design Transmission in Vernacular Seating Furniture: The Influence of Philadelphia and

Baltimore Styles on Chairmaking from the Chesapeake Bay to the ‘West,’” reveals a wonderful understanding of the Windsor chair and its regional characteristics, aptly demonstrated from Philadelphia to Ohio. To simplify the reader’s understanding, Evans illustrates mostly side chairs and avoids the many variances found in arms. Aside from learning new terminology, this reader now understands the continuance of the Windsor through 1880—which raises the question, has it ever ceased being made?

In “American or English Furniture? Some Choices in the 1760s,” Graham Hood uses his own documentary research for the Governor’s Palace in Williamsburg to reveal the taste of Norborne Berkeley, baron de Botetourt, as he became governor of Williamsburg. Hood demonstrates how the perceived need for status apparently determined Botetourt’s purchasing furniture from the London cabinetmaker William Fenton instead of what was available in Williamsburg. This revealing study ends with the September 1768 through July 1769 Botetourt account with Fenton for furnishings. A study such as this sets a standard according to which the attitudes of royal governors of other colonies regarding furnishings and status can be analyzed.

Gregory Landrey’s “The Conservator as Curator: Combining Scientific Analysis and Traditional Connoisseurship” demonstrates the range of disciplines *American Furniture* will offer. Through its analysis of “the order and nature of surface stratigraphy” of Winterthur’s wonderful “lamb-and-ewe” chest-on-chest, this article offers readers rare insights into the mind’s eye of the conservator. Landrey begins with a study of the probable Francis Barlow design source for the lamb-and-ewe carved appliqué on the scrollboard. Microscopic cross-sections of the chest’s finish, reproduced in color with layers clearly marked, illustrate the techniques a conservator draws upon to determine whether a finish is original or not, and offers a new view for many of us in the furniture field. This is definitely a new refreshing approach for most furniture historians who are now looking more closely at furniture.

“Roman Gusto in New England: An Eighteenth-Century Boston Furniture Designer and His Shop,” by Alan Miller, contains magnificent block-front furniture produced from the 1730s through

the 1750s that demonstrates the “late-seventeenth-century baroque style, Palladian classicism” of a yet unidentified designer. The style introduced by this person influenced Boston furniture from the mid-1730s to the 1780s by the way it made architectural statements with furniture. Miller connects furniture carving to architectural carving and picture frame carving; to further tempt the palate, he also introduces painted shells. This article is exciting in that the photographs are excellent and the material makes the reader reflect on the quality and importance of this furniture group.

In the first of two articles on easy chairs, Robert F. Trent briefly reveals his thoughts in “Mid-Atlantic Easy Chairs, 1770–1820: Old Questions and New Evidence.” The article focuses on a wonderful easy chair, recently identified as Charleston, South Carolina, in the Winterthur collection. What is amazing about this chair, aside from its high style and fine carving, is that its true nature is that of a close-stool easy chair. Just how the chair functioned as such, how it was originally covered, and the rationale for its placement in a bedchamber are discussed here. Any questions Trent leaves unanswered regarding style and construction are satisfied by the subsequent article he has coauthored with Mark Anderson, “A Catalogue of American Easy Chairs.” Here they investigate easy-chair upholstery construction, citing examples from Philadelphia; possibly Winchester, Virginia; New York; New Jersey; and New England. This reader, knowing of the many Southern examples in the MESDA files, would like to have seen comparisons with the South. The influence of English construction techniques and guidelines from American price books is effectively interwoven with photographs that illustrate both regional and temporal variations, uncovering for the reader an aspect of easy chairs rarely seen. One finishes this article with a new respect for canvas fragments and nail patterns (or the lack thereof) on easy chairs and wanting more information on the use of board linings and the search for close stool evidence. The misplacement of two photographs (figs. 31 and 33) in this article acknowledges that even in the best of publications something can go awry.

Gerald W. R. Ward and Karin E. Cullity’s “The Wendell Family Furniture at Strawberry Banke Museum” reveals the contents of the

1789 Wendell house of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. The house was purchased by Jacob Wendell in 1815 and retained in the family until 1988, when the contents were sold. The authors have grouped the furniture for study into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Utilizing inventories, photographs, and documents, they have produced a remarkable volume of knowledge concerning purchasing and family chronology. This reader finished the article wanting something similar written about a Southern home, if a subject with such potential exists.

What Luke Beckerdite and the Chipstone Foundation have initiated is a remarkable accomplishment; future issues will be eagerly awaited. Finally, here is a powerful statement regarding the level of interest and quality of research American furniture has achieved. Two minor additions, an address for the editorial offices at the Chipstone Foundation, and an section identifying the contributors, would enhance the value of this journal for furniture scholars, but their absence does not obscure its merit. What a wonderful example of a new American publication long overdue.

Bradford L. Rauschenberg
Director of Research
Old Salem/MESDA

Carl R. Lounsbury, ed. *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape*. (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994. Pp. xiv, 430. Cloth, \$75.00, ISBN 0-19-50799-2.)

It takes exceptional patience, organizational skills, and an undaunted spirit (or perhaps excellent institutional support and many supportive colleagues) to undertake a successful illustrated glossary. That is probably why so few are attempted and fewer still are successfully carried out. Dr. Carl Lounsbury, architectural historian for Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, with editorial assistance from Vanessa E. Patrick, appears to have all of this and more. With over 1,500 entries and 300 illustrations and photographs, *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape* is a watershed publication at several levels.

The glossary considers for the first time the importance of how information is communicated within the building trades. Specifically, Lounsbury goes beyond the standard architectural-dictionary approach of simply providing definitions and illustrations. Unlike so many before him, he has avoided falling into the trap of only looking at earlier versions of dictionaries and rehashing often poorly understood terms. He has come, instead, as close as possible to overhearing the conversation and instructions of those on the building sites of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries. He has combed the original documents of the period—listed in his extensive bibliography—for references to construction technology, building types, building materials, and vocabulary. This forms the basis for developing a definition appropriate to a word's early usage. In the preface Lounsbury describes how terms vary with time and place, and explains that the terminology used today is often not applicable for earlier times.

The glossary begins with a general definition based on a fusion

of original documentation. This is usually followed by citations or examples, taken from primary sources, of the word's usage. These are typically the earliest appearance of the term, an indication of the duration of its use, or its geographic range. Significantly, the glossary includes terms that only an architectural historian could love and that are thus missing from the more common architectural dictionaries. But the glossary is more than simply an inventory of obscure molding profiles from the classical orders. Lounsbury includes the full range of building types, from the public building in all its variations to houses, churches, and outbuildings; for example, the terms *privy*, *necessary house*, and *boghouse* are all cited here. Further, Lounsbury provides definitions for various building technologies and materials, such as *wrought* compared to *cut nails* or *crown* compared to *cylinder glass*. So if you have always wondered about Coade stone or what the difference between weatherboard and clapboard is, if you are confused about the difference between a muntin and a mullion, or if your spell checker refuses to acknowledge the existence of the terms *crosette*, *espalier*, or *triglyph*, this is the book for you.

As a rule there are two or three illustrations on every two-page spread. These illustrations take the form of line drawings, early and modern photographs, and early prints, lithographs, and paintings. Although there seems to be space for additional images, the ones present are clear and extremely useful.

Another significant aspect of this book is the editor's insightful introduction. In this short but concise commentary on the vocabulary of the building trades in the south, Lounsbury examines the complexity and diversity of English building traditions and how they would have been pared down by builders of the American South to meet their own particular needs. Although artisans came from England equipped with English tools and traditions, economic, social, and environmental forces transformed their approach to architecture. This transformation occurs as part of a movement away from the open hall of the medieval dwelling to a household of more private and specialized spaces. In the South this specialization is witnessed by the rise of numerous outbuildings and the segregation of functions apart from the dwelling. It

can be documented by the increasing complexity of building contracts, the use of plans and professional architects, and the rise of specialized professional builders. Exposed carved framing, with its chamfers and integral moldings, was abandoned in favor of smooth surfaces that enclosed and disguised the structural elements, thus encouraging the use of cornices, joinery, and plaster work. These changes in both building form and technology would generate a whole new vocabulary. Room specialization, for example, led to the use of the terms *dining room*, *library*, *bedchamber*, and *passage*. In the South a wide range of outbuildings and terms developed, thus giving rise to *bakehouse*, *springhouse*, *dairy*, *wash house*, or, to make a finer distinction, *hen houses* in the Chesapeake and *fowl houses* in the Carolina Low Country. Lounsbury is able to map how these changes occurred from the late seventeenth and into the eighteenth century through the study of contracts, accounts, and inventories.

A book of this complexity and scope will always have its deficiencies. Lounsbury fully acknowledges the limitations on the title page with a quote from Samuel Johnson: "Dictionaries are like watches; the worst is better than none, the best cannot be expected to go quite true." Some may wish for larger or more numerous illustrations; some may find their favorite obscure term missing. Folks from the states of the deep South may feel excluded by the early nineteenth-century cut-off date but, as Lounsbury explains, the latter part of that century is marked by so much change and complexity that to include it would diffuse the focus of the book. A termination date of 1820 has been used by MESDA since its opening in 1965; although limiting, it is equally justifiable. Those of the deep South need not be too offended, however, for they are joined by Germans, Spanish, and Native and African Americans as casualties of this effort to remain focused and do a job well.

Perhaps this glossary will stimulate renewed interest among students of language as well as of architecture, so that in the future we can anticipate additional historical references that will adjust the dates or usage of terms. Such discoveries would be exciting and welcome, for knowledge is not stagnant. The continuous effort at MESDA to collect data has proven that knowledge is acquired only

through constant probing, examination, and discussion. Lounsbury has given us the opportunity to begin that discussion. Perhaps his glossary can be seen as not just a collection of terms, but rather a new way to approach architecture and how builders and occupants communicated with each other and their built environment.

A word of warning: you may not read the book from cover to cover, but you will probably find yourself compulsively scanning the pages and reading terms, text, and quotes. This book is well composed, comfortable to handle, and captivating in its detail. The question remains whether it will actually change the way we communicate about buildings. If scholarship has any impact on how we think, however, this glossary has charted a new direction, one all concerned with accuracy should embrace. But be careful—unless you are talking about a seawall, avoid the term *bulkhead* to describe a cellar entrance in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century buildings. The correct term is *cellar-cap*; *bulkhead* did not come into common usage until the mid-nineteenth century. There! At last I have repented in print for all the times I used it incorrectly.

John C. Larson

Vice President for Restoration
Old Salem/MESDA

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Members of MESDA receive the *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, published in May and November, and the MESDA newsletter, the *Luminary*, published in February and August. Other privileges include notification of the classes, programs, and lectures offered by the museum, participation in Members' Weekend, with symposium on collecting and decorative arts research, a 10% discount on bookstore purchases, and free admission to general tours of MESDA and Old Salem.

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