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THE MUSEUM OF EARLY SOUTHERN DECORATIVE ARTS

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Cover illustration: Silver medal awarded to Henry H. Bolger for the miniature sideboard illustrated on page 45. HOA 2⅞"; WOA 2⅝". *MRF 21,235. Courtesy of the Charleston Museum, acc. 1994.371.*

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Evidence for the Apprenticeship System in Charleston, South Carolina

BRADFORD L. RAUSCHENBERG

INTRODUCTION

When researching any topic over time, one uncovers documentary evidence that is unrelated to the scope of the work underway yet is singularly important. "I might use this one day," is the thought that accompanies these discoveries. Such is the nature of research. Scholars react in two ways to such unrelated-yet-important information: one is to ignore the information and the other is to collect it. To collect unrelated and often dissimilar data is awkward and difficult; which is why ignoring the evidence is a common response. The thorough and careful researcher will prepare a file folder with an appropriate title and place the unrelated-yet-important material in their "to do" drawer. Over time more evidence on the topic is inevitably discovered and the folders will begin to grow, many to a surprising thickness. After periodic review of these folders, the conscientious researcher will find that the time has come to organize, synthesize, and publish the material from a particular folder.

Such is the case with this article. The folder labeled "Apprentices" was an ever-growing file throughout a larger study of Charleston's cabinetmakers and their products. In addition, the two appendices included here can be seen as smaller-yet-related folders: one for the

evidence of convicts, indentures, and redemptioners in South Carolina and the second for the enslaved African American and American Indian labor and apprentices in the colony/state. The intriguing discussion of early Charleston's trade groups, societies, and combinations contained herein, which contributes much to the understanding of the colony's economic climate, can also be considered a product of this research technique.

The apprenticeship system, as it functioned in Charleston, has not been investigated by furniture historians as it has in other colonial areas, such as New England,[1] Annapolis,[2] and Pennsylvania.[3] The reasons for this are two-fold: First, the scholastic study of Charleston furniture is still a developing field and, second, little documentary evidence has survived that reveals apprenticeship information. The former problem has begun to be addressed by publication of *The Furniture of Charleston, 1680–1820*, while the latter unfortunately must remain a constant.[4] Thus, one must understand what information exists and utilize it as best as possible. That said, apprenticeship records, as a single recording instrument of government, are *not* to be found in Charleston.

It is hoped that this article will provide those in the material culture field with sources to understand Charleston's tradesmen and their advancement from apprentice to shop master as well as the evolution of the Mechanic Society and other allied organizations that were supportive of the trades. The sources cited in this article only hint at documentary evidence yet to be uncovered to further reveal Charleston's rich history. Material culture historians will find this article to be fertile ground for research when used in combination with *The Furniture of Charleston, 1680–1820*—especially "Volume III: The Cabinetmakers," which offers life histories and reveals apprenticeship evolution and movement between shop masters and locations within Charleston.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Before trying to understand the evidence of an apprenticeship system in Charleston, it is necessary to briefly review the history of the European and British guilds and how their apprenticeship systems strengthened a trade.

It is with obscured beginnings that the apprenticeship system is encountered in craft studies because the genesis for such a system is hidden in the mists of prehistory with the first teaching of a craft or trade by one person to another. Therefore, since the beginning of humankind's history, apprenticeship has been a part of culture. The earliest known institution to embrace such a teaching process as a system was known as a *guild.* Found both in the Orient and the West, guilds functioned much as a fraternity or brotherhood.[5] Guild development within both cultures undoubtedly began as a structure necessary among merchants. The guild merchant first appeared in medieval England as a part of town administration for the maintenance of prices within trade. The guild could regulate transactions of members and nonmembers, control road tolls, and deny foreigners and non-guildsmen shop and sales rights in the town.[6] By the thirteenth century the guild was a political body independent of a lord's authority over a town or borough. Thus arose trade regulation and guildsmen privileges that gave citizens a collective voice in administering the town.[7]

In London, the fourteenth century saw the emergence of the trade or craft guilds, which developed at a rapid rate in relation to the guild merchants. The increasing social and economic division between craftsmen and merchants caused the growth of trade or craft guilds. The evolving wealth of the merchant and the entrepreneurship of the non-guild craftsman were the strongest factors that contributed to this division. As the crafts gained strength politically, they wanted their proper representation on the town council. Through conflict with the guild merchant, whose own authority was diminishing, the craftsmen achieved control and emerged predomi-

nant. This change allowed for a revamping of old constitutions which therefore gave more representation to the crafts and in effect caused the development of a new class—one with a capitalist interest.

The newly emerged middle class developed internally and the leading crafts became known as the Twelve Great Livery Companies from which a Lord Mayor was selected. By the end of the fourteenth century the king had conferred trade regulation powers to the different companies in the form of charters of incorporation.[8] This incorporation of crafts continued and today the Guildhall Library houses the archives of City Livery Companies that contains the records of seventy-two "ancient" companies and sixteen "modern" companies.[9]

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there were craft conflicts and threats from foreigners migrating to London with new craft techniques. A 1483 statute of Richard III insured the retention of new technologies by English craftsmen by allowing only native-born Englishmen to be apprentices to foreign-born craftsmen. This statute was restated in 1523, 1524, and 1530, thereby assuring that the "art or mysterie" understood by foreign craftsmen became known to the British crafts through the apprenticeship system.[10]

During the sixteenth-century period of Tudor social reorganization, Queen Elizabeth's Parliament began the regulation of the apprenticeship system through the Statute of Artificers. This statute changed a system that saw each guild having their own rules to one of unified control by British law and "protected" domestic trade against the infiltration of foreign craftsmen in order to continue what they considered English superiority in the crafts.[11] In the Statutes of the Realm of 1562/3, the Statute of Artificers, commonly called the Statute of Apprenticeship, nationalized the guilds and outlined apprenticeship regulations. These regulations stated that a person could not perform a trade in Wales or England without having served a seven-year apprenticeship under a legal indenture that outlined mutual obligations between master and apprentice. A further regulation insured the availability of teachers for apprentices by

requiring masters with more than three apprentices to hire a journeyman for every extra apprentice.[12]

After the Statute of Apprenticeship took effect, the system of apprenticeship basically functioned in the following manner: An apprentice, beginning in his thirteenth or fourteenth year, would enter, usually through a written agreement called an indenture, an obligation with a master to learn a trade. This obligation, normally, would be for a period of seven years, expiring on the apprentice's twenty-first birthday. There were some exceptions to this term—in Scotland the apprenticeship was for only three years.[13] Connected with this agreement was commonly a fee that was quite high. In the case of cloth merchants, brewers, lawyers, and bankers, this fee functioned as a form of class control.[14] If a son of a master in the craft entered the same craft, however, the fee was often waived.

A master was obligated to house, feed, and clothe the apprentice as well as provide a basic education in mathematics and reading. Upon leaving the master, the apprentice would be given clothes and a set of tools of the trade. The completion of the apprenticeship would elevate a craftsman to the rank of journeyman. At this point a craftsman could earn a wage for his work. He would still have to work under a master, but not necessarily his original master. The choice was his. The tradition in Europe saw journeymen to moving about or "journeying," thus gaining experience and learning techniques from different masters. The following extract published in the *Savannah Republican* on 15 January 1818 provides an insightful and critical analysis of the practice of sending young craftsmen abroad in Germany:

> As soon as a youth has served his apprenticeship, he is compelled to take his knapsack on his back, and travel into other parts of Germany, at least for four years: without which he will find it difficult to procure employment, and will be laughed at and despised by others of the same trade. In most of the large towns there is a kind of inn established for each separate trade, to which all the traveling journeymen of such trades resort, on their arrival. In some they are provided (gratis) with provisions and straw for a

number of days; but men of other trades do not enjoy the same benefit [shoemakers may claim only a night's lodging, but coppersmiths may go to the houses of master tradesmen and obtain aid, therefore some trades are called rich, and others poor]. . . . The rule is, to permit no traveling journeyman to remain longer than 24 hours in one place. If he cannot in that time find employment, he must proceed further. Sometimes, however, the police will permit him to stay a few days longer if he have any prospects of obtaining work [some of the poorer ones take up begging, but if they are detected, they will be imprisoned or whipped]. . . . This foolish mode of sending young men abroad to see the world, as it is here called, is attended with the most pernicious effects. Their morals are totally corrupted; and they become addicted to drinking, smoking, riot, and idleness [many of the journeymen become vagrants, which is not characteristic of a German, they also find it difficult to obtain any work at all in winter, and suffer severely from the cold]. . . .[15]

The length of the journeyman's period varied from country to country. In France the journeyman served five years before becoming a master and during this period he was in his "companionship" or "companion" to his master.[16] In England in 1555 a rule had been made that an apprentice could not be admitted to the company as a freeman or allowed to set up house until he was 24 years old. To compound the difficulty of becoming a master, the craftsman, beginning in 1364, was required to pay a fee. Usually the apprentice raised the money for this fee during his wage-earning period of two or three years, which became the journeyman period.[17] Additionally, many companies required proof of the apprentice of his mastering the trade. This proof was known as the "Masterpiece" or "Proof Piece." Obviously this hurdle was met with opposition. Although probably a barrier for many apprentices, the masterpiece tradition undoubtedly functioned as a control for the number of journeymen and therefore masters in a community, therefore reducing competition and maintaining a healthy supply of wage earners. Nonetheless, this tradition continued until the guild system began to breakdown in the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century.[18]

In Britain during the first quarter of the eighteenth century there was an impasse between the masters and journeymen regarding apprenticeship restrictions, piecework, and the ever-present masterpiece. The growing effects of the Industrial Revolution combined with economic conditions brought on the development of trade unions, probably from journeymen's clubs that had been in existence for some time and paralleled the guilds for social and antagonistic reasons. The transition to the trade unions was rapid and a new voice was heard from the wage earner. On the whole this was true in London and to a lesser extent in smaller towns. This does not mean that the apprenticeship system ceased to exist, but rather that the strict regulations and requirements of the older system were relaxed and the trade unions became a society for supporting a single trade. In smaller towns the system of learning a craft continued in the same, usually rigid, manner.[19]

Types of Apprenticeships

The development of the apprenticeship system in England and Europe has been briefly outlined chronologically to explain how the tradition in which craftsmen were trained developed over time. However, to understand the individual craftsman and his education, one must be cognizant of the structure of the system. In short, there were three types of apprenticeships.

The basic apprenticeship was one that could be considered "of an inherited nature" in that it was patrilineal. The father–son or "generation shop" apprenticeship was usually without written agreement as such a union was understood to be beneficial to the family for economic as well as education purposes.[20] In France, when the son lived in the artisan-father's house, the apprenticeship was considered served when the youth reached 17 years of age.[21]

The apprenticeship agreement that probably was least legally binding, but nonetheless an apprenticeship, was an orally arranged agreement between "heads of kinship"—related households. In this

manner, the "extended family"—i.e., a group consisting of a man and his wife and his sons and their wives, as well as individuals outside of the nuclear family that are linked by marriages to other artisans' families and business-related families—served to contain the locality of a trade. These relationships also maintained shop style and property transference.[22]

The next level of apprenticeship, where a legally binding agreement was signed, was made between "nonkinship heads"—unrelated families. These agreements often allied trades where the apprenticeship could be beneficial to both parties in strengthening relationships and insuring materials availability.[23]

Lastly, there was the type of apprenticeship to a non-related trade whereby the child was educated in a trade different than his father and not necessary beneficial to his fathers' trade. This situation could be patrilocal, but not necessarily, as there are many conditions that controlled location of the apprenticeship: religious, financial, social, matrimonial, and parental (orphanhood, for example). The relocation of the child undoubtedly had a detrimental effect upon his identity, possibly reducing his effectiveness upon completing his apprenticeship.[24]

These four levels of apprenticeship are often found singularly or in combination as there were many influences upon artisan training.

An orphan or a poor child in England had very slim chances of becoming part of the normal apprenticeship system. A child in this condition was regulated by the parish under the Act of 1601 that stipulated that, boys until the age of 24 and girls until age 21 or marriage, were to be bound by the parish officers. The child was to be occupied in farm or domestic work and under a parish taxpayer.[25] In 1691 a revision allowed for the child to be in service for only forty days then placed in another parish where financial inducements encouraged a master to accept the child. This revision led to masters accepting many children for the money and consequently not being able to care for a single child, to put it mildly.[26]

The Act of 1722 established parish workhouses for children to of-

fer them an opportunity to learn the basics in schooling and religion along with the occupation taught in the workhouse.[27] In the last decade of the eighteenth century the charity school movement offered attention to the poor. As a development of the religious societies of the period, charity schools gave the child religious study, occupational training, and schooling. In some cases the workhouse child would also attend the charity school. Documentary evidence indicates that the child having to attend these institutions did not have much of a chance to develop into a skilled crafrsman as masters employing such children were, in large, seeking only labor. True, there were exceptions to this, but records show that children in this status were exposed to extreme treatment.[28] In 1747, 1748, 1767, 1792, and 1802, acts were passed that offered the apprentice child increasingly more protection from harsh life under pitiless masters and in ruthless workhouses. Even so, it was not until the nineteenth century that the plight of the parish apprentice was fully recognized.[29]

It was during the education of the apprentice that direction, in theory, was offered in taste, virtue, morals, etc. that might mould a child and enable them to conform to years of training in a craft. Contemporary offerings on this subject provided the parent with advice on selecting a trade for the youth as well as the apprentice with instruction in self-management. For example, *The London Tradesman*, published in 1747, contains chapters on "Advice to Parents in what manner to discover and improve the Natural Genius of their Children, before they put them out Apprentices to any particular Trade, Mistery, Profession" and "Advice to the Young Apprentice, how to behave during his Apprenticeship, in order to acquire his Business, obtain the Good-Will of his Master, and avoid the many Temptations to which Youth are liable in this great City."[30] Additionally, *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory, and the Youth's Guide, in the Choice of Profession or Trade*, published in 1761, had similar chapters of direction.[31] Other admonitions were published in many of the moralistic publications of the period. These works were also available in the colonies and undoubtedly read by some

of the young developing craftsmen prior to and after their arrival in America.

DOCUMENTATION OF APPRENTICESHIPS IN CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

Sources for documenting apprenticeships that have survived in both the American North and South are the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century records of the Orphans Court and Orphans Houses. These records often contain indentures of apprentices. Prior to the American Revolution, the South's scattered apprenticeship information has been found in court records, intermixed with land records, court orders, etc. Church records are often found to contain a few apprenticeships, but recording such information was not a standard procedure for churches. Unfortunately, the aforementioned records only contain the indentures of orphaned or poor children, thus the information is, in general, biased socially and does not represent all trades or children. The apprenticeship of the average child is one of the more difficult of this type of record to locate. Just how these apprenticeships were recorded, if they were at all, on a regular basis is unknown. The few that are in court records probably reflect an overly cautious parent willing to pay the fee to record the indenture. Thus it appears that most "normal" indentures were not recorded. Instead, they were probably written or non-written agreements between parents and masters.

Evidence of apprenticeships already formed has been found in the many advertisements for runaways and will be discussed later in this article. The records of the Orphan House in Charleston indicate that masters occasionally returned a child with the implication that he or she was not suited to that particular profession. Apprentices who continued to be troublesome were often committed to the workhouse or physically punished.

One of the earliest indentures recorded in Charleston is an agreement to apprentice John Alston, son of William Alston (gentleman)

of Hammersmith (London). John, who on 16 May 1682 signed the indenture, apparently in London, which:

> doth put himselfe apprentice to James Jones of the County of Carolina merchant to Learne and follow his Art with him after the manner of an apprentice & to serve him . . . the full end & terme of Seaven yeares from the day of the date hereof dureing wch sd Terme he the Aforsd James Jones doth hereby covenant to finde unto his said Apprentice meate, drinke, apparell Lodging and all other necessaryes which shall be needfull and convenient for him provided neverthelesse and it is further Agreed by and between the said James Jones and the Aforesd William Alston father of the said John that if the sd William Alston shall at any tyme or tymes hereafter cause to require or call home to him his sd sone within the aforsed Terme of seven yeares and before that time be compleated he the sd James Jones doth hereby covenant and Oblidge himselfe to returne him Carefully (if alive) The said William defraying the money due for his passage into England and returne. . . .

The witnesses were John Nicklis and Joseph Pope, neither of whom have been found in Charleston records of the period. The indenture appears in the *Miscellaneous Records of the Secretary of the Province*, and apparently was recorded in Charleston for the protection of James Jones, merchant.[32] In Charleston during the same year, Isaac Guerard, son of Peter Jacob Guerard Esqr., a Charleston goldsmith, "putt himself Apprentice to Maurice Mathews Gentleman [to learn] . . . the sciences of surveying of lands and all others mathematicall mensurations, plaine sayling, Dyalling, Arethmetick and Keeping of Accounts to be taught [for the] . . . terme of eight yeares. . . ."[33] This indenture is of special interest as it is the only seventeenth-century recorded apprenticeship in surviving Charleston records. Also, it should be noted that Isaac's father was mentioned who, records indicate, was a "Physition" who was granted 4000 acres on 16 November 1680.[34] During this early period of Charleston, instruments such as this should be expected to adhere to English custom, certainly between gentlemen wishing to record agreements.

It is not until the first of the eighteenth century that an appren-

ticeship for a woodworker can be found in the records. This is the 14 March 1701/2 indenture between Samuel West and "John Lebonty of Charles Town," the latter being identified as a "joyner," wherein an apprenticeship of West to Lebonty is agreed upon for a term of seven years. West agreed to obey, his (Lebonty's):

> Secrets keep, & shall not at dice or unlawful games play, nor from his said Master absent himself, nor Suffer his goods to be imbessled, but in all things behave himself as a faithful apprentice ought to doe[.] And the said John Lebonty doth by these presents Engage & Covenant wth ye said Sam West yt dureing ye term aforesed he shall Teach or Cause to be taught or Instruct ye sd Sam West in ye Art & Trade of Joyner or Carpenter to the best of his Skill & further . . . shall find the said Sam West in Convenient Meat, Drink, Lodgin, washing and Apparell.[35]

As West's parents were not mentioned, one can assume that John Lebonty was an orphan or not under parental control in 1701/2. Of special note is that the indenture was recorded on 8 November 1708, seven years after the apprenticeship was begun; therefore one assumes that the apprenticeship was over and West recorded the indenture to prove the apprenticeship. At this date West should have been a journeyman, so perhaps the registration was needed for another master. It is also possible that West wanted his apprenticeship officially recognized. Unfortunately such formal recording of apprenticehsips was not a tradition in Charleston as the *Records of the Secretary of the Province and the Register of the Province of South Carolina* (1671–1719) yield only a few records for apprenticeships.

Church and Charleston Orphan House Records

Surviving church and Orphan House records of Charleston, which have already been briefly mentioned, occasionally contain apprenticeship indentures. The latter institution was the primary source for these documents. The indenture presented as *Figure 1*, for example, shows the Orphan House's record for apprenticing Andrew Fields, with permission of his tobacconist father John, to cabinetmaker Thomas Lee on 24 November 1799.[36]

Although they only represented the orphaned and poor, both church and Orphan House records offer an understanding of the apprenticeship system and how it was used in Charleston. That the church records contained such information has its origins in England, where the poor were maintained by the church. In Charleston, the first indication of similar care was the 1712 "Act for the better Relief of the Poor of this Province," which became law as "the necessity, number and continual increase of the poor, not only in Charles-Town, but in other parts of this Province, is become very great and burthen some, being occasioned by reason of some defects in the law concerning the settling of the poor, and the want of a due provision for their relief and employment. . . ." The act called for each vestry to "nominate 2 or more sober, discreet and substantial persons to be overseers of the poor for that parish . . ." for a term of one year. Functioning in this capacity, the overseers of the poor together with the church-wardens, "with the consent and approbation of the vestry," were empowered to "bind any such [poor] child or children out to be an apprentice, until every male child shall arrive unto the age of 21 years, and every female till she shall arrive unto the age of 18 years, or be married, or for a shorter time as they shall see convenient"[37] Vestry records evidence the adherence to this law, although the entries are quite brief at times; e.g., on 28 June 1756 it was "Agreed, that Thos. Hatcher be bound to Mr. Weyman [upholsterer]."[38] The *Minutes of the Vestry of St. Helena's Parish, South Carolina 1726–1812* (p. 105) reveal that on 1 August 1758 and 14 April 1759 a total of four "pr. of Apprentices Indentures" were acquired for one pound per pair. It was not mentioned for whom the indentures were intended.

This author has not been able to determine just when the first apprenticeship indentures were printed in Charleston, but one can probably assume that English-printed forms were being sold in Charleston well after the arrival of the first printing press in 1731. Thomas Whitmarsh, publisher of the *South Carolina Gazette*, advertised in his newspaper on 11 August 1733 that he had for sale books, legal forms, and "all sorts of Stationary Ware." Among the legal

STATE OF SOUTH-CAROLINA,
CITY OF CHARLESTON.

THIS INDENTURE, made the Twenty Second day of November in the year of our Lord 1790, and in the Fifteenth year of American independence, WITNESSETH, that Andrew Fields of Charleston, by and with the Consent of his Father John Fields

hath placed and bound himself to the commissioners of the Orphan-House (for the time being) established in the said city of Charleston, in the state aforesaid, in and by an ordinance of the honorable the City Council, ratified on the 18th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1790, entitled "An ordinance for the establishment of an Orphan-House in the city of Charleston, for the purpose of supporting and educating poor orphan children, and those of poor, distressed and disabled parents, who are unable to support and maintain them;" to be subject to all such ordinances, rules and regulations, as now are, or hereafter shall be in force, touching and concerning the said institution; to dwell and continue in the said Orphan-House until he shall be of sufficient age to be bound an apprentice to such profession, trade or occupation as may be suited to his genius and inclination, and from thence to dwell, continue and serve with such person to whom these indentures shall be transferred, from the day of the date thereof, until the full end and term of — years and — months, from thence next ensuing, and which will be compleated and ended on the Twenty Second day of November in the year of our Lord 1815. During all which term the said Andrew Fields shall demean himself agreeable to the said ordinances, rules and regulations, until the said transfer shall take place, and from thence his said Master well and faithfully shall serve, his secrets keep, his lawful commands every where gladly do; hurt to his said Master his shall not do, nor willingly suffer to be done by others, but the same to his utmost of his power shall let, or forthwith shall give notice thereof to his said Master. The goods of his said Master his shall not embezzle or waste, nor lend them without his consent to any. From the said Orphan-House, or from the service of his said Master he shall not at any time depart or absent himself, without leave from one of the commissioners, or from his said Master, but in all things shall well and faithfully demean himself during the said term.

IN WITNESS whereof,

James Tilbury

his
John X Fields
mark

his
Antoine X Fields
mark

A. Alexander Comm.

FIGURE 1. Indenture certificate signed by Thomas Lee, 20 April 1809. *MRF 21,306.* (One document that has been reproduced here on two pages for readability.)

mark

Ab. Alexander Comm^r.

THIS INDENTURE, made the *twentieth* day of *April* in the year of our Lord *1809* WITNESSETH, that the commiſſioners of the Orphan-Houſe, by virtue and in purſuance of the before written inſtrument of writing, and by and with the conſent and approbation of the ſaid *Andrew Fields* (teſtified by *his* being made a party to, and ſigning and ſealing this preſent indenture) HAVE given, granted, aſſigned, transferred and ſet over, and by theſe preſents do fully and abſolutely give, grant, aſſign, transfer and ſet over unto *Thomas Lee (Cabinet maker)* of *Charleston, not to be again transferred without the consent of the Commissioners* the foregoing indentures, and all right, title, duty, *and term of* ſervice and demand whatſoever, which the ſaid commiſſioners have in or to the ſaid *Andrew Fields* or which they can, may, or ought to have in *him* by force and virtue of the powers and authorities in them veſted. And the ſaid *Thomas Lee* *his* ſaid apprentice the ſaid trade, ſcience, or occupation of a *Cabinet maker* which *he* now uſes, with all things thereunto belonging, ſhall and will teach and inſtruct, or otherwiſe cauſe to be well and ſufficiently inſtructed, after the beſt way and manner that he can; and ſhall and will alſo find and allow the ſaid apprentice, meat, drink, waſhing, lodging and apparel, both linen and woollen, and all other neceſſaries in ſickneſs and in health, meet and convenient for ſuch an apprentice, during the term aforeſaid; and at the expiration of the ſaid term, ſhall and will give to *his* ſaid apprentice (over and above all *his* other cloathing) one new ſuit of apparel, ~~viz.~~ *and Ten pounds to the Commissioners for him and one* hat, ſhoes, *and* ſtockings, with ſuitable linen, as fit and uſual for ſuch an apprentice. *[illegible]*

IN WITNESS whereof, The parties have hereunto interchangeably ſet their hands and ſeals.

Sealed and delivered in preſence, and certified under the hand and ſeal of

Benj^n. Cudworth

Thomas Lee

Andrew Fields

Dan^l. Stevens (Commissioner)

forms were "Apprentices Indentures and Mortgages for Negroes." The latter was probably the product of his press, as it was regionally specific. If the wording varied from the English form at this time, then the former may have been printed on his press. The capability certainly was there as indicated by surviving imprints from Charleston beginning in 1731.[39]

Legislation

Thus, in Charleston's early period, the poor were being apprenticed through the parishes. Apparently it was not until 1740 that a South Carolina law was enacted that regulated masters and apprentices. Prior to this, English law was undoubtedly followed for the "average" apprentice. The precedent for the 1740 law can be seen in the records of the *Journal of the Commons House* for 18 January 1729/30 when:

> the house took under Consideration in what manner to bring White People into the Province and . . . it was proposed that Methods should be found out to bring over a Number of Boys from the Charity Schools in Great Britain, and upon Motion a Bill was Ordered to be brought in for that purpose and Richard Allen Esqr.[,] Charles Hill Esqr. and Capt. Thomas Lynch were appointed a Committee to prepare and bring in the said Bill.[40]

With unusual speed, the next day the committee gave their report in "what manner to frame the Same Bill . . .

> [Then] the Committee appointed to draw up Proposals for bringing over Charity Boys & Girls to this Province Report that it has been already computed that there are twelve hundred & fifty thousand Acres of Land which now pay taxes in Carolina tis certain that there are twelve hundred thousand at least [.] It is therefore proposed that every 1000 Acres be provided with a Charity Boy or Girl which will make up the Number of Boys & Girls to be 1200 that the Number of Boys be 2:3d's & Girls 1:3'd that those Charity Children be taken from the age of 12 & upwards. The bringing over of these Charity Children tis believed will in a few years be of more service to the County then to bring in a grown people because in the first place they are not so Subject to Debauches & distempers as grown people.

2ndly By the time they are of full age their Bodys and Constitutions will be adopted [sic] to the Climate as much as if they had been bred & born here. 3rdly because they will be more sturdy & tractable and better Accustomed to the methods of the County than Grown people. 4thly for that it hath been found by Experence that by reason of the Great Order Obedience and Decorum these Charity Children are generally kept in at the Hospitals they make much Better apprentices then those who Live under a looser Education & discipline of who live Under a looser Education & Discipline of their own Parents & having no Fortune of their Own to trust to depend upon their own faithfullness and diligence to Recomend [sic] them to business. To Perfect this design it is forthy [sic] proposed that one thousand five hundred weight of Rice & the Cask or the Value thereof be given to the Mr. [master] of other person who shall import such Children for each Charity Boy or Girl in full Consideration of their Passage & all other Passage & all other Expense to the time they are delivered a shore. That Compn be appointed for Seeing this Act put in due Execution. That all those Charity Children do Serve Girls to 18 Boys to 21 [.] That the Covent on the part of the Masrs be to teach the Boys Some Handycraft Trade or the Art of Husbandry and Planting & the Girls Husbandry. That there be an Express Covenant that the Master shall not put any of those Children to Hoe in the field [.] That the Master do Covenant to find during the term good & sufficient apparell [,] Meat [,] Drink [,] Washing and Lodging and at the end of the term a good Suit of Woolen Clothes two good Shirts or Shifts [,] a pair of Shoes and two pair of Stockings and if Boys a Hat [,] a Gunn and Cutlass [,] Cartouch Box furnished & those who send for Boys or Girls on their own account Shall do them like[wise] [.] That the Children as they arrive be distributed proportionably into Several Parrishes or to the Persons Owners of Land in Such Parrishes as near as they can accordingto the discretion of the Comissrs. That all persons who having any tract of land Settled with 5 Negroes Exceeding 200 Acres Shall have one Charity Boy or Girl or pay as much Surplus Tax as 1000 Acres. That if more persons on the arrival of those Children which are Obliged to have em then there are any Children to Supply them with they shall return their Names to the Comissn & the Comissrs shall apportion em by Lott. And if Persons Shall be Negligent in taking em the Comissn shall place em out proportionally as near as they can [.] That the Persons refusing to take such Children from the Comissrs or to Enter into Such Inden-

tures shall Forfeit the sum of fifty pounds to be recovered by Action of Debt & c [.] That every person possessed of Lands exceeded 200 Acres Shall return Yearly on Account in Writing upon Oath of the Number of his apprentices that the Commiss^rs of Charity Children may know where to place em out that the Comiss^rs of Charity Children after their being brought a Shore shall have power to drawn [sic] on the Public receiver for the Maintainance of such Children until they can conveniently place out such apprentices [.] That every Person proposed of such Charity Children his tax for [?] fund shall abate in proportion [.] That any two Justices of the Peace in each Parrish shall have power to hear and determine all disputes between the Charity Children & hear their Masters to see that they are well used & intreated & found and provided with Necessarys according to the Covenant of their Indentures and appeal to the Comiss^rs if the Children shall desire it. That the Comiss^rs of Charity Children have a full and Absolute Power to do Every thing that may lend to the due Execution of the Act in regard to the Circumstances of their Duty Cannot be particularly expressed by Such an Act."[41]

At the end of this unusually long report the House "Ordered that the Debate on the said Report be reffered till Tuesday next & that in the mean time the said Report do lye upon the Table." Apparently the report stayed on the "Table" forever as nothing else could be located concerning this matter. This is unfortunate because passage of this act would have introduced an interesting labor force into Charleston and possibly provided social and decorative arts historians with documentary evidence missing during this period. Regardless, in the concept of this proposal one can find the need for apprentices and some thoughts on the structure of indenture.

It was not until 1740/41 that apprenticeship can be found mentioned again in the legislative proceedings. This was the 28 February 1740/41 act, entitled "An Act concerning Masters and Apprentices," which provided that "nothing in this act contained shall extend to oblige any male apprentice to serve after he shall have attained the age of 21 years, or a female after she shall attained the age of 18 years." The execution of the indenture for those under 21 years to be bound was to be:

in the presence and with the approbation of his or her father, mother or guardian; and if such intended apprentice hath neither father, mother or guardian, in the presence and with the approbation of the church-wardens of the parish where such person is indented . . . to be certified under hand and seal, by 1 justice of the peace for the county in which such indenture is executed, upon application for that purpose to him made by the master or mistress of such apprentice. . . .

Masters were allowed to take one or more apprentices as long as the direction of the act was followed. The transferal of indentures was made lawful "upon sufficient cause, to be approved of by the parent or guardian, or where there is no parent or guardian, by the church-wardens of the parish where such master or mistress resides" providing that the master to whom the transfer was made was of the same trade and that the time remaining in the indenture would be accepted by the new master. Also specified was that if the master of an apprentice should die the apprentice was to be considered an asset and thus was subject to transfer to another master of similar trade by the executor or administrator of the estate. An example of this was the 18 December 1744 estate inventory of Edward Scull, joiner, who died with John Fountaine as an apprentice with two years and three months left in his indenture. John Fountaine was valued at £30.[42] If the executor or administrator was of a similar trade as the deceased master, the apprentice could be transferred to same.

In the law was protection for both the apprentice from "misuse or evilly intreat" and the master from an apprentice who did not "do his or her duty." The grievance would be made to two justices of the peace in the master's county who would decide on the outcome. Should the decision not be accepted by the master or apprentice, appeal was possible to the Chief Justice of the Province who, with the assistance of two assistant judges, would render a decision. If fault was found with the master, the apprentice would be discharged; and if the fault was with the apprentice "due correction and punishment . . . [was] . . . to be inflicted upon the said apprentice." This 1740 act was made perpetual by the Revival Act of 1783.[43]

No Charleston records of apprentice/master grievance cases have been found. In other areas, such as Virginia, in Court Order and Minute books are found such cases. Some examples of trouble that occurred between masters and apprentices in Charleston, however, appear in newspapers where runaway apprentices, servants, and slaves were advertised in various ways. One of the earliest examples of this in Charleston is in the *South Carolina Gazette* of 11 August 1733 where:

John Wainwright, Apprentice to Thomas Sesion, of Charleston, Joiner, did in Company with Richard Beack Apprentice to Nathaniel Ford, Shipwright at Hobkoy, Runaway from their said Masters, on Thursday the 9th last. This is to desire any Person to secure the said Apprentices, and bring them to either of the said Masters, and they shall be reasonably Rewarded: And all Persons are forbidden to entertain the said Apprentices, as they will answer the same at their Peril

From the wording it seems obvious that the master wished the return of the apprentices, however, this was not always the case. In many instances the advertisement implied that the runaway apprentice was not desired to be returned. Such was the case with Edward Weyman, advertising in the *South-Carolina Gazette; and Country Journal* of 4 October 1768, who announced the run away of two apprentices, one:

named Thomas Green, son of Mr. Thomas Green, formerly of Port-Royal; about 5 feet 8 inches high, of a swarthy complexion, long dark hair, had on when he went away a blue Sagathie coat, red waistcoat and breeches. Whoever will deliver said Thomas Green, shall receive a REWARD of TWO LARGE HAND FULLS of PINE SHAVINGS for their trouble.

The warden of the workhouse, also known as the master, was legally bound to advertise in the "[South-] Carolina Gazette" (after 8 March 1787 it became the "State Gazette [of South-Carolina]") upon receiving runaway slaves and servants at the workhouse.[43] The laws do not dictate advertising when runaway apprentices are appre-

hended. Because of the advertisements by masters for worthless apprentices, one would think that a law requiring such advertising would have been in force. Apparently there was not such a law. Perhaps such practice was an unwritten courtesy among tradesmen.

Newspaper accounts concerning apprentices and journeymen, aside from runaways, can often be found at the end of craftsmens' advertisements. An "N.B." or "wanted" in the notice was often seen followed by an announcement asking for apprentices with the additions of "if the boy be [of] a sober family, and well recommended," "who can prove a good character," "one that can bring good recommendations," or, from the positive viewpoint, "good terms will be given them, and the greatest attention paid to their instruction." Also requested were journeymen "who will receive good wage[s], weekly" and "will give good encouragement and constant employ." At times an advertisement was placed solely for the attention of the young craftsman; e.g., "Wanted Immediately, One or two young lads as apprentices to the carving and gilding business, from the age of twelve to fourteen, Boys of ingenuity and some taste for drawing will be preferred. . . ."[45] A rather unusual advertisement appeared in the *Gazette of the State of South-Carolina* on 2 June 1777 in which John Parkinson, carver and gilder, announced that he was open for business, describing himself as "Late [the] apprentice to Mr. JOHN LORD." That an advertising craftsman would refer to the apprenticeship phase of his training is out of the ordinary, apparently the public held John Lord and his work as a carver and gilder in high esteem.

When George Watson, upholsterer, advertised in October 1788 his need for an apprentice "To the upholstery trade; a lad decently brought up and of good morals, about 14 or 15 years of age, will have the advantage of becoming a master in the working branch of that profession. . .," he possibly had in mind that this person could take over his position as the upholsterer in the partnership with John Watson, cabinetmaker.[46] In 1791 George Watson died; therefore, he might have suspected that his time was short and a replacement in the business would be needed.

Will Books

Documents other than wills were frequently recorded in the will books of Charleston County. Amongst these documents apprentice-related records can sometimes be found. For instance, on 8 April 1769, when the governor, C. G. Montagu, directed "the Warden of the Work House" that he was pardoning William Lawrence "the apprentice of John Lord, Carver and Guilder of the said Province, [who] hath been . . . on the 27 of March convicted before James Simpson and John Troup Esquires . . . of Stubborn refractory behaviour to his said Master" and was committed to the warden of the workhouse for the term of two months to be kept at work and hard labor. The apprentice, William Lawrence, petitioned for his pardon and it was granted after his master, John Lord, agreed.[9]

CONFLICT AND BEHAVIOR

An extreme case of apprentice and master conflict was advertised on 5 October 1734 in the *South Carolina Gazette* by Samuel Holmes, master builder who related:

Whereas Richard Dearsley and Thomas Caywood, Bricklayers did feloniously, Steal and destroy their indentures from their Master Samuel Holmes, and by the Advice and Encouragement of Several ill people, have Absconded from the Service of their said Master for near Seven months Inst. past, And have with abundance of Inpudence Reported, that they the said Dearsley and Caywood were not bound at any time by Indenture to said Holmes, and those two villians have offer'd to Swear the same before two Magistrates in Charleston, these are to certifie whom it may concern, that I the said Holmes, did send over at England, by Capt. Francis Baker of Charleston, Who went to the Transport Office in London, where the said Dearsley and Caywood was bound to the said Holmes, and have had a true Copy brought over of those Idenures, which were stolen as above, and as they appear in the Register Books. N.B. These are to forewarn once more all persons, that they do not Lodge, Entertain or Imploy the said Richard Dearsley or Thomas Caywood; and all those persons that have Imploy'd the said Dearsley and Caywood; without and against the Consent and or-

ders of the said Holmes published by several Advertisements . . . to pay to the said Holmes, the several sums of Money as the Law directs. . . .[48]

Aside from preventing the possibility of runaways and recalcitrant behavior in the shop, another problem facing masters was how both apprentices and journeymen spent their time after work, and sometimes during the periods when they should have been working. The primary hurdle was for masters to keep their workers from debauching themselves at local taverns and gaming houses. This was a universal concern confined to no one area, as demonstrated by a set of 1747 Hogarth prints representing the divergent careers of the "Idle and Industrious prentice." Hogarth wrote in his autobiographical notes:

> The Effects of Industry and Idleness Exemplified in the Conduct of two fellow prentices in twelve points Were calculated for the use & instruction of those young people wherein every thing necessary to be convey'd to them is fully described in words as well as figure. Everything necessary to be known was to be made as inteligible as possible, and as fine engraving was not necessary to the main design provided that which is infinately more material viz the Characters and Expressions were well preserved, the purchase of them became within the reach of those for whom they chiefly intended.[49]

These drawings, twelve in all, depict the lives of two apprentices, Francis Goodchild and Thomas Idle, and how, although they both had the same beginnings, end up in totally different circumstances. Goodchild becomes Lord Mayor of London, married to his master's daughter, and Idle is hung at Tyburn. These prints were available at 12 and 14 shillings each, and were apparently bought and, it was hoped, viewed and understood as Hogarth and society intended. Plates I and IV from this series are reproduced here as *Figures 2* and *3*, respectively.

On 29 October 1753, Bremar and Neyle advertised in the *South Carolina Gazette* that they had, among their London imports, "Maps of the world and quarters, Prints of the royal family, the idle and industrious 'Prentice. . . ." Fifteen years later, the inventory of the estate of Isaac Nichols, a St. Paul's Parish planter, was taken and

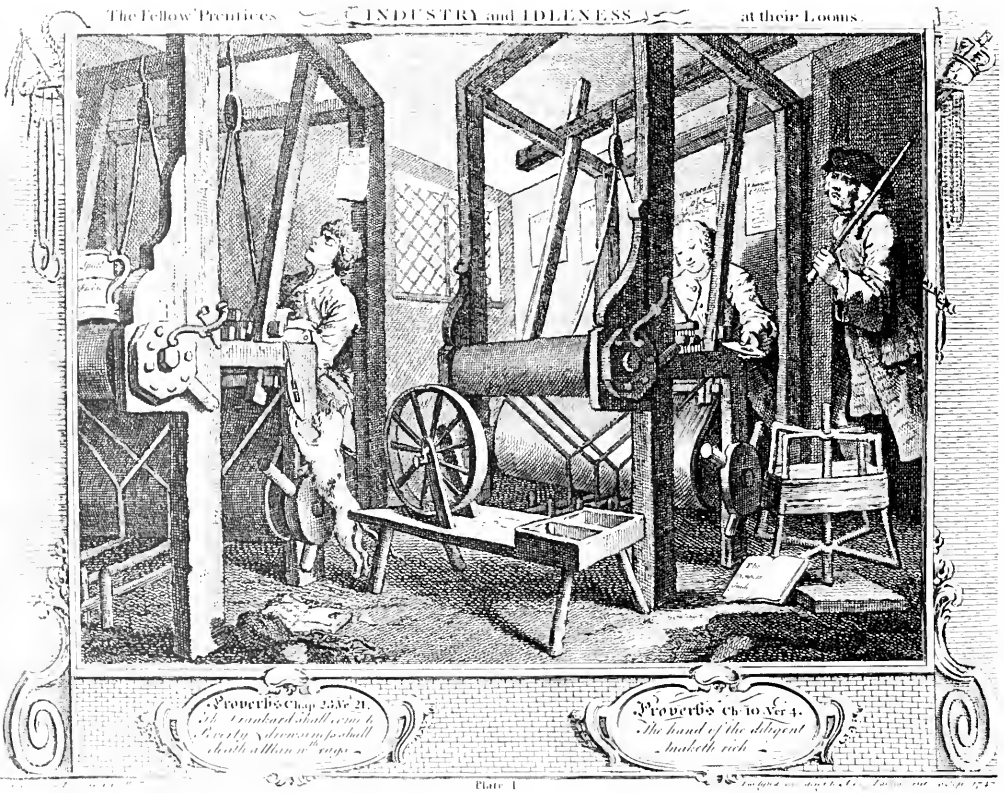


FIGURE 2. "The Fellow 'Prentices at their Looms," Plate I of *Industry and Idleness* by William Hogarth, 1747.

FIGURE 3. "The Industrious 'Prentice a Favourite, and entrusted by his Master," Plate 4 of *Industry and Idleness* by William Hogarth, 1747.

among his personal estate were "12 Pictures of the Idle and Industrious Apprentice £5."[50] Thus, these teaching tools made their way to the colonies, probably in hopes of preventing young apprentices from falling into patterns of louche and profligate behavior.

Other more forceful means were used in Charleston to deal with the possibility that apprentices might not be applying themselves as they ought. Attempting to correct this situation, the 19th of May 1762 saw passage of "An Act for the better preventing of excessive and deceitful Gaming, and to prevent occupiers of licenced public houses, and other houses wherein liquors are sold from suffering apprentices, overseers, journeymen, labourers, and servants, from gaming therein."[51] One incident that was ordered before the grand jury, undoubtedly based upon this act, was the case of ". . . Daniel Cane, living behind the Beef-Market, for keeping a disorderly, tippling, and gaming house: where apprentices and other youth are entertained and debauched . . ." which was presented upon the ". . . information of Mr. Thomas Elfe," cabinetmaker.[52] Another cabinetmaker faced with similar problems was Hance Fairly who, in 1804, apparently had enough of the situation and on 30 July, in the *City-Gazette*, pressed the matter:

TO THE PUBLIC I have to complain in this public manner, of an evil which has long existed among us, but which of late has become so very alarming that it behoves every master of a family in the community, especially mechanics like myself, to set their faces against it—I mean the practice of keeping openly and in defiance of our city ordinances, Gambling Houses in different parts of the city both by day and by night. To these nightly haunts even our young apprentices are enticed, by which they become useless to their masters in the daytime. I have myself not once, but frequently, went to these houses, in search of my own apprentices, two of which I have often found at the dead hour of night (at two of these houses in particular) in a state of high intoxication, so much so as to make them altogether unable to do their duty the succeeding day. I forebear for the present to make public, those names of the promoters of this vice, and content myself of informing them, that if I in future should see or hear of

any of my apprentices of being permitted to be at such houses, I will most assuredly prosecute the keepers of them with the utmost vigor of the law.

One can be certain that these two incidents were common, with most occurrences being settled between the master and apprentice or journeyman in the privacy of the shop.

CHARLESTON ORPHAN HOUSE RECORDS

Although advertisements are often descriptive and cover a wider period of time, the Charleston Orphan House records (1790–1860) aVord the most intimate view of Charleston apprenticeship services, if only in regard to those oVered to its "inmates." The *Commission Minutes* of 18 October 1790 indicate that the Orphan House had been established for the "purpose of supporting and educating poor and orphan children and those of poor and disabled parents who were unable to support and maintain them."[53] The Orphan House must have been successful in its purpose, for the 15 October 1819 *Charleston Courier* contained an advertisement for the Orphan House's thirtieth anniversary celebration (see *Figure 4*).

Operating as a self-sufficient organization, the children as a whole grew their own food, spun, wove, and made their own clothes, and were taught by former students. Admitted to the Orphan House by parents, guardians, city wardens or church officials, the children were indented to the institution, which retained the right to bind the child out later when a proper age was reached. The proper age for boys was considered 14 years and 12 for girls. Upon reaching the appropriate age the child was placed on a " Binding Out List" and, by an officer of the institution, offered to prospective masters. Upon being apprenticed, the boys served until the age of 21 and the girls 18.[54] Examining the *Indenture Book For Boys And Girls, 1790–1825* (nine volumes) of the Orphan House reveals each page being singularly printed with two separate indentures. The first was that in which the child was being bound "to the Commissioners of the Or-

ORPHAN HOUSE, OCT. 14, 1819.

THE Commissioners of this Institution respectfully acquaint their fellow citizens, that the celebration of the THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY thereof, will take place in *St. Paul's Church*, on TUESDAY, the 19th instant, at 12 o'clock, A. M.—When a Discourse, adapted to the grateful occasion, will be delivered by Rev. ALBERT A. MULLER, A. M.—and appropriate Hymns be sung, with a Band of Music, under the direction of the *Harmonic Society*, accompanied by the Organ.

☞ *A Collection will be made for the Benefit of the Institution.*

FIGURE 4. Advertisement of events to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the Charleston Orphan House. *Charleston Courier*, 15 October 1819.

phan House, (for the time being)." The second, below the first, transferred the child to an apprenticeship, whereby the master:

> shall and will teach and instruct, or otherwise cause to be well and sufficiently instructed, after the best way and manner that he can; and shall and will also find and allow the said apprentice meat, drink, washing, lodging and apparel, both linen and woollen, and all other necessaries in sickness and in health, meet and convenient for such an apprentice, during the term aforesaid; and at the expiration of the said term, shall and will give to [blank for his or her] said apprentice (over and above all [blank for his or her] other cloathing) one new suit of apparel, and [blank for

amount] pounds to be paid to the commissioners for [blank for his or her] use and a hat, one pair shoes, and stockings, with suitable linen, as fit and usual for such an apprentice, and furnish [blank for his or her] with clean linen at least twice a week.

Following this, in writing, is stated that if the master should ". . . return his said apprentice back on the Institution he shall forfeit and pay to the Commissioners the sum of Twenty Pounds." Within the records is evidence that youths were occasionally returned and reassigned to another craftsman—it is not known if reassignment would warrant payment of the twenty pounds by the craftsman returning the apprentice.

One of the most revealing record groups within the Orphan House collection is the "Indentures and Rejected Indentures," which are in the form of personal letters. The former *(Indentures)* being from the prospective master to the commissioners of the Orphan House requesting a child for apprenticeship. A typical example is the 4 May 1815 letter from Charles Coquereau, cabinet and chair maker, concerning:

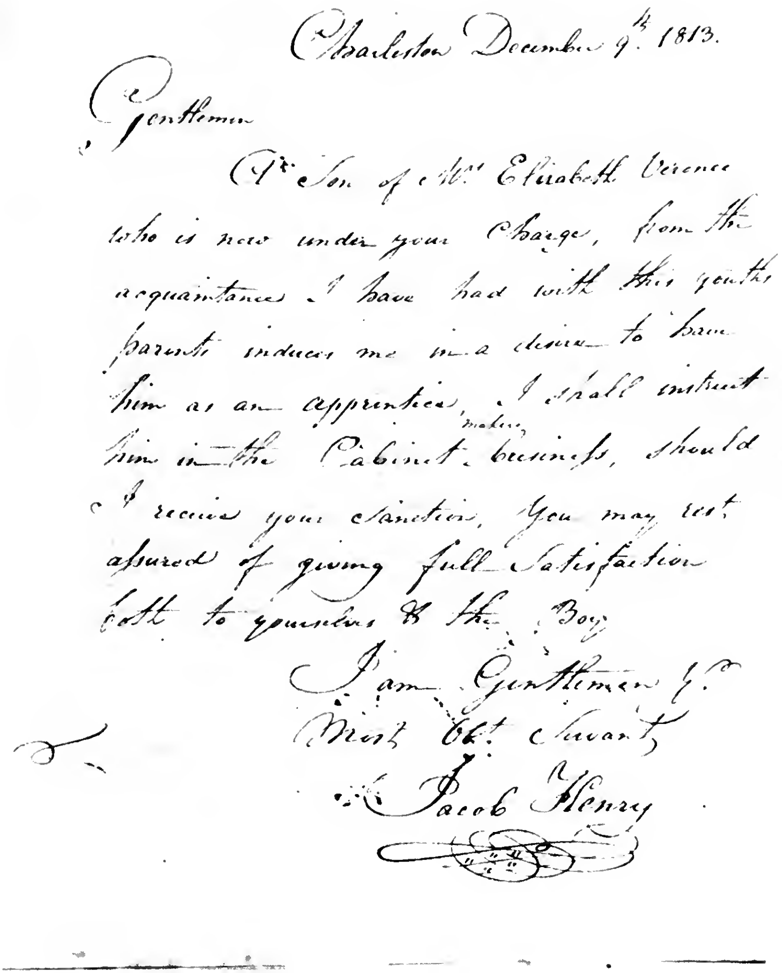
A youth by the name of Charles Gladding being desirous as he himself has informed me, of learning the Trade of Cabinet and Chair Maker, & I myself am satisfied with his disposition; would willingly take him as an apprentice to instruct him in all the various branches of those professions—provided it meets with your approbation—.[55]

The process by which this stage of request was reached was undoubtedly through the aforementioned "Binding Out List," which the Commissioners apparently utilized to be conscious of which children were available for apprenticeship. When a craftsman contacted or visited the Orphan House, a child would be selected to meet with the prospective master to discuss the possibility of an apprenticeship. Then, if the interview was successful, the craftsman would formally write the Orphan House as cited above. If an arrangement was agreed to, the same was noted on the reverse of the letter and then the indenture of apprenticeship was signed.

The child's parents, if such existed, could initiate the request through the person needing an apprentice. Such initiative is evidenced by Jacob Henry's request to apprentice William Veronee in a letter of 9 December 1813 (see *Figure 5*). Henry stated that an "acquaintance I have had with this youth's parents induces me to have him as an apprentice . . . in the Cabinet Makers business [probably the retailing side]. . . ."[56] The commissioners may have also contacted craftsmen regarding their available children.

OTHER CHARLESTON INSTITUTIONS THAT APPRENTICED CHILDREN

Beginning in the last decade of the eighteenth century there can be found institutions and groups in Charleston other than the Orphan House and churches that apprenticed children. One of these was the South Carolina Society, established on 1 September 1737.[57] Originally formed as a charity organization for its largely French membership, the society became an official corporate body when its charter was passed by the General Assembly on 17 May 1751. In the rules of 1739 are found the first thoughts concerning the orphans of its members that they should be ". . . educated and kept at the cost the society, until a certain age, the male until the age of fourteen years, and then to be bound to some handicraft trade, which he shall be most inclinable to, the female until the age of twelve, and to be bound out to some housekeeper, that she may learn to get her bread by the use of the needle."[58] The members of this society had many privileges, such as holding ". . . any Estate or Estates, Real and Personal, Messuages, Lands, Tenemants or Hereditaments of what Kind or Nature soever, not exceeding in the whole Five Hundred Pounds Sterling per Annum, above Reprises; and to Sell, Alien, Exchange, Demise, or Lease the same . . ." in order to ". . . Erect, Endow, and Support proper Schools, (provided, that the Masters of the said Schools be Members of the Church of England) and Alms-Houses, for the Relief of such indigent Persons, and especially for



Charleston December 9th 1813.

Gentlemen

The Son of Mrs Elizabeth Verence who is now under your Charge, from the acquaintance I have had with this youths parents induces me in a desire to have him as an apprentice, I shall instruct him in the Cabinet making business, should I receive your sanction, You may rest assured of giving full Satisfaction both to yourselves & the Boy

I am Gentlemen Yr
Most Obt Servant
Jacob Henry

FIGURE 5. Indenture letter signed by Jacob Henry, 9 December 1813. *MRF 21,305.*

the Maintenance and Education of such poor and helpless Orphans or indigent Children, and for binding them Apprentices, as they shall judge proper Objects of the Charity hereby intended."[59]

An act passed on 19 February 1791 ". . . enable[d] the South-Carolina Society to hold real estates of the annual value of two thousand pounds, and to bind to trades and professions children educated at the expense of the society." This is defined further in the act as ". . . apprenticed to any trade, mystery or profession, until the male child shall arrive to the age of twenty-one years, and the female child shall arrive to the age of eighteen years, or be married, or for a shorter time if they see fit. . . ."[60] It is unfortunate that the apprenticeship records of the South Carolina Society did not survive as they, like the Orphan House records, could have provided a detailed view of the mechanism of apprenticeship.

In the journals of Reverend Abiel Abbot, a New Englander visiting Charleston, the entry for 11 November 1818 includes an observation concerning the South Carolina Society and described its function:

> The benefit of the Society, however, is not confined to members, nor to their widows & children. 72 children of persons who are not members may be educated at the expense of the Society, boys from 9 to 14 & girls from 8 to 12. In special cases boys may remain to the age of 15 & females to the age of 13. After their education is complete, they are bound out as apprentices to such trades or professions as best suit their inclinations & capacities.[61]

In nearby Georgetown, South Carolina, the Winyaw Indigo Society, established in 1755 as a charitable society, apparently functioned in a similar manner. Unfortunately all of its eighteenth-century records are lost, the contents of which would have revealed the extent of apprenticing exercised by this institution.[62] The degree to which charitable societies were involved in apprenticing children is largely unknown; however, more were probably concerned than surviving documents reveal.

The Charleston Orphan House, the South Carolina Society, and the Winyaw Indigo Society educated children through their charity

schools and prepared them and made arrangements for apprenticeship. Further evidence of this systematic apprenticing process is not apparent in the structures of the many other schools of the free, grammar, private, or charity type that existed in Charleston. It can only be hoped that further research will discover that systematic apprenticing by schools of all types was more widespread than is currently recognized.[63]

One Charleston society that apprenticed children of its deceased members but which did not attempt to operate a charity school was the Charleston Carpenter's Society, formed in 1783. This society was the result of carpenters uniting to control prices and to function as a social entity.[64] The rules of the society, which were published in 1805 as a petition to the South Carolina Legislature for incorporation in 1808,[65] contain almost the same wording as the 1739 rules of the South Carolina Society discussed earlier: ". . . [females] . . . to get their bread by the use of their needle."[66] The similarity in wording almost certainly stems from the South Carolina Society rules being used as a format for the Charleston Carpenter's Society's. The extent of the Charleston Carpenter's Society apprenticing children is unknown because its records, like those of other societies, have not survived.

Evidence for Related Societies and Combinations in Charleston

A society "of the Mechanics, Manufacturers, and Handicraftsmen . . ." was formed in February 1794, calling itself the Charleston Mechanic Society.[67] A petition to the South Carolina House of Representatives was presented on 28 November 1798 stating that "They have united into a Society for the purpose of raising a Fund by means of which such of them as are successful in the World, will be enabled without inconvenience to, to afford relief to the unfortunate."[68] On 30 November 1798 this society petitioned for establishment to the Senate and, through an act of the General Assembly, became incorporated on 21 December under the name "Charleston

Mechanic Society." The act allowed the society a charter for five years.[69] A notice in the *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser* of 21 January 1801 enumerated the "act of Incorporation."

On 28 November 1803 the Charleston Mechanic Society again petitioned the Senate for "a renewal . . . [and] . . . that their Society will be placed on a footing with the other Charitable Institutions of the State, by the Grant of a perpetual Charter."[70] On 17 December 1803 the General Assembly passed an act incorporating the society for fourteen years.[71] Again, the society petitioned the Senate on 17 November 1817 for a renewal of a charter.[72] It is assumed that this was also granted.

Within *The Constitution of the Charleston Mechanic Society*, published in 1811, the rules define that the society will "consist of any number of free white Mechanics, Manufacturers, and Handicraftsmen . . . [and that] . . . of the age of twenty-one or upwards. . . ."[73] The title page of the Mechanic Society's *Constitution*, showing its official seal, is presented as *Figure 6*. As far as can be ascertained, this society did not operate a charity school or involve itself with apprenticing. The primary function was to benefit its members in need and their families. From 9 January 1800 through 7 February 1821 Charleston newspapers contain notices announcing meetings of this society, referring to it as "The Mechanic Society."[74]

In September and October 1807 notices were published for the "Charleston Mechanick Volunteers" to meet. These notices were directed at "spirited Mechanicks."[75] The nature of this organization was not discovered.

The future of Charleston mechanics apparently became a concern in 1828 as the 4 March *City Gazette* printed a letter written under the pseudonym "Charleston" in which a plea for support revealed what must have been a constant problem working in a southern coastal city:

> It is to us a matter of astonishment, that such an apathy should pervade in our community against the encouragement of mechanics generally. Per-

THE

CONSTITUTION

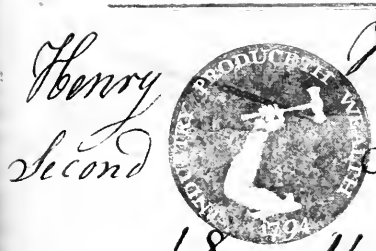
OF THE

Charleston Mechanic Society.

INSTITUTED AT

CHARLESTON, SOUTH-CAROLINA,

1794.



REVISED, AMENDED, AND RATIFIED, 1811.

CHARLESTON:

PRINTED BY G. M. BOUNETHEAU,

NO. 250, EAST-BAY.

1811.

FIGURE 6. Title page of *The Constitution of the Charleston Mechanic Society*, 1811. *Courtesy of the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina.*

sons frequently send to the North for what they could get cheaper at home, and better. Were they for a moment to reflect, they would find that by supporting our own mechanics, they would keep at home that money which on the other hand "enriches our neighbors, but makes us poor indeed." Let those who are in the habit of doing this reflect for a moment, and we are persuaded our remarks will not be thrown away.[6]

In essence, the Charleston Mechanic Society was a trade union similar to others by the same name forming in other cities about this same time. In Baltimore, for example, a society was formed under the name of "Baltimore Mechanical Society" (later the Phalanx Society).[7]

There are some tantalizing bits of information concerning the early history of an earlier mechanic society that undoubtedly paved the way for the development of the Charleston Mechanic Society. On 8 November 1745 a bond was recorded between, on the one side, Thomas Hathey, ship carpenter, James Smith, nailer (both of Charleston), and John Gordon, tavern keeper, of Ashley Ferry and, on the other side, David Morgan, watchmaker (also "Steward of the So. Carolina Mechanick Society"), Edward Richardson, bricklayer (also "Senior Warden of the sd. Society"), and William Turner, barber and peruke maker (also "Junior Warden of the sd. Society"), all from Charleston. The bond stated that the former group of men owed the latter group of men £200 SC currency to be paid by 28 September 1746 and held in trust for "the sd. South Carolina Mechanick Society." This agreement was witnessed by Thomas Elfe, cabinetmaker, Nicholas Haynes, vinter, Robert D'Arguos, occupation unknown, and John Pennyman, schoolmaster.[8] Two years later, in February 1747, a "South Carolina Mechanic Society" is named as the recipient of the "use" of an estate of the deceased Thomas Cook, ship carpenter, of Charleston.[9] Attempts to locate further documentation of this early mechanic grouping have not been successful.

Throughout the second half of the eighteenth century the Charleston newspapers occasionally contain mention of "Mechanics" as an entity; however, this term refers to craftsmen as a

whole and not an active political subgroup; i.e., unified through a common trade in a "union" concept as seen after the Revolution, but at times joining together to protest or celebrate an event. However, on 4 April 1768, the *South Carolina Gazette* announced that "the great COCK MATCH was won by the MECHANICS of Charles Town, against the other party by one battle." Unfortunately, the "other party" was not named; apparently at this time the "Mechanics" functioned as an entity. Also, the merchants were grouped together, as seen in a July 1769 advertisement calling a "General Meeting of the Body of Merchants" to encourage "American manufactures."[80]

An interesting survival that adds to the mystery of the elusive South Carolina Mechanic Society is a copperplate for two money bills from the "South Carolina Mechanic Company" engraved by Wright and Smith of Charleston *(Figure 7)*. The reverse of this plate has an engraving of William Henry Drayton, also engraved by "Wright & Smith Charleston" *(Figure 8)*. The bills are not dated but Wright & Smith were in partnership and in Charleston only from 1820–1821.[81] Also, the engraving of Drayton was first published in volume one of John Drayton's 1821 *Memoirs of the American Revolution . . . as Relating to the State of South Carolina.*[82] The bills were to be paid by the Society's offices in Beaufort. One of the bills is for $1.00 and the other for $2.00. Although the name of the organization on the plate reads "Company" instead of "Society," and the 1820–1821 date is much later than the earlier references, the similarity to the obscure South Carolina Mechanic Society is intriguing.

Trade groups such as mechanic societies hark back to the English and European guild systems investigated earlier in this article. A tantalizing case of such "group" action in Charleston prior to the mysterious and early South Carolina Mechanic Society is found in the 1703 *Journals of the Commons House of Assembly*. The entry for 8 December recorded the following: "A member of this House haveing Laid before the House a paper w^{ch} : accidently fell into his hands, which is A Combination of Joyners, . . . [therefore it is] . . . Ord^{rd}: y^{t}

FIGURE 7. Print from a copperplate of money bills for the South Carolina Mechanic Company; engraved by Wright and Smith; Charleston, South Carolina; 1821. HOA 6 1/16; WOA 4 3/4". *MESDA acc. 2581.*

FIGURE 8 *(facing page).* Print from the reverse of the copperplate in *Figure 7*, engraved with a portrait of William Henry Drayton by Wright and Smith; Charleston, South Carolina; 1821. HOA 6 1/16"; WOA 4 3/4". *MESDA acc. 2581.*


WILLIAM HENRY DRAYTON

A Message be sent to y^e^ Governor & Councill to Request them to Prosicute y^e^ s^d^ Combinants According to Law. . . ." This message was apparently "sent" immediately because the next morning at eight o'clock, when the House next adjourned, the reply was ready for discussion. The records state that "A message from y^e^ uper House . . . to advise this [Commons] House to Prepare a Bill Against y^e^ Combination of all Trades men [.] Ordered That a Bill be Prepared To Prevent y^e^ Same against y^e^ next sitting of this House. . . ."[83] Sadly, nothing further could be discovered concerning this "Combination" that caused such a reaction that a bill needed to be passed. Nor can the term "Combination" be found within the laws of eighteenth-century Charleston.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) defines "combination" as "The banding together or union of persons for the prosecution of a common object: formerly used almost always in a bad sense = conspiracy, self-interested or illegal confederacy. . . ." In the eleventh century, Henry VI passed a law against unlawful combinations as a result of confederacies by masons. These Combination Laws basically fixed labor wages and the prices of necessaries. Also, laborers were forbidden to combine to raise wages over the fair rate. Thus, restraint of trade via conspiracy was a criminal offence in Britain.[84] These laws were redefined in 1721 by another act against combinations, which in addition to regulating wages also regulated hours of working.[85] The strength being gained by the working class unions in the late eighteenth century was somewhat forestalled by the passage of the Combination Act of 1800; however, as this act was directed at both masters and workmen—e.g., journeymen and apprentices—the masters continued to combine despite the act. In 1824–1825, the 1800 Combination Act was repealed and trade unions became legal, thus ending the era of combinations and a beginning of the social recognition of the workman in England.[86]

Another interesting discovery concerning the grouping of tradesmen in the eighteenth century is the 1739 listing of a "painted Smith's arms [value uncertain]" in the estate inventory of Hannah Gale, wid-

ow of Daniel Gale, a Charleston blacksmith who died in 1725.[87] This item is representative of the earlier English formation of the twelve Livery Companies and apparently bore the arms of the Blacksmith's London Company. A similar object can be found in the collection of the Bostonian Society in Boston, Massachusetts. The Boston example is a sign bearing the coat of arms of the Honorable Company of Painter-Stainers of London that belonged to Thomas Child (c.1658–1706) (see *Figure 9*).[88] It is possible that the Gale blacksmith's coat of arms might have been part of a sign at one time, either made in Charleston, or brought to South Carolina from England. Gale might also have inherited it from his father, if his father were also a blacksmith. As this is the only Charleston reference to such an item, much speculation and little factual documentation surrounds it; however, its presence in South Carolina at such an early date implies that the common bond of men sharing a similar trade could not completely be suppressed by the laws of the colony—pride in the trade one was brought up in as an apprentice was bound to exist.

The workman's position in Charleston was enhanced in the late eighteenth century through the organization of these aforementioned societies, even when recognition was not a smooth process. The 1783 formation of the Carpenter's Society in particular met with opposition and provides an example of the concern of trade monopolization that gave rise to the label "insupportable combination." The carpenters replied to this label: "we . . . inform you, that you are at liberty to call us combiners or whatever you please, the fact is, we are formed into companies for the management of our concerns, . . . and intend as freemen to support our rights."[89] Shortly after the carpenters' response to the accusations of combination, other societies incorporated, as previously noted, and the workmen began to conceptualize the unity that first had its Charleston obscure beginnings in 1703.

FIGURE 9. Coat of arms of Painter-Stainers Company; maker unknown; white pine and unidentified European conifer; London; 1697. WOA 35¾". *Courtesy of the Bostonian Society, Boston, Massachusetts.*

SCHOOLS AND LIBRARIES FOR CHARLESTON APPRENTICES

The apprentice's education was probably assisted by the ever-increasing formation of educational opportunities beyond the previously discussed schools supported by various trade societies. These were the "Evening Schools" that provided the adult public as well as youngsters an opportunity for education; i.e., if "Gentlemen whose Employments hinder them from learning in the Day, may be attended at the said School [previously described] two or three Hours in an Evening. . . ."[90] The post-Revolution period witnessed a proliferation of such schools, some being announced as "A NIGHT-SCHOOL, from 6 to 8, for young Gentlemen whose business may prevent them from attending in the day. . . ."[91] With this availability of schooling, the apprentice or journeyman could better himself or herself after working hours.

Also available, beginning in May 1824, was the Charleston Apprentices' Library. This organization was the product of a movement to establish ". . . a Library, for the use and benefit of the apprentices of this city. . . ."[92] Incorporated on 18 December of the same year, the Charleston Apprentices' Library Society funded a full-time librarian and was initially housed in a room in the old Market Hall owned by the city.[93] Open two nights a week, the library, by November 1824, had been given ". . . donations of one thousand and eighty volumes, many of which are highly valuable."[94] An entry in *The Charleston Directory and Register for 1835–1836* reveals further progress of the Apprentices' Library Society:

> Within the past six months, there has been more done by, and to this institution than was accomplished in double the same period, from the time of its existence. The number of volumes exceed 19,000, and from one to two hundred youths participate four times a week in its sources of knowledge; two evenings in the Library, and two in hearing the lecture on Geometry, delivered by gentlemen eminently qualified for the purpose, illustrated with all the necessary apparatus. Mr. E. Thayer is the Librarian.[95]

By 1841 the number of volumes in the library had mysteriously decreased to ". . . more than seven thousand . . . the fruit of liberal donation and judicious purchase . . . ," and the members numbered almost four hundred.[96] Undoubtedly *The Charleston Directory and Register* was exercising a bit of zeal in its report, somewhat slightly exaggerating its entry. The quote was given 13 January by S.H. Dickson, one of the society's members, to comment on the opening of the society's "New Edifice."[97] This "New Edifice" was the new building constructed on a lot on Meeting Street between Queen Street and Horlbeck Alley, which the society occupied until a fire in 1861 that resulted in a total loss of books, equipment, records, and structure.[98]

The books of the library were mostly technical, including antiquities, astronomy, ornithology, and rhetoric. The society regrouped in 1873 when the legislature passed an act that changed the charter from the Charleston Apprentices' Library Society to the Charleston Apprentices' and Minors' Library Society. Accumulating new books and members, the society then needed a new home. At this time the Charleston Library Society came to the rescue by merging the two organizations in 1874 through an act of legislation.[99] Today the Charleston Library Society retains both societies' surviving records.

Upon application for membership in the society, apprentices had to submit documents from their master, parents, or guardian qualifying their background of good conduct. During the apprentices' membership, records were kept of lectures attended, awards received, and other personal history, thus providing a measurement of public trust to be given the craftsman when expecting patronage.[100] Thus, in essence, the society functioned much like the aforementioned evening schools: providing additional education for the apprentice, journeyman, or craftsman at any level of training.

Overseeing the advancement of apprentices to journeymen may have also been a function of the Apprentices' Library Society in Charleston. Evidence has been found for at least one competition that placed the work of apprentices in a contest against their peers. The survival of a fascinating miniature sideboard in the collection of the Charleston Museum *(Figure 10)* leads to this evidence. An ap-

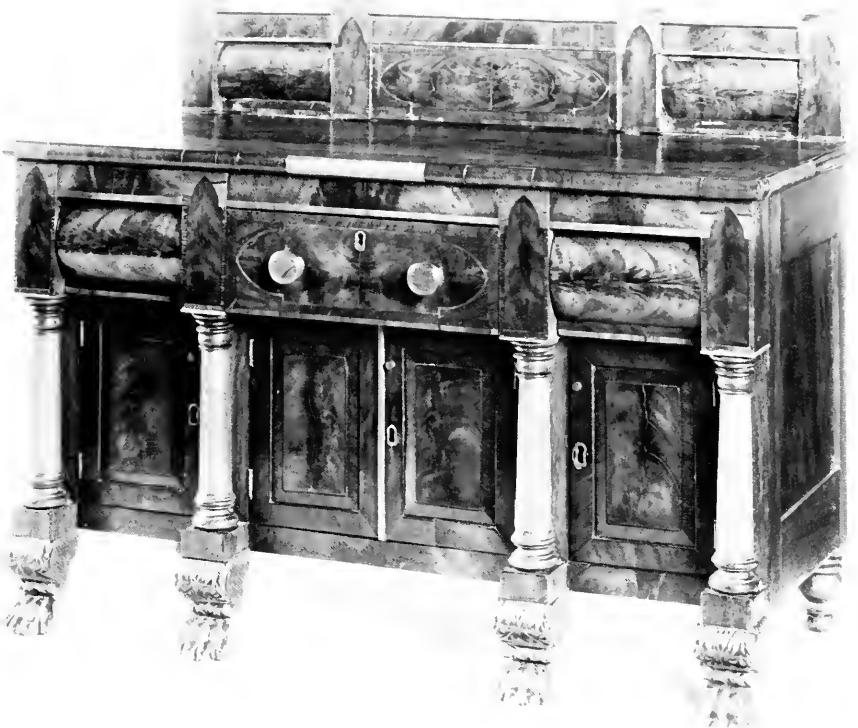


FIGURE 10. Miniature sideboard by Henry H. Bolger; mahagony with mahogany veneer, ash, and maple; Charleston, South Carolina; 1831. HOA 18¼″; WOA 24″; DOA 10¾″. *MRF 21,235. Photography by Gavin Ashworth, NYC. Courtesy of the Charleston Museum, acc. 1904.37.1.*

prentice cabinetmaker named Henry Bolger made the miniature sideboard, which measures 24″ wide by 18-1/4″ and 10-3/4″ deep. Interestingly, in 1831, Bolger must have entered his miniature sideboard in a competition of some kind because he received an engraved silver pendant from the Charleston Apprentices' Library Society that awarded his work as first prize for "the best Specimen of Cabinet Ware" *(Figure 11)*. The survival of Bolger's miniature sideboard and the medal awarded to him for his accomplishment (including its cotton drawstring bag) shed intriguing light on the role that the Apprentices' Library Society may have played in advancement of the city's craftsmen in training. The shared characteristics between the masterpiece tradition of the British and European guilds and the Apprentices' Library Society's competition that Bolger won in 1831 are startling and lead to some intriguing and tempting assumptions about the persistence of ancient rites of passage and the usefulness of a regulated system for apprentice advancement. Unfortunately, more evidence is needed before any conclusions can be made about the Apprentices' Library Society's role in "graduating" apprentices to journeymen.

Charleston was not the only city in which an apprentices' library developed. Similar efforts, also known as mechanics' libraries, witnessed fruition in Boston (1820), New York (1820), Philadelphia (1821), Baltimore (1822), and Cincinnati (1835).[101]

The fire of 1861 was a most unfortunate disaster, for it destroyed the Charleston Library Society's building that probably housed an interesting selection of books, maps, and documents dating from the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.

CONCLUSION

Despite the lack of a uniform procedure for recording and filing apprenticeship information in Charleston, much knowledge can be gleaned from a variety of sources. With a better understanding of the systems in which the artisans worked, the contemporary scholar,

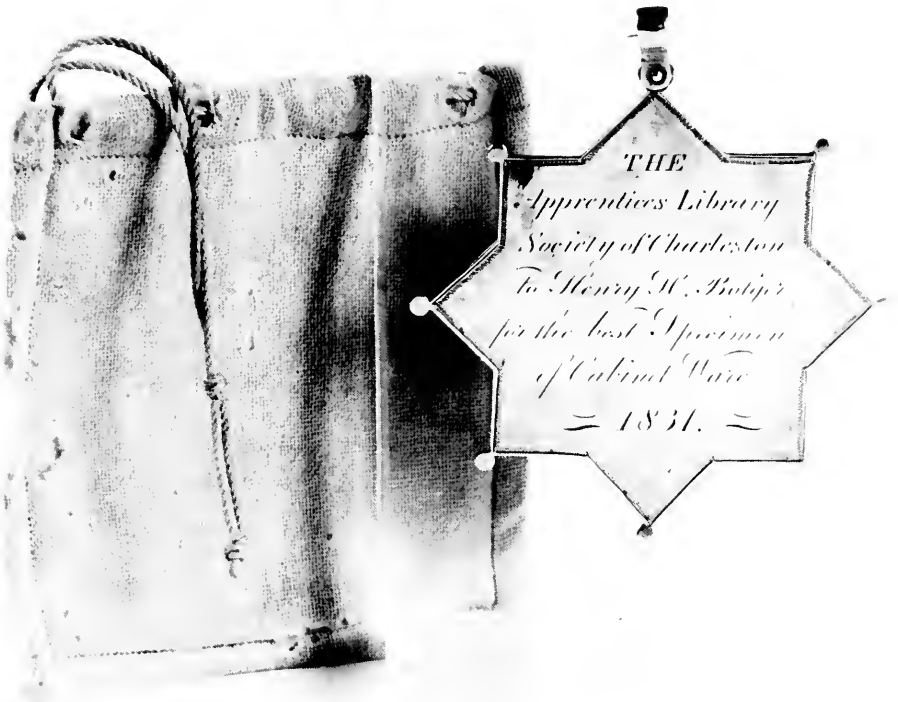


FIGURE 11. Silver medal awarded to Henry H. Bolger for the miniature sideboard in *Figure 10*. HOA 2⅞"; WOA 2⅝". *MRF 21.235. Photography by Gavin Ashworth, NYC. Courtesy of the Charleston Museum, acc. 1994.371.*

dealer, and collector is better prepared to explore and discuss the artifacts produced by Charleston's shop masters, journeyman, and apprentices.

The elusive nature of the material cited in this article has yet to yield evidence for understanding the exact function of apprentices in Charleston shops. One can understand their role in generic terms, but how apprentices spent their days at work remains in obscurity—as does an understanding of which examples of furniture most reflect the hand of apprentices during production. In coastal cities the haziness of the apprentices' role stands in sharp contrast to the Backcountry, where many times isolation has allowed for a more complete understanding of the products of specific shops as well as the people that worked in the shop—including the often-overlooked apprentices.

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APPENDIX A

Convicts, Indentures, and Redemptioners in South Carolina

"Whoever is resolv'd to transport themselves to Carolina . . ."[102]

The discussion on the guild systems in Europe and Britain presented in the main text of this article has revealed the background of the craftsmen that came to America and suggests the "mind-set" of the training that prepared the emigrant for the colonies. Documentary research, in turn, demonstrates that over half of the white immigrants to the colonies arrived as "bound servants."[103] Of these, there were three types: convicts, indentured servants, and redemptioners.

Convicts

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century the English convict trade was considerable. The West Indies was the early recipient of labor from this element of society as labor was badly needed for the fields. After 1713, with the ending of the wars with France and the finding an excess of armies and prisoners, England needed a stronger control for the administration and transportation of convicts to the colonies. This was accomplished in 1717 with the passage of a British act enabling a convict to serve in the colonies seven years on a minor crime and fourteen years for a major crime as an alternative to prison. Evidence suggests that Chesapeake planters were the greatest purchaser of convicts. The value of this type of servant was less than one-third the price of an African slave, and thus was the major inducement for purchasing convict labor. However, this method of acquiring cheap labor was short-lived in most of the colonies. By 1770 all of the colonies had abolished the practice of accepting convicts, with the exception of Maryland. There is scant evidence in South Carolina for the direct arrival of convict labor. The method by which some of these convicts arrived were as indentured servants; however, the early use of convicts was for field labor, the shift to enslaved labor obviously negated their sustained usage.[104]

Indentures

The arrival in South Carolina of children of indentured servants and unescorted children under 20 years of age apparently became a problem: On 9 April 1687 there was an act ratified under the title "An Act for Servants Hereafter Arriving Without Indentures or Contracts." This act attempted to correct the possibility of all fraud or any other differences that may occur between masters and servants. The act acknowledged that servants ". . . do arrive in this Province without Indentures or other contracts . . .

> . . . [thus] . . . all persons hereafter arriving in this Province without indentures or contracts, under the age of ten yeares old, (and) shall serve till that they arrive at the age of twenty one yeares old, and under the age of fifteen years, and above ten, shall serve the terme of seaven yeares, and others that arrive without indentures or contracts from Europe, above the age of fifteen yeares old, to serve five years; and all persons hereafter arriving in this Province from the Island of Barbadoes or any other place of America, who were some tyme before inhabittory there without indenture or contract, under the age of fifteen yeares and above ten, shall serve the space and tyme of seaven yeares, from and after their arrivall hereafter in this Province, to such person or persons as theire masters or mistresses, who by the consent or agreement of such person or persons have or shall pay for their passage. But, any servant or servants that shall arrive from Barbadoes or any other place in America, of the age of fifteen yeares and upwards, without indenture or contract, shall serve the space and tyme of five yeares, from and after their arrival in this Province . . . [further] . . . servants that may arrive without indentures or contracts, to bee by theire said masters brought before the Grand Counsell, within six months after the arrival . . . whose severall ages shall bee adjudged . . . [and] . . . may have and receive from the master or masters of such servant or servants, att and upon the expiration of theire terme of service . . . one suit of Apparell, one barrel of Indian Corne, and one Axe and Hoe.[105]

The 9 April 1687 act was extended in the act of 11 December 1717 entitled "An Act for the Better Governing and Regulating White Servants." In the 1717 act, indentured servants over 15 years of age and under 21 were required to enter into an indenture with a master of a ship or his designate for passage to the plantations for a term not exceeding eight years. The 1717 act also enumerated all possible ramifications of a servant's service and the master's role into twenty-four parts:

> . . . contract of service and certificate of freedom, trans-colonial transfer, age verification [as per 1687 act], commencement of service, invalidity of indenture extension, invalidity of public trading with servant without permission, penalties for violence against master and for absenteeism, runaway verification and penality for harbouring, penality for certificate denial, certificate of performance of first contract, felon status for runaway with slaves, injury recourse for servants, penality on tavernkeepers, taking up of runaways, punishment of runaways, punishment of servants for violation of laws, property of servants, masters penalized for turning away sick servants, pregnancy regulations on bastardy, pregnancy regulations on mulatto conceivement, cloathing allowance at freedom, dispute settlement, and the repeal of the 1695 and 1696 "Act Inhibiting the Trading With Servants and Slaves."[106]

This 1717 act was repealed on 29 May 1744 and replaced with an "Act For The Better Governing and Regulating White Servants" containing thirty parts. Additions to the earlier act included: A note of travel beyond two miles, regulations of work house official, certificate to travel for freemen and their use on ferries, regulations for the legal and illegal transfer of servants by ferry and schedule of resulting fee payments and recipients, and limits of military exemption.[107]

The majority of indentured servants were under 24 years of age, male, and of an agricultural, textile, or unskilled occupational level. Most represented the lower level of the middle class. In the colonies, during the period of the indenture, the servant quite often changed owners after being bought to meet the labor demand. No matter how experienced in a skill or trade the indentured servant was in Britain, the actual chance that they followed that trade in the colonies was slim. For the fortunate individual learning a trade during the indenture, the opportunity for class mobility was much stronger. The route to the colonies as an indentured servant was a way for a young person to start a life and escape the cultural difficulties within his social station. For some it indeed became a fresh beginning, developing into a prosperous future; however, for most it was an unsettling situation fraught with difficulties, but one better than would have been available to them in Britain, Ireland, or Europe.[108]

Aside from the European migration of indentured servants into Charleston there is occasional evidence that American Indians also became indentured servants. One such instance is seen in the 1683 will of a farmer, William Jackson, who left his ". . . Indian Dan serving time as per Indenture & my Indian boy serveing seaven yeares . . . [to] . . . Milleson Jackson & then to be free. . . ."[109] This particular case is unusual in that the master can only be identified as a farmer and just why an American Indian should indenture himself is unclear; however, there are other similar incidents involving Indians learning trades. Their status was unclear, and they were probably treated as slaves.

Personal correspondence concerning eighteenth- and nineteenth-century servants

rarely survived. One that did was revealed in a letter from Robert Pringle, the Charleston merchant/factor, to his brother, Andrew, a London merchant, on 22 November 1740 regarding the disastrous fire of 18 November that consumed ". . . about three hundred dwelling Houses besides a great many stores. . . ." Robert stressed ". . . the dismal schene [sic] which much surpassed anything I ever saw of that nature & is a vast loss & Calamity to this Province, the best part of this Town being laid in Ashes . . . There will be a great deal of Building here. . . ." He followed by requesting ". . . if you can Indent Two House Carpenters as Servants for four years. . . ." This implied that two men who were either journeymen or masters wanting to move to Charleston via the way of servitude as passage repayment were desired. Because of this great need, it can be assumed that the craftsmen were put to work in their trade and not into the field as enslaved labor was filling this need.[110]

Evidence of the importation of trained craftsmen as indented servants into Charleston, whether as master, journeyman, or apprentice, is more forthcoming in public rather than personal accounts. In 1750, the following notice appeared in the *South Carolina Gazette* of 3 December: "SEVERAL indented English Servants, among them a Taylor, an Upholsterer, a Press-Maker and Joyner, and a Girl about 15 or 16 years of age, just arrived from London, in the Billander Stephen & Mary. Any persons inclined to purchase their time, may treat with Capt. Philip Payne, . . . at Elliot's wharf. . . ." Another announcement, dated 26 November 1753, proclaimed the ship *Industry*'s entry in the Charleston port, from Leith, Scotland, under the command of Andrew Cowan master. Some of its contents, ". . . floor carpets . . . fine mahogany desks and [chest of] drawers . . ." were for sale, and the advertiser also added ". . . to dispose of, several Tradesmen of good-characters, . . . [of] . . . under four years indentures, amongst whom are joiners, house, carpenters and shipwrights. . . ."[111]

Among the arrivals there were many who had landed in Charleston free of a restrictive indenture. Such was the case of Richard Fowler, who advertised in October 1765 that he was an "UPHOLSTERER from LONDON, And late assistant to Mr. John Blott . . . [and that] . . . he will answer to compleat in as neat a manner as any person in the City of London, having served his time there, and in a Freeman of the City [of Charleston]."[112] The methodology of attracting people such as Fowler and the many other indentured servants to Charleston should be briefly examined in order to understand their motives.

How the trained or untrained person was lured to Charleston, aside from "word of mouth," can be found in promotional literature that appeared in the last decades of the seventeenth century and continued through the first three decades of the eighteenth century. In order to be available to the largest audience, this material appeared in several languages describing the total scene of Carolina with all of its potential as a land to which one should move. The encouragement for such promotional literature was the 3 November 1698 Act that offered bounties for imported servants entitled "An Act for the Encouragement of the Importation of White Servants." Under this act land was granted to all who came as freemen, servants "out of their time," and those who brought in both servants as well as slaves.[113] As will be seen with the "redemptioner," this inducement was at times carried to the extreme. Of course, as a promotional medium, the authors of these writings often stretched the truth; however, the documents that survive are enlightening if the historian views them with a discerning eye. One such document is the *Profitable*

Advice for Rich and Poor in a Dialogue, or Discourse between James Freeman, a Carolina Planter, and Simon Question, a West-Country Farmer, which was printed as a book by J. How in London in 1712 and authored by John Norris. The body of the text, a conversation between Freeman and Question, reveals to the reader an appealing picture of Carolina that is followed by a promotional advertisement at the end of the book. The latter, an explanation of how to contact the agent concerning the voyage, was directed to "Whoever is resolv'd to transport themselves to Carolina as servants, or tenants, . . . [and] . . . Whovever is encourag'd and resolves to go to Carolina as free Passengers, or servants, thro' the encouragement they find contain'd in this book . . ." were to contact ". . . Mr. Davis, book-binder, in Bridgewater . . . in writing. . . ." Within the body of the text is an interesting answer concerning what occurs when the voyager is free of his four years servitude: "When a servant hath serv'd his time, he may, on request to the proper officer, have land assign'd him from the lords propriertors as an encouragement to people to resort thither, only paying a small yearly rent, and then, if he is an industrious labouring man, he may be credited by the towns merchants, or shop-keepers, for necessary implements for his present use . . . [and eventually] . . . purchase slaves to work with him in his plantation."[114]

Redemptioners

The "redemptioner" was, in most cases, the most unfortunate of the bound servants. Taken to the colonies with a number of days in which to find a master who would pay for or redeem their passage, the redemptioner most often failed in the attempt and was disposed of to suit the master of the vessel. The redemptioner generally arrived in the colonies as a family or community group. Attracted by the aforementioned persuasive advertising, peasants from the Palatinate and Rhineland migrated in large numbers, sometimes settling in villages created for them. Such is the case of Purrysburg and Saxe-Gotha, both in South Carolina, which received an influx of German speaking settlers from 1732 to the 1750s. They were lured to Carolina with inducements of land and money and aggrandizement of living conditions and opportunities—both of which were cosponsored by the Provincial Council and unscrupulous "Bounty Agents."

The colonial encouragement was an act passed in 1735 numbered 593 "to Provide a full Supply [of money] for Subsisting Poor Protestants Coming From Europe" that provided the impetus for official encouragement augmenting the many self-styled "Bounty Agents."[115] Expecting much yet mostly disappointed, and facing disease and starvation, the redemptioners were not unlike most settlers who entered the colonies with little funds and no guarantor.[116]

One of the major reasons for the official backing of the importation of European settlers was the increasing consciousness of the disproportionate ratio of African slaves to whites, which by 1720 is estimated to be 11,828 Africans to 6,525 Europeans and by 1740 was 39,155 to 20,000, respectively. The reason for this increasing inequality was the ever-developing need for more enslaved labor to be utilized in connection with the escalating rice economy. As the number of slaves increased, a consciousness within the "slave community" developed and with it a survival system that expanded into the white community in a subversive manner. This development became commonplace in both the Caribbean and Charleston, resulting in unrest among the enslaved and uneasiness among

the whites. Revolts had begun within the Caribbean with increasing loss of European lives. Such was the fear of similar revolts in Charleston that the colonial Assembly in 1727 passed "An Act for the better Securing this Province from Negroes Insurrections, & For Encouraging of Poor People by Employing them in Plantations."[117] On 9 September 1739, after continuing tensions and increasing incidents of "runaways," slaves revolted in St. Paul's Parish, just west of Charleston, on the western branch of the Stono River. This "Stono Rebellion," as it has become to be known, lasted only a day—however, some of the participants eventually took a month to capture.[118] The fear of further revolts resulted in the passage of the "Act for the better Ordering and Governing Negroes and other Slaves in this Province" on 10 May 1740 and a duty to limit the importation of slaves by "Granting to His Majesty Certain Taxes and Impositions on the Purchasers of Negroes Imported . . . ," which passed on 5 April 1740.[119]

A vivid advertisement illustrative of the dilemma often faced by the arriving redemptioner, as a result of the bounty agents, appeared in 1744 when John Fowler announced in the *South Carolina Gazette* that "HEN:RIGBY, House Carpenter and Joiner, his wife & a Daughter, are brought over into this Province, in the Snow Loyality, John Fowler, Master, from Liverpoole: They say they have a Relation in the said Province named Thomas Rothall. This is therefore to give Notice to the said Rothall (if he is in this Province), that unless their Passages from Liverpoole is immediately paid, the said Rigby will be sold as a Servant for the same. . . ."[120]

APPENDIX B

Enslaved African and American Indian Labor and Apprentices

The duties charged on importation of enslaved Africans after April 1740 and the use of finances raised by such duties to "encourage" the emigration of settlers has been briefly discussed in Appendix A. The presence of African slaves in the Lowcountry was of such agricultural necessity that had it not been allowed—as occurred at the beginning of the Georgia settlement at Savannah—Charleston's economic success would have been improbable.[121] The use of enslaved labor by English colonizers had been established in the West Indies since the settlement of Barbados in 1627. The initial chief suppliers of slaves to the Barbadians were the Dutch and later the English-operated Guinea Company.[122] Based on this precedent, it is logical to find a pattern of enslavement when Barbadians settled Carolina in 1670.

The accepted attitude of settlers in Carolina was that "Every Freeman of Carolina, shall have absolute power and authority over Negroe slaves, of what opinion or Religion soever."[123] Firmly embracing this position, Lowcountry settlers acquired slaves at a rate of

27 to 30 percent of the white population in the first years of the colony as the need for arms bearers, land clearers, and livestock keepers increased.[124] The livestock trade supplied the markets of Barbados, which in return provided a much-needed source of capital for growth. In the last decade of the seventeenth century, however, the shift in the Lowcountry's staple crop to rice had begun and consequently so had a racial shift in the population. After 1708 the number of enslaved Africans in the colony of South Carolina began to outnumber the whites.[125] In that same year of 1708 the number of enslaved American Indian slaves was 1,400, which was half that of African slaves.[126]

American Indian slaves were an important part of the massive Indian trade, in which Charleston led the colonies. Beginning with the settling of the Lowcountry, many colonists found that involvement with the Indian trade realized returns quicker than those seen by planters. The principal contacts in this trade were the Cherokees, who rapidly found and enjoyed the benefits of acquiring European goods. To satisfy their newly discovered penchant for European goods, the Cherokees supplied skins—chiefly deer—to traders, who chiefly used Fort Moore as their trading post. The extent of the Indian trade and its economic importance to Charleston is beyond the scope of this study; but to generalize, the trade continued throughout the colonial period with considerable income being produced, although it was quickly depressed during the Cherokee conflict of 1728–1730.[127] Together with the skins, American Indians of opposing tribes were captured chiefly by the Cherokees to supply the colonists' need for labor in Charleston as well as the other colonies and the West Indies. This trade in enslaved American Indians was considerable and continued until the volume of incoming African slaves made Indian acquisition no longer desirable. Also, colonists believed that the African slave could be worked with greater success than the American Indian.

A few surviving records reflect incidents of enslaved American Indians being used as craftsmen. In 1716 the will of Edmund Bellinger, from Charleston, allowed the discharge of ". . . Phillis, wife of Indian Cuffy Yamesa from being my Slave. . . ."[128] William Scott, cabinetmaker of Edisto Island, possessed an American Indian boy valued at £120. This boy was Scott's only recorded slave when his inventory was taken in 1722.[129] Specific trades of enslaved American Indians can be seen in an advertisement of a runaway in 1738 who "is a good Carpenter and Wheelwright, a short well set fellow."[130]

There is no surviving evidence for enslaved or free American Indians being used to any extent in the cabinetmaking trade.

The need for slaves was not, at first, directly related to the cultivation of rice because the export of naval stores, meat, and deerskins continued to dominate Lowcountry commerce. By the middle of the first decade of the eighteenth century, however, it was apparent that rice was becoming the prime economic base and slave labor was being eagerly sought.[131] Although the basic use of the slave in Carolina was agricultural, it was quickly realized that other uses could be made of the more capable workers to evolve a more leisurely lifestyle for the developing plantation society. Early evidence for this is seen in 1687 when a letter from Edmund White of London to Joseph Morton, Governor of Charleston, pointed out that ". . . let y^{r} negroes be taught to be smiths[,] shoemakers & carpenters & bricklayers: they are capable of learning anything & I find when they are kindly used & have their belly full of victualls and cloathes, they are the truest servants. . . ."[132] This sentiment of African slaves as "the truest servants" was common in

England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as the African was looked upon as unusual and therefore probably seen as one of the valued "collectables" of the period.[144] This opinion soon changed when the triangular trade of the eighteenth century introduced large volumes of African slaves into England, in short the novelty soon wore off and problems quickly emerged resulting in ill-treatment and runaways.

The extent to which Lowcounrry African slaves were used as artisans is a topic that has been approached by other authors; however, it is apparent that very little evidence of such enslaved artisans found its way into the written record, especially that which relates to cabinetmaking and its allied trades.[134] Nonetheless, what remains of contemporary evidence for enslaved African apprenticeship in Charleston needs to be chronologically presented. But first, a short history of African slaves in Charleston from 1704–1740 needs to be viewed to understand the effect this work force had upon society and mechanics.

After 1708 Africans outnumbered European colonists in South Carolina. This was a recognized statistic because in 1704 an act was passed ". . . for Raising and Enlisting such Slaves as shall be thought servicable to this Province in Time of Alarms."[135] The usage of this act was well received by colonists at the outbreak of the Yamasee War of 1715—almost half of the army raised was African.[136] The effectiveness of enslaved Africans in this and earlier conflicts with American Indians caused concern that the increasing African popularion could overpower the European settlers.[137] As a result, the trend of importing large numbers of enslaved Africans, which had begun in 1670, was addressed with the 1690 "Act for the Better Ordering of Slaves."[138]

The 1740 ". . . Act for rhe Better Ordering and Governing Negroes and Other Slaves in this Province" was a prime departure from the 1690 code of slavery in that the 1740 act declared that slaves were the personal property of their masters and included strict restrictions regarding slave alcohol consumption, assembly, and schooling; although the act still maintained earlier leniency and protection clauses.[139] The 1740 act was a direct result of the 9 September 1739 "Stono Rebellion."[140] In some ways the 1740 revision of the act relaxed restrictions on slaves. For example, the act allowed the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) to operate a school for Africans in Charleston.[141] This school apparently was a continuation of an earlier SPG school (in 1712) that Rev. Dr. Francis LeJau established at Goose Creek for white settlers, American Indians, and Africans.[142] Further, in 1742, Dr. Alexander Garden founded a school for African slaves that continued until 1774.[143]

Thus, by 1740, with the African slave and European colonist populations about two to one, fear of racial revolt was ubiquitous as the enslaved African was beginning to be utilized as a tradesman and thus much more visible to the citizens of Charleston than when most slaves were kept on rural plantations.

Another act of 1740, entitled "An Act for regulating the Buildings hereafter to be erected or built in Charles Town, and for preventing Incroachments on the Streets, Lanes, and Publick Alleys stood on the Seventeenth Day of November last," included clauses listing wage restrictions for:

> Carpenters and Joiners Master Workmen per Day, Two Pounds. For Negro Men Carpenters or Joiners per Day, One Pound. For Apprentices White or Black in the first year of their Time per Day, Seven Shillings and Six Pence. In the Second [year] per Day, Ten Shillings. In the Third per Day, Fifteen Shillings. In the Fourth per Day,

> One Pound. For Bricklayers and Plasters Master Workmen, per Day, Two Pounds. For Negro Men, per Day, One Pound, Five Shillings. For Apprentices white or black the same Prices are limited for Carpenters or Joyners Apprentices. Negro Men Labourers per Day, Seven Shillings and Six Pence. . . .[144]

Aside from apparently being the first published list of price/wage restrictions in South Carolina, this act demonstrates the value put on slaves, and free and enslaved apprentices, and their places in the Charleston workforce. At half the price of master workmen, it can be imagined that enslaved African labor would be in high demand. In fact, the increase of "Negro Tradesmen" in Charleston in 1742 was becoming such a problem that a grand jury remarked on "the Want of a Law to prevent the hiring of Negro Tradesmen to the great Discouragement of white Workmen coming into this Province. . . ."[145] In response to this topic, a report by committee on 30 March 1743 agreed that ". . . a great Number of Negroes are brought up to [be apprenticed] and daily employed in mechanic Trades both in Town and Country . . ." and thus is one of the reasons that ". . . white Persons coming into this Province with a Design to settle . . ." has not been sufficient.[146] Two days later, on 1 April 1743, ". . . it was agreed that no Slaves that shall hereafter be brought to any mechanic Trades shall be suffered to be hired out or to work for any other than their own Masters. . . ."[147] Soon after this agreement was made, on 21 January 1744, a petition of Andrew Ruck, shipwright, representing himself and several others of the same trade:

> was read, setting forth that there were such a Number of Negro Men chiefly employed in mending, repairing and caulking of Ships, other Vessels and Boats, and working at the Shipwright's Trade and Business in this Town, Harbor and other places near the same . . . [thus] . . . the Petitioners, who were white Persons, and had served their Times to the Trade of a Shipwright, could meet with little or no Work to do, . . . [and] . . . that no white Man of the same Trade could upon his Arrival here expect to meet with any Encouragement to settle, or to get any Work at his Business. . . .[148]

This statement, however, was met two days later with opposition from a group of ship carpenters as "without foundation" and further defined by citing evidence for the slaves, who had "with great Care and Pains, they had trained up those slaves to be useful to them in the Exercise of their Trade," and that they were being used "for the Interest of his Majesty and of this Province . . ." and that a quantity of work was available and had not been accepted by the shipwrights. Nonetheless, it was decided, on 25 January, that a bill (No. 39) needed to be developed that would limit the number of Africans in the shipwrights' trade and determine the wage level for workers of both races. A search of the records failed to locate further discussion of this, and since it never was ratified, one can assume it was rejected; however, evidence such as this, and other petitions concerning Africans and their increasing social and professional position within the trades, is seen throughout the 1740s and with it increasing documentary material regarding trade.[149]

The variety of trades in which enslaved Africans were utilized are illustrated by an advertisement that appeared in the *South Carolina Gazette*, 2 February 1750/1, in which a sale of "About Fifty Valuable SLAVES Among which are sundry Tradesmen, such as Bricklayers, Carpenters, Coopers, Sawyers, Shoemakers, Tanners, Curriers, and Boatmen, also four Plantations. . . ." Being that this was a single sale, with all of the slaves

coming from the four plantations, one could conclude that these were trades that were learned on a plantation and necessary for supporting the same.

The Reverend John Martin Bolzius, a Lutheran minister who led the Salzburgers in their settlement of Ebenezer, Georgia, answered a questionnaire from Europe concerning "the Land Carolina" and Georgia. Among the 19 March 1751 answers was that to question 33: "Whether the most necessary craftsmen are to be found there [Carolina], and of which there is the greatest shortage." Bolzius's answer to this was "There are in Carolina all kinds of craftsmen necessary for the country, such as carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, locksmiths, shoemakers, tailors, saddle makers, coopers, carriage builders, tanners, gunsmiths, turners, weavers. But since the Negroes learn all kinds of common and useful crafts, the poor [white] craftsmen cannot succeed."[150]

A Charleston city ordinance passed in 1783, concerned ". . . the better ordering and governing of Negroes and other Slaves, and of free Negroes, Mulattoes and Mustizoes, within the City of Charleston." It defined the use of the "tickets and badges" each slave was to possess should he be hired out for service. The charges of badges varied according to the trades, which were ". . . butcher, 40 shillings; for a carpenter, bricklayer, fisherman, blacksmith, wheelwright, pump or block-maker, cabinetmaker, painter or glazer, and gold or silversmith, 20 shillings; for a mariner, cooper, shoemaker, barber, hatter, ropemaker, turner, or any other handicraft tradesman, 10 shillings. . . ."[151] In 1782 it seems slaves from confiscated or sequestered estates were placed in or created a ". . . Corps of Artificers Vizt. Shoe Makers, Carpenters, Blacksmiths, Armourers, Taylors, Wheelwrights be immediately Collected and formed . . . to the Number of One Hundred" for the army of General Green in 1782.[152] This apparently was a unit entirely of African slaves, as was the "Pioneers Waggoners" also formed at this time.[153]

The concern over enslaved craftsmen working in jobs by themselves for profit was still a problem at the end of the eighteenth century. In November 1793 several groups of mechanics—i.e., cordwainers, painters, glaziers, and paperhangers—met among themselves to address the problem of:

> how far their business was effected by the slaves encouraged by their owners and others, to engage and finish work upon the same footing as free citizens, and the mode of proceeding necessary to redress their greviance. . . .[154]

The group of painters, glaziers, and paperhangers then announced in the same paper on the same day as the above appeared that they were offering a reward of three pounds sterling for the conviction of anyone caught violating any city ordinances or parts thereof that protected them from such attempts to infringe upon their business. Three years later, in 1796, another ordinance was passed in Charleston that prohibited "Slaves from carrying on any Mechanic or Handicraft Trade of Themselves. . . ." This further stipulated that a ratio of ". . . one white apprentice or journeyman to every four negroes, or other slaves they [masters] shall to teach and employ."[155]

African craftsmen in the trades were many and undoubtedly the method by which a craft was learned varied, much as trades learned by whites, although with less structure. On 22 March 1773 the coach painter, Thomas Booth, advertised that he did house painting and in his business "he will not trust to Negroes (which is too common) to perform the finishing Part of the Business. . . ."[156] A further example of this is when Timothy

Ford visited Charleston and recorded in his diary in 1785 that "I have seen tradesmen go through the city followed by a negro carrying their tools—Barbers who are supported in idleness & ease by their negroes who do the business; & in fact many of the mechaniks bear nothing more of their trade than the name."[157]

The *South Carolina Gazette* contains numerous advertisements by craftsmen regarding the need or availability of African slaves trained in a trade. Such is the 27 June 1744/45 notice of an unknown party who had an accomplished craftsman "To be lett to Hire, an able Negro Man, a good Carpenter, who served his Apprenticeship, and has worked 7 Years with Mr. [Thomas] Weaver [carpenter/joiner]."[158] Apparently slaves who demonstrated a proclivity to a trade were "processed" through an apprenticeship. In 1785 the *Charleston Evening Gazette* of 24 November contained an entry of "Wanted a Negro to the Cabinet-Making Business." The identity of the person needing the apprentice was not given.

Whether the term "apprenticeship" in the case of an enslaved person implies the same process as with freemen is unknown. The aforementioned act of 1740, published in the *South Carolina Gazette*, listed wage/price controls for the artisans involved in the building trades and gave the same wage for African and white apprentices, indicating that their services were on equal levels. The act also suggests that the two groups might have been trained side by side, or in the same manner. A further, more ambiguous, example of this is the 1758 will of Martin Binsky in which he left "£300 lawful money of S.C. to his son, Johannes Binsky, which will be used to purchase a Negro boy, not over 13 or 14 years . . . The purchased Negro will be bound out to a 'Cabinet Maker or Joiner for the only and behoof of Johannes' forever."[159] The "bound out" denotes that fact the enslaved person would be apprenticed in a type of "on-the-job training" concept.

By 1820 it became quite common to see advertisements in which apprentices were needed and the wording was "black or white." Earlier notices were more specific, such as that of John Francis Delorme in the Charleston *City Gazette and the Daily Advertiser* of 25 September 1795 in which he announced that he "WANTED, two white apprentices, who can bring good recommendations . . ."

There is no evidence that a written indenture was ever entered into with African slaves. This apparently was the realm of the "freeman" of color. Briefly, the status of "freeman" was gained through birth, manumission, award, or self-purchase. All of these methods for gaining freedom represented the result of an increasingly close relationship between the freeman of color with the white population. At times, examples are found where free Africans possessed slaves and granted them freedom; however, most close associations were with whites as masters, which at times resulted in an individual known as a mulatto.

The mulatto must have been judged differently socially whether from the African or the white viewpoint. Certainly among either race mulattos were viewed as not being of pure color or as being the child of a respected white family. Thus, these individuals were often defined in advertisements as "mulatto," thereby indicating both positive or negative aspects depending on the reader.

The free African or mulatto apparently represented an economic threat in 1747 as had the enslaved African shipwrights in 1744. On 5 February 1747 a petition was presented that requested a law be passed "preventing all Negroes and all other Slaves within the Limits of St. Philip Charles Town, from buying, selling, or vending all or any of the

Commodities . . . [previously listed] . . . other than Fish, Milk, and such Herbs as are the Growth or Produce of their several Masters' or Owners' Gardens in Charles Town. . . ." The goods in contention were ". . . Earthen-Ware, Fruit, Bread, Cakes, Onions, Apples, Tobacco, Eggs. . . ." The cause of this concern was that there were enslaved Africans who had their own finances, sometimes acquired through illegal means, and were purchasing large quantities of the contended goods and reselling to the public to the detriment of white businessmen and customers. This law, like many others concerning the economic restriction of enslaved persons, was apparently never ratified.[160]

An example of a mulatto cabinetmaker in Charleston is John Gough, who was a freed slave by 1770 when he qualified as an administer to the estate of Charles Cordes, also a freed slave, and was described in 1783 as "a free Mulatto."[161] At the time of his death in 1791, Gough owned "a Smart Negro Wench Named Charlotte."[162] Apparently Gough was a successful craftsman, for the records indicate that he traded quite often in land. Gough's estate inventory has not survived, thus greater amounts of enlightening information concerning his wealth could not be found.

It is unfortunate that so little is known of the African slaves and their place within the cabinetmaking trade in Charleston. Much of what is known comes from advertisements. In March 1767 the cabinetmaker, Peter Hall, advertised that he would auction his household furniture, shops, unfinished cabinetwork, and "FOUR very valuable NEGROES, two of them good workmen at the cabinetmaker's business. . . ."[163] John Fisher, cabinet and chair maker, advertised in June 1771 his purchase of the "STOCK in TRADE and NEGROES brought up in the Business" that had belonged to the cabinetmaker Mr. Stephen Townsend.[164] Outside of advertisements, Thomas Elfe's account book contains an entry for 31 December 1771 concerning work done by his "handicraft slaves."[165] Such ambiguity perhaps stems from the fact that the individuals being used as handicraft slaves were also used for a multitude of tasks and those persons named specifically were listed for singular charges.

An event in June 1777 when "15 Valuable Slaves" were stolen from fishing canoes by three English ships gave cause for an editorial that enumerated the fact that "a valuable Cabinet-maker, belonging to David Rhind, Esq," was among those taken.[166]

At times research must infer that the enslaved individuals working in the business of a white cabinetmaker were involved in cabinetmaking; however, at times uncertain evidence surfaces. Such unknown involvement is seen when in 1758 "LOST By a Negro Boy Last week A CABINET MAKER'S Iron Cramp [clamp]."[167] Unfortunately the identification of the person that may have owned the child was not given.

In 1773 a person named Romeo was sold "as good a sawyer as any of his colour on the Continent; he can also work tolerable well at the Cabinet Business. . . ."[168] Also in this year a "very valuable Negro man named JERRY, who is a complete Turner . . ." was sold as part of the property of John Prue, a Charleston cabinetmaker.[169] In 1816 William Rose ran away from Abraham Jones, cabinetmaker, and the subsequent advertisement described Rose as being "a cabinet maker by trade. . . ."[170] That same year the estate of Thomas Wallace, cabinetmaker, was sold and along with "Mahogany, in Logs and Plank, and some Cabinet Maker's TOOLS . . . [was sold] . . . DICK, a prime Fellow, who has worked for some time at the Cabinet Maker's business. . . ."[171]

The examples given above briefly demonstrate the growth of the enslaved and free

African tradesman in Charlestown and provide a basis for understanding the struggle that such individuals must have experienced. A Frenchman who visited Charleston in 1777 left his thoughts on the enslaved and free Africans in Charleston and observed that:

> Without wishing to draw a parallel here between the type of Negroes that one finds in the English colonies and those in the French colonies, I cannot help mentioning that there is a very noticeable difference. Although the Negroes here are under the yoke of slavery, one doesn't hear them complain as much as our and one doesn't see them cringe or appear afraid of every white man as they do in our colonies where every one of them seems to think that every white man has a whip or club ready to mistreat them at any moment.
>
> Without affecting the foolish pride of our free Negroes, the Anglo-American Negro slaves have an ari [sic] of self-respect about them that doesn't appear to be arrogance, and yet shows that they look upon white men other than their masters as human beings and not as tyrants. On Santo Domingo, on the other hand, every slave is the slave of every white man, so to speak, and every slave expects to be ordered around by every white man he meets, and beaten, if he doesn't obey without a murmur.
>
> These conditions, which so much offend the Frenchmen who come to the Islands, proce [sic] without a doubt that it is the training which the slaves receive while they are becoming civilized that makes them troublesome or not. Here, under the protection of the law, the depotism [sic] of the master is restrained, and the treatment of the slave is relatively good, while in our islands, where there are a few laws in favor of the Negroes, one sees the ferocity and severity of their treatment by the whites increase rather than diminish. Here the self-respect and serenity of the slave in the presence of white people shows the manner in which they are treated by their masters, and just as the agriculture here shows an improvement over that in our islands, so the conditions of the slaves here shows up our colonies at a disadvantage when compared to the Anglo-American way of life.[72]

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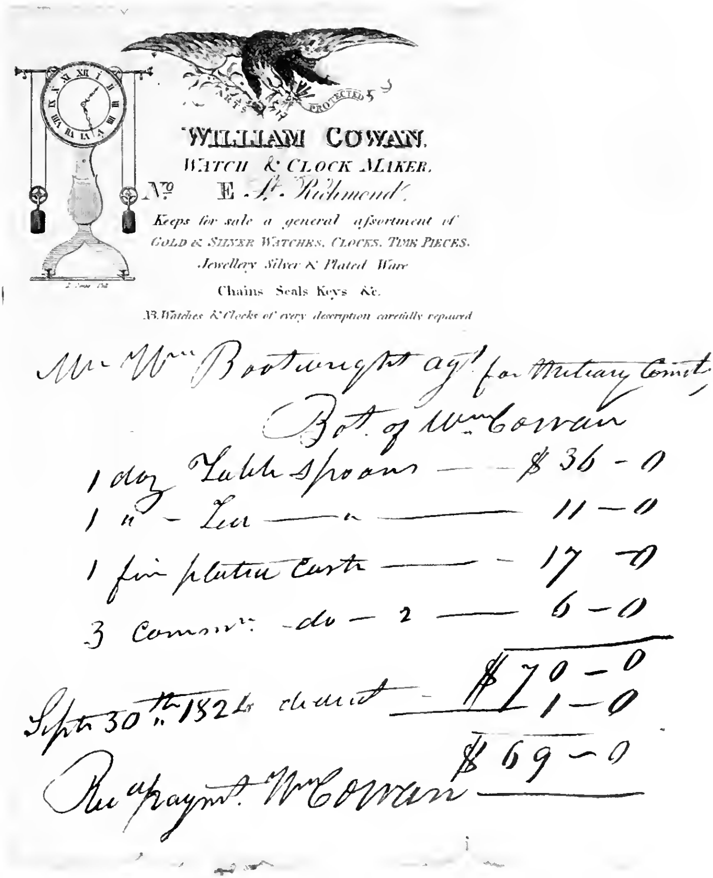
Decorative Arts Guide to the Records of the Auditor of Public Accounts in The Library of Virginia

J. CHRISTIAN KOLBE

From August 1824 to September 1825, the Marquis de Lafayette visited the United States.[1] On 19 October 1824, Lafayette was honored with a celebration at Yorktown.[2] General Nelson's house was appropriated for his lodging. In front of the Nelson house was erected a marquee for dining. A triumphal arch and two obelisks were erected to commemorate the various events at the battle of Yorktown. At night, the marquee was decorated with illuminated transparencies.[3] The cost of the celebration came to $10,178.04.[4] Willis Cowling, a Richmond cabinetmaker, provided furniture for the celebration, as well as taking down and shipping the marquee.[5] The following artisans were also employed by the state for the Yorktown celebration: Robert Poore, a Richmond cabinetmaker, who provided furniture;[6] William Cowan, a Richmond silversmith, who provided one dozen teaspoons (see voucher presented in *Figure 1*);[7] William Ritter, a Richmond upholsterer, who made nine large window curtains;[8] and James Warrell, a Richmond painter,[9] who decorated the transparencies for the occasion.[10]

The role of state government as an employer of artisans is a subject that is often overlooked by students of the American decorative


WILLIAM COWAN.

WATCH & CLOCK MAKER.

No E St. Richmond.

Keeps for sale a general assortment of GOLD & SILVER WATCHES, CLOCKS, TIME PIECES. Jewellery Silver & Plated Ware Chains Seals Keys &c.

N.B. Watches & Clocks of every description carefully repaired

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Bot. of Wm Cowan

1 doz Table Spoons	—	$36 - 0
1 " - Tea "	—	11 - 0
1 fine plated Caster	—	17 - 0
3 Common do - 2	—	6 - 0
		$70 - 0
Septr 30th 1824 deduct	—	1 - 0
		$69 - 0

Recd payment Wm Cowan

FIGURE 1. Voucher from William Cowan, watch and clockmaker, 1824.
Courtesy of The Library of Virginia; Auditor of Public Accounts, Entry 692, Folder 1, Vouchers 1824, No. 19.

arts. All state governments had some record keeping procedures that documented the claims of artisans who had provided goods and services. John Shaw, an Annapolis cabinetmaker, did work for the state of Maryland from 1775–1816.[11] Thomas Day, the free African American cabinetmaker from Milton, North Carolina, did the carpentry work for the Philanthropic and Dialectic Societies at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill.[12]

The office of the Auditor of Public Accounts was created by the Virginia General Assembly in its November 1791 session. The records for this office span the time period 1776 to 1928.[13] All claims for reimbursement from the Commonwealth of Virginia were handled by the Auditor of Public Accounts.

Information in the Decorative Arts Guide to the Records of the Auditor of Public Accounts was compiled from vouchers and accounts for work performed by craftsmen working in Virginia for the state of Virginia for the period 1776–1840. The Guide documents work done by cabinetmakers, carpenters, upholsterers, engravers, and silversmiths. Because the city of Richmond has been Virginia's capital since 1780, this guide is most useful in studying the decorative arts of the capital city and particularly as it relates to state patronage.

The Guide's format consists of the following categories: name of the craftsman, description of the work done (or in some cases a description of the craftsman's occupation), the date the claim was audited, the city or town where the work was done, and the entry number of the specific series in the Auditor of Public Accounts to which the item belongs. In some instances, there is a category for a specific box or a specific folder. The abbreviation "etc." is used to indicate to the researcher that there is more material listed on the original document than could be listed in the category for the type of work done. In the name column, a name followed by another name indicates work done by the first individual is listed under the name of a second individual. For example, work done by Patrick Houston is found on a list submitted by Joseph Danforth for several individuals who did work on Capitol Square in Richmond.

The Colonial government of Virginia had need of goods and services from local craftsmen. Many of these needs were practical, such as the eighteenth-century book press to house the official record books for the county court of Northampton County, Virginia.[14] Examples of more elaborate items having a ceremonial purpose include the speaker's chair for the House of Burgesses[15] and the governor's chair for the General Court.[16] The building of the governor's palace in Williamsburg created further demand for goods from local craftsmen. Surviving examples of locally made furniture for the palace include chairs and a settee.[17]

The need for local craftsmen to meet the government's needs continued after Virginia's capitol was moved from Williamsburg to Richmond in 1780.[18] An example of this need is seen in the following letter by James Heath, Auditor of Public Accounts, to the Governor of Virginia:

Auditors Office July 1 1820

Sir

I have but this morning recd. an estimate promised me some time since by Major Tompkins of the probable cost of the changes proposed to be made in the furniture of this office. There are in the office 20 presses, but it is thought by selling 7 of them and substituting in the same place a continued range of eleven, sufficient room may be obtained for the books and papers—Mr. Tompkins supposes that eleven presses including painting will cost $457.—The painting might possibly be dispensed with—It is uncertain what the old presses will sell for say from 5 to 10$ each—I mentioned to the committee that the desk used by the auditor was not only extremely inconvenient, but as the repository of valuable papers needed essential repairs. Mr. Tompkins estimates a new one of a different construction to cost $50—If the Executive are un willing to incur that expense I will endeavor to have the old one repaired on as good terms as possible.

with high respect, sir
I am your obed servant
Js. E. Heath aud[19]

In Richmond, the state capitol provided a meeting place for the following groups: House of Delegates, Senate, Governor's Council, Auditor's Office, Second Auditor's Office, Land Office, Treasury, and various government committees. The following courts also met in the capitol: General Court, District Court, Superior Court of Chancery, and the Court of Appeals. Artisans also performed work at the bell tower on Capitol Square, the Virginia Manufactory of Arms, and the state penitentiary. The government required furniture for sitting, writing, and housing of official volumes and papers. Like its predecessor in Williamsburg, the governor's official residence in Richmond required a more extensive variety of furniture forms.

In the area of metal work, the state employed Richmond watchmakers McCay & Cowan to repair the clock at the barracks for the public guard.[20] John Taylor's Brass Foundry cast various items such as rifle sights for the Virginia Manufactory of Arms. See the receipt in *Figure 2*.[21] It is interesting to note the survival of three items from Taylor's foundry. The bell seen in *Figures 3* and *3a*, the posnet of brass in *Figure 4*, and the candlestick in *Figure 5* can all be clearly seen as represented in the drawings on the foundry's receipt.

While many of the goods and services purchased by the Commonwealth were utilitarian in nature, other items had a different purpose. Repairs to the mace for the House of Delegates,[22] a silver gorget for a Chickasaw chief,[23] and silver seals[24] for courts were ceremonial. Similarly, John M. Carter was paid for work on the presentation sword for Lieutenant Presley N. O'Bannon,[25] hero of the war with the Barbary Pirates,[26] and Thomas Sully was paid for drawing a design of the hilt of O'Bannon's sword.[27]

Richmond upholsterer, William Ritter, was paid for making nine window curtains[28] and nine Morocco chair cushions.[29] Willis Cowling, Richmond cabinetmaker, was paid for making a cushion for the Speaker of the Legislature. As Cowling was not an upholster, he either had an upholster in his shop or he subcontracted the job out.[30]

Seating furniture ranged from stools for the Auditor's office,[31] a dozen Windsor chairs for the Treasurer's Office,[32] and eight walnut

FIGURE 2. Receipt from John Taylor, Richmond Brass Foundery, 1808.
Courtesy of The Library of Virginia: Auditor of Public Accounts, Entry 178, Records of Receipt 1808, Folder April–May 1808, 23 May 1808, John Taylor.

FIGURE 3. Bell by John Taylor; iron; Richmond, Virginia; 1791–1813. HOA $16\frac{1}{2}$"; WOA $15\frac{1}{4}$". The bell now sits on a stand located on the main street of Brownsburg, Virginia.

FIGURE 3A. Detail of opposite side (the maker's mark appears in reverse on the bell).

chairs for the Governor's Council.[33] William Pointer made twelve chairs and two armchairs for the Inspectors of the Penitentiary.[34] Pointer was a Richmond Windsor chairmaker,[35] and an example of his work is seen in figure 46.3 of *Southern Furniture 1680–1830: The Colonial Williamsburg Collection.*[36] Leonard Seaton, who had been apprenticed to Pointer, formed a partnership with John Hobday in 1808.[37] Hobday & Seaton made a dozen chairs for the Commonwealth in 1810.[38] An example of a Hobday & Seaton Windsor side chair is seen in plate 49 in *Southern Furniture 1680–1830.*[39] Andrew and Robert McKim, Richmond Windsor chairmakers, made twelve Windsor chairs for the Senate in 1795.[40] An example of their work is seen in plate 46 of *Southern Furniture 1680–1830.*[41] For further information on Andrew and Robert McKim, see Giles Cromwell's article in the May 1980 issue of the *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts.*[42] More elaborate seating furniture for the governor's mansion consisted of the following items: twelve fancy chairs,[43] one and a half dozen mahogany chairs,[44] a rocking chair,[45] an easy chair,[46] and a pair of sofas.[47] Another pair of sofas was made by the Richmond cabinetmaking firm of Poore, Murray, and Roper. The senior member of this firm was the longtime Richmond cabinetmaker Robert Poore.[48] An example of a sofa made by Poore, Murray, and Roper is in the collection of the Valentine Museum in Richmond.

Furniture for writing consisted of the following objects: writing desks,[49] a large table for the council chamber,[50] five mahogany tables for the Court of Appeals,[51] and a "table to a copying press for the use of the executive."[52] In 1813, Edmund Bailey was paid for making one large table, eight small tables, and one secretary.[53] Wilson Bryan was paid for making a frame for a writing desk,[54] and R. H. Kimbrough was paid for making a stand for a writing desk.[55] These examples refer to the furniture form called a "desk on frame," an example of which is in the Colonial Williamsburg collection.[56] This form consisted of a slant top lidded box or desk which sat in a four-legged frame. Because of the height, the user had to stand or use a high stool.

FIGURE 4. Posnet by John Taylor; brass; Richmond, Virginia; 1791–1811. HOA 5¾"; WOA 9⅞" (container); LOA 22⅛". *MRF 17,633.*

Official volumes were stored in book presses or bookcases, and papers were kept in a letterpress. Because of the utilitarian nature of presses, they might be made out of lesser woods, such as birch,[57] and sometimes painted to resemble mahogany.[58] More expensive presses were made out of walnut[59] or mahogany.[60] Hart & Stephenson presented a claim in 1789 for making a painted bookcase, which had the following features: double folding doors, bracket feet, sliding shelves, and a pediment top.[61] The fact that it was painted indicates that it was not constructed of a hard wood such as walnut or mahogany. If "pediment" means exactly that and not merely a cornice, that additional feature would place it above utilitarian office furniture.

FIGURE 5. Candlestick by John Taylor; brass; Richmond, Virginia; 1791–1811. HOA 9⅛". *Courtesy of the Valentine Richmond History Center, acc. 66.10.260.*

Items purchased for the governor's mansion consisted of a variety of furniture forms. The following are some of the objects purchased for the mansion: a pair of claw foot tea tables,[62] a double wardrobe,[63] a candle stand,[64] French bedsteads,[65] and a circular wash stand.[66]

Besides making furniture, Richmond cabinetmakers were also paid for repairing items. Robert Poore repaired a secretary in the governor's mansion.[67] Samuel Swann mended five mahogany chairs.[68] George and James Taylor mended one set of Northumberland tables for the governor's mansion.[69] Northumberland tables are usually referred to as a set of Northumberland tables. They were two or three tables placed together to form a banquet or extension table.[70] Charles W. McGinnis was paid for painting and regilding eighteen chairs at the governor's mansion.[71] McGinnis was also paid for painting the model of the state capitol,[72] marbleizing a chimney jam,[73] and gilding the ball and weather vane for the guard house.[74]

There also seems to have been a blending of tasks between cabinetmakers and carpenters. Richmond carpenter Wilson Bryan made a bookcase for the Land Office.[75] Cabinetmaker Robert Poore made a mahogany bookcase for the Council chamber.[76] Cabinetmakers also provided a wide variety of services. Richmond cabinetmaker, James Taylor, was paid for making two ballot boxes.[77] Robert Poore was paid for putting up blinds in the Capitol.[78] This is not necessarily an unusual pattern. The eighteenth-century Charleston cabinetmaking firm of Elfe and Hutchinson made chairs for the South Carolina Council Chamber. However, they also did the following work at St. Michael's Church: carved banisters on the arcade for the steeple, made sanctuary doors, turned banisters for the pulpit staircase, and turned banisters for the altar rail.[79] For bookcases and letterpresses, the joinery methods did not have to use dovetailing or the sophisticated construction techniques used by cabinetmakers. Carpenters and house joiners could have used the same woodworking skills to make a bookcase or letterpress as they employed in framing and putting up paneling in houses. This crossover is most vividly seen in the raised panel furniture of the Eastern Shore of Virginia.[80]

The earliest reference for the decorative arts found in the Auditor of Public Accounts is the 1777 claim of Benjamin Powell for eight walnut chairs for the Council at the Capitol in Williamsburg.[81] Marcus Whiffen, in his book on eighteenth-century houses in Williamsburg, lists Benjamin Powell as a general contractor in the Williamsburg area.[82] Further examination of Powell's claim lists extensive repairs for the public hospital, the goal, and the Capitol. Thus it would seem Powell subcontracted out the making of chairs to a local cabinetmaker or chairmaker. Sadly the name of this Williamsburg artisan is not mentioned. Certain craftsmen such as Anderson Barrett,[83] Dabney Minor,[84] and Christopher Tompkins[85] presented claims for both carpentry and furniture work. Did these men perform the work themselves or did they subcontract the work out to other craftsmen? In one documented instance, Anderson Barrett paid Richmond cabinetmakers Robert Crouch and Edmund Webster for repairing a table for the state.[86]

The items purchased by the state were used until they were worn out or sold at public auction. Few of the items listed on this list probably survive. However, the importance of this list is found in the naming of the artisans, the type of work they were doing, and the fact that the state served as a patron of the decorative arts. This list may also show the migration of craftsmen. The cabinetmaker, Joseph Hatch, who was in Norfolk in 1810[87] may be the same Joseph Hatch who received payment for repairing a large bookcase in Richmond in 1817.[88] James Oldham, who was employed by Thomas Jefferson from 1801–1804 in Albemarle County,[89] received payment for making a table for the clerk of the Senate in Richmond in 1808.[90]

In conclusion, it is hoped that this list will be a resource tool for students of the southern decorative arts as they seek to piece together the lives and work of artisans working in the antebellum south, particularly Virginia.

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Name	*Description*	*Date*	*Location*	*Entry*	*Box*	*Folder*
Bailey, Edmund	Bookcase for the Auditor's Office	5 Nov 1804	Richmond	139		
Bailey, Edmund	One large table, eight small tables, one secretary	1 Jan 1813	Richmond	139		
Barett,Anderson	press painted mahogany color for Land Office	29 Mar 1831	Richmond	139		
Barrett, Anderson	Oval tble with drawer	28 Nov 1796	Richmond	261		
Barrett, Anderson	A press for the attorney's office, etc.	1797	Richmond	655	3	19
Barrett, Anderson	To making a small press containing a drawer	12 Apr 1798	Richmond	261		
Barrett, Anderson	Making four curtain frames, etc.	24 Dec 1798	Richmond	261		
Barrett, Anderson	A large book press painted	12 Feb 1799	Richmond	466	Superior Court of Chancery, Richmond	
Barrett, Anderson	Making a stand for the Rev. John Blair	16 Dec 1800	Richmond	261		
Barrett, Anderson	Making a large book press for the General Court	18 Nov 1801	Richmond	261		
Barrett, Anderson	Making four coal boxes, etc.	15 Dec 1801	Richmond	261		
Barrett, Anderson	Making a book press for the Governor's Office, etc.	23 Dec 1800	Richmond	655	4	1
Barrett, Anderson	Making a book press painted for the Treasury Office	15 Mar 1802	Richmond	655	4	1
Barrett, Anderson	Paid Mess. Crouch and Webster for repairing a table	19 Mar 1803	Richmond	655	4	1
Barrett, Anderson	Large oval table, etc.	12 Sept 1803	Richmond	139		
Barrett, Anderson	Taking down, washing, and putting up the chandelier in the Assembly Room	20 Oct 1803	Richmond	261		
Barrett, Anderson	Making a coal box, etc.	15 Jan 1805	Richmond	261		
Barrett, Anderson	Small paper press furnished to the Clerk of District Court	7 May 1806	Richmond	261		
Barrett, Anderson	Book press for the Superior Court of Chancery	20 June 1810	Richmond	261		
Barrett, Anderson	Two tables and baise to cover the same	12 Dec 1821	Richmond	261		
Barrett, Anderson	Making 4-panel-door book presses in the Land Office	11 Dec 1822	Richmond	139		
Barrett, Reuben	Two wardrobes	19 July 1834	Richmond	655	4	8
Barrett, Reuben	Making one double wardrobe	23 Oct 1835	Richmond	655	4	9
Barrett,Anderson	large press for Land Office,etc.	1 Dec 1827	Richmond	139		
Barrett,Anderson	table with drawer for Court of Appeals, etc.	15 Mar 1826	Richmond	139		
Beach, Samuel	One dozen fancy chairs	1817	Richmond	655	4	2
Binford & Porter	Two French bedsteads	11 Jan 1838	Richmond	655	4	12
Booth,Wm.	repairing venetian blinds	11 Jan 1836	Richmond	139		
Bosher & Brown	bookcase for Auditor	27 Nov 1830	Richmond	139		

Name	*Description*	*Date*	*Location*	*Entry*	*Box*	*Folder*
Bosher & Wiatt	Moroco cushion for Speaker's seat	10 Nov 1814	Richmond	261		
Bosher,John	12 tables, 1 bookcase, etc.	18 Jan 1832	Richmond	655	2	6
Bosher,John	1 table covered with green cloth	18 June 1831	Richmond	655	2	6
Boye,Herman	cartographer for 1826 map of Virginia	20 May 1826	Richmond	139		
Brent & Ellis	A writing desk	9 Apr 1808	Fredericksburg	293		
Brooks, Samuel	Eight seals for the Superior Courts	9 July 1818	Richmond	139		
Brooks, Samuel	Twelve seals engraved for the Circuit Courts	2 Apr 1819	Richmond	139		
Brooks, Samuel	Nine seals for the Superior Courts	15 May 1819	Richmond	139		
Brooks, Samuel	Twelve seals engraved for the Circuit Courts	10 June 1819	Richmond	139		
Brooks, Samuel	Ten seals for Superior Courts of Counties	15 July 1819	Richmond	139		
Bryan, Wilson	Making bookcase for the Land Office	1 Feb 1810	Richmond	139		
Bryan, Wilson	A carpenter to appraise work on the Armory	25 June 1810	Richmond	139		
Bryan, Wilson	frame for writing desk for Treasury	29 Apr 1828	Richmond	139		
Burnley, Reuben	Writing desk	2 July 1788	Richmond	139		
Butt, Francis	One bookcase for the auditor	19 May 1813	Richmond	139		
Butt, Francis	One small book press, one large book press	20 Feb 1815	Richmond	139		
Butt, Francis	One book press, etc.	30 May 1815	Richmond	139		
Butt, Francis	Two paper presses, one writing desk and frame	16 Aug 1817	Richmond	139		
Butts, Francis	One coal box	19 Jan 1815	Richmond	261		
Carnigham, Joseph	Dozen Windsor chairs for the Treasurer's Office	17 Dec 1829	Richmond	139		
Carter, John	Stool for Auditor's Office	4 July 1792	Richmond	139		
Carter, John	Press	24 Aug 1801	Richmond	139		
Carter, John M	Engraving one seal on silver for the Superior Court of Chancery of the Staunton District	21 Oct 1809	Richmond	139		
Carter, John M.	Engraving the lesser seal of the Commonwealth on steel	7 Apr 1809	Richmond	139		
Carter, John M.	Engraving on steel the reverse of the Great Seal of the Commonwealth	29 June 1809	Richmond	139		
Carter, John M.	Engraving a seal on silver for the Superior Court of Chancery for the Williamsburg District	28 Aug 1809	Richmond	139		
Carter, John M.	Engraving a seal on silver for the Superior Court of Chancery for the Richmond District	11 Sept 1809	Richmond	139		
Carter, John M.	Executing Lt. O'Bannon's sword	6 July 1810	Richmond	139		
Childs & Rockwood	Nine armchairs	6 June 1823	Richmond	139		
Churchill, Lemuel	Repairing chair for Senate room, etc.	27 Mar 1819	Richmond	139		
Churchill,Lemuel	repairing chair for Senate room,etc,	27 Mar 1819	Richmond	139		
Clark, C & G	One dressing table and two dozen fancy chairs	4 Apr 1826	Richmond	655	4	5
Clark, John	A large table for the Council Chamber, etc.	5 Feb 1781	Richmond	139		
Clark, John	Pine press to hold books and papers	26 Dec 1785	Richmond	139		

Name	*Description*	*Date*	*Location*	*Entry*	*Box*	*Folder*
Clarke, John	Two book presses for law library at the Court of Appeals	21 Jan 1784	Richmond	17	106	
Clarke, John	Two pine tables	20 Apr 1784	Richmond	139		
Clarke, John	Book press	4 Oct 1784	Richmond	139		
Clarke, John	Pine press for books	29 Sept 1785	Richmond	139		
Clarke, Mr.	A press for th Auditor's Office	2 Aug 1784	Richmond	139		
Clarke, Thos.	Making a press for the use of the House of Delegates	15 Feb 1817	Richmond	261		
Clarke, Zachariah	Making one large book press	24 Dec 1819	Richmond	261		
Coffee, W. J.	Repairing the model of the Capital	20 Mar 1820	Richmond	139		
Connellee, Danl.	One writing table and seat	1 Oct 1806	City Point	293		
Cooper, William	Repairing and putting in new shelves complete in a book press	6 Feb 1806	Richmond	261		
Cowan, Wilham	Eight-day clock for the use of the Barracks	10 Feb 1813	Richmond	139		
Cowan, William	Cleaning public clock at Barracks	11 Nov 1820	Richmond	139		
Cowan, Wm.	One dozen tablespoons	1824	Richmond	692		1st 1824
Cowan,William	soup ladle, etc.	6 Dec 1820	Richmond	655	4	3
Cowan,William	silver tea set, etc.	17 Oct 1823	Richmond	655	4	4
Cowling, Willis	Cushion for the Speaker of the Legislature	8 Mar 1821	Richmond	261		
Cowling, Willis	Putting up shelves in the presses in the Superior Court of Chancery for holding papers	11 Mar 1823	Richmond	261		
Cowling, Willis	Two bedsteads, etc.	1824	Richmond	692		1st 1824
Cowling, Willis	Two book presses for the House of Delegates	2 Feb 1824	Richmond	261		
Cowling, Willis	Three sacks in bottoms	1817	Richmond	655	4	2
Cowling, Willis	Repairs to a book press for Council chamber	Nov 1817	Richmond	655	10	8
Crenshaw, Sportswood D.	A small press for holding the papers of the Superior Court of Chancery in Lynchburg	12 Jan 1820	Lynchburg	261		
Danberry, Mary	Making a cushion for the Speaker's chair	13 Dec 1804	Richmond	261		
Dillworth, George	One writing desk	22 Aug 1814	Petersburg	293		
Drury, John and Martin	Making one-half oval table and mending	20 Dec 1815	Richmond	261		
Ellis,Charles	10yds Moreen speaker's chair for Senate	27 Nov 1840	Richmond	655	2	7
Exall,Henry	chairs for House of Delegates	6 Nov 1839	Richmond	655	2	7
Farquhar, John M.	A table	23 Nov 1791	Petersburg	466	District Court	Peters-burg
Forbes, John	A writing desk	28 Dec 1802	Richmond	466	Superior Court of Chancery, Richmond	
Fowler, James	Making four chair cushions	20 Feb 1819	Richmond	261		

Name	*Description*	*Date*	*Location*	*Entry*	*Box*	*Folder*
Fowler, James	Large writing table for court room, etc.	23 Dec 1819	Richmond	261		
Fowler, James	Stuffing four chairs	11 Dec 1820	Richmond	261		
Freeman,S & J	repairing 4 presses for 2nd Auditor	26 July 1834	Richmond	139		
French & Jordan	To repair the cushions in the Delegates Hall	18 Dec 1827	Richmond	139		
Goddin,I.A	cutting bookpresses for 2nd Auditor	8 May 1833	Richmond	139		
Goddin,I.A.	67ft. Uprights in bookpresses	13 Feb 1834	Richmond	139		
Goddin,I.A.	4 presses,etc, for 2nd Auditor	23 Dec 1837	Richmond	139		
Goddin,I.A.	writing desk painted like mahogany for governor	18 Apr 1838	Richmond	139		
Goodall, Edwd.	Apprentice to W. McKim	19 Mar 1804	Henrico	478	1586	
Green, John	A new lock for a drawer	9 Feb 1805	Richmond	261		
Hall, Henry	Table for Treasury Office	14 June 1781	Richmond	139		
Hall, Henry	One table and two stools for auditor	16 June 1781	Richmond	139		
Hall, Henry	Table	22 June 1781	Richmond	139		
Hall, Henry	Table and drawer, three chests	25 June 1781	Richmond	139		
Hardy, Thos.	Cabinetmaker at Tayls.	6 Dec 1802	Henrico	478	1586	
Harrison, Benjamin Jr.*	Twelve Windsor chairs for the Governor's House	29 Nov 1784	Richmond	139		
Hart & Stephenson	Repairs done to old bookcases in Land Office	15 Dec 1789	Richmond	139		
Hart & Stephenson	pedimented bookcase for Auditor	16 Dec 1789	Richmond	139		
Hatch, Joseph	Repairing a large bookcase	Nov 1817	Richmond	139		
Hatch,Joseph	repair of 3 presses	26 Nov 1817	Richmond	655	10	8
Hatcher, T.	Two dozen chairs for use in the Chancery Office	19 June 1821	Richmond	261		
Hatcher, Thomas	Six armchairs for the Court of Appeals	14 Jan 1826	Richmond	139		
Hatcher, Thos.	Half dozen Windsor chairs for General Assembly	14 Dec 1836	Richmond	277		
Hatcher,Thos.	21 1/2 doz. chairs for Senate	7 Jan 1832	Richmond	655	2	6
Hatcher,Thos.	writing seat and stool for 2nd Auditor	15 June 1832	Richmond	139		
Hendree, George	One candle stand, one wash stand	21 Mar 1826	Richmond	655	4	5
Hill, John	Making two pine tables for the use in the House of Delegates	12 Jan 1816	Richmond	261		
Hill, Joseph	Making a mahogany chair	29 Jan 1817	Richmond	139		
Hill,John	clean & repair clock at bell house	11 May 1831	Richmond	139		
Hobday & Seaton	One dozen Windsor chairs	26 Jan 1810	Richmond	261		
Hobday, John	Two dozen chairs, five dozen chairs for use of several committees in Legislature	22 Dec 1817	Richmond	261		
Hockaday, John	Large walnut book press for Williamsburg District Court	16 Nov 1807	Williamsburg	261		

*A 1784 list of the inhabitants of Richmond has an entry for the household of Governor Benjamin Harrison. In the Harrison household is Benjamin Jr., whose occupation was listed as merchant. This voucher is probably for chairs sold to the state by the merchant, Benjamin Harrison Jr.

Name	*Description*	*Date*	*Location*	*Entry*	*Box*	*Folder*
Hollingsworth, Johnson	14 single and one arm Windsor chairs	5 Nov 1787	Richmond	655	3	18
Holloway & Bryan	One large paper press for the Court of Appeals	4 Apr 1809	Richmond	261		
Holloway, David	One lock to paper press	9 July1812	Richmond	655	4	1
Holloway, David	Two cases in paper press, etc.	4 Mar 1811	Richmond	139		
Holloway, David	Repairing and furnishing presses for the Superior Court of Chancery	22 Sept 1810	Richmond	261		
Houston, P.	Repairing sofas	24 Apr 1826	Richmond	655	4	5
Houston,P[atrick]	table & writing table for governor	7 June 1826	Richmond	139		
Houston.P[atrick] Jo.Danforth	repairing table & lock for council	7 Dec 1827	Richmond	139		
Hyde, Robert	One large table for the Committee of Schools and Colleges	22 Jan 1821	Richmond	261		
Hyde, Robt.	A double press for the Court of Appeals	4 Dec 1799	Richmond	139		
Hyde, Robt.	A book press	15 Dec 1801	Richmond	466	Superior Court of Chancery, Richmond	
Hyde, Robt.	Putting two locks on a press	5 Jan 1802	Richmond	466	District Court, Richmond	
Johnston, Gideon	One writing desk	22 Aug 1814	Petersburg	293		
Jones, Robt. W.	Press for the papers of the Superior Court of Chancery at Lynchburg	18 May 1814	Lynchburg	261		
Jones, William	Tables for Auditor, Council, Clerk of Assembly	16 June 1781	Richmond	139		
Juhan, Francis	Cabinetmaker	4 Mar 1803	Henrico	478	1586	
Kimbrough & Hooper	One book press, etc.	24 Dec 1823	Richmond	139		
Kimbrough & Hooper	box to hold maps	28 Nov 1827	Richmond	139		
Kimbrough & Hooper	paper presses for Auditor	24 July 1827	Richmond	139		
Kimbrough,R.H.	stand for writing desk for Auditor	3 Feb 1829	Richmond	139		
Kimbrough,R.H.	putting lock on press for 2nd Auditor	12 Sept 1829	Richmond	139		
Kimbrough,Richard. H. Jo.Danforth	hinging tops to 2 boxes	3 July 1829	Richmond	139		
Lennard, Eph.	To repair the press for fixing the public seals	25 Nov 1817	Richmond	139		
Lethbridge, L. Jo.Danforth	repairing table	3 July 1829	Richmond	139		
Mann,Henry	chair and bookcase for Senate	14 Dec 1786	Richmond	139		
Mann,Henry	framing map of Potomac for council	18 Feb 1790	Richmond	139		
Martin,John B.	engraving seal for Greenbier District	7 March 1826	Richmond	139		
Mausey, John S.	Painter	30 Mar 1805	Henrico	478	1586	

Name	*Description*	*Date*	*Location*	*Entry*	*Box*	*Folder*
McCay & Cowan	Repairing the barracks clock	16 Dec 1809	Richmond	139		
McEnery, John	Making a cushion for the Speaker's chair	3 Nov 1786	Richmond	261		
McGinnis, C. W.	Painting five mirror frames	9 Nov 1830	Richmond	655	4	6
McGinnis, C. W.	Painting the model of the Capitol	30 Apr 1836	Richmond	139		
McGinnis, Chas. W.	Painting and regilding 18 chairs	9 Mar 1826	Richmond	655	4	5
McGinnis,Chas.	painting new seats in Hall of Delegates	16 Aug 1831	Richmond	655	2	6
McGinnis,Chas.W.	chimney jam marbled	25 June 1828	Richmond	139		
McGinnis,Chas.W.	painting presses for 2nd Auditor	26 Feb 1833	Richmond	139		
McGinnis,Chas.W.	gilding hall & vane for guardhouse	4 Jan 1834	Richmond	139		
McKim & Beach	Six chairs	1817	Richmond	655	4	2
McKim & Beach	Half-dozen arm chairs	23 July 1818	Richmond	139		
McKim [not named]	For a dozen chairs for the Senate	19 Nov 1792	Richmond	261		
McKim [not named]	Twelve chairs	19 Nov 1791	Richmond	261		
McKim, Robert	Six dozen Windsor chairs	8 Nov 1796	Richmond	139		
McKim, Alex.	Eight tables for the Council Chamber	19 May 1807	Richmond	139		
McKim, Alex.	Making a press, etc.	30 Nov 1809	Richmond	139		
McKim, Alexander	For a press	10 Jan 1812	Richmond	261		
McKim, Alexr.	Repairing walnut press, etc.	1 May 1810	Richmond	139		
McKim, Andrew	Six dozen Windsor chairs	8 Nov 1796	Richmond	139		
McKim, Andw.	Twelve sack back chairs for the Auditor's Office	22 June 1789	Richmond	139		
McKim, Andw. & Robt.	Twelve Windsor chairs for Senate room	7 Dec 1795	Richmond	261		
McKim, Robt.	Painting 16 chairs for the Treasury Office, etc.	1 May 1810	Richmond	139		
McKim, Robt.	12 chairs ordered by Speaker of the House	13 Dec 1811	Richmond	261		
McKim, Robt.	24 chairs for use of House of Delegates	27 Dec 1815	Richmond	261		
McKim, Robt.	26 chairs for Senate chambers	27 Mar 1819	Richmond	139		
McKim, Wm.	One large table	22 Aug 1797	Richmond	466	Superior Court of Chancery, Richmond	
Minor, Dabney	Two large pine tables, etc.	1792	Richmond	655	3	19
Minor, Dabney	One large table for General Court, two large tables for Committee room	21 Mar 1791	Richmond	139		
Minor, Dabney	Four bookcases	29 Aug 1791	Richmond	139		
Minor, Dabney	Three large tables	15 Dec 1791	Richmond	261		
Minor, Dabney	One large oval table for the Senate	15 Nov 1792	Richmond	261		
Minor, Dabney	One large table	22 Aug 1797	Richmond	466	Superior Court of Chancery, Richmond	
Mitchell,William	repairing cake basket,etc.	22 May 1834	Richmond	655	4	8

Name	*Description*	*Date*	*Location*	*Entry*	*Box*	*Folder*
Mitchell,William	repairing silver plate	10 Sept 1834	Richmond	655	4	8
Mitchell,William	two dozen tablespoons, etc.	19 Sept 1835	Richmond	655	4	9
Mitchell,William	repair Armory clock 30 Dec 1839	1 May 1841	Richmond	139		
John B. Richardson						
Mitchell,William Jr	one sword knot& repairs to sword	13 Jan 1826	Richmond	139		
Mitchell,William Jr.	pair plaited branches&candlesticks,etc.	27 Oct 1823	Richmond	655	4	4
Mitchell,William Jr.	dozen tablespoons,etc.	20 May 1826	Richmond	655	4	5
Mudie, James	Restuffing the cushion for the Speaker's chairs, etc.	27 Mar 1819	Richmond	139		
Murdaugh, James W.	Furnishing a press	5 July 1815	Williamsburg	139		
Murdie, James	Making curtains for lobby of the Senate room	30 Dec 1817	Richmond	261		
Murray, Simon	Repaired the mace belonging to the House of Delegates	3 Mar 1782	Richmond	139		
Oldham, J.	A large table with two drawers	1817	Richmond	655	4	2
Oldham, James	Table furnished Clerk of the Senate	19 Feb 1818	Richmond	261		
Oldham, John	Table for Clerk of the Senate, etc.	27 Mar 1819	Richmond	139		
Oldham, John or James	Two tables for the Treasurer's Office, etc.	13 June 1818	Richmond	139		
Oldham,James	one large table	3 Feb 1808	Richmond	139		
Pannel, Holt C.	Apprentice of A. McKim	6 Dec 1802	Henrico	478	1586	
Pannel, Holt C.	Apprentice to A. & R. McKim	4 Mar 1803	Henrico	478	1586	
Pointer, Saml.	Making a flag	16 Jan 1806	Richmond	261		
Pointer, William	Twelve chairs	5 Dec 1806	Richmond	261		
Pointer, William	Twelve chairs for Inspectors of the Penitentiary, two armchairs do	19 May 1803	Richmond	139		
Poore, Murray, Roper	Pair of sofas and mahogany bedstead	27 May 1840	Richmond	655	5	1
Poore, Murray, Roper	Mahogany trundle bedstead	9 July 1840	Richmond	655	5	1
Poore, Murray, Roper	Repairing and varnishing furniture	1 Aug 1840	Richmond	655	5	1
Poore, Robert	Two large tables for Treasury Office	17 Mar 1821	Richmond	139		
Poore, Robert	Mahagony bookcase for Council chamber	22 June 1822	Richmond	139		
Poore, Robert	Pair of sofys and sett flag bottom chairs	6 Nov 1821	Richmond	655	4	4
Poore, Robert	Make a coffin for the sargeant-at-arms of the Senate	27 Aug 1822	Richmond	261		
Poore, Robert	Book press for Council chamber, etc.	2 Dec 1822	Richmond	139		
Poore, Robt	Mahogany book press, glass doors	12 May 1819	Richmond	139		
Poore, Robt.	Large pine table, pine press, large mahagony press	2 Aug 1820	Richmond	139		
Poore, Robt.	Repairing furniture in the government house	2 June 1823	Richmond	655	4	4
Poore, Robt.	Pair of claw tea tables, etc.	25 July 1823	Richmond	655	4	4
Poore, Robt.	Boxing up a sideboard	1824	Richmond	692		1st 1824

Name	*Description*	*Date*	*Location*	*Entry*	*Box*	*Folder*
Poore, Robt.	One bureau, etc.	1824	Richmond	692		1st 1824
Poore, Robt.	Four mahagony bedsteads	6 July 1830	Richmond	655	4	6
Poore, Robt.	Repairing secretary, etc.	1830	Richmond	655	4	6
Poore, Robt.	Making coffin for Peter Francisco	22 Mar 1831	Richmond	139		
Poore, Robt.	Putting up blinds in the Capitol	25 Jan 1833	Richmond	139		
Poore, Robt.	Three candle stands	22 Oct 1835	Richmond	655	4	9
Poore, Robt.	A hat stand	22 Apr 1836	Richmond	139		
Poore,Robert	six venetian blinds for Hall of Delegates	31 Mar 1831	Richmond	655	2	6
Powell, Benjamin	Eight walnut chairs for the Council	11 July 1777	Williamsburg	139		
Prose, Alexander	Book press	23 Nov 1791	Petersburg	466	District Court	Peters-burg
Purse, John	Cleaning Barrack's clock and penitentiary clock	6 Aug 1808	Richmond	139		
Richardson, Geo.	One large silver medal	11 Aug 1789	Richmond	139		
Richardson, William	Silver gorget for Chickisaw chief	20 Mar 1804	Richmond	139		
Richardson, Wm.	One large silver medal	11 Aug 1789	Richmond	139		
Richardson, Wm. And George	Broaches, knives, medals	14 Mar 1787	Richmond	139		
Ritter, William	Nine Morocco chair cushions	9 June 1823	Richmond	139		
Ritter, William	Making and putting up a large window curtain	27 Dec 1825	Richmond	139		
Ritter, William	Rocking chair and easychair	19 Feb 1838	Richmond	655	4	5
Ritter, Wm.	Making nine large window curtains	1824	Richmond	692		1st 1824
Ritter, Wm.	Making and putting up three window curtains	8 June 1826	Richmond	655	4	12
Ritter, Wm.	Restuffing armchairs	24 Oct 1837	Richmond	139		
Ritter,William	putting up morning	2 Aug 1826	Richmond	139		
Roche, Patrick	Pasting map of City of Richmond onto cotton cloth	25 July 1817	Richmond	139		
Rockwood & Grubb	One dozen chairs	24 Feb 1818	Richmond	261		
Seaton, Leonard H.	One dozen Windsor chairs	9 Jan 1818	Richmond	261		
Seaton, Leonard H.	Dozen Windsor chairs	9 Jan 1818	Richmond	261		
Seaton, Leonard H.	1 1/2 doz. Chairs for governor	5 Jan 1813	Richmond	139	388	1809–11 1813
Shappard, Ro.	One sett tea trays	1817	Richmond	655	4	2
Shelton, Wm.	One long writing desk, two sitting benches	25 June 1819	Richmond	261		
Smith, John	A press for keeping the records for the Superior Court of Princess Anne	23 Aug 1813	Princess Anne County	261		
Smith, Wm.	Five Windsor chairs	7 Oct 1800	Chesterfield	296	Trents	1792–1807
Smith, Yeaman	A carpenter to appraise work on the Armory	25 June 1810	Richmond	139		
Smith,W.H.	1/2 dozen chairs	20 Oct 1837	Richmond	655	4	11

Name	*Description*	*Date*	*Location*	*Entry*	*Box*	*Folder*
Smith,Wm.H.	a crib	8 July 1840	Richmond	655	5	1
Soule, Rufus	Making press with 88 pigeonholes, etc.	7 Jan 1806	Richmond	139		
Southall & Trower	Making one table	1789	Richmond	139		
Southall, Wm. & Jno. Trower	Making a press with pigeonholes	10 Feb 1787	Richmond	139		
Southall, Wm. & Trower	Writing desk for the Auditor's office	19 Mar 1787	Richmond	139		
Stepenson, Clotworthy	moving out of case bust of LaFayette,one laundry table		1 Jan 1789	Richmond		139
Stephenson, Clotworthy	Making a table to a copying press for use of the executive		7 Jan 1788	Richmond		139
Stephenson, Cworthy	Book press, double writing desk	17 Feb 1790	Richmond	139		
Stewart,Littleton W	writing desk & table for Auditor	30 June 1832	Richmond	139		
Sullivan, Enoch	Nineteen silver seals for the District Courts	22 Mar 1804	Richmond	139		
Sully, Thomas	Drawing a sword hilt for O'Bannon's sword	7 Sept 1807	Richmond	139		
Swan, Saml.	Mending a bureau	29 May 1789	Richmond	139		
Swann, Saml.	Gluing and blocking 14 chairs, etc.	26 Jan 1789	Richmond (?)	139		
Swann, Saml.	Stuffing and blocking five chairs	25 July 1789	Richmond	139		
Swann, Saml.	Repairing 5 1/2 bookcases to the General Court and Court of Appeals	11 Nov 1789	Richmond	139		
Swann, Saml.	One large mahogany press for the Governor's House	9 Nov 1795	Richmond	139		
Swann, Samuel	Mending five mahogany chairs, etc.	2 July 1789	Richmond	139		
Swann, Samuel	A birch book press	16 Aug 1790	Richmond	466	District Court, Richmond	
Swann, Samuel	Repairs to furniture	13 May 1792	Richmond	139		
Swann,Samuel	mending press for council	16 Oct 1789	Richmond	139		
Taft&Mitchell	dozen teaspoons,etc.	26 Jan 1819	Richmond	655	4	2
Tatum & Rison	Making 1 1/2 dozen mahogany chairs	29 July 1830	Richmond	655	4	6
Tatum & Rison	Scraping and varnishing two sideboards, etc.	8 Nov 1830	Richmond	655	4	6
Tatum & Rison	mahogany press for governor	11 May 1830	Richmond	139		
Taylor, Geo.	Five mahogany tables for the Court of Appeals	21 May 1799	Richmond	261		
Taylor, Geo. & Jas.	Raising the feet of a mahogany table	24 Sept 1805	Richmond	261		
Taylor, Geo. & Jas.	Mending one sett of Northumberland tables, etc.	10 July 1806	Richmond	655	4	1
Taylor, George	Mahogany book press, etc.	15 Nov 1800	Richmond	139		
Taylor, George	Mending two doors on sideboard	6 Nov 1804	Richmond	139		
Taylor, James	Mending two doors of sideboard	6 Nov 1804	Richmond	139		
Taylor, Jas.	Mending small table for Court of Appeals	10 Apr 1811	Richmond	261		
Taylor, Jas.	Two ballot boxes	7 Feb 1811	Richmond	261		

Name	*Description*	*Date*	*Location*	*Entry*	*Box*	*Folder*
Taylor, John	Brass foundry bill	23 May 1808	Richmond	175	Records of April–May 1808	Receipts, 1808
Temple, Robt W.	Apprentice to A & R McKim	4 Mar 1803	Henrico	478	1586	
Tompkins, C.	Hanging a door to a press	5 Feb 1814	Richmond	655	4	1
Tompkins, Christopher	One double press painted mahogany for the Auditor	13 Apr 1808	Richmond	139		
Tompkins, Christopher	Repairing cornices to two presses, etc.	5 Apr 1810	Richmond	139		
Tompkins, Christopher	One press	5 Feb 1813	Richmond	261		
Tompkins, Christopher	One book press	3 Dec 1816	Richmond	139		
Tompkins, Christopher	One book press	17 Apr 1820	Richmond	139		
Tompkins, Christopher	Taking pigeonholes out of one paper press and putting in shelves	6 Dec 1820	Richmond	261		
Tredwell, E.L.	four sewing chairs	22 Oct 1835	Richmond	655	4	9
Trower, John	Writing desk for the Auditor's office	19 Mar 1787		139		
Turpin, John	Repairing locks and putting knobs to sideboard, etc.	10 May 1834	Richmond	655	4	8
Tyler, Benj. O.	Cleaning, refreshing and varnishing portrait of Jefferson	7 Apr 1838	Richmond	139		
Walker & Booth	cushions and curtains for House of Delegates	16 Nov 1829	Richmond	139	Public Buildings	
Warner, J.	Watchmaker	19 Mar 1804	Henrico	478	1586	
Warrell, James	decorated transparencies	1824		692		1824–1825
Warrell, James R G Scott	decorated transparencies	1824	1824–1825	692		
Webster & Booth	cushions for Hall of Delegates	16 Nov 1829	Richmond	139	Public Buildings 1785–1831	
Webster & Poore	A mahogany press for the Council Chamber	27 June 1809	Richmond	655	4	1
Webster & Poore	New sett feet and making pigeonholes in old press	10 Dec 1811	Richmond	139		
Webster & Poore	2 mahogany rulers for council	12 July 1811	Richmond	139		
Webster & Poore	mahogany case for Gen.Clark's sword	18 Aug 1813	Richmond	139	388	1800–3, 1813
Webster, Poore, Prossepr	A table	14 Feb 1807	Richmond	139		
Weidemeyer, John M.	Making seal for Superior Court of Chancery, Fredericksburg District, making screw stand for same	7 July 1815	Fredericksburg	139		
Werckmeister, M.	Framing and glazing Declaration of Independence, etc.	13 Nov 1818	Richmond	139		

Name	*Description*	*Date*	*Location*	*Entry*	*Box*	*Folder*
Whiteburn, John	Paint presses	24 Dec 1818	Richmond	261		
Woolley, Wm. P.	Press for the House of Delegates to contain the Rolls	23 Dec 1819	Richmond	261		
Yancey, Henry	Apprentice of A. McKim	6 Dec 1802	Henrico	478	1586	
Yancey, Henry	Apprentice to A & R McKim	4 Mar 1803	Henrico	478	1586	
Yancey, John	Apprentice to A. McKim	6 Dec 1802	Henrico	478	1586	
Yarrington, James	making legs to desk for Auditor	25 Feb 1832	Richmond	139		

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20. Ibid, Entry 139, 16 December 1809, McCay & Cowan, LVA.

21. Ibid, Entry 175, Records of Receipt 1808, Folder April–May 1808, 23 May 1808, John Taylor, LVA.

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23. Ibid, Entry 139, 20 March 1804, William Richardson, LVA.

24. Ibid, Entry 139, 22 March 1804, Enoch Sullivan, LVA.

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