

historic furnishings plan

INDEPENDENCE CITY TAVERN

NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK / PENNSYLVANIA

HISTORIC FURNISHINGS PLAN
CITY TAVERN
INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
PENNSYLVANIA

U. S. Department of the Interior
National Park Service
Harpers Ferry Center
Library

INDE 22

by
Constance V. Hershey

DENVER SERVICE CENTER
HISTORIC PRESERVATION TEAM
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
DENVER, COLORADO

November 1974

INDE 22

F.P.

AUTHOR	
CITY TAVERN	
TITLE	
HERSHEY, 1974	
DATE	ISSUED TO

INDE 22

PREFACE

The "genteel and convenient" City Tavern flourished from 1774 to about 1800 as the most important public house in the most important city in British North America. Philadelphians and prominent strangers frequented it for meetings, meals, concerts, balls, buying and selling at the Exchange, or scanning the foreign press. Representatives of the colonies to the First and Second Continental Congresses met there, formally and informally. And when discontent grew into rebellion, the men who participated in the formation of the United States returned to the tavern many of them knew well.

It was the frequent resort of delegates to the Constitutional Convention. During Philadelphia's decade as the national capital, City Tavern welcomed Congress for patriotic festivals and quiet caucuses. By the time it was surpassed by newer, more fashionable hotels and restaurants of the early nineteenth century, it had seen the nation through its formative period.

Its historical importance drew the attention of National Park Service historians, architects, and curators. With the NPS's decision to reconstruct City Tavern on its original site, a research program began; after more than 20 years, the body of information about the tavern and its history is being condensed into reports that will become the tools for this reconstruction.

This furnishing plan is the last in a series of specialized reports: Historic Structure Report, City Tavern, Historical Data, Part I, by Miriam Q. Blimm (1962); Historic Structure Report, Architectural Data Section, City Tavern, by Penelope H. Batcheler (1973); and Historic Resource Study, The City Tavern, by John D. R. Platt (1973). It gratefully admits leaning heavily on the research of these three authors, on their encouragement and advice, as well as on their information, in its writing.

There has been generous assistance from outside the NPS, particularly from the H. F. du Pong Winterthur Museum (through Louise Belden and Dr. Frank Sommer and his staff), and from Colonial Williamsburg (through Jane Carson, Patricia Gibbs, and Dr. Edward Riley). Several individuals associated with restaurants or food services have spent their own time and given valuable assistance.

Every member of the museum staff has been involved, perforce, in the preparation of the report; their help is gratefully acknowledged. Particular thanks should go to Museum Curator Charles Dorman, who edited the study.

The research, which concludes with the furnishing plan, began with published accounts of taverns in general, particularly English ones of the mid-eighteenth century, because the City Tavern was advertised as being in the "London style." Studied next were London public places, such as coffeehouses and clubs. At that stage of the study cartoons proved invaluable, because the few existing photographs of surviving eighteenth-century institutions incorporate changes. A selection of the most pertinent cartoons has been included in this furnishing plan.

With that background, the author read through the note cards on file in the Independence National Historical Park library. These cards, which represent a distillation of research by the park's historians, provide the factual backbone for this furnishing plan. Notations on these cards provided several leads concerning the later history of Daniel Smith, City Tavern's first innkeeper; the foods available and methods of serving them, as suggested by some of the tavern's bills; and the availability of English imports at various stages of the tavern's history.

Continuing the research, the author examined printed, manuscript, and pictorial material on American taverns--tavern inventories, travelers' accounts, and extant restorations and reconstructions. Travelers' viewpoints are often either rosy or jaundiced and restored or "olde time" taverns are sometimes misleading, but neither should be discounted. Inventories, however, do not lie, and they have added considerable flesh to the factual bones of the research. Several of the most applicable ones have been appended to this report.

Concluding research was spent on available or reproducible articles for furnishing a new City Tavern. The enthusiasm of the author was occasionally daunted by the prospect of duplicating by new methods any of the characteristics of the first City Tavern. Even if records survive that precisely document the furnishings, the food, and the proceedings within the building, we could not duplicate them. Nor would we, because who would choose to dine on unrefrigerated food and formidably strong drink, surrounded by flies in summer and drafts in winter, attended by a waiter whose one suit had not been changed since it was new last fall?

Therefore the National Park Service has made the decision to serve its visitors in a new City Tavern, reconstructed to approximate the old without duplicating its discomforts. INHP needs a way to feed at least some of its visitors, but rather than construct a modern restaurant facility, the park decided to make its restaurant an integral part of its interpretation. To disappoint the visitor's sense of participation in eighteenth-century urban life would vitiate the park's interpretive effort of 20 years.

The reports submitted by the NPS staff, including this one, were designed to protect the tavern from attack on the grounds of historical inaccuracy. It will be the problem of the tavern's restaurateur to create a practical, hygienic dining place that does not conflict with the atmosphere created by the rest of the park. Our responsibility and his, however, do not divide cleanly. By forcing him to live with our prior decisions--which are, after all, those of architects, historians, and curators--we may be making his task difficult; it will be, to an extent, our responsibility to help him run City Tavern as an authentic eighteenth-century inn, thereby making our restoration as effective as possible.

It has been recommended verbally by NPS staff members that the assistance of a restaurant consultant be sought in the early planning stages of the tavern--that recommendation is reiterated now.

If the services of such an individual are engaged, it will give valuable technical assistance to those in the NPS responsible for plans for the tavern. It should not, however, end their participation entirely. Someone must insure the accuracy of the reproduction furnishings; someone must meet with manufacturers' representatives to show them artifacts, explain the needs of the building, and work out the compromises that will permit the NPS to have pride in the reconstruction. Moreover, someone must provide the restaurateur with historical data, approve his menus, and inspect the food and the service after the opening of the restaurant. Unlike a historic house museum, City Tavern will have a future as well as a past.

We will never duplicate in every detail the tavern that opened 200 years ago last winter, but we can certainly build a structure of equal quality, furnished similarly with equal care, and serving with equal hospitality the food and drink of the eighteenth century.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	iii
I. ADMINISTRATIVE DATA	1
A. Name and Number of Structure	3
B. Proposed Use of Structure	3
C. Justification for Such Use	3
D. Provision for Operating Structure	3
E. Cost	3
II. HISTORICAL DATA: A DOCUMENTED ACCOUNT OF HISTORIC FURNITURE	5
A. Primary Sources	7
1. Insurance Surveys and Bills	7
a. Interior Wall Finish	7
b. Interior Carving	9
c. Bell System	9
d. Fireplace Treatment	10
e. Window Treatment	10
2. Advertisements and Auction Notices	10
B. Secondary Sources: Cartoons	27
1. "Court of Equity, or a Convival [sic] City Meeting"	28
2. "Good News"	30
3. "A Good Story"	32
4. "A Chop House"	34
5. "English Improvements on French Fashions"	36
6. Untitled View of a London Tavern or Eating House	38
7. "The Chop House"	40
8. "An English Ordinary"	42
9. "Tasting"	44
10. "The Country Club"	46
11. "Celebrated Chess Match, at Parsloe's"	48
12. "The Contrast"	50
13. "A Red-hot Politician"	52
14. "The Whim"	54
15. "Substitutes for Bread"	56
III. HISTORICAL DATA: A DOCUMENTED ACCOUNT OF COMESTIBLES IN THE HISTORIC PERIOD	59
IV. HISTORICAL DATA: ORGANIZATIONS THAT MET AT CITY TAVERN	73

V. A DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF PROPOSED FURNISHINGS	81
A. General Recommendations	83
1. Interior Finishing	83
2. Lighting	84
3. Heating	84
4. Bell System	84
5. Cooking Equipment	85
6. Cooking and Serving	85
7. Eating Utensils (dishes, drinking vessels, cutlery)	85
8. Movables	86
9. Linens	86
10. Personnel in Public Contact	86
B. General Recommendations by Room	86
1. Entrance	86
2. First-Floor Hall	87
a. Interior Finish	87
b. Lighting	87
c. Wall Ornaments	87
d. Furniture	87
3. Northeast Room (Subscription Room)	87
a. Interior Finish	88
b. Lighting	88
c. Heating	88
d. Window Treatment	88
e. Wall Ornaments	88
f. Furniture	88
4. Southeast Room (Coffee Room)	89
5. Northwest Room (Bar Room)	89
a. Interior Finish	90
b. Windows	90
c. Lighting	90
d. Wall Ornaments	90
e. Heating	91
f. Furniture	91
g. Serving and Eating Utensils	91
6. Southwest Room	92
a. Interior Finish	92
b. Lighting	92
c. Windows	92
d. Heating	93
e. Wall Ornaments and Accessories	93
f. Furniture	93

7.	Stair Hall	93
	a. Wall Ornaments	94
	b. Lighting	94
8.	Second Floor	94
9.	Second-Floor Private Dining Rooms	94
10.	Northwest Room (Private Dining Room)	95
	a. Interior Finish	95
	b. Lighting	95
	c. Heating	95
	d. Window Hangings	96
	e. Wall Ornaments: Maps and Engraved Views	96
	f. Looking Glasses	96
	g. Furniture	96
	h. Serving and Eating Utensils	96
11.	Southwest Room	97
12.	Long Room	97
13.	Cellar (Two School Dining Rooms)	98
14.	Tavern Kitchen	99
C.	Specific Recommendations by Room	99
	1. First-Floor Hall	99
	a. Walls	99
	b. Lighting	100
	c. Furniture	100
	2. First-Floor Subscription Room	100
	a. Walls	100
	b. Windows	101
	c. Furniture	101
	d. Other	101
	3. Coffee Room	101
	a. Walls	101
	b. Windows	102
	c. Furniture	102
	4. Northwest Room (Bar Room)	103
	a. Walls	103
	b. Lighting	103
	c. Windows	104
	d. Furniture	104
	e. Utensils	104
	5. Southwest Room (Private Dining Room)	105
	a. Walls	105
	b. Windows	105
	c. Furniture	105
	d. Lighting	106
	e. Ceramics	106
	f. Linens	107

6.	Stair Hall	108
	a. Walls	108
	b. Lighting	108
7.	Northwest Dining Room	108
	a. Walls	108
	b. Lighting	108
	c. Furniture	108
	d. Serving and Eating Utensils	109
	e. Windows	110
8.	Southwest Dining Room	110
	a. Walls	110
	b. Lighting	110
	c. Furniture	110
	d. Serving and Eating Utensils	111
	e. Windows	111
	f. Glassware	111
9.	Long Room	112
	a. Walls	112
	b. Lighting	112
	c. Furniture	112
10.	Tavern Kitchen	113
	a. Walls	113
	b. Center of Room	114
	c. Utensils	114

VI. ILLUSTRATIONS OF TYPICAL FURNISHINGS 115

1.	Philadelphia Windsor Side Chair (1767-96)	116
2.	"Sideboard Table"	118
3.	Tall-Case Clock	120
4.	Philadelphia Side Chair (1785-95)	122
5.	"French Chairs"	124
6.	"A Compleat Map of the West Indies"	126
7.	"A Side Table and Mirror"	128
8.	"An Armchair"	130
9.	"Girandole for Derby House, Grosvenor Square, 1774"	132
10.	Tea Setting	134
11.	Bar Setting: Northwest Room, First Floor	138
12.	Bar Wares	142
13.	Dinner Setting: Southwest Dining Room, First Floor	146
14.	Creamware Table Setting: Southwest Dining Room, First Floor	150
15.	Table Laid in "feather-edged" Ware: Private Dining Room, Second Floor	154
16.	Service Setting in Oriental Porcelain: Private Dining Room	158

VII.	PLANS AND ELEVATIONS	163
	A. East and North Elevations	164
	B. West and South Elevations	166
VIII.	PROPOSED FURNITURE PLACEMENT	169
IX.	ESTIMATED COSTS AND SOURCES OF SUPPLY	173
	APPENDICES	175
	A. Inventories of Taverns	177
	B. Craftsmen Involved in the Construction of City Tavern	209
	C. Advertisements Placed by the Managers of City Tavern	213
	D. Daniel Smith, The First Manager of City Tavern .	223
	E. Extracts from the Diary of Samuel Shoemaker, Esquire, of Philadelphia During His Residence in London	229
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	235

I. ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

by

D. G. Warnock



I. ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

A. Name and Number of Structure

The City Tavern, at the northwest corner of Second and Walnut streets.

B. Proposed Use of Structure

The reconstructed City Tavern will be open to park visitors as an operating eighteenth-century tavern. It will be refurnished with reproductions of period pieces. The food and beverages, insofar as possible, will be similar to those served to the members of the First and Second Continental Congresses when they dined at the tavern in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

C. Justification for Such Use

The possibility for the visitor to explore this facet of the Founding Fathers' lives will add another important dimension to the park's interpretive program. The reconstruction of City Tavern is provided for in the park master plan of 1971 and section 1(a) of Public Law 795, signed June 28, 1948.

The reconstruction of the structure will add immeasurably to the physical appearance and character of the park scene. It is of primary importance to try and recreate at least a part of the physical atmosphere which prevailed at the time of the Revolutionary and Federal periods.

D. Provision for Operating Structure

The operation of City Tavern will be handled through a concession contract.

E. Cost

\$1,500,000 estimated Federal costs.

\$ 250,000 estimated donated funds.



II. HISTORICAL DATA:

A DOCUMENTED ACCOUNT OF HISTORIC FURNITURE

II. HISTORICAL DATA: A DOCUMENTED ACCOUNT OF HISTORIC FURNITURE

Over the past 10 years, two significant surveys of City Tavern as a historic entity have been published. They are the Historic Structure Report, City Tavern, Historical Data, Part I (1962), by Miriam Quinn Blimm; and Historic Resource Study, The City Tavern (1973), by John D. R. Platt. The reader is referred to them for an account of the events and personages associated with the tavern during its historic period.

Unlike the other refurnished structures in Independence National Historical Park, the City Tavern has left no tangible remnants for those reconstructing it. It vanished without a trace. The documentation of historic furnishings must depend therefore on written descriptive or illustrative material.

These can be divided into two groups: primary and secondary sources. This division reflects not their importance, but the immediacy of their relationship to the building. Among primary sources of information are insurance surveys, bills, advertisements, and auction notices printed in Philadelphia newspapers, and first-person accounts from congressional delegates and visitors to the tavern. Secondary sources of information are English cartoons of tavern scenes.

A. Primary Sources

1. Insurance Surveys and Bills

The historic structure report submitted by Penelope Batcheler in February 1973 contains a thorough discussion of the implications of the insurance surveys made of City Tavern between 1773 and 1848. Texts of those surveys will be found in Appendix E of that report. The aspects of the building treatment that demand discussion here are the interior finishing, the presence and location of a bell system, the fireplace treatment, and the initial treatment of the windows.

a. Interior Wall Finish

The 1773 insurance survey states unequivocally: "the whole painted." Because every elaboration of a building altered replacement costs and thus affected the insurance rate, unusual or expensive items were invariably cited in insurance surveys. This probably was especially mandatory for a public building such as a tavern whose risks were much higher than those of a domestic structure.

Although wallpaper was in use--and in production--in Philadelphia by the third quarter of the eighteenth century, it could not be called a common method of finishing a wall. It was costly and fragile--two attributes that made it a poor choice for use in a public gathering place.

The third alternative wall treatment is stencilling. An ornamental device extremely popular from the end of the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth, stencilling was cheaper and more durable than paper and well suited to reproduction in the small, regular, geometrical or running patterns then in favor.

The one room of City Tavern that might have conceivably been finished with papered or stencilled walls is the Long Room on the second floor--intended for formal uses. Its woodwork is described by the surveyor, but he says nothing in detail about special treatment of the walls.

The building's 1783 resurvey is equally emphatic in describing the wall finish, stating: "The whole painted inside and out." In its 12 years of operation, the tavern was certainly repainted, but it was probably not yet papered.

On September 30, 1785, however, the current tavern keeper, Edward Moyston, announced the conversion of the southeast room into the "Merchants' Coffee House," and in 1789 he appropriated the two front rooms as the "Coffee House" and "Place of Exchange" or "Exchange Room." There is an 1815 bill paid by James Kitchen, who had succeeded Moyston as tavern keeper, to Caldcleugh and Thomas "for hanging Paper for the Coffee Room in the City Tavern. . . ."1 At some point between 1785 and 1815, then, at least one of the rooms had received paper. Perhaps one or more of the rooms had stencilled walls by that time; stencilling was sufficiently common, attractive, and serviceable to have been used there in the early nineteenth century, but there is no record of its presence in the tavern.

It is clear that during the height of its historic period City Tavern had painted interior walls and woodwork.

1. Receipt, dated November 14, 1815, Receipts and Payments, 1814-1820, Elizabeth Powell Papers, on file at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. The bill included fees for painting and "half measuring" the same room.

b. Interior Carving

Because the finishing of the woodwork has been treated in the historic structure report, it is only necessary to repeat here that the carving described in the insurance surveys is plain throughout the tavern, with the notable exception of the Long Room; that there is a specific and comparatively small bill for carving in John Cadwalader's brief account of building expenses; and that the bill was submitted by Martin Jugiez, who had worked on the interior of Cadwalader's own house, and whose reputation as one of the city's most accomplished woodcarvers has survived to the present.

c. Bell System

Included in Cadwalader's account is a bill paid to Alexander Smith for "Hanging Bells etc." According to Nicholas Wainwright, "Smith was much patronized for this type of work."² The "etc." in this bill may have referred to a jack, pulleys, and a spit for the kitchen. Smith, who had a shop "at the Sign of the Lock, Jack and Bell between Walnut and Spruce, a little below the bridge,"³ was from London, and supplied two jacks for Cadwalader's house.

A bell system was a virtual necessity, even in a large private house, and the convenient functioning of a major tavern would have been almost impossible without one. By using wires run along door frames and below cornices (or, in some cases, enclosed within the walls before they were plastered), servants or waiters could be summoned from a central point to any room. It was, of course, possible to install a bellpull for every booth of a dining room. But it was an extraordinarily elaborate operation, and consequently, one very much subject to breakdowns.

Samuel Powel, then owner of City Tavern, paid John Jones 11s.3d. for "repairing Bells at the City Tavern" in 1793; by that time the tavern was a center of the port's business, and an English traveler reported that his party, dining at the midday meal, "could hardly get any attendance from the waiters, though we rang the bell incessantly."⁴

2. Nicholas B. Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia: The House and Furniture of General John Cadwalader (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1964), p. 30.

3. Ibid., p. 8, quoted from the Pennsylvania Chronicle, July 3-10, 1769.

4. Receipt, dated July 8, 1783, Receipts and Payments, 1792-1797, Elizabeth Powell Papers. The traveler was Henry Wansey whose comment is found on page 94 of his Excursion to the United States of North America (1794).

d. Fireplace Treatment

The 1773 insurance survey for City Tavern makes no mention of heating. One can infer from this that the fireplaces were "as usual," that is, open hearths with or without open or "Franklin" stoves.

A citation in Cadwalader's account of a bill to James Glen for "workmanship altering chimneys,"⁵ along with the inclusion of "open stoves" in a list of Tavern items sold at auction in 1777,⁶ increase the possibility that stoves were used at the tavern in 1773. Alteration of fireplaces to accommodate open stoves might have been among demands made by a new manager upon accepting the terms of a lease.

e. Window Treatment

It is probable that the windows of City Tavern were bare, except for shutters, when it was let to Daniel Smith in 1774. The initial insurance survey makes no mention of window finishing. There is one bill, however, among those cited by Cadwalader, to William Martin for £11 19s. 6d. (twice that submitted by Juglez), which is described by a single word: "Upholsterer."⁷ The bill may cover the cost of venetian blinds for some of the windows or carpets for some of the floors. Because "Upholsterer" described a man who covered furniture, designed and made window hangings, fitted carpets to rooms, built and furnished beds, and (in the case of William Martin) also built and sold drums, it is possible that an upholsterer's bill could pay for venetian blinds.

2. Advertisements and Auction Notices

Advertisements placed by successive managers or innkeepers of City Tavern (see appendix C) are delightfully explicit concerning the character and operation of the establishment, but distressingly vague about its specific appearance. Taken together, however, they provide such a good composite that they make possible a selection of secondary illustrative sources likely to be accurate and appropriate.

5. See Appendix B.

6. See Appendix C.

7. Undated account of expenditures, John Cadwalader Papers, on file at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Even accounting for exaggeration, the initial advertisement placed by the proprietors presents an attractive picture of a "genteel tavern," "the most convenient and elegant in America." Descriptions of "several large club rooms," two of which (on the second-floor front) could be combined to make a single 50-foot ballroom, or meeting room, would have served to dispel the image, (had it been in the reader's mind), of the rustic post station or the cellar grogshop. The proprietors were quite specific: they had built an attractive investment and wanted an experienced man with "some stock beforehand, as well as an active, obliging desposition [sic]." They succeeded in finding such a man in Daniel Smith, as proven by the first few years of the tavern's operation; his first advertisement gave them, and the public, a good idea of the sort of establishment City Tavern would be. His notice also provides us with room use and furnishing information, which paints a clearer picture of the tavern than the initial vague announcement by the proprietors.

The most significant clause for an understanding of the furnishings is: "he has completely furnished it, and, at a very great expense [original italics] has laid in every article of the first quality perfectly in the style of the London Tavern." His words justify using contemporary cartoons of London taverns and indicate that the prototype should be a more urbane and sophisticated tavern, coffeehouse, or club. The phrase "in the style of," taken with the logistics of furniture supply and the fact that he had no previous tavern in Philadelphia, suggest that Smith ordered "London-style" furniture in Philadelphia in the fall of 1773.

The validity of Smith's claim to be able to produce (or reproduce) a London tavern is substantiated by an account of his life and later history (see appendix D). He was a native of Ireland who came to America as an adult (which would permit experience in London or Dublin) and lived in the colonies for 6 years before coming to Philadelphia. The possibility of a pre-American London connection is strengthened by the fact that on his return to Europe he settled as a tavern keeper near London rather than returning to Ireland. The possibility that Smith learned the London style in another colonial city (possibly New York or Annapolis) should not be precluded, although no record of his residency in such a city has yet been found.

Thus, from his own claim and from his life history we can assume that he knew the sort of furnishings he would need, and it is quite probable that his choice of articles for City Tavern was

based on English experience. The "genteel Coffee Room . . . properly supplied with English and American papers and magazines" would be in the well-established and well-known tradition of London's coffeehouses. The "goodness of his wine and larder" would be a significant element in his success, and his sophistication in this area would denote an English training. The "several elegant bedrooms detached from noise" were clearly intended for important visitors, and not for casual drovers and rustics. In fact, Smith's penchant for pleasing "the quality" would eventually be his undoing.

Apparently, Daniel Smith advertised only once, when he prepared to open his house. After that, the absence of general advertising in the Philadelphia papers indicates that he could let the merits of City Tavern speak for themselves.

The building had barely opened when its "spacious room" on the second floor was put to an unforeseen use:

On Friday Evening the Letters brought by the Express from Boston were read to a great Number of respectable Inhabitants, convened at the City Tavern. . . . A Congress of Deputies from the several Colonies is thought to be absolutely necessary, to devise Means of restoring Harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies, and prevent Matters from coming Extremities.⁸

Matters did, however, come to "Extremities" and the Continental Congress was convened in Philadelphia. Some of the delegates who arrived were "met 5 Miles out of Town by a Great No. of Gentlemen and military Companies, one of the Rifle Men[,] escorted by Music to City Tavern."⁹

8. Pennsylvania Gazette, May 25, 1774, p. 2, col. 3.

9. John Adams, The Adams Papers: The Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. 4 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1961), 2:183, entry from Robert Treat Paine's diary for May 10, 1775.

When John Adams and his friends were welcomed, Adams wrote in his diary that as

dirty, dusty and fatigued as we were, we could not resist the importunity to go to the tavern, the most genteel one in America. There we were introduced to a number of other gentlemen of the city: Dr. Shippen, Dr. Knox, Mr. Smith, and a multitude of others, and to Mr. Lynch and Mr. Gadsden of South Carolina. Here we had a fresh welcome to the city of Philadelphia and after some time spent in conversation, a curtain was drawn, and in the other half of the chamber a supper appeared as elegant as ever was laid upon a table.¹⁰

His brief description is the most specific account found that describes how one part of a dining room was separated from the other. He was probably referring to the Long Room, which the advertisement tells us could be divided into two rooms, or joined into one room. Because Adams seems to describe a large group of gentlemen (20 or more), there would have been too many people to put in only half of an ordinary dining room. The plan of the second floor suggests that it would have been easier to close off one part of the Long Room to guests while the host laid a table in the closed-off section, than to shut guests in a curtained-off section without access to the doors or the fireplace, which would have been the only apparent possibility in the smaller dining rooms. The auspiciousness of the occasion and the general fanfare of the entry might argue for the utilization of the finer space.

On the other hand, using the methods available to eighteenth-century technology, it is difficult to conceive how a 21-foot span could be curtained off. The division of the Long Room was probably accomplished with screens, which were a prominent feature of eighteenth-century interiors. The cartoons in this section illustrate the uses of screens in taverns and clubs, and it is likely that they served similar purposes in City Tavern. Because they were frequently hung with cloth, it is possible that Adams used the words "a curtain was drawn" to describe pulling aside a standing screen.

10. Edmund Cody Burnett, ed., Letters of the Members of the Continental Congress, 8 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1921-36), 1:1.

One might assume that Smith, far from being pleased by the arrival of lawyers and firebrands from the length of the colonies, was anxious to keep their presence at the tavern quiet. Therefore, he might have provided them with a private dining room on the second floor, thus justifying Adams's use of the word "chamber" to describe the room. It is also quite likely that the Congressional delegates and their hosts wished to talk more freely than would be possible in a large open room. They would have relied on the discretion of Smith to provide them with a private room and had he done so, he probably would have erected the screens in order to shut off the noise and curiosity of the waiters.

Supper that evening was the first of many for the delegates. Washington's diaries list regular suppers and balls and evenings "at the New Tavern." Alexander Graydon's memoirs indicate he "often spent . . . evenings" at the City Tavern, "which had been recently established, and was in great vogue."¹¹ The delegates had a weekly dinner each Saturday at City Tavern. The Pennsylvania Journal for October 26, 1774, states that "On Thursday last an elegant entertainment was given at the City Tavern by the Assembly of this Province to the Gentlemen of Congress," which would have meant a sitting for about a hundred people. Smith's establishment had clearly justified his claims to style.

Congress reconvened in May 1775, and some of the delegates were sufficiently acquainted with one another to reserve regular tables at Smith's tavern. George Read wrote to his wife:

We sit in Congress generally till half-past three o'clock, . . . and then dine at the City Tavern, where a few of us have established a table for each day in the week, save Saturday, when there is a general dinner. . . . A dinner is ordered for the number, eight, and whatever is deficient of that number is to be paid for at two shillings and sixpence a head, and each that attends pays only the expense of the day.¹²

11. George Washington, The Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1925), 2:162; John Stockton Littell, ed, Memoir of His Own Time . . . by Alexander Graydon (Philadelphia, 1846), p. 112.

12. Burnett, Letters, 1:92.

Read described what was commonly called a "club dinner." Although particulars varied, club dinners or "supper clubs" were meals provided on a regular basis for a regular number of associates at a standard price. As Read explained, the cost of the meal might vary slightly, depending on the number of absentees (or the amount of liquor consumed). Club dinners were an advantage to the manager (as well as to the patrons) because he could plan on a specific number of diners at a specific time. Everyone at the table was served the same dishes, so the only variable he had to consider was the alcohol.

Through the years City Tavern grew in stature and Smith advanced in prosperity; his only public notices concerned the loss of a Spanish Pointed dog with "dark liver-coloured ears" and "a Welsh Servant man named Evan Thomas."¹³ We are given no further account of the tavern's appearance or business throughout the period leading to independence, except that its use was heavy and that its patrons discussed the questions raised in Congress long and earnestly over bowls of punch, bottles of madeira, or other spirits. (The accounts of Jefferson and Washington illuminate the alcoholic ambience that prevailed when issues such as that recounted in this letter from Elbridge Gerry to James Warren were discussed.)¹⁴

Philadelphia, July 2, 1776.

Dear Sir:

I have only time to inform you that yesterday was agitated in Congress the great question of Independency; and as the facts are as well known at the Coffee-House of the city as in Congress, I may go on to inform you that, in a Committee of the whole House, it was carried by nine Colonies.

I remain, sir, with due regard, your assured friend and humble servant,

Elbridge Gerry

To Colonel Warren.

13. See Appendix C for texts.

14. Burnett, Letters, 1:526.

When the struggle for independence became a battle, City Tavern was drawn into the conflict. On March 4, 1777, Pennsylvania's Supreme Executive Council met with the Assembly and elected Thomas Wharton president of the Supreme Executive Council, Captain General, and Commander in Chief of Pennsylvania.

Thirteen Hessian cannon, captured at Princeton, fired the salute, and then there was a banquet at the City Tavern, given by the Assembly and attended by members of Congress and the Chief officers of Army and Navy. A round of patriotic toasts was drunk, of course.¹⁵

The conviviality of this occasion did not mean that the war was not being fought in earnest, because on January 16, 1777, General Mercer was the first of several heroes to be buried from City Tavern.

The first anniversary of independence was celebrated, according to John Adams, with "a festivity and ceremony becoming the occasion."

At three we went to dinner, and were very agreeably entertained with excellent company, good cheer, fine music from the band of Hessians taken at Trenton, and continued volleys between every toast, from a company of soldiers drawn up in Second-Street before the City Tavern. . . .¹⁶

The tab for the festivities was \$832.47, which included "the Expenses of Fire Works."¹⁷

15. J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Wescott, History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1884), 1:338.

16. John Adams, ed., The Adams Papers: Adams Family Correspondence, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield, 2 vols. (Cambridge: University of Harvard Press, Belknap Press, 1963), 2:274-75, letter from Adams to his daughter Abigail, July 4, 1777.

17. Bill, dated Aug. 7, 1777, Journal of Treasury and Audit of Accounts, 1775-81, National Archives, Record Group 39, Washington, D.C.

Although these entries provide a sharp picture of the type and extent of activities held at City Tavern during those years, they have given us no information about the tables on which the feasts were laid, the chairs drawn up before them, the shape of the punchbowls drained, the mechanisms of the spits turned, or the style and color of the blinds closed against the inclemency of the night. It took disaster to provide more specific information.

Because there are no prior accounts to the contrary, it is probable that Smith, a prudent innkeeper, kept himself out of the debates as much as possible, and served his patrons, whatever their opinions, the best he could in the face of inflation and shortages.

After the battle of Quebec, however, one Colonel Prescott was brought to Philadelphia as a prisoner and put under house arrest at City Tavern. When a mob attempted to storm the tavern and seize him, Smith defended his guest--perhaps as much because he was a guest as because he was a Royal officer. According to Smith's testimony the event forced him to take a stand (or, in fact, to reveal a position) and from that point on the rebels of Philadelphia were against him. When Howe captured Philadelphia in September 1777, Smith signed as a noncombatant who chose to remain in the city; he entertained the Royal officers and when the British troops left in June 1778, Daniel Smith left with them.

The events of that winter and spring provided what appears to be the first concrete evidence concerning specific furnishings of the tavern. On December 11, 1777, the following notice appeared in the Philadelphia Evening Post:

December 10, 1777

To be SOLD by public VENDUE, on Friday next, the twelfth instant, at nine o'clock, all that large and elegant assortment of HOUSEHOLD and KITCHEN furniture, in the CITY TAVERN, among which are feather beds, card tables, bureau tables, desks, chairs, Windsor chairs, window and bed curtains, pictures, table linen, carpets, glass, china and earthen ware, a neat assortment of plate, and irons, shovels, and tongs, open stoves, with sundry other articles too tedious to mention,

N.B. The cash to be paid at the time of Sale.

At first reading it appears that Smith had closed down operations and was converting his assets into cash in preparation for flight. However, in December he could not have known--even with officers discussing military affairs around his table--what would happen in May. Thus, a December auction in preparation for a British retreat is unlikely. Nor was the auction at the other extreme--a routine affair with the premises being used as a convenient point for business, as was the regular practice at London coffee houses. The City Tavern became an auction house at the end of its existence, but not in 1777. The most likely and consistent explanation of this auction was that Smith, far from pessimistic about the British successes, had departed from the practice of gradual replacement and, inspired by the frantic spirit of the occupied city, had cleared out the tavern to redecorate it in the latest style and to make it a suitable and appealing resort for his English officer clientele.

A letter from Rebecca Frank to Mrs. William Paca dated February 26, 1778, points out:

You can have no idea of the life of continued amusement I live in. I can scarce have a moment to myself. I have stole this while everybody is retired to dress for dinner. I am but just come from under Mr. J. Black's hands and most elegantly am I dressed for a ball this evening at Smith's where we have one every Thursday. You would not know the room 'tis so much improv'd.¹⁸

Thus it appears almost certain that the 1777 auction list is a summary of the initial furnishings of the tavern.

Politically and militarily, matters did not proceed quite as Smith (and certainly not as Howe) had anticipated. When the British troops withdrew, taking about 3,000 Philadelphians with them, Smith left "to the value of Eighteen Hundred pounds in effects [new furnishings]," and took away only what he could carry (presumably the plate.)¹⁹

18. Rebecca Franks, "A Letter of Miss Rebecca Franks, 1778," ed. Henry J. Thompson, Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 16 (1892): 216.

19. See Appendix D for full text of Daniel Smith's statement before the Royal Commission.

The departure of the British, Hessians, and Tories left Philadelphia ruined but happy.

Philadelphia, 24th June 1836

The first observation I [Peter Stephen Du Ponceau] made on entering Philadelphia, was that the city had been left by the British and Hessians in the most filthy condition. I joined Baron Steuben at the State House in Second St, the celebrated boarding house so much spoken of in Graydon's memoirs. Such was the filth of the city that it was impossible for us to drink a comfortable dish of tea that evening. As fast as our cups were filled myriads of flies took possession of them, and served us as the harpies did the poor Trojans in the Enid [sic]. Some said they were Hessian flies, and various other jokes cracked on the occasion, for the evacuation of the city had put us all in good spirits and we enjoyed ourselves very well, the filth notwithstanding. . . .²⁰

The subscribers to City Tavern hired a new manager almost immediately. Gifford Dalley signed an agreement on July 8, 1778, and notice appeared in Philadelphia papers a month later (see Appendix C) announcing the impending reopening of the house. His advertisements tell nothing about the appearance or operation of the place, only that he sounded uncertain of his ability to handle the position. His concern is hardly surprising, because the demands placed on the tavern had begun even before he was officially recognized, with a triumphant Fourth of July celebration.

The entertainment was elegant, and well conducted. There were four Tables spread, two of them extended the whole length of the Room, the other two crossed them at right angles. At the end of the Room opposite the upper Table, was erected an Orchestra. . . . As soon as the Dinner began, the Musick consisting of Clarinets, Haut-boys, French horns, Violins and Bass Viols, opened and continued

20. Peter Stephen Du Ponceau, "The Autobiography of P. S. Du Ponceau," ed. James L. Whitehead, Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 63 (1939): 211-12.

making proper pauses until it was finished. Then the Toasts followed each by a discharge of Field-pieces, were drank, and so the afternoon ended. In the evening there was a cold collation and a brilliant exhibition of Fireworks.²¹

Perhaps Dalley was unofficially in charge at that point; he was certainly responsible for French Minister Gerard's reception given on August 6, for which he was paid \$1,424. It is interesting to note that the musicians who played that day bore the names "Furedge, Spanganbay, Miller, Schultz and Schultz."²² One might speculate that these were the members of the captured Hessian band mentioned earlier, who had tired of war after the defeat at Trenton and had stayed on in Philadelphia to provide music for public affairs.

The attentions to the French continued with the celebration of the French King's birthday on August 25, and that winter a round of celebrations and receptions took place at City Tavern when Washington returned to the city. On December 7 the Pennsylvania Assembly paid Dalley £2,995 15s. for a banquet given by the state²³ when Reed was elected president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.

Sometime near the end of 1779 City Tavern changed managers again. Dalley's uncertainty about his ability to manage the house had been well founded. George Evans, the manager who took over, left almost no record of his tenure or notices of events in City Tavern, although these included resumption of the Assembly balls, numerous receptions for military and civil officials, and the initiation of the Society of the Cincinnati; nor did he leave any notes on the appearance or furnishings of the tavern, with one exception--mention of a second auction, held on July 23, 1783. The Pennsylvania Packet carried the following notice:

21. William C. Ellery, "Diary, June 28-July 23, 1778," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 11 (1887): 477-78.

22. "For a Warrant in favour of Furedge, Spanganbay, Miller, Schultz and Schultz for their Services as Musicians at the Entertainment to the French Minister the 6th ins. . . . 40," Journal Treasury office, April 16, 1776-September 20, 1781, p. 224, NA, RG 39.

23. Journal of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, 1776-81, p. 478. The banquet bill (see Section III) is quoted in an anonymous news clipping in the Poulson's Scrapbooks, 2:83, on file at the Library Company of Philadelphia.

At the City-Tavern on tuesday the 24th instant, by Public Auction, at nine o'clock in the morning, Sundry Household and Kitchen Furniture; consisting of Tables, Chairs, Beds and Bedsteads, a variety of Tea and Table China, Tea Spoons, Glasses and Ducanters [sic], Desert and Jelly Glasses and Glass pyramids, an excellent large Jack compleat, a number of And-Irons, Shovels and tongs, Knives and Forks, Kettles, Candlesticks, Pewter, Pots &c. &c. July 14²⁴

There is no clue concerning the reason for the auction. The articles for sale are all ones suitable for tavern use, but until more information is uncovered, it can only be assumed that after 6 years of heavy usage, the tavern was given a much needed restoration.

The end of 1784 marked the end of the tavern's ownership by a group of stockholders. The trustees determined to sell the tavern and lot to the highest bidder. On March 30, 1785, it was sold to Samuel Powel. Shortly thereafter, the property was resurveyed and on April 19 a new manager, Edward Moyston, advertised that he had "laid in a supply of liquors of the first quality" and "engaged English and French Cooks of approved abilities." Moyston was quite familiar with quality foods and liquors, and methods of preparing and serving them, because he had formerly managed the household of connoisseur Robert Morris.²⁵ In 1781 Edward Moyston was mentioned in Morris's accounts as his steward, the man responsible for paying

24. Pennsylvania Packet, July 19, 1783, p. 1, col. 1.

25. The following extract is from a letter from George Washington to Clement Biddle, Aug. 17, 1785, Clement Biddle Papers, on file at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia:

17th Augs 1785

The enclosed is to Edward (I do not know his Surname) who formerly lived with Mr. R. Morris, but now, I am informed, keeps the City Tavern, to see if he can be instrumental in procuring me a House keeper.----I beg you to be so obliging as to direct, deliver, and consult him on the contents of the letter, which is left open for your perusal, & return me an answer as soon as possible.

Morris's traveling expenses and attending to the needs of his household. There is no doubt that his tenure with Morris sharpened his sense of how to run a fashionable Philadelphia establishment; there is even less doubt that he took advantage of his acquaintance with the great men, as well as the lesser ones, he had met under Morris's roof.

His subsequent advertisements follow in the same tenor as the first, with emphasis altered slightly each time. He seems to have taken over very comfortably, because an August 22 advertisement mentions again the two styles of cuisine and the best liquors but dwells on a coffeehouse, to be opened September 30, where "single Gentlemen or Companies may depend on being served and attended in the best manner" and also mentions that the tavern will take "all the Daily and weekly Papers."

Moyston's advertisement of June 14, 1786, announced his initiation of an ordinary "for gentlemen at 3s9 each; dinner to be on the table precisely at 2 o'clock." An ordinary was prix fixe and served family style, with guests seated around a long table and food passed among them in serving dishes. It was a very common form of tavern food service, but it may not have been a feature of City Tavern under previous managers, when the house had greater pretensions.

On October 9 his next notice provides a date for two significant alterations in City Tavern: the annexation of the building next door (the former Three Crowns Tavern) to serve as additional chambers, with the consequent remodeling of the chambers upstairs at City Tavern; and the addition of stables proper to the tavern in the yard behind it.

Many of the great men of the Revolution came back to the tavern when they returned to Philadelphia for the meeting of the Constitutional Convention. Washington's 1787 diary lists two dinners "with a club," two concerts, and what must have been a rousing celebration given in his honor by the 1st City Troop, "at which were present many of the members of the Convention and other respectable characters."²⁶ Moyston's bill for 55 gentlemen's dinners (see Section III) starts with "54 Bottles of Madeira" and goes on from there. Thomas Proctor, of the troop, paid nine musicians, among whom were Schultz and Spangenberg, for an evening's entertainment.

26. Entry dated Sept. 15, 1787, Donaldson-Smith Account, 1774-1795, Archives of the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry, p. 55.

On September 17, "The business [of the Convention] being closed, the members adjourned to the City Tavern, dined together and took a cordial leave of each other." The tavern had seen the government through another stage in the acquisition of its independence..

By the time Moyston's advertisements of 1789 and 1790 appeared, the transformation of City Tavern into a place designed for businessmen as well as travelers was virtually complete. The first advertisement was headed: "The Merchants' Coffee-House, and Place of Exchange, Opened and established by the subscriptions of Merchants, Captains of Vessels and other Gentlemen at the CITY-TAVERN, in Second Street." The intent of the original subscribers was met with a vengeance, because the tavern would be the seat of a merchants' exchange, with "change hours" daily.

Moyston wrote optimistically that European publications would be received with greater punctuality than they had been previously and that public and private dinners would be available for gentlemen. The Dancing Assembly had vacated the second-floor Long Room, leaving more dining space. Stables were cited as adjoining the premises.

By 1793 Moyston appears to have solved the newspaper problem because he stated confidently that the "principal Papers published throughout the United States, and the most interesting of those from Europe, etc." were available at the Coffeeroom, and he added that "Bound Books of Public Papers for some years back may be seen at the bar."

With Congress back in town and with Philadelphia serving as the national capital, business flourished and City Tavern was always full. Unfortunately, the number and variety of staff needed to keep it running is almost unknown. The only references to personnel are 1796 tax references to "Willian Smith, barkeeper," "James German, cooke," and a newspaper ad for "a mulatto BOY. . . James. . . [who could] dress hair and shave."

The management of City Tavern was taken over by Samuel Richardet in April 1796. His advertisement was very much a "business as usual" presentation that cited the comprehensiveness of the Subscription Room, the availability of light refreshments, the quality of the cellar, the expansiveness of the larder, and the cleanliness of the chambers.

Under his management the functions of the Exchange Room are detailed clearly in a brief notice that appeared in Claypoole's Advertiser, June 24, 1797.

NOTICE. SAMUEL RICHARDET respectfully informs the Merchants, Traders, &c. of Philadelphia that none but Subscribers, Captains of vessels, and non Residents, can be allowed to put up Advertisements or Bills in the Exchange room, or on the front of the House---Nor can any others be allowed the use of the Room and Newspapers, the current expences of which amount upwards of £500.

City Tavern, June 23, 1797.²⁷

City Tavern, like most inns and taverns, allowed patrons to post notices "at the bar," a term that seemed to have meant at the bar itself, in the barroom, or on the walls and doors of the tavern.

Richardet was also the first of the tavern's managers to take out additional insurance on the contents of the house. His first policy, dated April 30, 1796, is for \$1000 on the household furniture and linen, and \$1000 on wine and other liquors. In December he increased the policy to \$2000 on each.²⁸ Unfortunately, there was no survey demanded of the house or of the cellar.

In 1799, when Richardet's lease ended, the tavern passed on to James Kitchen, its last real tavern keeper. He served as proprietor until 1823, and he appears to have run the tavern in much the same manner as had Richardet. It was a merchants' and businessmen's establishment, depending on activities on the wharves and on the buying and selling in the Exchange Room, which had by this time become the tail wagging the dog.

Hotels, restaurants, and theaters captured the audience of the tavern, which had lost both its cachet and its convenience. In 1832 the opening of a new "Merchant's Exchange" designed by William Strickland and built west of City Tavern just across Dock Street

27. Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser (Philadelphia), June 24, 1797, p. 2, col. 4.

28. See Appendix E in Batcheler, HSR, City Tavern, for the texts of these policies.

drew away the tavern's few remaining patrons. City Tavern lingered as an auction house, boardinghouse, and collection of offices. When it was pulled down in 1854, its passing was called the "Demolition of a Relic of Olden time . . . to make room for a splendid improvement."²⁹

29. Newspaper clipping, dated January 1854, in Poulson's Scrapbooks, 7:95.



B. Secondary Sources: Cartoons

The following cartoons were chosen from among hundreds that illustrate taverns and dining rooms contemporaneous with City Tavern. The most important sources were the Wilmarth Lewis Collection and the files of the Library of Congress.

All the taverns are English and most seem to be urban. They were chosen, for the most part, because they illustrate more than one detail of interior finishing, furniture, utensils, or methods of service.

In the absence of specific bills for the furnishings or equipment of City Tavern, such illustrations as these will not only show the kinds of chairs, tables, and glassware common to English taverns, but will also indicate the arrangement of the chairs, the variations among the tables, and the manner of using the glassware.

1. "Court of Equity, or a Convival [sic] City Meeting"
Robert Laurie, 1778

The scene depicted is a lawyers' "Club" sharing the proverbial pipe and bowl in a fashionable London tavern. The "Chairman" or "Judge" is seated in an upholstered chair; the other members on windsors. All are gathered around simple rectangular tables on which are scattered punch glasses, goblets for brandy and water, punchbowls, and bottles. The clay pipes strewn about were provided gratis by the tavern.

Note the brass-headed cloak pins that line the walls, the elaborate rococo sconce, and the comparative simplicity of the movable furniture.

Colonial Williamsburg
Neg. No. C6737



Chambre de la Reine, au Convent de la Madeleine.

2. "Good News"

The coal grate, the style of dress, and the festoon curtains suggest that this print dates from 1795 to 1805.

Note the simplicity of the furnishings: wooden benches with backs, wooden tables whose only elaboration is an applied C-scroll at the junction of top and leg. The naval scene hung at the chimney breast is suggestive of comfortable gentility, as is the carved panel on the fireplace.

Note in this cartoon the ever-present tavern dog. The gentlemen on the left are sharing a bowl of hot punch; the one on the right has just finished a glass of syllabub.

Library of Congress
NPS Neg. No. 157.2775



3. "A Good Story"
Robert Sayer

This cheerful group is gathered around the punchbowl in a private dining room on the first floor of a London tavern. Some members of the party are drinking madeira or another fortified wine. The screen that stands behind them could be used to provide privacy if the room were in use by two or more small groups. The simple drapery gathered at the windows appears to be a venetian curtain, which, when let down, hung flat like a windowshade.

Library of Congress
NPS Neg. No. 157.2569



A GOOD STORY.
Published by R. Sayer, Map, Chart and Printseller, 37, 53, & 70, St. Paul's Church-Yard.

4. "A Chop House"
Bunbury and Dickinson, ca. 1770

Chop houses, as their name implies, served tavern foods but specialized in steaks and chops. Because all present are dining, cloths are laid on; cruets for liquid seasonings, salt dishes, and cutlery have been set out. Notice that some of the chairs are upholstered (probably with leather) and that one of the tables is a tripod whose top probably tilts to permit its being stood against a wall or in a corner.

Library of Congress
NPS Neg. No. 157.2777



W. Buckley 'Gyp' Allen

A CHOP HOUSE

W. Oakeson Corbett

5. "English Improvements on French Fashions"
Laurie and Whittle, 1799

Although French styles had always been influential in England among some members of the nobility, they did not meet English habits in open confrontation until numbers of Frenchmen fleeing the Revolution brought them to the attention of the population as a whole. Many of the consequent French/English cartoons were set in taverns, with "John Bull" and his compatriots jocularly baiting "Froggie." In this case the Frenchman--whose taste in food was as foreign as his taste in dress--is drinking coffee set before him on a small tray. The table and chairs might have been bought for City Tavern's 1783 renovation, but would have been very modern for Philadelphia. The ingrained carpet on the floor would have been a likely purchase in 1783, and might even have replaced the "carpets" Daniel Smith auctioned in 1777.

Wilmarth Lewis Collection
NPS Neg. No. 157.2772

ENGLISH IMPROVEMENTS ON FRENCH FASHIONS.

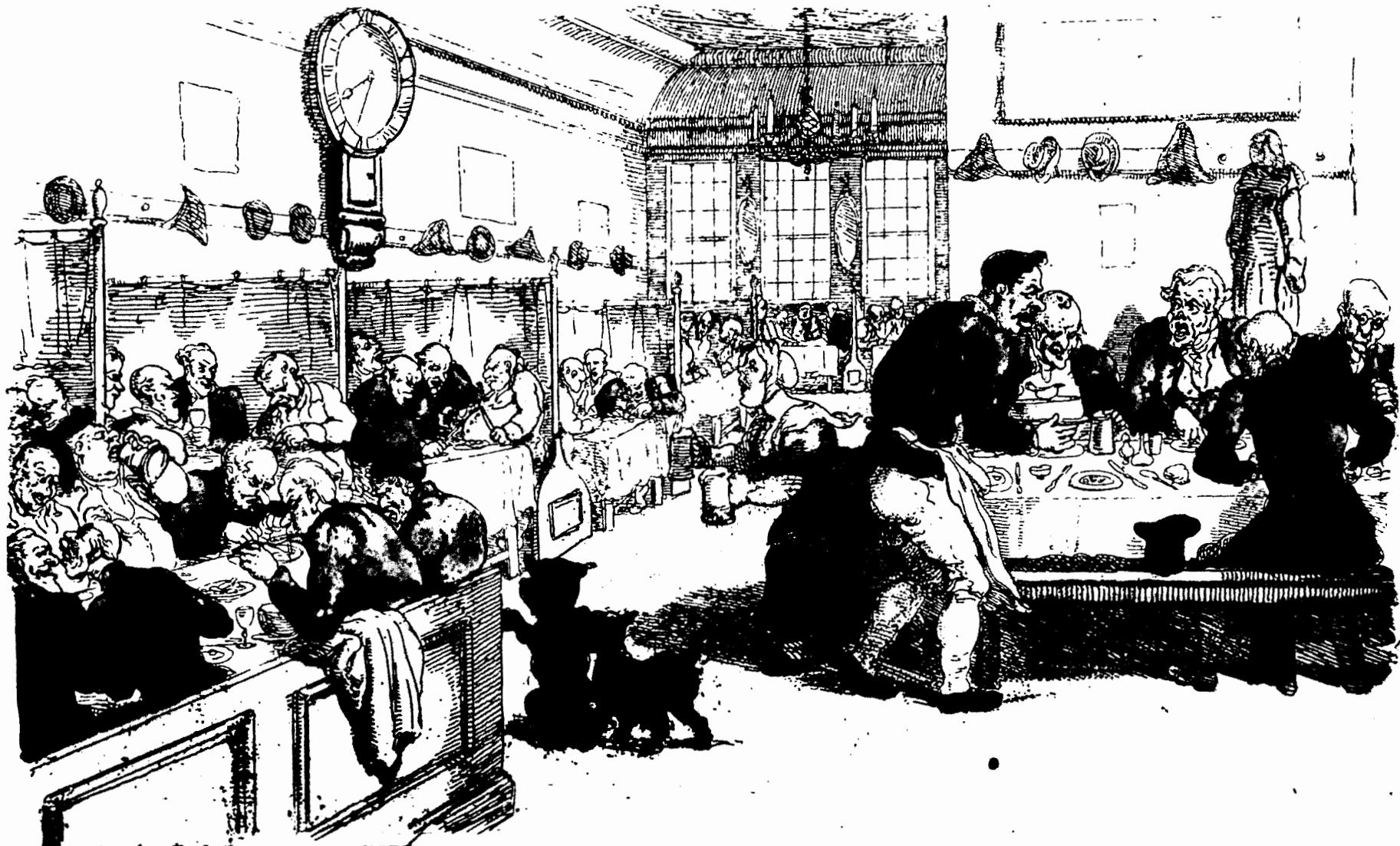


Frenchman. — Begar My Country be ver clever in de invention of de modes and de Fashions — dis is one, de ruffe ... it be one grand ornament to de hand.
Englishman. — Certainly it is a great ornament to the hand, but according to custom my Country has made great improvement upon that Invention, by adding a
Short to it.

6. Untitled View of a London Tavern or Eating House
Rowlandson

This dining room, the largest illustrated in this group, is probably the sort of establishment Samuel Shoemaker called an "Eating house." It is one of the forebears of the modern "diner," but it shares several features with taverns: the row of cloak pins; the large wall-mounted clock; the chandelier where large areas are to be lighted; the booths and benches. Note that the booths have low wooden backs above which are hung curtains (of green baize, no doubt), and that the rough rectangles sketched on the walls were meant to suggest prints, cartoons, or maps tacked unframed to the walls.

Wilmarth Lewis Collection
NPS Neg. No. 157.2766



7. "The Chop House," drawn by Finucane,
published by Laurie & Whittle, 1797

The single most important detail of this version of "badgering the rustic" is the "Bill of Fare" lying on the table. It reads: "Beef-steaks, Mutton-chops, Lamb Chops, Veal Cutlets, Pork Steaks, Potatoes, Salad, Pickles &c &c." The impatient customer has a bottle of port before him, and two chunks of bread. The cruet stand beside him had, by the 1790s, become an invariable article of tableware. Of additional interest are the laid tables in simple paneled booths and the view behind the barmaid of the shelves bearing stacked punchbowls and ranged glasses.

Wilmarth Lewis Collection
NPS Neg. No. 157.2778



In impatient Old Gentleman was kept waiting for his Dinner a great deal longer than he thought necessary. Cried out very Vociferously, — Waiter — Waiter arn't my Chops Ready. I say Waiter, arn't my Chops ready yet. — Yes Sir, says the Waiter, YOUR CHOPS have long been Ready. — But the Steaks are not quite done.

Published 1st August 1797. by L. AURIE & WHITTLE, 53 Fleet Street, London.

8. "An English Ordinary"
J. Barlowe, 1786

This depiction of a tavern's ordinary or public meal served between fixed hours for a fixed price, shows the air of "every man for himself," which must have dominated at such tables. It also details methods of food service, kinds of food on the table (fowl, rib roast, plum pudding, bread, ale or beer, and wine or brandy), and the appearance of plates, mugs, and cutlery. By captioning the prints on the wall, it lists legitimate subject matter: landscapes, battle scenes, genre subjects, political satire, drinkers' humor, and historical portraits.

Library of Congress
NPS Neg. No. 157.2774



An English Ordinary.

cut by J. Jackson, No. 14, Mary-le-bone Street, G. Square.

9. "Tasting"
John Nixon, 1784

The ordinary depicted here is somewhat less rowdy than that in figure 8. The partakers are dining on a gammon (ham), a large fowl (probably a capon), and a covered pie. One serving dish contains carrots, another plate contains peas. A salt dish and a condiment bottle stand on the table, and the contents of a sauceboat are being emptied into one diner's pocket.

Wilmarth Lewis Collection
NPS Neg. No. 157.2767



J. Nixon. Low & Co. del.

TASTING.

Published April 24, 1864, by W. Wells, No. 142, opposite Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, London.

10. "The Country Club"
Bunbury and Dickinson, 1788

As its title implies, the tavern of this scene is in a country town. Its furnishings are not, however, much plainer than those of the urban taverns depicted in other cartoons. Similar straight-legged rectangular tables, covered for dining but bare for drinking, and similar slat-backed chairs filled the rooms of taverns in London. The club member on the right is mixing cold punch. The small bowl beside him holds lumps of sugar, and the knife on the table was used to cut the lemon he is squeezing into a bowl. The gent behind him is dubiously sniffing a bottle tagged "Brandy."

Note the "Club Law" that is posted on the wall, and the height of the cloak pins.

Library of Congress
NPS Neg. No. 157.2773



11. "Celebrated Chess Match, at Parsloe's"
Cook

The setting for this contest is the private dining room of a club. Its date is probably about 1795, but the room is somewhat older. A private "upstairs" room, it is furnished more elaborately, with framed pictures and upholstered slipcovered chairs. Although the print does not indicate clearly a floor covering, there would possibly have been an overall ingrained carpet.

Wilmarth Lewis Collection
NPS Neg. No. 157.2768



Celebrated Chefs' Match, at Parsloe's.

12. "The Contrast"
Library of Congress Print Collection

Set in a bar ca. 1790, but depicting an older room, "The Contrast" emphasizes the Englishness of the room, its furniture, and its inhabitants against the foreignness of the Frenchman. The wall clock, rectangular tables, and curtained booths are similar to others, but are more clearly delineated. The enclosed bar, with glass-paned sides and shelves for bottles and glassware, is detailed so completely that it could only be drawn from life. The random arrangement of the tables and chairs is suggested as accurate for City Tavern.

NPS Neg. No. 157.2566



13. "A Red-hot Politician"
John Nixon, 1785

This closeup of a belligerent partisan reinforces what we know of the details of bar-booth construction, the simplicity of barroom tables, and the practice of marking mugs (to insure their safe return). It should be noted that the mug rests on a rimmed metal tray or coaster.

Wilmarth Lewis Collection
NPS Neg. No. 157.2769



John Nixon 1785.

A Red-hot Politician.

You may talk what you will of Master Pitt's Winkles, but I will maintain it, that Master Burke's Commons is the most Wirtuous Honest Man in the King's Dominions & if he had his own way Commons we should not be Bothered with such Vicked Taxes, but I would Mr Burke's Commons could carry the whole House of Commons in his Belly.

14. "The Whim"
Laurie and Whittle, 1808

This cartoon, though post-1800, is useful in that it shows the interior of a bar, with pipes and taps for drawing beer and water, and with tools hung on nails driven into the walls. The sack of clams or oysters should remind us of their wide popularity in eighteenth-century taverns. The practice of marking mugs with the name or symbol of the tavern is one that could be followed in City Tavern.

Library of Congress
NPS Neg. No. 157.2776



— THE WHIM. —

*If ever I marry a wife,
I'll marry a landlord's daughter;*

*Then I can sit in the bar,
And drink cold brandy & water.*

15. "Substitutes for Bread"
James Gillray, 1795

Though not necessarily in a tavern, this table is groaning under the weight of a late eighteenth-century meal similar to many in contemporary cookbooks. The diners are in the midst of the fish course: turtle soup, several sorts of fish ("boiled in wine" says the menu posted), appropriate sauces, and a tray of "relishes" or small dishes of spiced, jellied, or pickled delicacies. The waiters are bringing on the meat course: roast beef, poultry, and a leg of (the menu tells us) venison. The wines on the table, being drunk indiscriminately with all food, are tagged "Burgundy," "Champaign," and "Tokay."

Wilmarth Lewis Collection
NPS Neg. No. 157.2770

III. HISTORICAL DATA:

A DOCUMENTED ACCOUNT OF COMESTIBLES IN THE HISTORIC PERIOD

III. HISTORICAL DATA: A DOCUMENTED ACCOUNT OF COMESTIBLES IN THE HISTORIC PERIOD

Documentation of historic furnishings for City Tavern must be amplified by documentation of historic foodstuffs. Because isolated bills have survived showing amounts of money either owed to one of the innkeepers, or by him, it is possible to reconstruct some of the meals served at the tavern as well as some of the methods of serving them.

References in diaries, letters, and account books that simply say "Congress met at Smith's Tavern" (James Duane), or "dined and supped at New Tavern" (George Washington), or "pd dinner etc. Smith's" (Thomas Jefferson) are of no assistance in reconstructing meals, although together they present overwhelming evidence of the tavern's popularity. Bills or entries that list, or at least mention, specific meals or dishes are more useful and are included here:

1775

The Committee of Safety

To Dan^l Smith

D^r

June 3.	To punch	£	--	3	--
4.	To D ^o		--	6	--
	To Bottle porter		--	2	--
	To 2 Sper. Candles		--	2	--
	To Toddy		--	2	--
10	To punch		--	6	--
	To 12 Chickens @ 2/		1	4	--
	To Old Cheese & Cream D ^o		--	4	--
	To 6 Ducks @ 1/6		--	9	--
	To 2 Tongues		--	8	--
	To 2 Gammons		1	--	--
	To 16 pounds of Roast Beef		--	10	6
	To Loaf Sugar		--	8	11
	To 8 quarts Spirrits @ 2/6		1	--	--
	To 12 Bottles Madeira @ 5/		3	--	--
	To 10 Loaves Bread @ 4/		--	3	4
	To 2 pound Butter			3	--
	To 2 Hundred Limes @ 7/6		--	15	
	To 6 Bottles Claret @ 5/		1	10	--
	To Shoulder Veal & Breast Mutton		--	2	3
	To Dressing the above Sundrys		1	12	--

July 14	To 8 Gentlemen Breakfast	--	12	--
Brought Over	£	20	1 --
July 26	To 6 Loaves Bread	--	2	--
	To Cucumbers & Lettices	--	1	--
	To Pepper & Vinegar	--	-	6
	To Mustard & Salt	--	-	6
	To Large Earthen Dish Broke	--	3	--
	To 3 Knives & Forks Lost	--	7	6
	To Dressing the above Sundrys	1	-	--
July 27	To 8 Breakfasts	11	12	--
	To 4 ... D ^o	--	6	--
Aug. 11	To dinner Bill	5	3	9
	To Hood & Shads dinner)			
	Madeira & punch &c).	--	10	6
		£	28	8 3
Octob 7	To Dinner Bill	3	12	--
9	To 2 Bottles porter .. Assembly Room	--	4	--
	To a Tumbler Glass . . D ^o	--	-	6
		£	32	4 9 ¹

Foods and Sundries included in the above Bill from City Tavern to Committee of Safety, 1775

Beverages

punch
 porter (bottles)
 toddy
 spirrits [sic]
 madeira (bottles)
 claret (bottles)

Meats

chickens
 ducks
 gammons (hams)
 roast beef
 shoulder of veal

1. Bill submitted by Daniel Smith to the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, 1775, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Society Miscellaneous Collections, box 1-A, part 2 (1710-1863), F-3 Hotel and Tavern Bills. Note that this bill covered the dates June 3, June 10, July 14, July 26-28, Aug. 11, and Oct. 7 and 9.

breast of mutton
tongues

Sundries, edible

old cheese and cream [cheese]
loaf sugar
loaves of bread
"breakfasts"
cucumbers and lettices [sic]
vinegar, mustard and salt
200 limes

Sundries, non-edible

large earthen dish broke
3 knives and forks lost
a tumbler glass
spermaceti candles

The food served to the Committee of Safety is typical of eighteenth-century tavern food at its simplest level, with an emphasis on meat (roast or stewed) and bread, relieved only by cheese and an occasional salad and washed down by an incredible variety and quantity of beverages.

Serving food in balanced meals of varied courses is a twentieth-century feature, so probably the meats and fowl were served simultaneously, and the "lettices" either with or following them.

Except for "clarets" and unspecified red wines or occasionally champagne, the wines consumed were fortified: madeira, port, and some sherry. Unfortified wines were not permitted to age, but were drunk the year they were bottled. There was no thought of aging wine in cellars, at least until the end of the century.

If it were possible to search the extant account books of Philadelphia merchants for payments received from Daniel Smith, it might be possible to detail more fully the food and drink offered at the tavern. In reading the Bache papers for Franklin material, NPS researchers found the following citations of Bache's dealings with Smith. They provide a list of some of the supplies necessary for making punch, and they substantiate the bill cited above.

Feb. 16, 1774

Daniel Smith D^r to Sugar Acc^t for 13 Loaves Sugar w^t 100 .
@12 1/2^d 5.4.2

Feb. 22, 1774

Daniel Smith D^r to Wine Acc^t for a Quarter Cask of Old Madeira
18 - -

Aug. 5, 1774
 Daniel Smith D^r to Rum for 25 Galls Brandy 8/6 10-12.6

Nov. 4, 1775
 Daniel Smith D^r to Wine for a pipe of Madeira 80 - -

Nov. 20, 1775
 Daniel Smith D^r to Wine for 1 q^t Cask Madeira 20.5 -

1778

The General Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania, to Gifford Dally, 1 Dec. 1778²

	Dr.
To providing a dinner for 270 gent	500 00
522 bottles Madeira wine at 45 s	1229 00
116 large bowls punch @ 60 s	348 00
9 " " toddy @ 30 s	13 00
6 " " sangaree @ 60 s	18 00
24 bottles port wine @ 30 sh	36 00
2 tubs of grog for artillery soldiers	36 00
1 gallon spirits for Bell-ringers	6 00
96 wine glasses (broke) @ 7 s 6 d	36 00
29 jelly " (broke) @ 7 s 6 d	10 17
9 glass dessert plates (broke) @ 15 s	6 15
11 china plates (broke) @ 20 s	11 00
3 " dishes (broke) @ 67 s 6 d	10 2
5 decanters (broke) @ 30 s	17 10
1 large inkstand (broke)	6 00
14 lb. spermicetta candles @ 30 s	21 00
	<u>£ 2995 15</u>

This statement is as valuable for its account of serving and eating utensils as it is for its list of potables. It indicates the volume of breakage in a popular tavern and suggests that replacement of china and glass must have been frequent, if not continuous.

The Troops [First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry] gave a splendid entertainment to General Washington on the 15th Sept [1787] at the City Tavern at which were present many of the members of the Convention & other respectable characters.

2. Bill submitted by Gifford Dally to the Pennsylvania General Assembly, 1778, undated newspaper clipping, Poulson's Scrapbooks, 2:83.

This entertainment resulted in the following amusing bill:

Light Troop of Horse, September the 14th 1787
 To Edw^d Moyston .. Dr. 3

To 55 Gentlemans Dinners & fruit			
Rellishes, Olives etc -----	20	12	6
54 Bottles of Madera -----	20	5	
60 of Claret ditto -----	21		
8 ditto of Old Stock -----	3	6	8
22 Bottles of Porter ditto -----	2	15	
8 of Cyder --- ditto -----		16	
12 ditto Beer -----		12	
7 Large Bowels of Punch -----	4	4	
Segars Spermacity Candles etc.-----	2	5	
To Decantors Wine Glass [e]s & Tumblers			
Broken etc. -----	1	2	6
To 16 Musician & Servants Dinners -----	2		
16 Bottles of Claret -----	5	12	
5 ditto Madera -----	1	17	6
7 Bouls of Punch -----	2	16	
	89	4	2

Col. Thomas Proctor to George Christhlf Dr.
 To Musical Permormance [sic] at the City Tavern the 15th instant

		£	/	d
George Christhlf -----	1			
Mr. Schultz-----	1			
Mr. Treniner-----	1			
John Keyser-----		15		
Wm. Hartung -----		15		
Philip Rotti -----		15		
David Kurtzrock -----		15		
John Bruner -----		15		
Conrad Spangenberg -----		15		
	£7	10		

3. Bill presented Sept. 14, 1787, entered Sept. 15, 1787,
 Archives of the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry, p. 55.

D^r Sir

Be prepared to Order payment to the above sum of six pounds
ten--to the Musicians

Sep^r 15th 1787

Your ob^d Servant⁴

M John Dunlap

[Thos Proctor]

[on other side of the bill]

Rec'd Sept 15th 1787 of Samuel Miles Seven pounds Ten shillings
in full of the within.

acco^t

7.10-

George Christhilf

The troop's bill is enlightening because it includes fruit, relishes, olives, etc., in the cost of the dinners. It provides documentation that the eighteenth-century English practice of serving pickled, preserved, or cooked fruits and vegetables as side dishes was followed at City Tavern. It also lists three popular beverages that are somewhat less exotic than many cited above: porter, beer, and "cyder" (hard cider in the eighteenth century). In 1775 John Adams paid Daniel Smith for a venison dinner and two bottles of cider.

When Edward Moyston assumed management of the tavern in 1785, he made the first break in its adherence to the English tavern tradition, advertising "English and French cooks of approved abilities." The difference between the two cuisines was less strongly marked in those days before Antoine Carême, but, in general, "French" cuisine implied the use of sauces, greater attention to vegetables, and the preparation of "made" or molded and composed dishes.

Moyston's advertisements emphasized the variety of meals: "dinners . . . at any hour"; "the most superior liquors"; "an ordinary"; "Ice Creams of various kinds"; and "Excellent Jelly and Soup" at any hour. The single bill that has been found from his tenure is for a month's room and board. Although it is illustrative of the kind and extent of service provided by the tavern, it does not tell us if the advertised "French" cuisine was indeed available.

/No. 9/

United States for Capⁿ. Brandt

to Edw^d Moyston /manager of City Tavern/5

4. The musicians' bill was appended to the above, probably by Thomas Proctor, representing the troop.

5. Miscellaneous Treasury Accounts of the GAO, 1790-1894, Account No. 3232, June 29, 1792, NA, RG 217 (microfilm in INHP files, XX).

June 20th	To 2 Bottles Mad . . . 12/ 2 Bowls Punch 12/	h 1. 5.--
	" 1 Gent Supper 2/ 6 Segars &c 2/ ---	" 4. 6 1 9 6
	" 4 Clubs for wine &c at Dinner-----	" 17. 6
	" 1 Gent Dinner 3/9 1 do Supper 2/6	" 6. 3
	" 2 Bottles & 1 pint Mad ^a ... 19 & 2 B. Cyder 3/	1. 1. 9
	" Spirits Brandy Spruce Beer &c.	" 5. 3 2 10 7
22	" 1 Club for wine &c at Dinner 5/10 Punch 5/	" 10.10
	" Spirits Brandy Cyder Porter &c	" 15. 6 1 6 6
23	1 Gent Bkft 2/6 3/2 pints Mad.. 5/p	" 8.[?]
	To Cash 3/9 Washing 4/8 1 Bowl Punch 5/	" 13. 5
	" Brandy Bitters Lemonade Segars &c	- 17. 3 1 18 8
	" 4 Clubs for wine &c at Dinner 14/9 1 Din ^r 3/9	" 18. 6
	" 3 Strangers Supper 7/6 3 Bottles Mad ^a 22/6	1.10.--
	Brandy & Beer Cyder Punch &c ----	9 2 17 9
24	" 3 Clubs at Dinner 11/3 3 Bottles Mad. 22/6	1.13. 9
	" Cash 1/10, Washing 3/	- 4.10
	" Brandy Cyder Punch &c	" 12. 9 2 11 9
	" 1 Bowl Punch -----	
25	" 3 Clubs for wine &c at Dinner -----	" 10. 9
	" 4 Tickets for the Play 26/3 P. Card 3/	1. 9. 3
	" 6 Bottles Mad. 45/ Punch 5/	2.10-
	" Brandy Porter Cyder Porter &c	17. 6
	" 1 Pen knife, 1 Bamboo Cane Breakage &c	13. 3 6 " 9
26	" 1 Club at Dinner 6/4 do Supper 14/	1- -
	" 1 Gent Supper 2/6 2 Bottles Mad ^a 15/	- 17. 6
	" Punch 13/9 Brandy Segars &c 17/9	1. 1. 6 2 19 2
27	" 3 Clubs at Dinner 12/9 Punch 11/3	1. 3. 3
	" 1 pint Mad. 3/9 Brandy Bitters &c 5/6	- 9. 3
	" Washing &c 45 pr.	- .15. 2 7 6
	3 Gents Boarding & Lodging at 7 Do.) pr Week - Ea (7 1/2 days)-----)	8 8 6
	2 Servants at 4 Doll pr week Ea	3 12 6
	servts Liquor Writing Paper &c	1 10
	Washing-----	6
		38 7/ 1 1/2

" 4 Bowls Punch 35/ 3 Bottles Mad.. ^a 22/6	2 17. 6
" 2 Gents Suppers 5/ Brandy Cyder &c 12/	17
" Cash paid for feathers -----	7 6
" do do for Black Serv ^t trousers &c	1.11 6
" extra rooms &c-----	5. 5. -
Phila June 28 th 1792	£ 49. 5. 7 1/2
By Colo ^d Tho ^s Proctor 41 Dolls.	15- 7- 6
Balance due E. Moyston	33-18- 1

The above Bill of forty nine pounds I believe to be just and of that sum I paid in part out of public moneys in my hands fifteen pounds seven and sixpence was paid to Edward Moyston by me.

Tho^s Proctor

June 29. 1792 Received balance of above amount of Clement Biddle-say Thirty three pounds eighteen shillings & one pence half penny

Edw^d Moyston

The first specific description of the Assembly ball suppers dates from this period. Francisco de Miranda, writing in January 1784, said:

Those who do not like to dance play cards on tables prepared for that purpose in near-by rooms. Between eleven and twelve the whole gathering ascends to the hall on the second floor where tea, coffee, and chocolate are served, with biscuits and toast, at different tables. This finished, the dance starts again and lasts as long as one wants.⁶

Julian Niemcewicz's 1798 description⁷ is virtually identical, except that he adds cold meats and custards to the lists of foods.

6. Francisco de Miranda, The New Democracy in America: Travels of Francisco de Miranda in the United States, 1783-84, trans. Judson P. Wood, ed. John S. Ezell (Norman, Okla., 1963), p. 54.

7. Julian Niemcewicz, Under Their Vine and Fig Tree: Travels through America in 1797-1799, 1805, trans. and ed. by Metchie E. Budka (Elizabeth, N.J.: Grassman, 1965), p. 35.

Samuel Richardet's advertisements (1796-99) leaned even more heavily on the variety of meals he was prepared to serve.

Tea, Coffee, Soups, Jellies, Ice Creams, and a variety of French Liquors . . . will at all times be procured at the Bar. . . . the choicest of Wines, Spiritous Liquors and the most approved Malt Liquors, from London and other Breweries . . . the prime and earliest productions of the season . . . a cold collation [sliced meats, cheese, breads, etc.] is regularly kept.

Because the ample documentation concerning eighteenth-century London taverns has increased our knowledge of the furnishings used in City Tavern, it is likely that eighteenth-century descriptions of food and drink will broaden our knowledge of accurate dishes and combinations of dishes served at City Tavern. It is a subject that needs additional study, because diaries and letters are not often searched for their descriptions of meals. One diary that has proven a rich source was written by Philadelphian Samuel Shoemaker while he was in London from 1783 to 1785 (see Appendix E). He was boarding in private homes and eating either in taverns or at his friends' tables, so his comments are very useful. In addition, he knew Daniel Smith, and one might presume that he had eaten at City Tavern.

A typical error from which he can save the menu planner at City Tavern is found in his discussion of the steak and kidney pie: a typical English pub dish even today. Meat pies of all sorts were popular in the eighteenth century, and the steak and kidney pie would seem an obvious choice for an eighteenth-century "London-style" tavern run by a Briton. However, Shoemaker's entry for February 22, 1784, reads:

Edward went skating to the Serpentine River and returned at 3 Clock when I took him with me to an eating House where we got an excellent Beef Steak Pye for dinner, a common dish here tho I never tastd any before. . . .

In September, Edward and Shoemaker were at the home of an acquaintance (Watson) at East Sheene, and writing later he said that the dinner was

very elegant a dish of Turtle, Ham and Fowles, Saddle of Mutton, besides 2 or 3 made dishes, with Colliflower and other Vegetables in abundance, Tarts, Custards &c. and afterwards Grapes, Cherries, Peaches, Nectarines, ripe Figgs, Mulberries, Currants &c. in great Abundance.

Some of his meals were far simpler, consisting of, for example, lobster, a slice of cold roast beef, "and some of my Sisrs Hannahs Choice Cranberry Jamb."

Another contemporary Philadelphian, writing closer to home, was Jacob Hiltzheimer. His diary⁸ contains brief but useful notations of food. For example, on May 1, 1784, he "went to Lawrence Seckel's place, which William Rush rents, and dined on beefsteak and shad. . . ." On September 22, 1792, he "Dined at Jacob Meyers's on turtle soup" and on November 5 he "returned to the Buck Tavern . . . and had a cut of a round of beef and some punch."⁹

Eighteenth-century cookbooks sometimes contain menus and graphic renderings of table settings. These indicate that, just as the twentieth century has "expected" combinations of foods in a course, or courses in a meal, tastes in the eighteenth century were predictable. Meats were seldom fried, but were frequently roasted, stewed, ragouted, or fricasseed. Meat pies, fruit tarts, or "composed" dishes usually added variety to the course. The arrangement of appetizer, entree, vegetables, salad, and dessert, which the twentieth century accepts as standard, was unknown; instead, a meal of two or three courses, which we would find hard to distinguish one from the other, ended with fruit, little cakes or candies, and more wines.

The title page of the New Art of Cookery, according to the present practice, published in 1792 by Richard Briggs, "many years cook at the Globe Tavern, Fleet-street, the White Hart Tavern, Holborn, and now at the Temple Coffee-House, London," contains an impressive and enticing list of foods one could expect to find at the most genteel tavern in America:

8. Jacob Hiltzheimer, Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer of Philadelphia, ed. Joseph C. Parsons (Philadelphia, 1893).

9. Ibid., pp. 63, 183, 184.

The NEW Art of cookery, according to the present practice; being a complete guide to all house-keepers, on a plan entirely new; consisting of thirty-eight chapters. Containing, proper direction for marketing, and trussing of poultry. The making soups and broths. Dressing all sorts of fish. Sauces for every occasion. Boiling and roasting. Baking, broiling, and frying. Stews and hashes. Made dishes of every sort. Ragous and Fricassees. Directions for dressing all sorts of roots and vegetables. All sorts of amulets [sic] and eggs. Puddings, pies, tarts, &c. Pancakes and fritters. Cheesecakes and custards. Blancmange, jellies and syllabubs. Directions for seafaring men. Directions for the sick. Preserving, syrups, and conserves. Drying and candying. All sorts of cakes. Hogs puddings, sausages, &c. Potting, and little cold dishes. The art of carving. Collaring, salting, and sousing. Pickling. To keep garden vegetables, &c.

The bill copied in full below is an excellent source of information on the type of food and drink served in an establishment contemporary with City Tavern. Also, it might be the sort of bill that could be printed for the new City Tavern. A copy of such a bill, dated and specific as it is, would be a tangible reminder to guests of the meal they had eaten.

Bill submitted for payment to State of Pennsylvania in 1789.
Expenses incurred in meeting and entertaining
Mrs. Washington and her party at Gray's Ferry.¹⁰

		<u>1789 GRAY'S FERRY and GARDENS.. May 22nd</u>			
		<u>£</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>	
<u>10 Bott^{ls}</u>	Madeira wine,	-	<u>3..</u>	<u>15..</u>	-
<u>1 D^o</u>	Champaigne,	-	<u>"</u>	<u>10..</u>	-
<u>2 D^o</u>	Claret,	-	<u>"</u>	<u>14</u>	-

10. Bill, undated, Box 1-A, Hotel and Tavern Bills 1775-1872, Society Miscellaneous Collections, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

	Frontignac,	-			
	Sherry,	-			
	Port,	-			
	Lisbon,	-			
<u>45 Bowls</u>	Punch,	-	4..	10..	-
	Toddy,	-			
<u>10 Botls</u>	American Porter,	-	"	15..	-
	London do.	-			
<u>1 Bottl</u>	Taunton Ale,	-	"	2..	6
	Philadelphia Beer,	-			
<u>2 Bottls</u>	Crab Cyder,	-	"	2..	6
	Sangaree,	-			
	Syllabub,	-			
	Bub,	-			
	Milk punch,	-			
	Breakfasts,	-			
<u>79</u>	Dinners,	@ 3/6	-	13.	16.. 6
	Biscuit		-	1..	2.. 6
	Coffee,		-		
	Relishes,		-		
	Suppers,		-		
	Fruits of the Season,		-		
	Foreign Fruits		-		
	Serv Exps		-	"	7.. 6
	Ice Cream,		-		
	Capt's Miles & Bingham's troop of Horse)			
	M ^r Washington & M ^r Morris's Carriages)		1..	2.. 6
	forriage -----)		26..	18 -

[Underscoring indicates script additions to the printed bill]

IV. HISTORICAL DATA:

ORGANIZATIONS THAT MET AT CITY TAVERN

IV. HISTORICAL DATA: ORGANIZATIONS THAT MET AT CITY TAVERN

One of the most important functions of a coffeehouse or tavern was to provide a convenient central meeting place for organizations. The historic resource study submitted by John D. R. Platt has described in detail the use of the tavern by several such groups. It remains only for this study to cite briefly the groups that met there and the nature of their activities as they relate to the tavern's furnishings.

Fraternal and benevolent organizations exist to strengthen ties with a mother country or to reinforce group identity. They assume great social importance in a society that is still fluid, as was that of the colonial cities. City Tavern was host to several fraternal societies: The Sons of St. George (English), the St. Andrew's Society (Scots), and the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick (Irish).

The members of the ST. GEORGE'S SOCIETY, are desired to attend their annual meeting, at the City Tavern on Saturday the 23d instant, being ST. GEORGE'S DAY. Dinner to be on the table at three o'clock; the Business to begin precisely at one

RICHARD PETERS, Jun Secretary¹

Although the hour is earlier, the meeting was probably conducted in much the same way as the Lions, Elks, or Kiwanis clubs are today.

The Members of the ST. ANDREW'S SOCIETY and their visiting friends are requested to attend their Anniversary Meeting, to-morrow Evening at Six O'clock at the City Tavern.

W. HALL, Secretary²

The St. Andrew's Society, still in existence, is recorded as having met at City Tavern from 1780 to 1785.

-
1. Pennsylvania Journal, Apr. 13, 1774.
 2. Pennsylvania Gazette, Nov. 29, 1780.

George Washington was adopted as a member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in 1781. When he accepted the honor, he was invited to a lavish entertainment at the City Tavern at 4 o'clock on January 1, 1782.³

Daniel Smith was a Brother of Lodge No. 3 of the Ancient York Masons, and newspaper notices invited his brethren to celebrate St. John's Day at City Tavern.

Dinner to be on the table precisely at two o'clock; thirteen proper toasts to be drank, and to conclude with an anthem, accompanied with a grand band of music provided for that purpose. All the brethren of that ancient order who will please to accompany them, may be supplied with tickets at the bar of said tavern.

HUGH STEWART⁴

The war provided the impetus to found some of the groups that met at the City Tavern. Both regular and military units appear to have convened there frequently, and the 1st City Troop, though not organized at the tavern, met there on occasion. The Pennsylvania Line of the Society of the Cincinnati had been organized at City Tavern and met there regularly. When the officers who had fought in the Revolution gathered at City Tavern in May 1784 for their first Society convention, they were returning to a place most of them knew well.

Philad. 5 May 1784
. . . Genl Washington came to town on Saturday morning without any fuss or parade, indeed the town seem to be alive with Old Officers from one end of the Continent to the other. The Society made a meeting on Monday, but did no business, yesterday they met, did a little business I believe & afterwards dined together--all this at the City Tavern--chief of the States is represented, or Lines I must say, either less or more--none has yet come from N. Carol: or Rhode Island, but have wrote that

3. Hibernian Society, A Brief Account of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick (Philadelphia, 1844), p. 51.

4. Pennsylvania Evening Post, June 17, 1777.

they will be here in a day or two, which is all that is deficient, & every one seems to be in the spirit of it--. . . .⁵

The "spirit" that City Tavern hosted was indeed one of the making--or remaking--of society. The financial organization of the First Bank of the United States was accomplished at meetings there: subscribers were solicited, directors elected, bank operations begun, and stockholders convened. The celebrated Philadelphia Dispensary, modeled after those in England, was a project of Dr. Henry Moyes, assisted by Philadelphians Samuel Powel and Dr. Samuel Power Griffiths. Once organized, it too was founded by subscription; the organization took place at meetings in City Tavern.

These high-minded activities shared dining rooms with the purely social functions that so clearly marked Philadelphia as another provincial English city: clubs, concerts, and balls.

In eighteenth-century Philadelphia, a club was a small group of men who met regularly to dine, drink, play cards, or enjoy philosophical or aesthetic discussions. Most men of the educated classes belonged to at least one club; many were members of several. Because clubs were small and closed, they did not advertise, so most have left no record of their meetings. But some clubs, or their members, achieved such fame that we know of them. Through Dean Swift's correspondence we know that his club met at the "Star and Garter" in 1711, a celebrated London tavern that would become, half a century later, the meeting place of the Society of the Dilettanti and the Thursday Club. Dr. Alexander Hamilton, the Annapolis physician who recorded his travels through the northern colonies in the 1740s,⁶ was a member of the Tuesday Club (a convivial group, judging by his cartoon of one of their meetings). While on his tour, he was invited by friends in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston to attend their club evenings, much as convention

5. Joseph M. Beatty, Jr., ed., "Letters of the Four Beatty Brothers of the Continental Army, 1774-1794," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 44 (1920): 244. Letter from Erkuries Beatty, probably to Reading Beatty, May 5, 1784.

6. Alexander Hamilton, Gentlemen's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, ed. Carl Bridenbaugh (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948).

delegates joined clubs during their stay in Philadelphia. Washington's diary records frequent "club dinners" at City Tavern; John Adams was billed by Daniel Smith for "5 dinner Clubs with the Delegates"; and George Read's City Tavern tab for December 1775 lists eight clubs and club suppers for a total of £3 18s. 3d. One of Read's letters to his wife, cited previously, described his club supper with other congenial delegates.

The tavern's large second-floor room was ideal for concerts and balls. Because Philadelphia had no other large attractive space for recreational gatherings, City Tavern was host to a dizzying series of social events during the winter months.

The prototypical eighteenth-century Philadelphia balls were those held by the Dancing Assembly, to which gentlemen subscribed and ladies and strangers to the city were invited. Advertisements in the Philadelphia papers indicate that they were held at the City Tavern until 1790. The Assembly balls were such a feature of winter that both the natives and visitors to the city commented on them.

Peter Stephen Du Ponceau, writing in 1839, recalled that:

A few private balls were given in the course of the season, but most of the dancing was performed at what was called the dancing assembly, held by subscription at stated times in a room appropriated to that and other similar purposes, at the Merchant's Coffee House in Second Street.⁷

The British, too, gave balls at City Tavern. Entertainments were held there almost weekly from the first Ball Night, announced for January 29, 1777, until April 30, 1778. With such a superabundance of British officers, the young ladies who had remained in the captured city truly had a festive winter. But when the British balls gave way to American ones, those young ladies were informed that they need not expect invitations to the Assembly.

7. Du Ponceau, "The Autobiography of P. S. Du Ponceau," pp. 434-35.

The Marquis de Chastellux, not only a stranger but a Frenchman and a nobleman as well, was an honored guest at the Assembly and left a lengthy and vivid account of the proceedings.⁸ He left with a rather poor opinion of the attractiveness of the young ladies of fashionable society. One wonders if his opinion would have been better had the choice been greater. According to Du Ponceau:

Mechanics wives and daughters were excluded which gave great offence to the democratic spirits of that time.⁹

A visit to the city by General Washington or his lady was always reason for celebration--in wartime or afterwards. The French delegation led by Monsieur Gerard gave a grand entertainment for Mrs. Washington, to which "the principal ladies and gentlemen of Philadelphia" were invited. One of those, Samuel Holton, wrote in his diary that:

I had a card sent me but declined attending. I think it is not a proper time to attend balls when our country is in such great distress.¹⁰

The national distress didn't seem to bother most Americans, however, and the New Hampshire Gazette reported with relish:

This evening a most splended ball was given by a society of French gentlemen, to the principal ladies and gentlemen of Philadelphia, at the New Tavern. His Excellency the Governor of Pennsylvania, and his lady, the lady of His Excellency General Washington, and His Excellency the French minister, honored it with their company. Both the outside and inside of the ball-room were handsomely decorated with a number of ingenious devices and mottoes, signifying the present happy alliance between the court of Versailles and the United States. Too much praise cannot be given to the French gentlemen,

8. Marquis de Chastellux, Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782 by the Marquis de Chastellux, trans. and ed. Howard C. Rice, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), pp. 176-77.

9. Du Ponceau, "The Autobiography of P. S. Du Ponceau," p. 435.

10. Burnett, Letters, 3:535.

for the order, politeness, and benevolence with which they conducted every part of this entertainment. The evening has been spent in the most agreeable manner, joy appears in every countenance, and every heart seems to exult in safety, freedom, and Independence, which have been ensured to our country by the friendship and magnanimity of the Protector of the Rights of Mankind.¹¹

In the early Federal Period, balls were frequently given in conjunction with concerts. William Brown, a flutist, Henry Capron, a violinist, and Alexander Reinagle, a composer who was proficient in piano and cello, apparently gave concerts singly as well as together in City Tavern. During the 1786/87 season, they collaborated with A. Juhan in a subscription series of 12 "City Concerts," with one performance every 2 weeks. These scheduled programs have survived, and, while not all the works are known, the programs included a symphony by Bach [spelled "Bache"], pieces by Haydn, and a "Concerto Flute" by Stamitz. Presumably, a portable "orchestra"--a raised platform of the sort described in the historic structure report by Penelope Batcheler--was stored in one of the cellar or garret rooms and set up in the Long Room for these evening concerts.

From private dinners to state banquets, business meetings to subscription concerts, City Tavern was a focal point for the public life of Philadelphia as long as that life remained modeled after England's. When other institutions changed, City Tavern changed in order to stay in business. Ultimately, it changed beyond recognition, but by that time it had already left its impression on the city's memory.

11. Frank Moore, ed., Diary of the American Revolution from Newspapers and Original Documents, 2 vols. (New York, 1850), 2:110.

V. A DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF PROPOSED FURNISHINGS



V. A DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF PROPOSED FURNISHINGS

City Tavern reached its peak in the last quarter of the eighteenth-century. It spanned the development of the public dining and meeting place, from coffeehouse and tavern to hotel and restaurant. When it was demolished, it had already been superceded and altered. Having been given the opportunity to replace it, we should recognize certain things about it:

1. It was decorated at least three times: 1773, 1777, and 1783. During each of those redecorations, articles were broken, worn out or outmoded, and replaced.
2. It was furnished in the style of a London (that is, urban) tavern and had a reputation for gentility and sophistication.
3. It was conceived for the public benefit and was intended to be a meeting place, ballroom, coffeehouse, and bourse more than it was a post station, boardinghouse, or bar.

In short, City Tavern was one of the hubs of urban activity, and for that reason "activity" is one of the necessary conditions for a valid reconstruction. With that in mind, the National Park Service determined to restore the building to something resembling its former liveliness, while providing a sorely needed service to its visitors.

A tavern rebuilt as a house museum is only the setting for interpretation; a tavern rebuilt as an eating place completes the reconstruction. Its guests are its real interpreters.

Consequently, this furnishing plan and the research that preceded it have considered both the historical reconstruction and the dining facility. The proposals in this section employ a combination of antique objects and functional reproductions or substitutions, which must be made to blend so that visitors to the tavern will be able to move comfortably between the eighteenth century and their own.

A. General Recommendations

1. Interior Finishing

Walls and woodwork:

The initial insurance survey states: "The whole painted." William Martin, an upholsterer who did unspecified work on the building, also sold wallpaper, but any papering would have postdated the survey. The first specific papering bill found is dated 1824 and is for the

Southeast Room only. Barring more information, the walls should be painted in colors determined by the historical architects working with the Museum Division of INHP.

Walls of the three cellar rooms that will be used for interpretation and school dining should be finished in plaster and whitewashed.

2. Lighting

From the earliest consultations with the architects working on City Tavern, it was recognized by all parties that lighting is a major problem to overcome in this reconstruction. A visitor to City Tavern must see well enough to eat, but he must not see by means of modern fixtures nor according to modern standards.

Ideally, all light in the halls, on the stairs, and in the dining rooms would be candlelight, and most of that would be at individual tables or from hall lanterns. Dependence on candlelight alone, however, would not only immobilize most diners, it would create a serious hazard.

Consequently, it was determined to supplement the candlelight by wall sconces and chandeliers holding electric candles and burning 24-watt candle-flame bulbs. (Standard voltage circuits will be provided for hidden wall outlets, kitchen lighting and equipment, and rest rooms.) These fixtures should be augmented by single live candles placed as needed in each dining room.

3. Heating

City Tavern will be heated and cooled by a central air handling system. Visitors to the building will see eight fireplaces with open stoves in place, four of which can function in season. These will be on the north wall opening into the Subscription (waiting) Room, by the bar, in a private dining room, and at the north end of the Long Room. The restaurateur should be encouraged to use as many of these as is feasible; those in the Subscription Room and in the bar will be particularly effective areas for conversation, since visitors to both rooms will be seated in small groups, conversing quietly or awaiting dining space.

4. Bell System

As indicated in section IV, part A, an elaborate signaling system of bells and wires was one of the features of the City Tavern. We do not know whether it was built into the walls or laid over them. Considering the extraordinarily heavy use of the system and the consequent breakdowns, it is suggested that the wires were probably run over the completed walls, along door frames, and below cornices.

Replacement of such a system should be discussed by the architect and curator. On the one hand it would add immeasurably to the look--and sound--of authenticity. On the other, the new City Tavern will not operate quite as the old one did; consequently a bell system may have no function. Should that be so, replacement of the bells would be mere antiquarianism, and is not advisable.

The solution might be to connect a bell between each private dining room and the bar and use the system solely for summoning a barmaid to the dining room.

5. Cooking Equipment

The restaurant's kitchens should be as convenient as planning can make them. It should be recognized, however, that approximating the menu of an eighteenth-century tavern may demand different equipment from that which is customary. For that reason it is recommended that a professional restaurant consultant be hired to review the plans, as suggested in the Preface.

6. Cooking and Serving

Articles used in preparing the food should follow the demands of the menu and the wishes of the restaurateur. Those used within the dining rooms or carried into them (within the limits imposed by modern restaurant techniques) should be reproductions of articles likely to have been used when serving food during the building's historic period. Ideally, no guest should ever see an insulated plastic coffee jug.

7. Eating Utensils (dishes, drinking vessels, cutlery)

Articles visitors use in dining should be considered interpretive tools, as well as units in a food service operation. The fact that forks have three tines instead of four, that teacups have no handles, or that salt is in a dish, not a shaker, prepares a visitor to expect other departures from what is familiar, and makes the experience more vivid in his memory.

The procurement and replacement of ceramics and glassware will be as much a problem for City Tavern as it is for any restaurant. But added to that problem, for us, is the difference in shape, body, and ornament between antique prototypes and commercially available restaurant wares. Firms should be found whose basic production would permit them to approximate eighteenth-century prototypes in wares that can withstand restaurant usage and meet U.S. Department of Health specifications. It is unlikely that absolute reproductions

would be possible, but every effort must be made to avoid perpetuating the errors made in commercial interpretations of "Early American" style. Appropriate simple modern shapes, used authentically, would further the interpretation efforts by not interjecting themselves between the patron and the past and by not reinforcing any inaccurate preconceptions.

8. Movable

As stated in the introduction to this section, City Tavern was furnished at least three times during the height of its historic period (1773, 1777, and 1783), and broken, outmoded articles must have been replaced continually. For that reason it is suggested that the furnishings reflect some of the variety of styles popular during those years, rather than being confined strictly to the early 1770s or to one style within each dining area.

9. Linens

City Tavern was an urban, not a rural, establishment. It served men of the merchant and landed classes, as well as the sea captains and soldiers. Checked or figured weaves would be inappropriate beneath the "China . . . earthenware . . . [and] neat assortment of plate" described by its first innkeeper.

10. Personnel in Public Contact

Members of the tavern staff who will meet its patrons can contribute to the effectiveness of the reconstruction by their dress and demeanor.

B. General Recommendations by Room

1. Entrance

Guests to the tavern will enter at the front or Second Street entrance (see elevations, section VII). Because the posting of City Tavern's license (No. 2, which permitted the selling of wine) above its front entrance occurred after the building's historic period, it is not recommended that a facsimile be posted. If a sign is deemed necessary it should be designed to conform with eighteenth-century city statutes regulating the size and placement of signs.

2. First-Floor Hall (see plan, section VIII)

The tavern is divided on this floor by a hall, which runs from front to back and contains interior stairs to the cellar and upper floors. Two dining rooms open from each side on the first floor. For clarity they will be designated by their location (Northeast Room, Southwest Room) as well as by any historic names.

a. Interior Finish

The walls and woodwork should be painted according to specifications established by historical architects and museum curators. The floors should be yellow pine, left uncovered. Inclement weather may demand temporary covering of the floors, but it should be unobtrusive.

b. Lighting

This should be accomplished by means of a glass enclosed brass hanging lantern suspended in the archway that divides the front and back hall. It should be supplemented by two glass enclosed two-light walnut wall lanterns similar to those in Independence Hall. A tin wall lantern should be mounted at the head of the cellar stairs.

c. Wall Ornaments

These should be an assortment of prints, preferably with heroic or historical subjects.

d. Furniture

Because it will receive heavy visitor traffic, the first floor hall should be kept as clear as possible. Demands of the restaurant will also call for carefully observed traffic lanes.

Standing furniture should include a clerk's desk for the manager of the tavern and, depending on the space allowances, one or two windsor settees.

3. Northeast Room (Subscription Room)

Although the first specific statement concerning the function of the room was in 1789, when it was referred to in conjunction with the Southeast Room as the "Merchants' Coffee House and place of Exchange," the room served as one-half of the tavern's business facility as early as 1774. In 1796 it was called specifically the "Subscription Room," indicating that it held the journals and papers to which the tavern subscribed.

It is suggested that this room serve as a waiting room and staging area for the tavern.

a. Interior Finish

Its walls and woodwork are known to have been painted and should be so finished again. Its floors should be yellow pine. It is suggested that a form of floor covering be studied because it is possible that the floors were carpeted during the tavern's historic period. "Scotch" or ingrained carpet would be appropriate; a serviceable broadloom reproduction would enhance the room's appearance greatly and be more serviceable than a flat woven Scotch carpet.

b. Lighting

The absence of candlelit tables makes electric wall lighting essential. Electric brass wall sconces (with glass shades where drafts would occur naturally) should be placed around the walls.

c. Heating

Open stoves were sold at the first auctions of the tavern's furnishings (1777). A working reproduction of such a stove, with its accessories, will immediately introduce guests to the eighteenth century.

d. Window Treatment

Because the room will have interior shutters, no window hangings are necessary.

e. Wall Ornaments

The walls should be hung with prints, colored and black and white. They should be views of English and Continental harbor cities, maps, and engravings of merchant ships; in short, subjects of interest to merchants, ship captains, and Englishmen. Because this was the room in which the city's first stock exchange met, a portrait of Matthew McConnell, its first president, would be appropriate, if one exists.

f. Furniture

This "reading room" should be furnished with Windsor chairs and settees. A table for periodicals and a rack for newspapers would

suggest the room's use. It is strongly recommended that the tavern subscribe, as it did in the eighteenth century, to papers from distant cities. A guest can learn a great deal about the cosmopolitan clientele of City Tavern by finding the Manchester Guardian, The Wall Street Journal, and Le Monde in its Subscription Room. Bound copies of stock exchange minutes for the historical period--if any have survived--would be invaluable to the room and should be sought.

4. Southeast Room (Coffee Room)

This room seems to have been used as a coffeeroom and bourse since the opening of the tavern. It was described as a "genteel coffee room" then and functioned in a social and business capacity throughout the building's occupancy as a tavern. Because the two front rooms were treated as a unit, at least from the dates of Moyston's management (ca. 1788), and apparently were the responsibility of the merchants, traders, and ship captains who subscribed to the tavern's Exchange Room, they should be furnished similarly. That is, the furniture of the Coffee Room should consist of 26 Windsor chairs and plain tavern tables (see cartoons in section II). Its lighting fixtures should be simple wall-mounted brass sconces; its walls should be hung with scenes of European capitals or views of monuments that the tavern's subscribers might have seen on the Grand Tour. Because there is record of a board on which were posted ship arrivals, notices of cargoes for sale, and dates of meetings or public events, it is strongly recommended that City Tavern reinstate such a board. It would not only inform visitors of park or city events, but would juxtapose present and past, especially if reproduced notices from the city's eighteenth-century newspapers were placed among current items.

It is suggested that coffee be served here during the "change hours" listed in the tavern's advertisements. That will necessitate selection of appropriate ceramics, utensils, and accessories.

5. Northwest Room (Bar Room)

If the front rooms of City Tavern were the town's business center, the bar was certainly one of its nerve centers. The unfortunate nineteenth-century connotations attached to the word "bar-room" have almost obliterated our understanding of the sort of room in which City Tavern's bar was found. Comparison with a London pub is not entirely accurate, but it approaches the truth more closely.

We do not have a description of the tavern's bar, although we know something of the food and drink that passed through it (bars did serve food: "soups, stews, jellies and ices," to quote one City Tavern advertisement) and the information available there.

Consequently, the historical architects have based the design of its bar on those in several contemporary prints. Because the fittings of a bar were more or less standard, we know something about the objects that filled it. They should include punchbowls in several sizes, ladles, bottles, glassware, mugs, a full set of measures, and such sundries as a bag or two of oysters and a cheese.

Setting up the tavern's working bar will be the responsibility of the kitchen planner and the restaurateur; it is recommended that the cartoons and inventories in this report be consulted so that the appearance of the completed bar approaches accuracy.

a. Interior Finish

Walls of the Bar Room should be painted; the floors should be of yellow pine boards and left bare.

b. Windows

It is not certain that the two windows contained venetian blinds, but they may prove necessary if the western light is too strong.

c. Lighting

These should be a mixture of concealed work lights in the room for the bartender--electric candle sconces of tin on the walls and live candles on tables as needed. It is suggested that the need for small wood or tin chandeliers be examined. Because the overall light level will be low, care should be taken to insure that the bar's work light is not too strong a contrast.

d. Wall Ornaments

These should consist of numerous cartoons depicting taverns or other genre scenes and copies of notices we know were "left at the bar" of City Tavern for the convenience of patrons. Because cartoons are topical art, they were changed frequently in eighteenth-century taverns. Barrooms or dining rooms are depicted with unframed prints tacked to the walls. Although such a practice is not recommended for expensive antique cartoons, it may be possible to find reproductions of cartoons, broadsides, etc., which could be treated more cavalierly. A tack with shreds of paper under it indicating the hasty removal of a tired cartoon would add accuracy to the wall treatment.

The need for coat pegs induced most taverns to line their walls with brass or wooden pegs, sometimes screwed into a board, sometimes driven directly into the wall. "The Court of Equity" depicts a tavern room with rosette-headed brass pegs along one wall; they may be similar to those listed in the inventory of John Gadsby's tavern in Alexandria as "5 Doz brass cloak pins" (see Appendix A). It is recommended that the cloak pins procured for the City Tavern be of brass.

Because English tavern scenes frequently contain hanging wall clocks, it is recommended that City Tavern's bar have one.

e. Heating

The fireplace or the Bar Room will contain an operative open stove with its accoutrements. It is strongly recommended that this be used in winter.

f. Furniture

Furniture in the Bar Room should be a mixture of pine tables; the greater the mix the better. Chairs should be Windsors and some ladderbacks. The presence of booths should be studied further. They are not listed in the 1773 survey, but they may have been added in one of the subsequent remodelings. If booths are used, it is suggested that they be wooden, topped by short baize curtains on brass rods (see cartoons in section II).

g. Serving and Eating Utensils

These should be a mixture of pewter, earthenware, and glass, chosen to approximate eighteenth-century forms and ornaments if possible. A great deal of information is available concerning the specific utensils employed in English bars of the period. There are many small steps that, if taken, will enhance the accuracy of the room. For example, liquor can be removed from modern containers and placed in reproduced eighteenth-century bottles, decanters, and jugs. Punch can be served in small bowls rather than by the glass. Mugs can be impressed with the name of the tavern or an emblem of it.

Note: It has not been determined that City Tavern ever had a billiard table, although they were a standard furnishing in taverns as far north as Baltimore that had claims to gentility.

6. Southwest Room

Documentary evidence indicates that parties dined in private rooms in City Tavern. One source, however, that described "private rooms on the first floor," is an account translated from the French.¹ French usage calls our "first floor" the "rez-de-chaussée" and our "second floor" the "premier étage" ("first floor"). For the needs of the twentieth-century tavern, we must assume that Moreau was thinking in American usage. Because it is suggested that the "ordinary" (buffet luncheon at a fixed price) be served in this room, the furnishings should be somewhat less elaborate than those in the private dining rooms on the second floor. They might also be confined to the earliest styles likely to have been in use in the tavern.

a. Interior Finish

This should be paint, as in the other dining rooms. The closets, which are built into the south (fireplace) wall, might be used for storage or display of antique prototype ceramics. If so, these should be arranged as articles in a closet, not as objects in a show window.

The floors of this room should be yellow pine boards. Because "carpets" were sold at the tavern's 1777 auction, they might be used in this and other dining rooms to absorb sound and brighten the room. It is suggested that further study be made of the availability of reproduced Scotch or Axminster carpets copied from those made in the 1770s or 1780s.

b. Lighting

Lighting should be by single-arm brass candle sconces; these should be wall mounted and electric and augmented by candles as needed. The principle to be observed in the dining rooms should be: electric light to provide the stable basic illumination; candles to provide the changeable, observable illumination.

c. Windows

These should be ornamented by a simple venetian or festoon curtain of watered or calendered wool moreen. The curtain should be capable of being raised or lowered to control the western light.

1. J. Kenneth Roberts and Anna M. Roberts, eds. and trans., Moreau de St. Méry's American Journal (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1947), p. 354.

d. Heating

This room contains a nonfunctioning open stove. It should, however, be fitted with brass and steel accessories to match those at the working stoves.

e. Wall Ornaments and Accessories

The prints and maps in this room might comprise still life and genre scenes: the four seasons, flower prints, etc. It is hoped that the walls of the tavern will display representative samples of the range of graphic art available to the Philadelphians of 1770.

f. Furniture

Every dining room will need a serving table, chest of drawers, or similar article of furniture to hold linens, water pitchers, cutlery, condiments, and so on. It is hoped that antiques or reproductions can be obtained that will fill the need without interposing modern counters or shelves between the diner and the rest of the furnishings.

In general the furnishings of this room should be simple Philadelphia interpretations of the transition between Queen Anne and Chippendale styles. We know that Smith furnished the tavern with both walnut and mahogany tables, and this would argue that a percentage of the furniture was walnut in the earlier (Queen Anne) style. Adaptation of the basic table styles of the period will render them sufficiently flexible for restaurant use. Chairs will present no problem. The style of walnut chairs produced by William Savery's shop is both attractive and sturdy. Savery built chairs through the 1780s, and Cadwalader, who was treasurer of City Tavern, patronized his shop.

7. Stair Hall

The western half of the first-floor hall, which housed the flights of stairs and led to the rear porch and inn yard, was likely to have been sparsely furnished. Waiters rushing up from the cellar kitchens, servants carrying trunks from carriages in the rear, merchants in conversation at the door of the bar, and members of the Hibernian Society ascending the stairs to a dinner meeting in one of the private dining rooms would have provided more "furnishing" than the space could hold. The Stair Hall will probably be as active again; so it is recommended that furnishings be kept to a minimum.

a. Wall Ornaments

Flights of stairs lend themselves to "series" prints: the twelve months, the four cardinal virtues, the twelve caesars, and so on. It is suggested that the Stair Hall be ornamented by prints in a series.

b. Lighting

A pair of walnut glass enclosed wall lanterns, each holding two electric candles, would provide enough light to make the stairs safe. At the center of the hall in the second-floor level, a hanging brass lantern of some importance should emphasize that one is approaching a major room. Similar paired wooden wall lanterns should be placed on the north and south walls of the landing to the third floor.

One of the private dining rooms or one of the hall areas may have contained a tall-case clock. With the Exchange operating at specific times, and meetings advertised as being at a certain hour "precisely," a clock would have been a likely convenience. It is suggested that a simple tall-case clock of Philadelphia origin be considered for the second-floor hall, if not for one of the private dining rooms.

8. Second Floor

The stairs, which rise from the rear of the building to the center, end in a short hall on the second floor. Similar dining rooms in the northwest and southwest corners of the building open from the hall, which ends in the entrance to the Long Room occupying the eastern half of this floor.

9. Second-Floor Private Dining Rooms

These two "private" dining rooms served--and will serve--similar functions in City Tavern, that is, they may be reserved in whole or in part for a meal or a meeting in which one will be given greater attention by the waiters and less scrutiny by the rest of the dining public. It was in these rooms that the dining clubs of the 1770s met, the benevolent societies convened, and John Adams met the other delegates to the Continental Congress.

These private dining rooms, by their greater seclusion, invite more elaborate furnishings. Prosperous taverns invariably had certain rooms with finer furnishings, greater luxury, and more prestigious names.²

10. Northwest Room (Private Dining Room)

a. Interior Finish

Walls and woodwork should be painted. Floors should be yellow pine and covered by carpets.

b. Lighting

Four single-armed brass wall sconces are recommended for placement around the room. These should be supplemented by live candles, placed as needed.

c. Heating

It is recommended that the open stove in this room be operative. Whether it is or not, the stove should be furnished with the requisite tools and laid with wood during the winter season.

2. Examination of the inventories in Appendix A will indicate that many tavern rooms were named. Often their names were simply references to their color schemes (every tavern seems to have had a Green Room, and all hotels still do). Occasionally, they were more ambitious, as in the Raleigh Tavern's "Appollo" and "Daphne" rooms. There is, however, no record of such descriptive names for the private dining rooms of City Tavern. The Exchange Room and the Subscription Room on the first floor, and the Long Room on the second, are the only names which have survived. It is difficult to believe, however, that a tavern keeper such as Edward Moyston would have missed a gimmick so appealing as room names. Certainly, they are convenient: it is easier to say "Green Room" than to say "South West Dining Room." Should the decision be made, at some future time, to name the dining rooms, it is recommended that the names should arise from some aspect of the decor or decoration, as again, "The Green Room," or, if appropriate maps, etc., are found, the "Indies Room" or "London Room." Names that have a historic sound to modern ears, such as "The Bunker Hill Room" or "The Spirit of '76 Bar," belong in a modern motor hotel, but not in a building which has a genuine historical tradition.

d. Window Hangings

Relying on the frequency with which simple festoon curtains appear in cartoons of English taverns, it is recommended that the curtains in this room be festoons constructed so that they can be let down to lie flat like a shade. As with the wall decorations, the window fabrics used in the room should be representative of the range available at the time. It is suggested that in this room reproductions of one of the numerous copperplate-printed textiles be used at the windows.

e. Wall Ornaments: Maps and Engraved Views

It is important to reiterate that the walls should be hung more heavily with prints and that they should be spaced over more of the walls than is consonant with modern taste. Observance of these small differences will reinforce the eighteenth-century "impression" more effectively than the most careful reproductions placed in a room decorated in the twentieth-century manner.

f. Looking Glasses

A pair of antique mahogany looking glasses of the sort sold in Philadelphia by John Elliott, Jr., should be provided.

g. Furniture

The furnishings of this room should follow in general outline those of the Southwest Room on the first floor. That is, one or, if needed, two serving pieces; an assortment of square and rectangular tables; and chairs in a variety of styles. For both rooms it is suggested that the tables be Marlborough style or have a modification of cabriole legs. There are several styles of American Chippendale chairs that were popular in Philadelphia and should be used as prototypes.

In addition, it is recommended that two folding screens be provided for the room (see cartoons in section II). They can be used to mask the entrance to the kitchen, to provide privacy if two parties are using the room, or to hide a functional object like a dish cart.

h. Serving and Eating Utensils

As suggested earlier in this report, the ceramics used in Philadelphia in the 1770s were plentiful and varied. Research by Dr. John Jackson concerning the Loyalist merchants indicates that, far from ceasing upon the British occupation, importation increased. In fact, several London merchants immigrated, bringing goods with them. It was no problem for Daniel Smith to buy the latest wares

from England in 1777. An incident that occurred in the tavern involving the harassment of one Joseph Stansbury, a Loyalist, becomes even more interesting when Stansbury is shown to have been one of the city's most prosperous china importers with a shop not far from the tavern. It is recommended, therefore, that the ceramics used in the private dining rooms be copies from prototypes listed in one of Stansbury's advertisements.

11. Southwest Room

The recommendations made for the Northwest Room are applicable to this dining room. It is suggested, however, that variety be introduced through the choice of a striped fabric for the window hangings and a different type of ceramics.

12. Long Room

As indicated in section II, the Long Room's 1777 redecoration is documented by a letter from Rebecca Franks. Unfortunately, Miss Franks stopped short of the details of the furnishings. We can be sure, however, that Smith would have redecorated in the latest London style. Even if he were unfamiliar with it, his new clientele--the young bloods among the British officers--knew it well. And the latest London style in 1777 was the classical revival that is now called Adamesque.³ Therefore, it is recommended that the Long Room be furnished in the Adamesque Classical style. The furnishings will include chandeliers and sconces, pier glasses and pier tables, and chairs to be ranged along the walls.

Tables and supplementary seating for those times when the room is being used for banquets should be benches and collapsible tables that can be stored in the garret area.

Admittedly, benches are not the most comfortable form of seating, but if the decision is made to forego authenticity in favor of convenience, it is suggested that simple modern collapsible seating be substituted. In that way the principle enunciated earlier would be followed: antique or reproduced articles where possible, unobtrusive "neutral" modern substitutions where necessary.

3. Robert Adam himself is believed to have built and furnished additions to the Lion, a hotel in Shrewsbury, Shropshire. The ballroom of the Lion is ornamented in a simplified Adamesque style, which is probably similar in spirit to the redecorations of City Tavern.

Accounts of visitors to the Assembly balls in the eighteenth century describe the strictness and seriousness with which the frivolous business of dancing was conducted. The Assembly was governed by a table of rules, framed and hung in a prominent place, to which disputants could resort. The full-length portrait of the great dancing master, Charles Inglis, hung above the dancers' heads.

An English cartoon, "The Wapping Concert," which is illustrated in Penelope Batcheler's historic structure report, lends further credibility to their accounts by depicting both items: a framed table of laws and a full-length portrait of a robed figure, presumably the society's master.

The rules of order that governed the Assembly balls could be duplicated; a C. W. Peale portrait of Charles Inglis, cut down from its larger size, exists in a private collection near Philadelphia. (See Penelope Batcheler, Historic Structure Report, City Tavern, Illustration 2.)

In short, it would be possible to return to the Long Room two decorative features of great significance to both the history of the tavern and the social life of the eighteenth-century city.

It is strongly recommended that the ornamentation of the new Long Room include a framed copy of the dancing assembly's rules and that permission be obtained to duplicate Peale's Inglis portrait if the original should prove unobtainable.

Concerts in the room will demand the provision of music stands. It is suggested that examples in museum collections be used as prototypes and that new stands be constructed. The musicians can use the chairs ordinarily lining the walls.

It is hoped that the Long Room will be used for a variety of functions. It will meet a great need in the park and in that section of the city, just as it did in 1774.

13. Cellar (Two School Dining Rooms)

Because the cellar rooms of the tavern were either active, cluttered kitchens or unplastered stone storage areas, it is infeasible to return them to their original appearance and expect to be able to use them for dining areas.

Rather than make halfhearted efforts to restore them to a degree of authenticity, it is suggested that their "restoration" stop at the interior finish; that is, that they be given white plaster walls and brick floors (laid in mortar, however).

Beyond that point, the purposes of interpretation will be served better by the use of photographic enlargements of views of the tavern, cartoons of tavern scenes, bills, and advertisements than by efforts to approximate the accoutrements of an eighteenth-century cellar in a way that is both authentic and childproof.

Seating should be trestle tables and benches. Tin reproduction wall sconces and lanterns are available that--if purchased without black finish--approximate the appearance of antique specimens. If desired, waste containers can be wooden barrels. Should beverages or desserts be sold, the vessels and utensils can be reproductions of antiques.

14. Tavern Kitchen

One of the tavern's two cellar kitchens is recommended for restoration, in order that visitors may gain some sense of the methods of food preparation in the eighteenth century.

A broad range of kitchen, fireplace, stove, and cooking illustrations exists. From this ample supply, illustrations should be selected to serve as guides in refurnishing the kitchen.

The historical architects have recommended that the fireplace in this kitchen be active. This report concurs in that recommendation. It is further suggested that INHP interpreters work in the room during the daytime hours, so that visitors to the tavern may see the kitchen under somewhat accurate conditions. Care should be taken to see that modern intrusions--ventilating fans, commercial packaging materials, stainless steel utensils, etc.--do not gradually find their way into the kitchen supplies and equipment.

C. Specific Recommendations by Room

1. First-Floor Hall

a. Walls

Prints: A series print, such as the Rake's Progress, Dr. Syntax, etc. In six to eight units. Antique.
Approximate price

\$4,000

Additional colored prints, perhaps either the King and Queen or Washington, depending on the period chosen, and some hunting or American Indian prints. Antique.
About four at \$300 each

1,200

b. Lighting

Lantern, hanging (in archway), brass, six-light (electric). Glass enclosed, (Williamsburg reproduction may be acceptable). Reproduction or antique, one only.
Approximate price 500

Two-candle, mahogany and glass wall sconces (electric).
Three at \$125 each 375

c. Furniture

Mahogany or walnut clerk's desk, Philadelphia, ca. 1770, or English. Price would depend on origin and condition. Antique.
If Philadelphian: 4,000
If English: 2,500

Mahogany stool for clerk. Reproduction.
One only 75

Painted Windsor settee. Reproduction.
One only 600

Windsor chairs.
Ten at \$200 each 2,000

2. First-Floor Subscription Room

a. Walls

Maps: Map of Philadelphia and its environs from 1773 to 1774. Antique. 350

T. Harmer, "Chart of N.W. Coast of America and N.E. Coast of Asia" (1784). Antique. 150

Approximate cost of framing, \$25 each 50

Prints: Eight colored engravings of English merchantmen, views of English harbor cities, and perspective maps of North American harbor cities. Antique.

Total approximate cost 2,000

The number of views and prints needed in this room will depend on the size of individual items required. The aim will be to hang the walls rather heavily with colorful views of subjects interesting to merchants and sea captains.

Accessories: One portrait of Mathew McConnell, if available, for over the mantel.

One open stove and brass-headed shovel and tongs, including installation. 1,000

Six electric double-armed brass sconces, two with hurricane shades, similar to Ball & Ball W-163-ES double; two with bare candles (electric). 561

b. Windows

Painted interior shutters, no hangings or blinds required.

c. Furniture

Windsor chairs, popular styles, ca. 1783.
Eight at \$150 each 1,200

Leather-covered Philadelphian wing chairs.
Three at \$650 each 1,950

Windsor settees.
Three at \$500 each 1,500

Newspaper racks with sticks for hanging newspapers to be read by City Tavern visitors.
Two at \$200 each 400

d. Other

Pair of brass keepers for fireplace tools. 10

Brass-headed cloak pins.
Twelve at \$2 each 24

3. Coffeeroom

a. Walls

Maps: Sayers and Bennett, "Chart of the Straits of Magellan" (1775). Antique. 150

Samuel Dunn, "A Compleat Map of the West Indies" (1774). Antique. 100

Fisher, "Map of the Delaware River and Bay."
Antique. 500

Approximate cost of framing, \$25 each 75

Prints: Six, including one of the several prospects
of London. Antique.

A view of the London Exchange. Antique.

A view of the Paris Bourse. Antique.

Approximate total cost 2,500

In general, prints in this room should be dignified "prospects"
or harbor scenes, or views of notable buildings likely to have been
seen on "grand tours" or study abroad.

Approximate cost of framing, at \$25 each 150

Accessories: Brass-headed cloak pins.
Twelve at \$2 each 24

Pair of brass keepers for fireplace tools. 10

Electric single-armed brass sconces, similar to
Ball & Ball W-163-ES.
Six at \$55 each 330

b. Windows

Painted interior shutters, no hangings or blinds required.

c. Furniture

Dining tables: Round or rectangular tables (one 36"
round seating six people, two 30" x 44" seating four, and
six 22" x 30" seating two, for a total of 26 places). Based
on details in the cartoons "The Country Club" and "Good
News."
Nine at approximately \$300 each 2,700

Serving tables: One Philadelphia or English side or
serving table, with or without marble top. Approximate
size: 60" x 24". 1,500

Chairs: Windsor chairs of three types: trundle bow-back armchair, fan-backed side chair, and low-backed Pennsylvania armchair.
Twenty-six at \$150 each 3,900

Other furnishing accessories: One message board for posting notices. 25

One open stove, reproduced from period examples, plus one pair of brass-headed shovel and tongs, including installation. 1,000

Brass candlesticks, reproductions of simplest types used in the 1770s.
Twelve at \$25 each 300

Utensils for coffee service:

45 cups at \$1 each	45
45 saucers at \$1.50 each	67.50
60 teaspoons at \$1.50 each	90
4 coffeepots at \$10 each	40
8 milk pots at \$5 each	40
8 sugar bowls and covers at \$8 each	64

4. Northwest Room (Bar Room)

a. Walls

Prints: Humourous cartoons depicting tavern scenes, such as "The Country Club," "Tasting," and "A Chop House" used as illustrations in section II of this report.
Six at \$300 each 1,800

Approximate cost of framing, \$35 each 210

Portraits of notable Britons, such as William Pitt, the elder, or John Wilkes, Lord Mayor of London.
Three at \$250 each 750

b. Lighting

Tin electric single-candle sconces. Reproductions or antiques.
Four at \$60 each 240

Electric hanging light in the bar area. Reproduction.
One at \$75 75

Wood and wire electric chandeliers with six lamps.
Reproductions.
Two at \$260 each 520

Brass or brass and iron candlesticks for tables.
Reproductions.
Twelve at \$50 each 600

Open iron stove fireplace (one to Franklin's design,
if possible, or one similar). Original or reproduction,
with tools.
One only 2,000

Brass-headed cloak pins.
Twelve at \$3.50 each 42

English hanging wall clock. Antique. 900

c. Windows

Wooden venetian blinds, if required for light control.
Costs to be estimated by architect.

d. Furniture

Two built-in booths with fixed benches. Cost to
be estimated by the architect.

Pine tables, painted or finished with impervious
coating: one 36" round, two 12" round, and three 26"
square. Reproductions.
Six at \$200 each 1,200

Chairs: Four ladderbacks at \$200 each, and four
Windsors at \$200 each 1,600

e. Utensils

Tableware (to serve 32 people): 144 pewter 8"
sandwich plates. The sandwich service area will require
at least three times the seating capacity as the dining
area, and the difficulty of surveillance in the bar may
cause heavier "souvenir" losses.

75 redware 9-1/2" plates for dining

redware 1-pint bowls

Barware: Stemware for punch, mugs for beer (glass or ceramic), green bottles for liquor behind the bar, punch-bowls (1 pint, 1 quart, and 2 quart) for serving punch to parties at a table, and punch ladles. Large white linen napkins will also be needed.

Costs of these items cannot be estimated, because suitable shapes and sizes have not been found in commercially available stock. The line between authenticity and viability is fine, but the sense of authenticity will be tested most critically at the table.

Silverware: Cutlery will consist of stag-handled knives and forks (these will actually be synthetic and stainless steel) and pewter spoons.

5. Southwest Room (Private Dining Room)

a. Walls

Prints and maps: Genre scenes, still-life prints, the four seasons, etc. The number (approximately 12) depends upon the size of each, because together they should fill the walls.

Estimated total cost 2,500-3,000

Brass-headed cloak pins.
Twelve at \$3.50 each 42

b. Windows

Venetian curtains or gathered festoons.
Two sets at \$800 each 1,600

Venetian blinds if necessary for light control

c. Furniture

One serving table with marble top, or one chest of drawers, in Queen Anne style, walnut. Antique.
If Philadelphian: 12,000
If English (marble-top serving table): 8,000

One tall-case clock, Philadelphia, ca. 1770, in walnut case. 12,000

Tables that will seat two people. These should be rectangular and walnut, with modified cabriole legs. Reproductions or adaptations, approximately 22" x 30".
Seven at \$350 each 2,450

Tables for seating four people, should be rectangular and walnut, and 30" x 44".
Three at \$400 each 1,200

Chairs: Side chairs in three variations of the transitional Queen Anne-Chippendale style. All chairs may be reproductions.
Twenty-six at \$250 each 6,500

d. Lighting

Walls: Single-light brass wall sconces in glass shades (similar to Ball & Ball W-163-ES).
Four at \$50.50 each 202

One double-light brass wall sconce (similar to Ball & Ball W-163-E). 101

Tables: Brass candlesticks. Reproductions of the period 1760-70.
Twelve at \$25 each 300

e. Ceramics

As in the other dining areas, the problem of finding viable utensils in authentic styles is great, so this list is suggestive of quantities and general styles of table furnishings that would be in keeping with this particular room.

Quantities are based on an assumed seating capacity of 40 people and treated according to the ratios suggested by ARA Associates for restaurant usage. This does not mean that larger quantities might not need to be ordered in a special situation, or be required by the special pressures on City Tavern.

Plates: These should be as close as possible to creamware in their appearance, and to the eighteenth-century Queen's Edge pattern in their style.

Sixty 9" dinner plates.

Thirty 8" shallow soup plates.

Forty small 4-inch plates.

Teawares: These should be in ornamented creamwares, or blue and white oriental porcelain styles. The two types could, and possibly should, be mixed.

Fifty-two tea bowls (actually handleless soup bowls similar to those made by Homer Laughlin).

Fifty-two shallow saucers.

Twenty-four service for two, apple-shaped teapots.

Twenty-four tall, ceramic, service for two coffeepots (metal pots resembling pewter could be used).

Glassware: 60 of each of the following glassware items should be acquired for use in this room: stemmed, tulip-shaped glasses; short tumblers; tall tumblers; and 1-pint glass or ceramic mugs. (Patterns should follow those illustrated in W. F. Hunter, Stiegel Glass.)

Utensils: Cutlery should be bone or ivory handled knives and forks (a dishwasher-proof synthetic may be used).

Silver spoons (commercial restaurant silver is acceptable if the shape is consistent with the style of the eighteenth century and if the style is distinct from the knives and forks. The styles should NOT match.)

Serving pieces should consist of oval dishes and platters of various sizes. Acceptable types of wares would be creamware, blue and white oriental export, pewter, and, rarely, redware. (A larger number and greater variety of serving pieces will be demanded by following the eighteenth-century practice in which family-style service was the rule and attention to matching services was not.)

Small relish dishes were common in a variety of shapes during the eighteenth century: shells, leaves, fish, etc. Some effort should be made to find some of these reproduced.

f. Linens

Enough white linen cloths and napkins should be acquired for 7 tables and 24 place settings.

6. Stair Hall

a. Walls

Prints: One of the lengthy series, such as The Months of the Year, The Twelve Caesars, etc. Antique. \$5,000

b. Lighting

Paired walnut wall sconces, each holding two electric candles, to be placed on opposite sides of the landing. Bicentennial Seal, Inc., No. 5010 or similar. Two at \$125 each. 250

Hanging six-light, glass enclosed, electric brass lantern, to be placed at center of second-floor ceiling. Colonial Williamsburg Reproduction No. K12892 or similar. 550

7. Northwest Dining Room

a. Walls

Prints and maps: Views of European cities or similar engravings, possibly arranged around a common theme. Twelve at approximately \$200 each 2,400

Brass-headed cloak pins
Twelve at \$3.50 each 42

b. Lighting

Wall-mounted, single-armed brass candle sconces (electric). Ball & Ball W-163-E or similar. Four at \$75 each 300

Brass candlesticks in styles popular ca. 1775-85. Reproductions. Twelve at \$50 each 550

c. Furniture

Mahogany serving table, Philadelphia ca. 1775 or English of the same date, preferably with Marlborough legs and marble top. Antique. \$8,000-12,000

Small mahogany four-drawer chest, Philadelphia ca. 1775 or reproduction of period. Dimensions should be about 3' x 2'.

If antique: 6,000-8,000
If reproduction: 500- 600

Tables: Mahogany American Chippendale style, with Marlborough legs, 22" x 30," seating two people.

Four at \$400 each 1,600

Mahogany American Chippendale style, Marlborough legs with gate leg or stationary, 30" x 44," seating four people.

Two at \$500 each 1,000

Thirty-inch square tables to seat three people.

Two at approximately \$400 each 800

One 36" round table to seat six people.

400

Side chairs: In a variety of Philadelphia Chippendale styles with either cabriole or Marlborough legs.

Thirty at \$500 each 15,000

Screens: Wooden four-panel folding screens, wall-paper covered, about 4' x 6'. Reproductions.

Two at \$200 each 400

Looking glasses: A pair of mahogany framed Chippendale style, with scroll-cut edges. Antiques, or reproductions similar to those sold in Philadelphia by John Elliot, Jr.

If antique: 1,500-2,000

If reproduction: 800

d. Serving and Eating Utensils

Utensils should be similar to those used in the Southwest Room on the first floor, but made to imitate oriental export porcelain or early transfer-printed English earthenwares. Enough items should be supplied, including necessary duplication, to serve 24 people.

Cutlery should be silver reproductions of English styles popular ca. 1770.

e. Windows

Windows should be covered with festoon curtains, plain in design, and made of reproduced copperplate-printed fabric.

8. Southwest Dining Room

a. Walls

Prints and Maps: Views of European cities or similar engravings, possibly arranged around a common theme. A suggestion would be genre scenes showing shops, artisans, and peddlers.

Approximately 18 at \$200 each. \$3,600

Brass-headed cloak pins.
Twelve at \$3.50 each 42

b. Lighting

Wall-mounted, single-armed electric brass candle sconces, similar to Lester Berry No. ST 86.
Four at \$50 each 200

Brass candlesticks in styles popular ca. 1775-85.
Reproductions.
Twelve at \$50 each 600

c. Furniture

Mahogany serving table in style of ca. 1775 Philadelphia.
If antique: 8,000
If reproduction: 600

Small mahogany four-drawer chest in style of ca. 1775 Philadelphia or reproduction of same period style. Dimensions should be about 3' wide and 2' deep.
If antique: 6,000-8,000
If reproduction: 600

Tables: Mahogany American Chippendale tables with cabriole legs (modified, if necessary), 22" x 30", seating two people.
Three at \$400 each 1,200

Rectangular mahogany tables, 30" x 44", seating three people.
Two at \$500 each 1,000

Rectangular mahogany tables. 30" x 44", seating four people.
Three at \$500 each 1,500

Side chairs: These should be in a variety of Philadelphia Chippendale styles with either cabriole or Marlborough legs.
Twenty-four at \$500 each 12,000

Screens: Wooden four-panel folding screens, covered with wallpaper or hung with cloth. These should measure about 4' wide and 6' high. Reproductions.
Two at \$200 each 400

Looking glasses: A pair of mahogany framed Chippendale style looking glasses with gilt phoenix in pediment.
If antique: 2,500
If reproduction: 700

d. Serving and Eating Utensils

Utensils should be similar to those used in the Southwest Room on the first floor, but should imitate the Leeds-type feather or shell edge English earthenware. Enough items should be supplied, including necessary duplication, to serve 24 people.

The cutlery should be silver reproductions of ca. 1775 English or Philadelphia styles.

e. Windows

Windows should be covered with festoon curtains, plain in design, and made of woven striped fabric.

f. Glassware

Glassware should be similar to that recommended for the Southwest Dining Room. Enough items should be supplied to serve 24 people.

Note: There has been no recommendation concerning carpeting in these dining rooms. If carpeting proves desirable, it is recommended that one room on the second floor be carpeted with oriental rugs and that the other be carpeted with a reproduction of an eighteenth-century, English, Wilton-style carpet. In both cases, care should be taken to find carpets with strong colors, ones that may be startling to modern eyes but that better approximate those of the period.

9. Long Room

a. Walls

Unlike the walls in the smaller rooms of the tavern, the Long Room should have virtually bare walls. As suggested in the text of section V, an effort should be made to obtain the Inglis portrait or to make a copy of it. The rules of the Dancing Assembly should be reproduced and hung, suitably framed, on the wall.

b. Lighting

Chandeliers: Chandeliers of either crystal or crystal and gilt, with an approximate diameter of 48". Each fixture should hold 14 or 16 lights. Reproductions of English or Irish glass in the styles available in 1777.

Approximate cost of three at \$2,200 each 6,600

Sconces: Sconces of either crystal or crystal and gilt, in a style consonant with the chandeliers but not necessarily matching. These should each hold five lights and have a maximum width of 3'.

Approximate cost of eight at \$550 each 4,400

c. Furniture

Two English, early Adamesque style, or Philadelphia Marlborough style serving tables to stand along the west walls.

If antique: Two at \$3,000 each 6,000

If reproduction: Two at \$1,000 each 2,000

Tables: Two Philadelphia pier tables (if possible, otherwise English) to stand along the east (long) wall. Should be in a style consonant with pier looking glasses.

Side chairs: These should be either English, early Adamesque style, or Philadelphia Affleck-type with Marlborough legs. Reproduction. \$250 each

Looking glasses: Two pier looking glasses in English, early Adamesque style, if possible, to stand along east wall. Dimensions should be approximately 6' high and 2-1/2' wide. Antique.

Two at \$3,000 each 6,000

Trestle tables: Ten tables made of pine. These should be collapsible and stored when not in use for banquets, etc. They should follow the specifications for trestle tables used in the Long Gallery of Independence Hall. Each table should be capable of seating 10 people on benches. The benches should be pine, and

also stored when not in use for banquets. They should follow the specifications for benches used in the Long Gallery of Independence Hall.

Music stands: These should be made of mahogany and should be in eighteenth-century Philadelphia style. They should be suitable for public performances rather than private (that is, single or facing outward rather than four-sided with players facing each other). They may be reproductions, and the number needed (from 4 to 12) will depend upon the style.

"Orchestra": This should be portable and capable of being stored. (See historic structure report for description.)

Dinnerware (to serve 100 people): Because these will receive heavy banquet usage, they should be serviceable but as similar to eighteenth-century style as feasible. The same should be true of the cutlery (stainless steel) and the glassware.

Linens: May be similar to linens suitable for any banquet area, but they should be linen, if possible, rather than damask or a synthetic.

10. Tavern Kitchen

a. Walls

One set of two or three hanging shelves, to be made from pine and painted. 400
If antique: 150
If reproduction:

Wall tank or cistern and sink, with copper tank and copper-lined wooden sink on legs. Reproduction. 600

Cupboard with doors below and shelves above, to be part of the architecture and built into the wall on one side of the fireplace.

Cooking stove, to be part of the architecture and built into the wall on one side of the fireplace.

Cooking fireplace with crane and box grate. 500

Cooking spits of several sizes, with a clock jack to turn them. 750

Racks for holding spare spits, and incidentally supporting pot lids. Reproduced in INHP shop. 50

Pie safe with pierced sides and doors, for storage of foodstuffs. New. 500

Short, plain pegboards for hanging cloths and potholders, etc. Reproduced in INHP shop. Two at \$25 each	50
Towel rack for continuous towel. Reproduced in INHP shop.	25
Shelf suspended from ceiling for storage of crocks and jars. Made in INHP shop.	100
b. Center of Room	
Painted pine worktables; at least one should have a drawer. Antique. Two at \$500 each	1,000
Small pine corner table. Antique.	150
Two stools.	
If new:	50
If antique:	250
Ladder-backed, rush-seated side chair.	
If new:	100
If antique:	450
c. Utensils	
<u>Major items (antique)</u> : These items will consist of crane and accessories, clock jack and spits, roasting pans, drip pans, skillets, and gridirons.	1,500
<u>Minor items (antique)</u> : These items will consist of cauldrons or kettles, covered pots for stewing and boiling, earthenware plates for pie baking, assorted forks, pierced and solid spoons, ladles, knives, rolling pin, mortar and pestle, skewers, salt box, bellows, shovel and tongs, ash bucket, etc.	1,500
<u>Storage utensils</u> : These items will consist of crocks, jars, baskets, etc.	500
<u>Serving utensils (new and antique)</u> : These items will consist of sauceboats, relish dishes, tureens of assorted sizes, and serving platters of assorted sizes in pewter, creamware, and porcelain.	1,500

VI. ILLUSTRATIONS OF TYPICAL FURNISHINGS

1. Philadelphia Windsor Side Chair (1767-96)
Branded "W. COX"

Chairs such as this were made by Cox in his shop on Second Street, and sold for use in homes and taverns. They would have been found in the two front rooms and in the bar of City Tavern, but not in the private dining rooms.

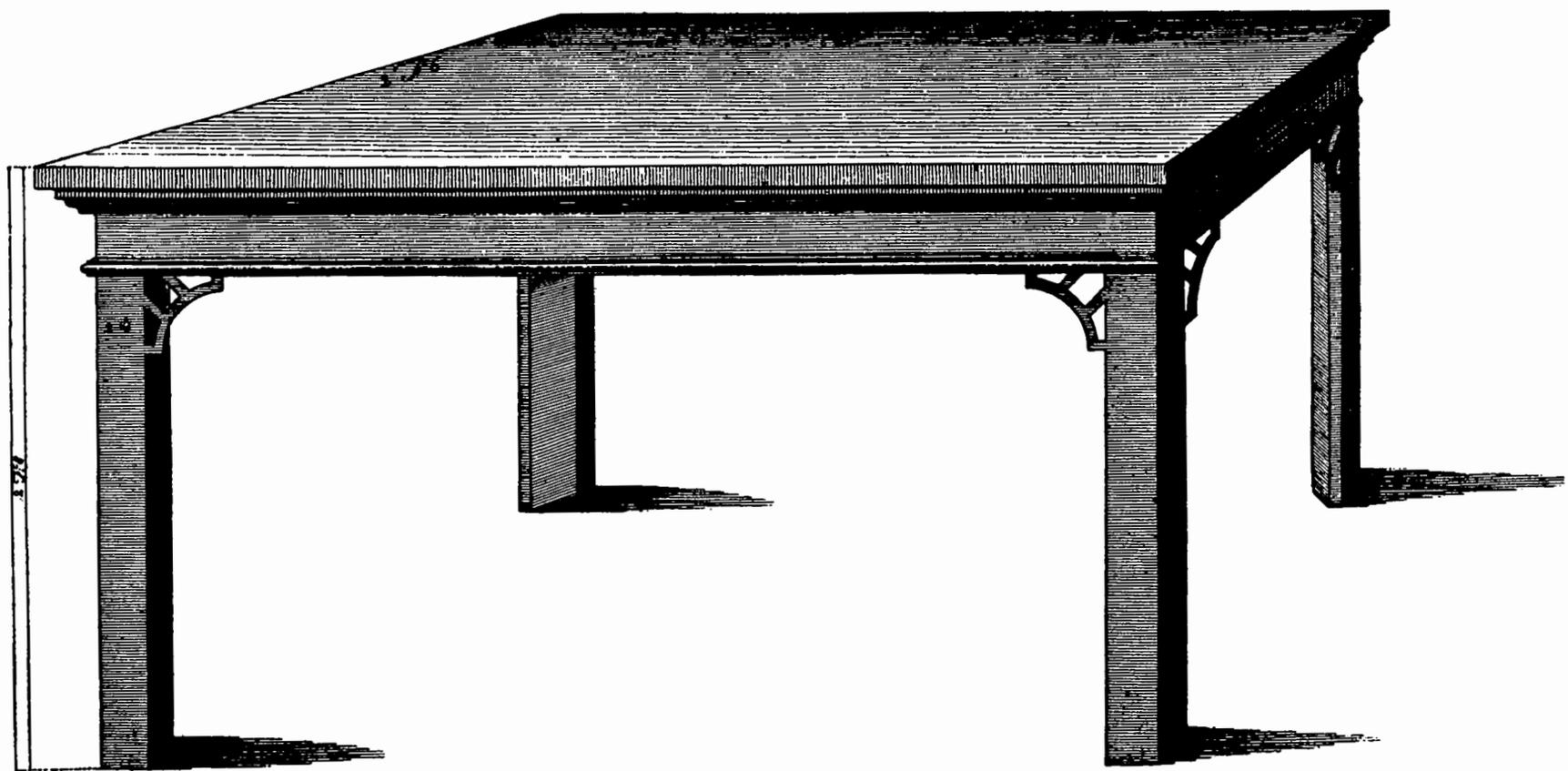
INHP Cat. No. 10223



2. "Sideboard Table"
Thomas Chippendale

Philadelphia cabinetmakers supplied tables similar to this, with or without marble tops, for use as serving tables. Chippendale wrote that the proportions should be as illustrated, though the dimensions should vary to suit "the bigness of the room."

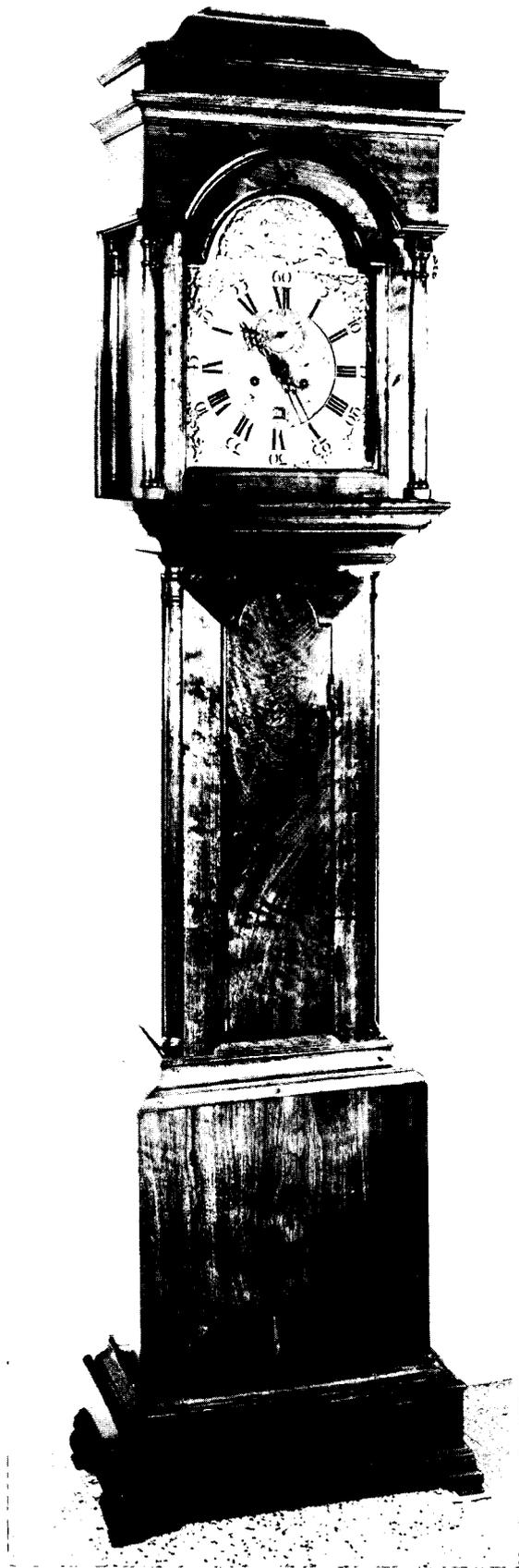
Gentlemen's and Cabinetmaker's
Director (1753), plate LVII



3. Tall-Case Clock
David Rittenhouse, 1755-60

A piece of furniture such as this is likely to have been an ornament in one of the tavern's private dining rooms.

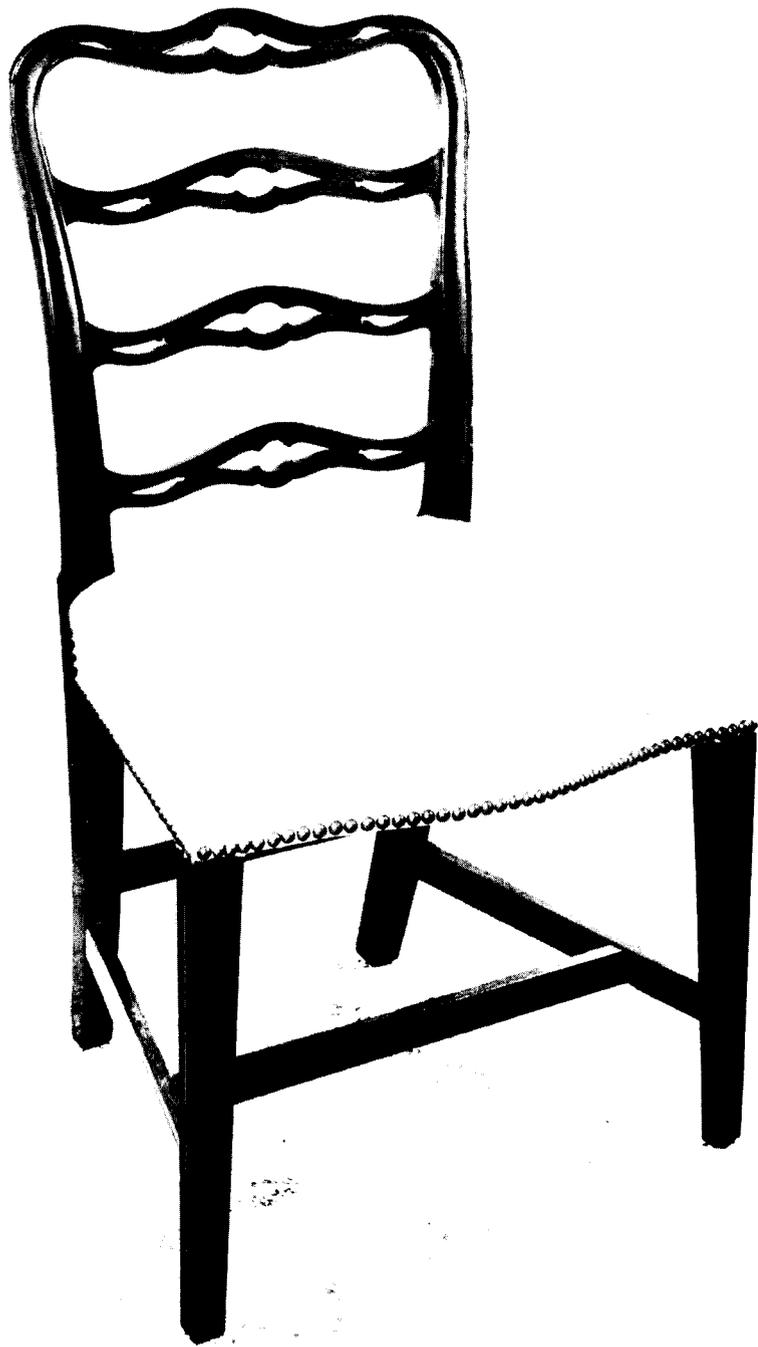
INHP Cat. No. 10231



4. Philadelphia Side Chair (1785-95)
Mahogany with upholstered seat

Chairs similar to this were popular in Philadelphia after the 1770s. Sturdy and relatively simple, it is a variety of seating furniture likely to have been used in the private dining rooms of City Tavern.

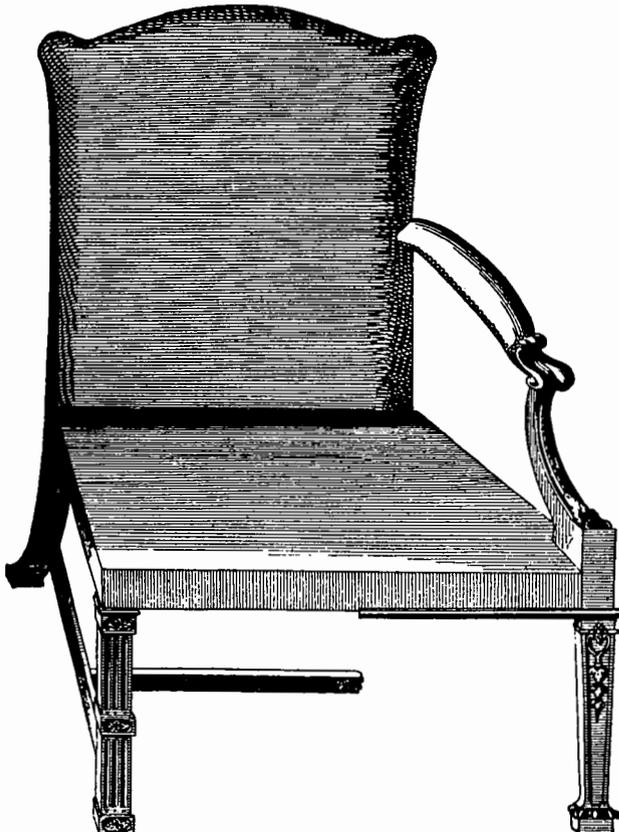
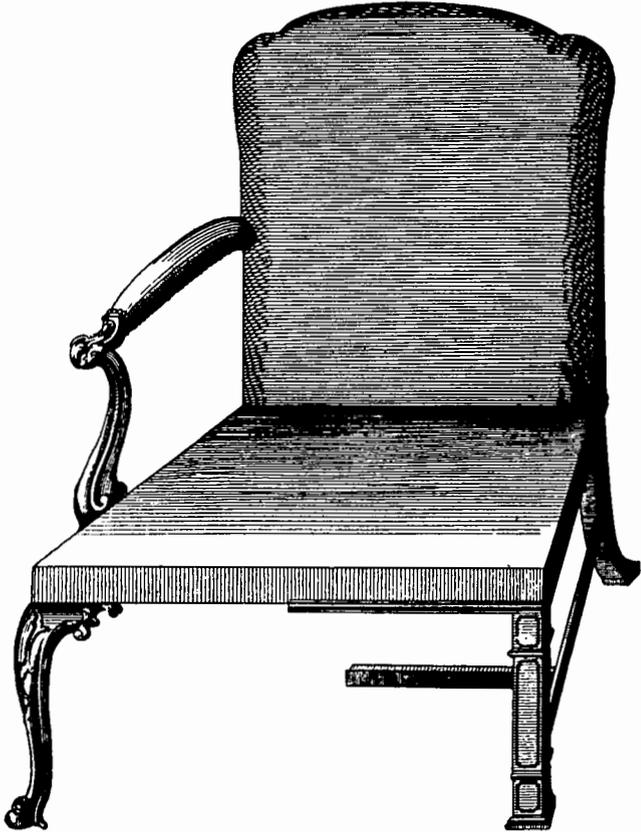
INHP Cat. No. 6302



5. "French Chairs"
Thomas Chippendale

Upholstered chairs, with or without open arms, were made for several of Philadelphia's homes by cabinetmakers like Thomas Affleck. If such chairs were covered with leather and had simple mouldings, they would be appropriate for placement in the City Tavern.

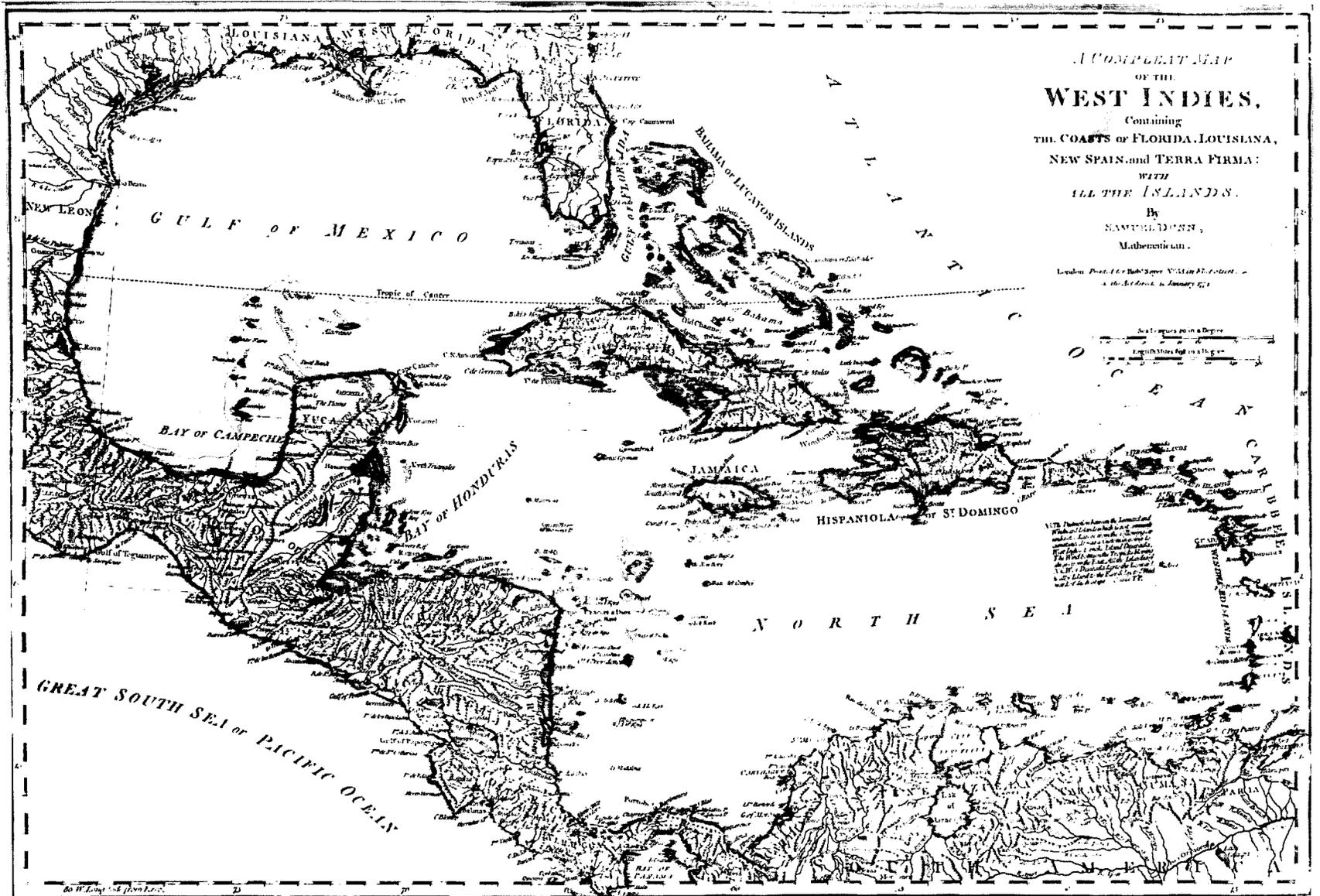
The Gentlemen's and Cabinetmaker's
Director (1753), plate XIX



6. "A Compleat Map of the West Indies," by Samuel Dunn
Printed for Robert Sayer, January 20, 1774

Maps such as this served not only to decorate the walls of taverns in port cities, but to provide merchant-patrons with ready information.

INHP Cat. No. 10186

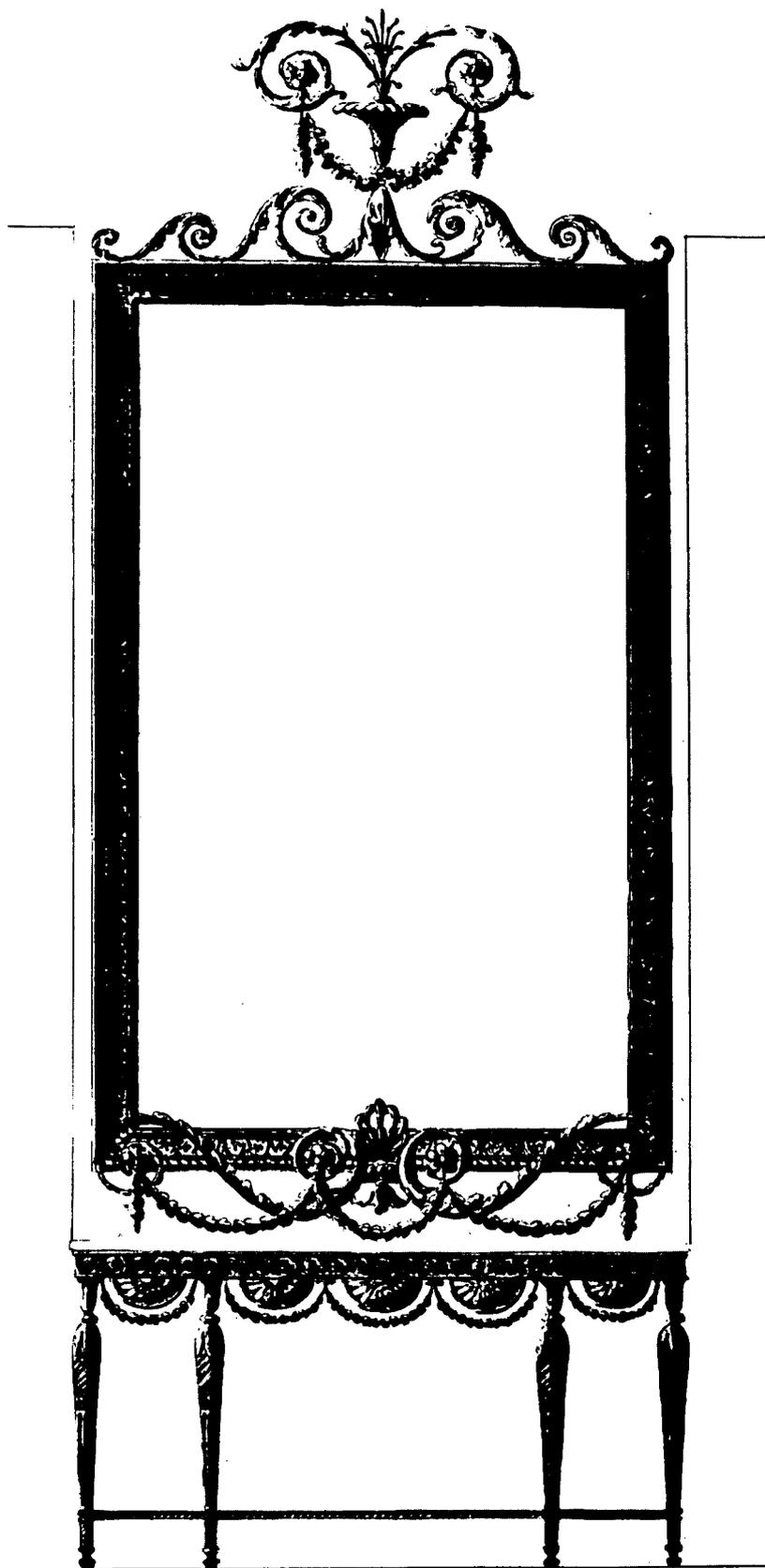


7. "A Side Table and Mirror"
Robert Adam, ca. 1770

The designs of Robert Adam signified a drastic change in the style of furnishing rooms. Their popularity was so great in the 1770s that they are clearly the latest London style in which the tavern's Long Room could have been redecorated in 1777-78.

The arrival of the British army in 1777 was followed by the arrival of British merchants bringing London goods. Advertisements in Philadelphia papers clearly indicate the quantity and variety of articles imported. Among them could have been simpler versions of these high-style pieces of furniture.

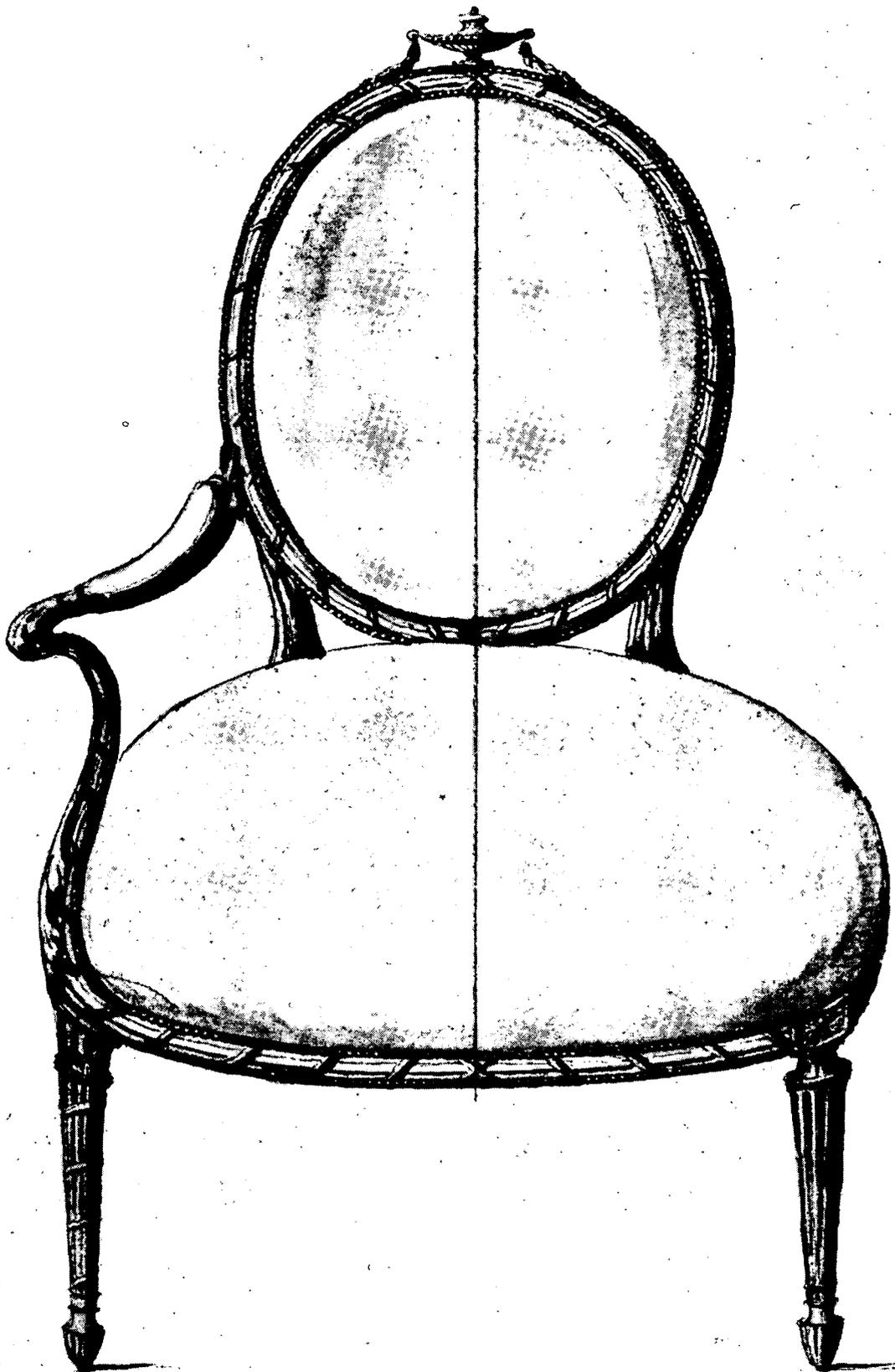
P. Ward-Jackson, English Furniture Design of the Eighteenth Century (1958), fig. 210



8. "An Armchair"
Matthias Lock

The side chair and armchair illustrated here are versions of the new neoclassical style, by a less celebrated but very prolific London designer, Matthias Lock. Lock's designs did not establish a new fashion, but rather catered to what was already fashionable. Consequently, we can be sure his chair (or one like it) could have been obtained from any one of several shops in London or in the colonies.

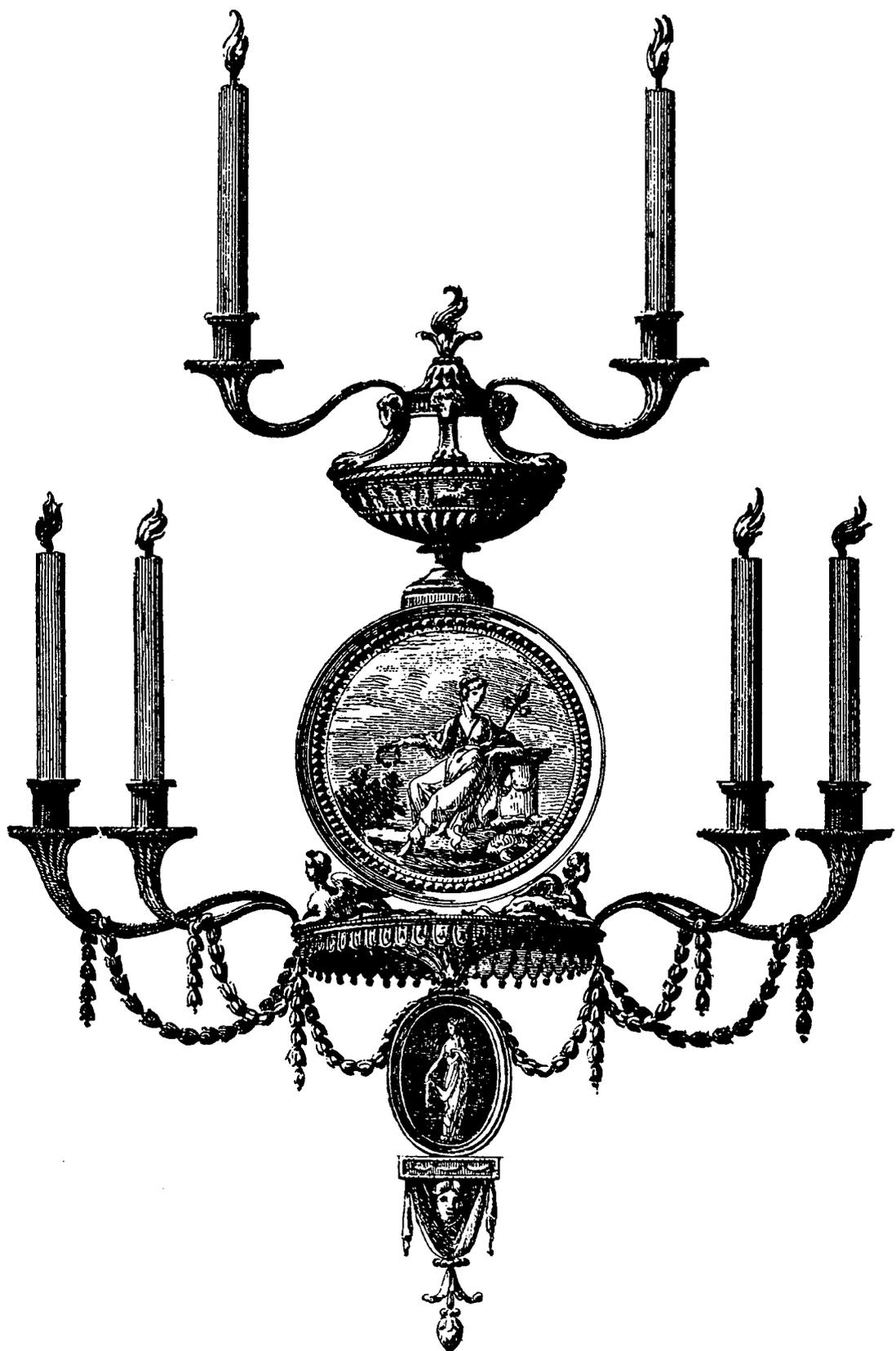
P. Ward-Jackson, English
Furniture Design of the
Eighteenth Century (1958), fig. 253



9. "Girandole for Derby House, Grosvenor Square, 1774"
Robert Adam, The Works in Architecture, Vol. II (no. 1), plate VII

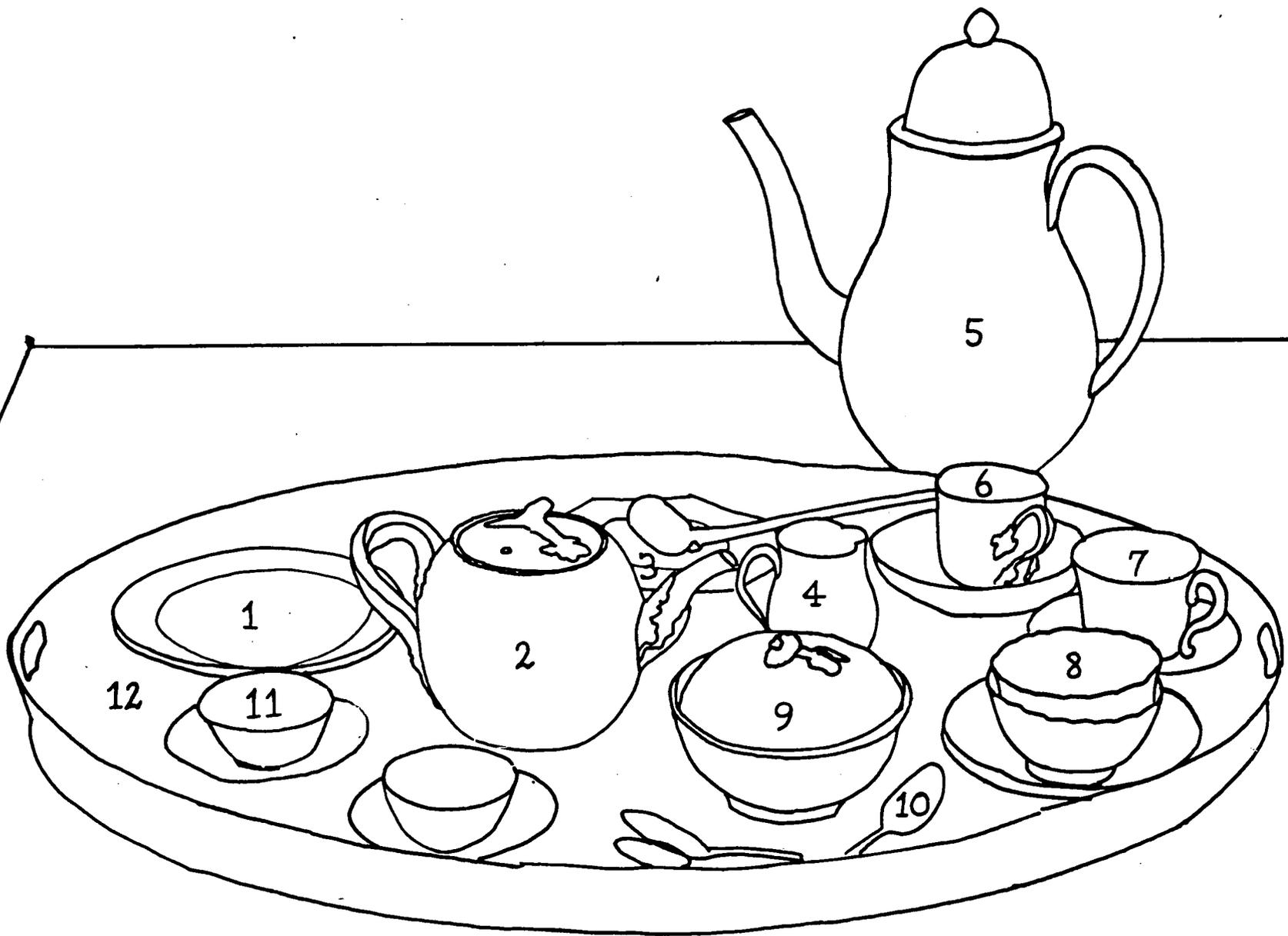
Girandoles simpler than this, but in the same spirit, are proper accompaniments to the furniture of the redecorated Long Room.

Illustrated in Eileen Harris,
The Works of Robert Adam (1963) fig. c.



10. Tea Setting

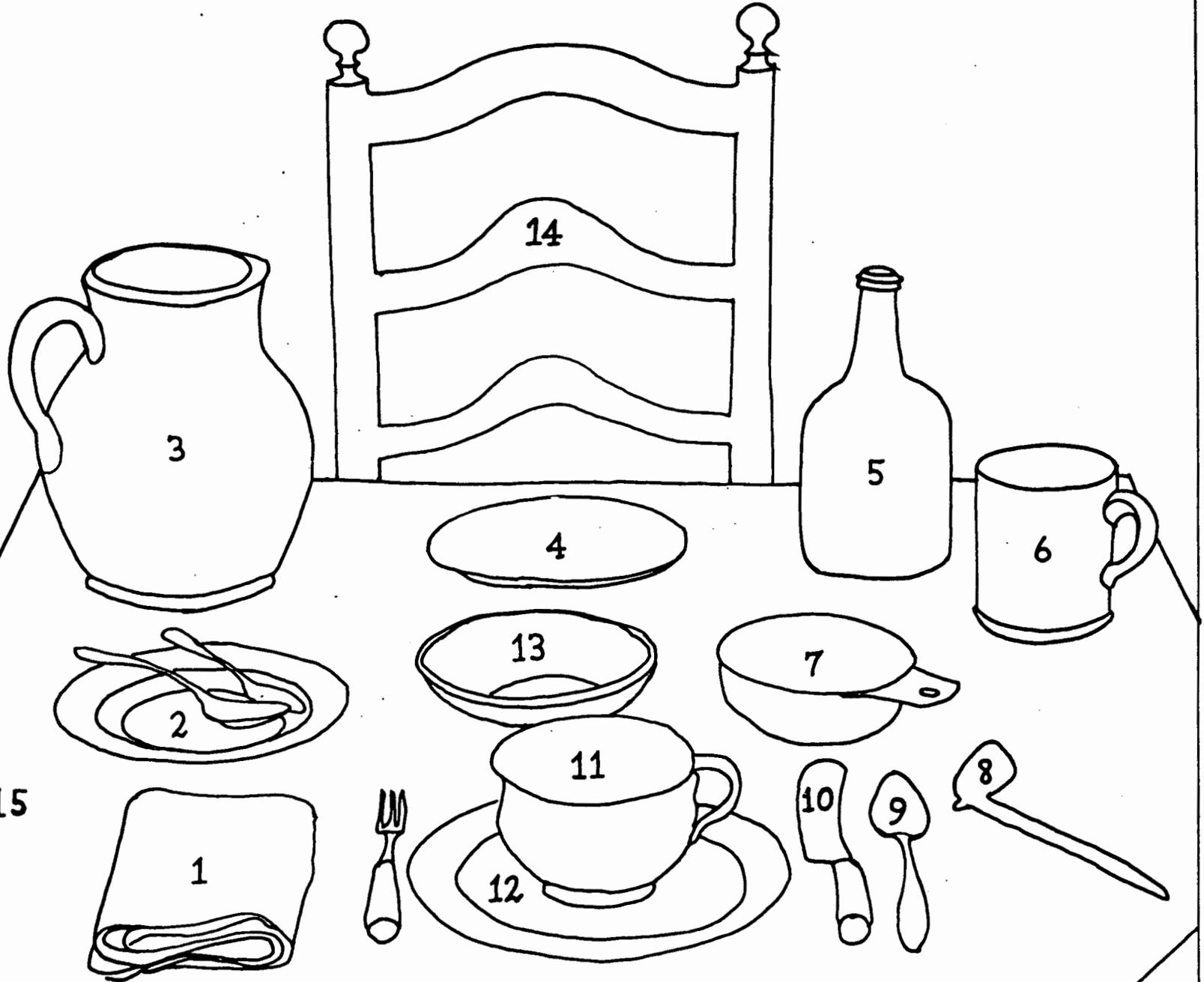
1. Shell-edged 7-inch plates for cakes or cookies.
2. Creamware apple-shaped pot that holds tea for four people.
3. Hexagonal creamware dish with about a 4-inch diameter, showing possibility of use as an ash tray.
4. Creamware cream pot.
5. Creamware coffeepot for use by waiter.
6. Creamware coffeecup and saucer.
7. "Tortoise" or "speckled" coffeecup and saucer made of same creamware body, but splashed with brown manganese oxide glaze.
8. Blue and white porcelain teacups and saucers. Perhaps the tavern should serve tea in handleless porcelain cups to distinguish this oriental beverage from coffee.
9. Creamware covered sugar bowl. Sugar should be loose, unrefined (straw colored).
10. Silver teaspoons. Because tea was a special beverage, teaspoons were silver and very fine.
11. Salt-glazed stoneware teacups ("tea bowls") and saucers. Note their small size.
12. "Japanned" black painted tin tea tray.





11. Bar Setting: Northwest Room, First Floor

1. Napkin of woven unbleached linen. Although the pattern is not evident, it has a diaperlike weave to give texture and visual interest.
2. Five-inch pewter plate for relishes, rolls, etc.
3. Earthenware pitcher for water, cider, or beer.
4. Six-inch brown earthenware plate with slip glazing and crimped edge. Can be used in oven or broiler. Note saucer shape.
5. Green glass bottle with seal of tavern on side, used for beer, wine, or cider.
6. Brown earthenware mug, 5 inches high.
7. Pewter porringer for soup or stew.
8. Clay pipe. These were supplied free by tavern keepers. Perhaps City Tavern might provide them for a small fee.
9. Pewter tablespoon.
10. Horn-handled cutlery with steel blades and tines. Synthetic dishwasher-proof substitutes should be sought.
11. Earthenware porringer for soup or stew.
12. Eight-inch pewter dinner plate.
13. Earthenware shallow dish with a 4-1/2-inch diameter.
14. Ladderback side chair with rush seat.
15. Table with bare top. Tables should be permitted to age and become worn.





12. Bar Wares

- 1a. Punchbowl, 1 pint, creamware.
- 1b. Punchbowl, 1 cup, porcelain, blue and white.
- 2a. Punchbowl, 1 gallon, creamware, fluted sides.
- 2b. Silver punch ladle.
3. Short trumpet-shaped punch glasses. No cups for punch.
4. Long trumpet-shaped wineglass.
5. Green glass wine or spirit bottle.
6. Brown earthenware pitcher for beer or hard cider.
7. Creamware mug, blue with white and black pattern.
8. Porcelain mug, blue and white.
9. Glass mug. These were imported from Ireland in great quantities.
10. Green glass spirit bottle. The tavern should bottle its spirits for behind the bar, and hang labels on them.
11. Brown earthenware mug.
12. Beer, ale, or porter bottle with original paper label.

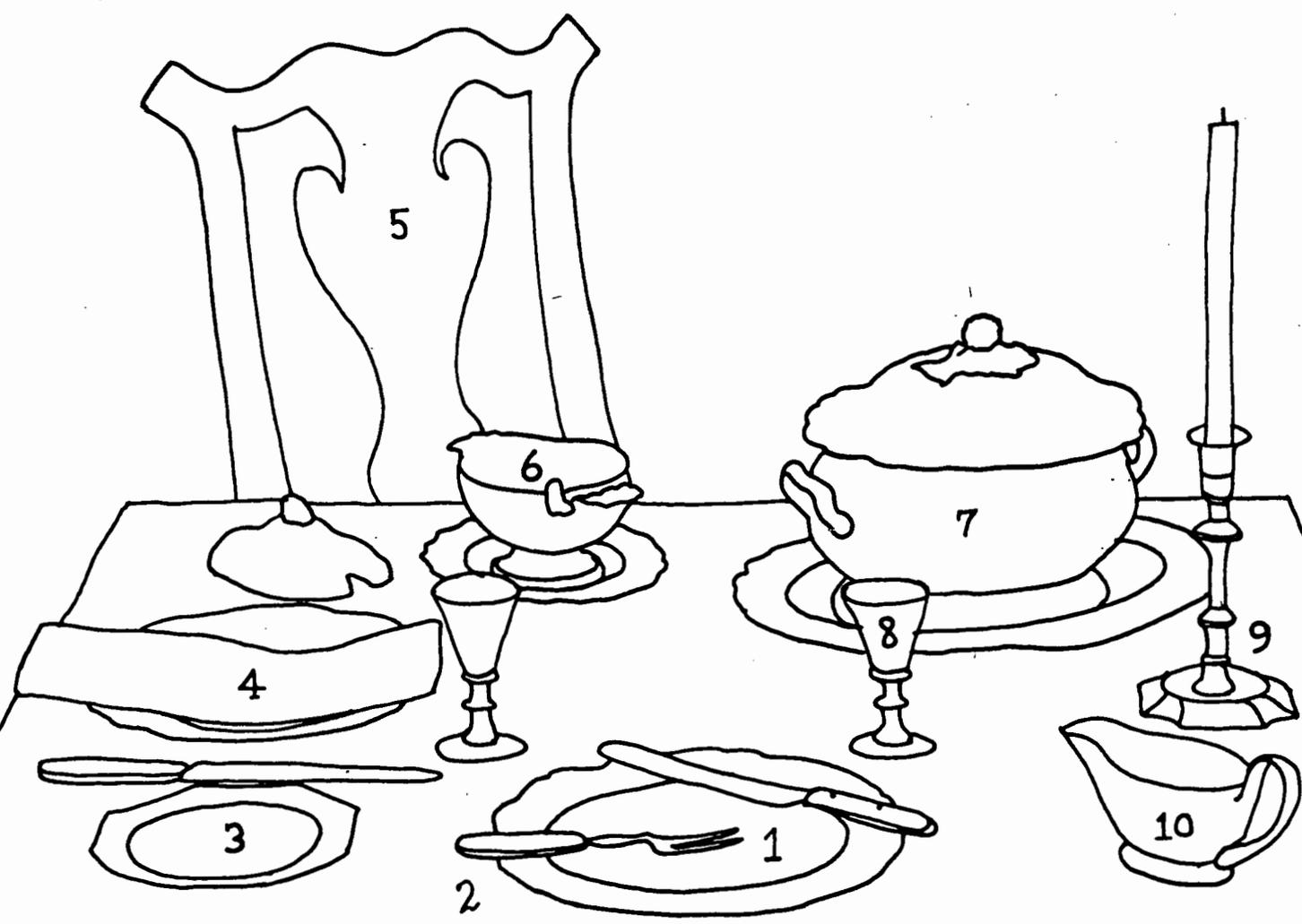
143





13. Dinner Setting: Southwest Dining Room, First Floor

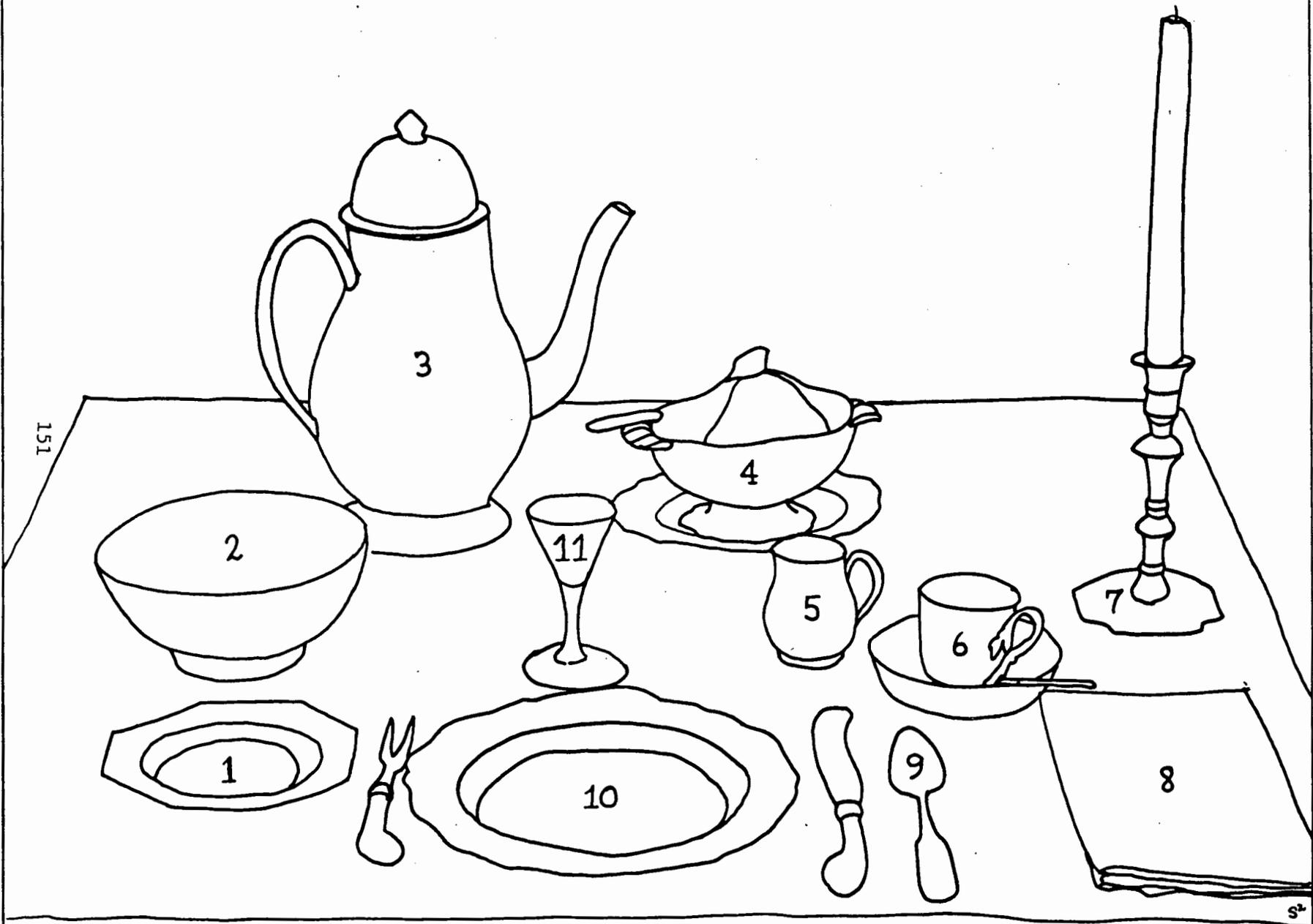
1. Dinner plate with a 9-inch diameter, creamware in the so-called Queen's pattern, which was extremely popular.
2. Bone-handled steel cutlery: round-bladed knife and two-tined fork.
3. Hexagonal creamware plate with 4-inch diameter.
4. Natural color linen napkin. Linens should be linen or synthetic with the appearance of linen, not damask.
5. Walnut side chair in the transitional Queen Anne-Chippendale style, with leather seat and cabriole legs with pad feet.
6. Creamware tureen (1 pint) with lid, ladle, and tray in Queen's pattern.
7. Creamware tureen and lid (2 quart) for serving soups or stews in quantity. Tray is of salt-glazed stoneware in a similar pattern.
8. Short trumpet-shaped wine or punch glass with knopped stem.
9. Brass candlestick reproduced from period example in INHP Collection.
10. Open shallow sauceboat, creamware.





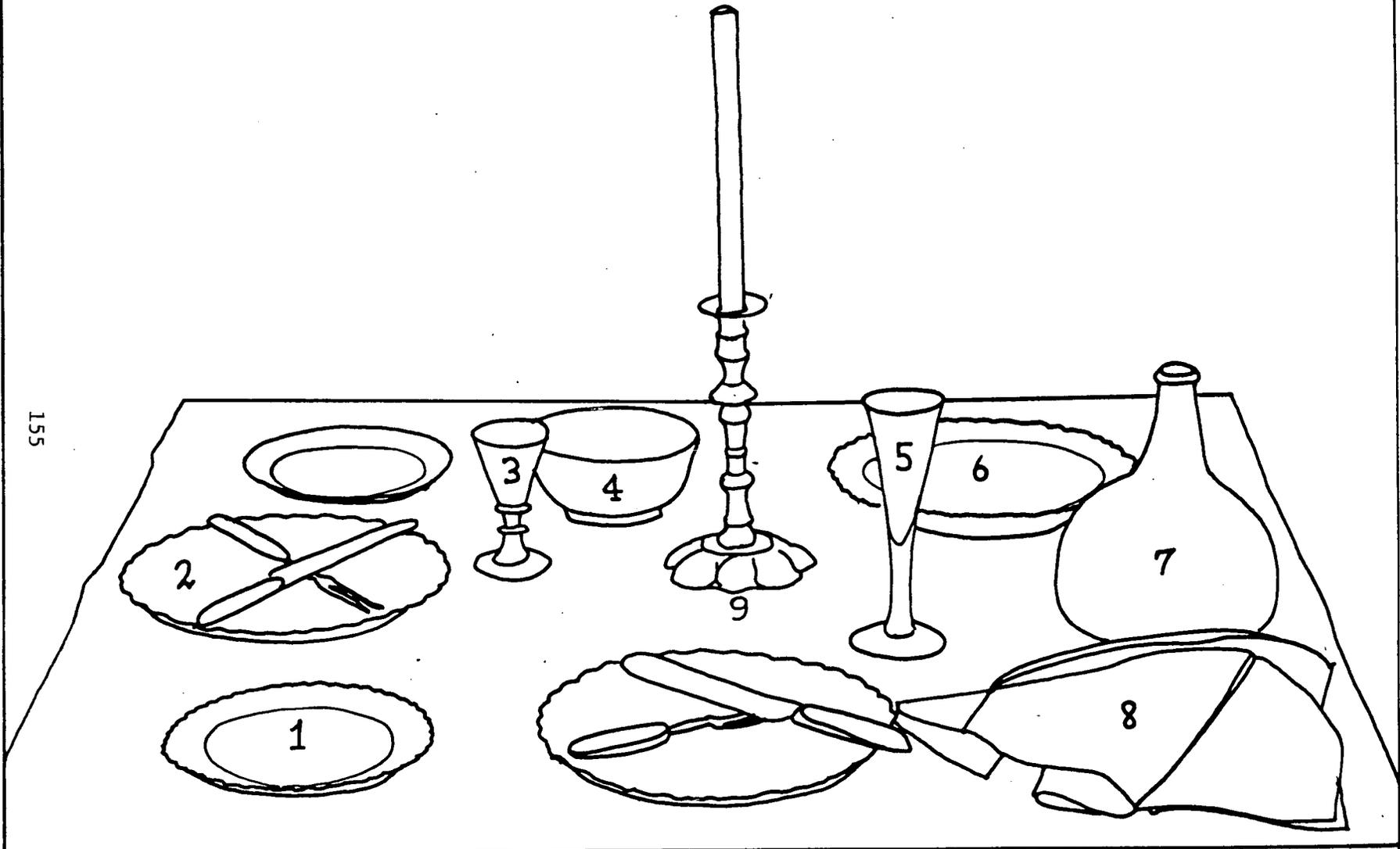
14. Creamware Table Setting: Southwest Dining Room, First Floor

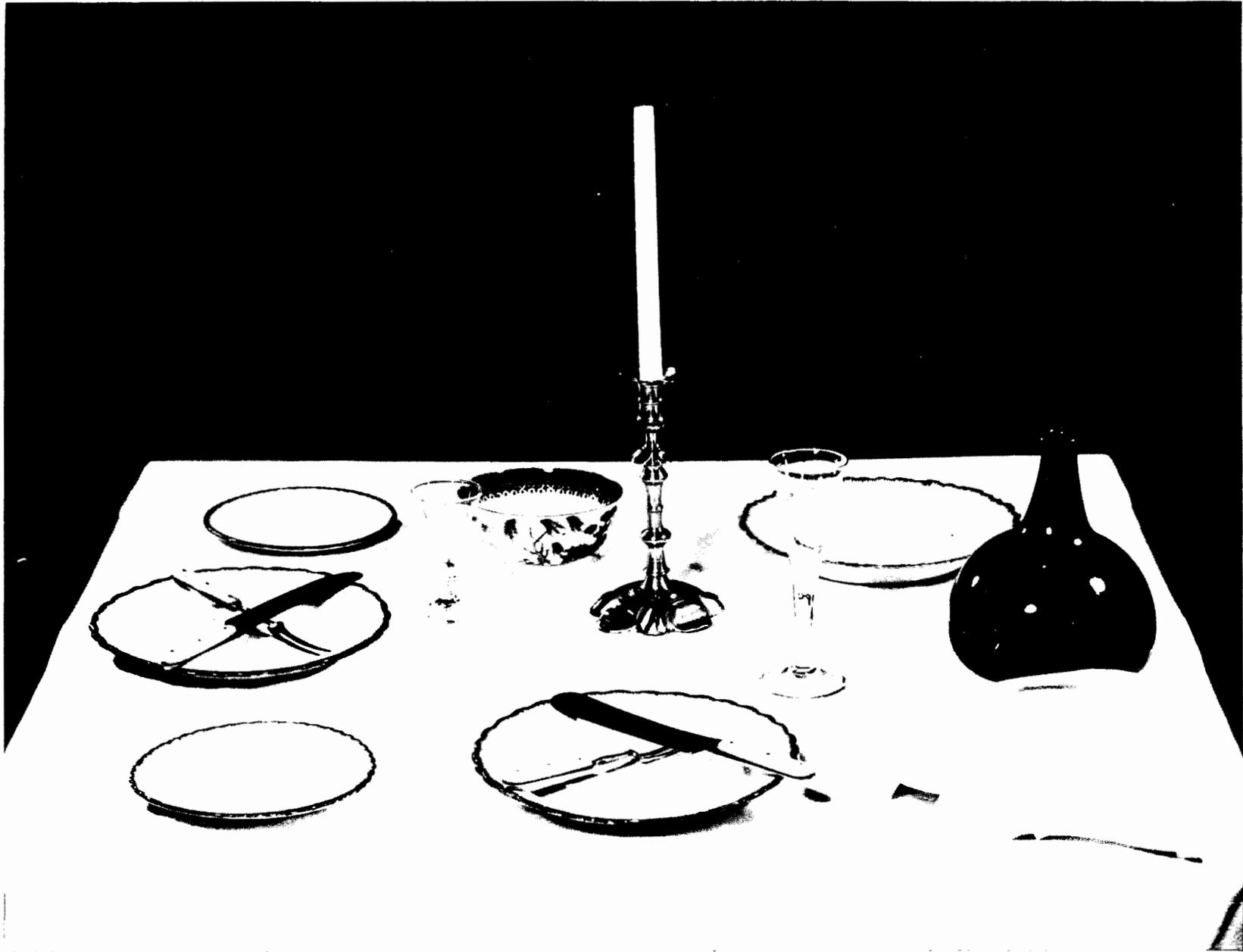
1. Hexagonal creamware plate with a 5-1/2-inch diameter, which could serve as bread and butter plate.
2. Six-inch punchbowl (1 pint) that could also serve as a salad bowl for two people.
3. Large creamware coffeepot. This can serve six to eight people, and would be carried to tables by waiters.
4. Creamware gravy boat and ladle with accompanying tray. Almost every eighteenth-century dish was served with a sauce.
5. Creamware cream pitcher.
6. Coffeecup and saucer of creamware. Tall, handled cups were for coffee, not tea. The saucer could also be used for fruit or dessert.
7. Brass candlestick. These should also be reproductions.
8. Linen napkin. These should be large, about 18 inches square, and should not be damask, but linen or a synthetic that resembles it.
9. Cutlery: large spoon, pistol-handled knife with round blade, and two-tined fork.
10. Creamware plate with an 8-1/2-inch diameter, in the Queen's pattern.
11. Stemmed glass used for punch or wine.



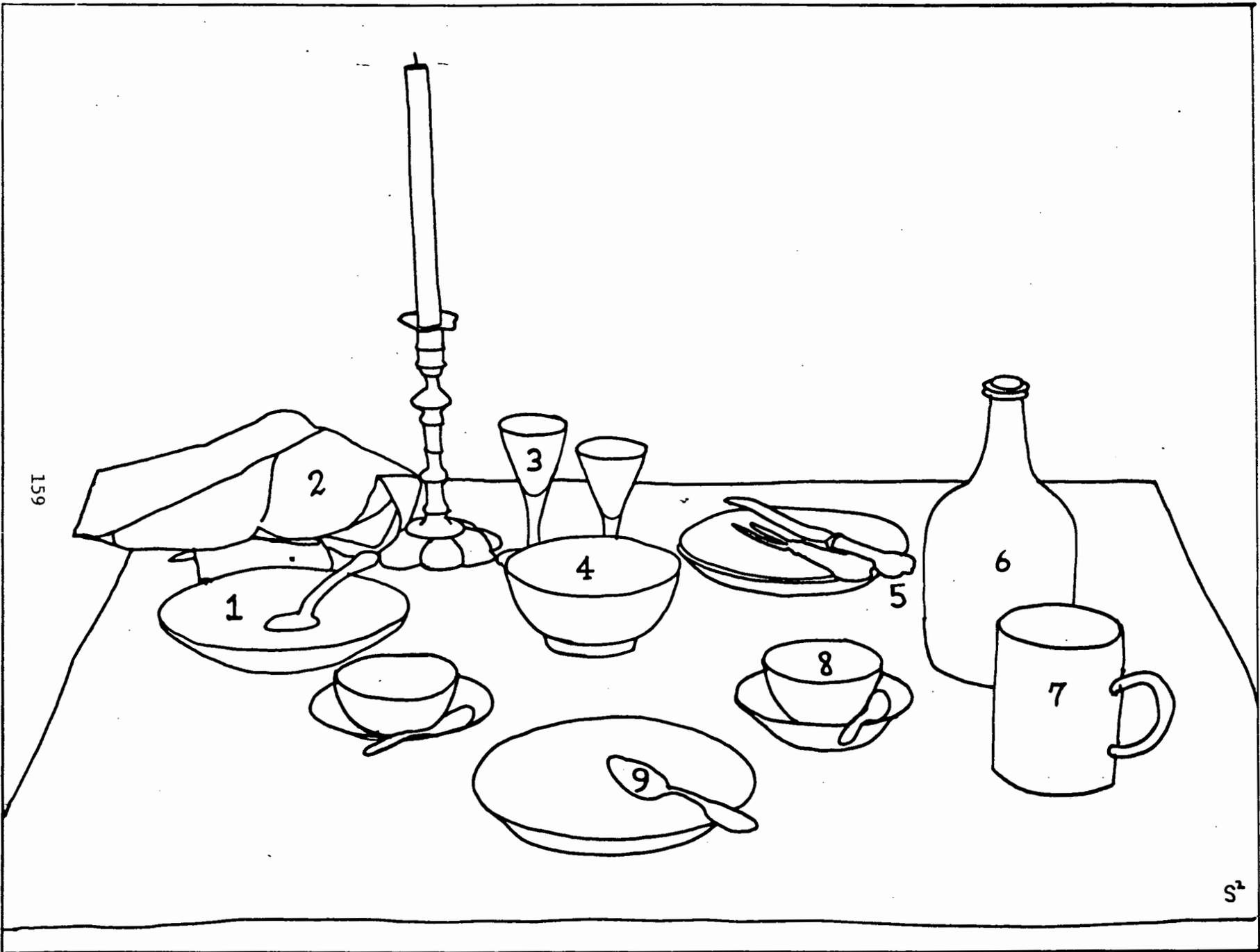


15. Table laid in "feather-edged" ware, or "shell-edged" ware as they called it in the eighteenth century: Private Dining Room, Second Floor
 1. Blue edged 7-inch plate that could serve for salad greens, meat "pies," or "relishes," which accompanied meals.
 2. Main dish plate with 8-1/2-inch diameter.
 3. Variation of stemmed wine and punch glass.
 4. Porcelain 3-1/2-inch bowl held punch for one person, and could become a sugar bowl or salad bowl.
 5. Tall, slender, trumpet-shaped wineglass.
 6. Shell-edged soup plate.
 7. Green glass bottle for wine or spirits.
 8. Naturally bleached (that is, not dead white) linen napkin.
 9. Brass "petal-based" candlestick.





16. Service setting in oriental porcelain, blue and white ancestor of so-called "willow pattern," which was extremely popular in the late eighteenth century: Private Dining Room
 1. Dessert or soup dishes with slightly raised sides, and an 8 or 8-1/2-inch diameter.
 2. Natural or bleached linen or synthetic napkin.
 3. Stemmed wine or punch glasses with gold-filled etched flowers on bowls.
 4. Blue and white punchbowl for one.
 5. Pistol-handled silver cutlery with steel blades and tines.
 6. Green glass wine or beer bottle.
 7. Porcelain beer or cider jug, 6 inches tall.
 8. Tea bowl, saucer, and silver spoon.
 9. Large soup or dessert spoons, silver, in fiddle and shell pattern.

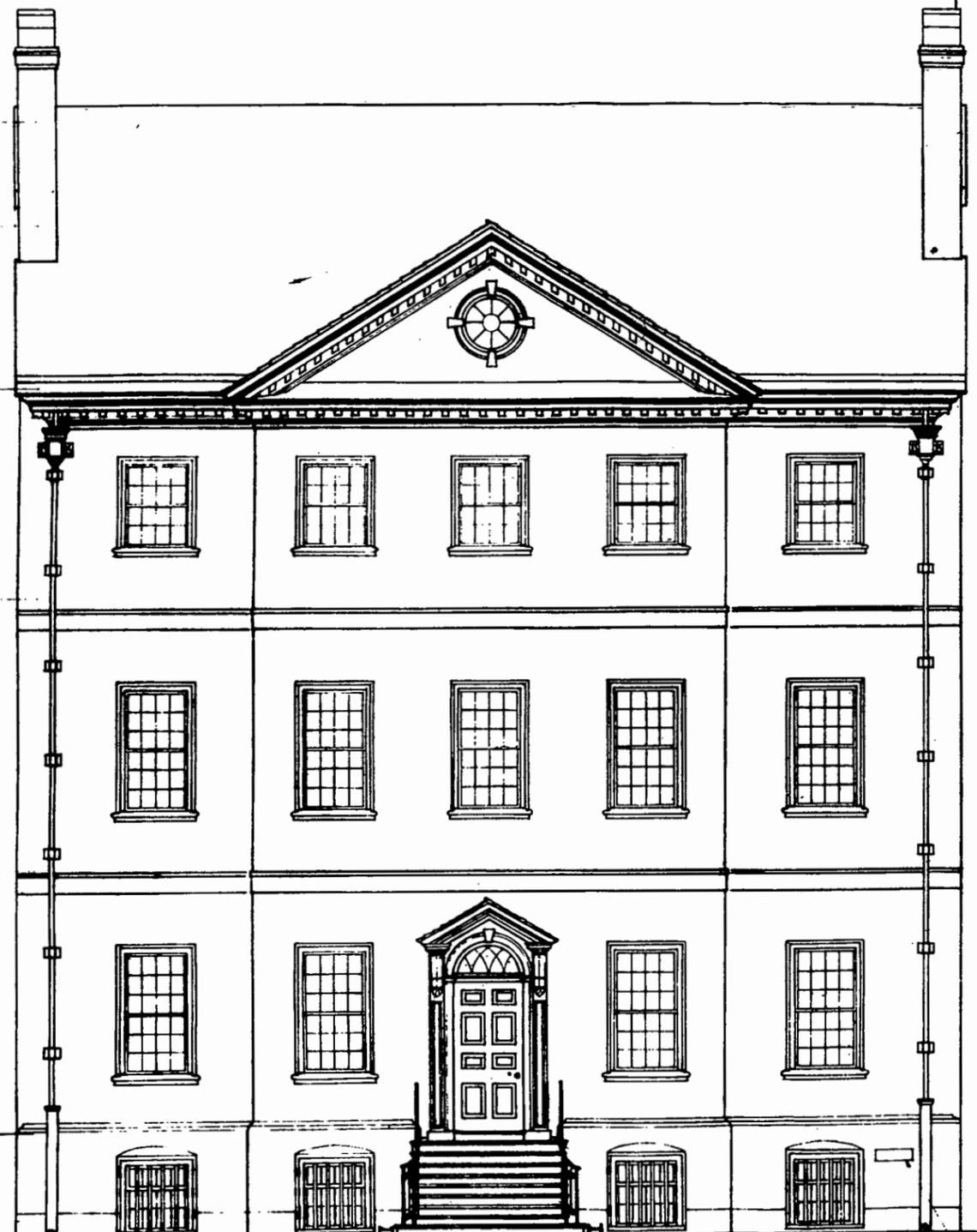




VII. PLANS AND ELEVATIONS

A. East and North Elevations

Ceiling
 5'-7"
 1st Fl.
 8'-6"
 Garret Fl.
 11'-2"
 2nd Fl.
 14'-5"
 3rd Fl.
 13'-11"
 4th Fl.
 10'-2"



EAST ELEVATION

CITY TAVERN

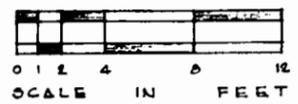
DATE STONE:
 City Tavern, built 1778,
 Demolished 1854.
 Replica built by the
 National Park Service 1978.

Canvas Awning position -
 see W. Birch & Son engraving
 1800 "BANK OF PENNSYLVANIA"



NORTH ELEVATION

LIGHTNING ROD:
 See view of City Tavern
 by B. Henry Latrobe:
 "North Bank Bank of
 Pennsylvania 1800," H.S.P.,
 1951, pp. 111, 128-29,
 130c, fig. 2, 42b.
 See also "Back view of
 100' Shippers House"
 reproduced on Old Phila.
 Survey drawing of The
 Wistar House, 1952.



SCALE 1/4" = 1'-0"

RECOMMENDED

DATE	
APPROVED	

DESIGN UPDATED AFTER ADDITIONAL RESEARCH		DEC 72	PREP:
MARK	DESCRIPTION OF REVISION	DATE	INITIAL
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE DENVER SERVICE CENTER HISTORIC PRESERVATION TEAM OFFICE		REGION NORTH-EAST PCP NO. N-172 SHEET & OF 3 DRAWING NO. 3139 DATE: 10-1-75	
EAST / NORTH ELEVATIONS CITY TAVERN INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK.			

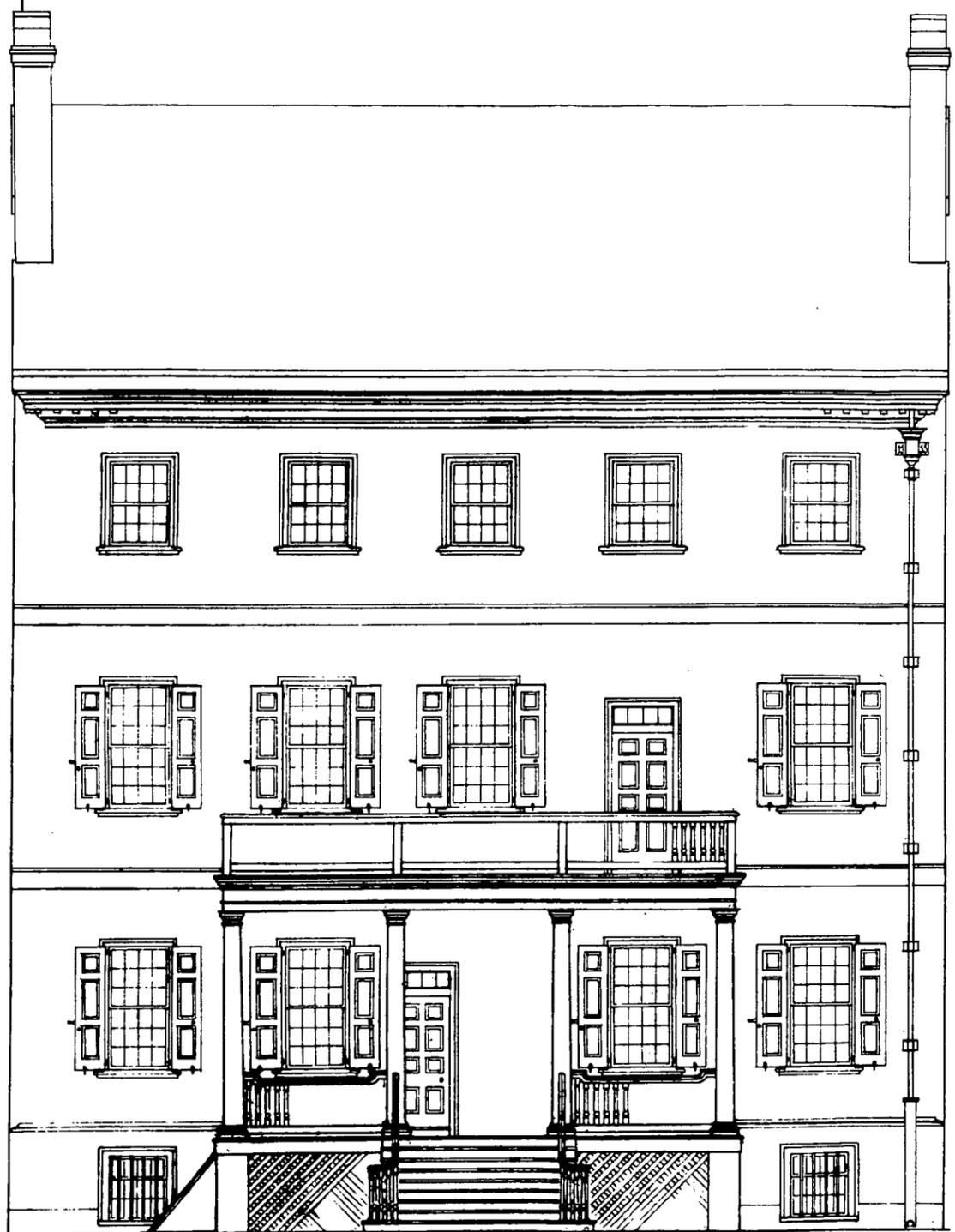


ORIENTATION

PREPARED
 HART SHURNE
 DESIGNED
 CAL ZIMAN
 DRAWN
 P. HARTSHURNE, H. BAYNE, L. B. BAYNE
 CHECKED

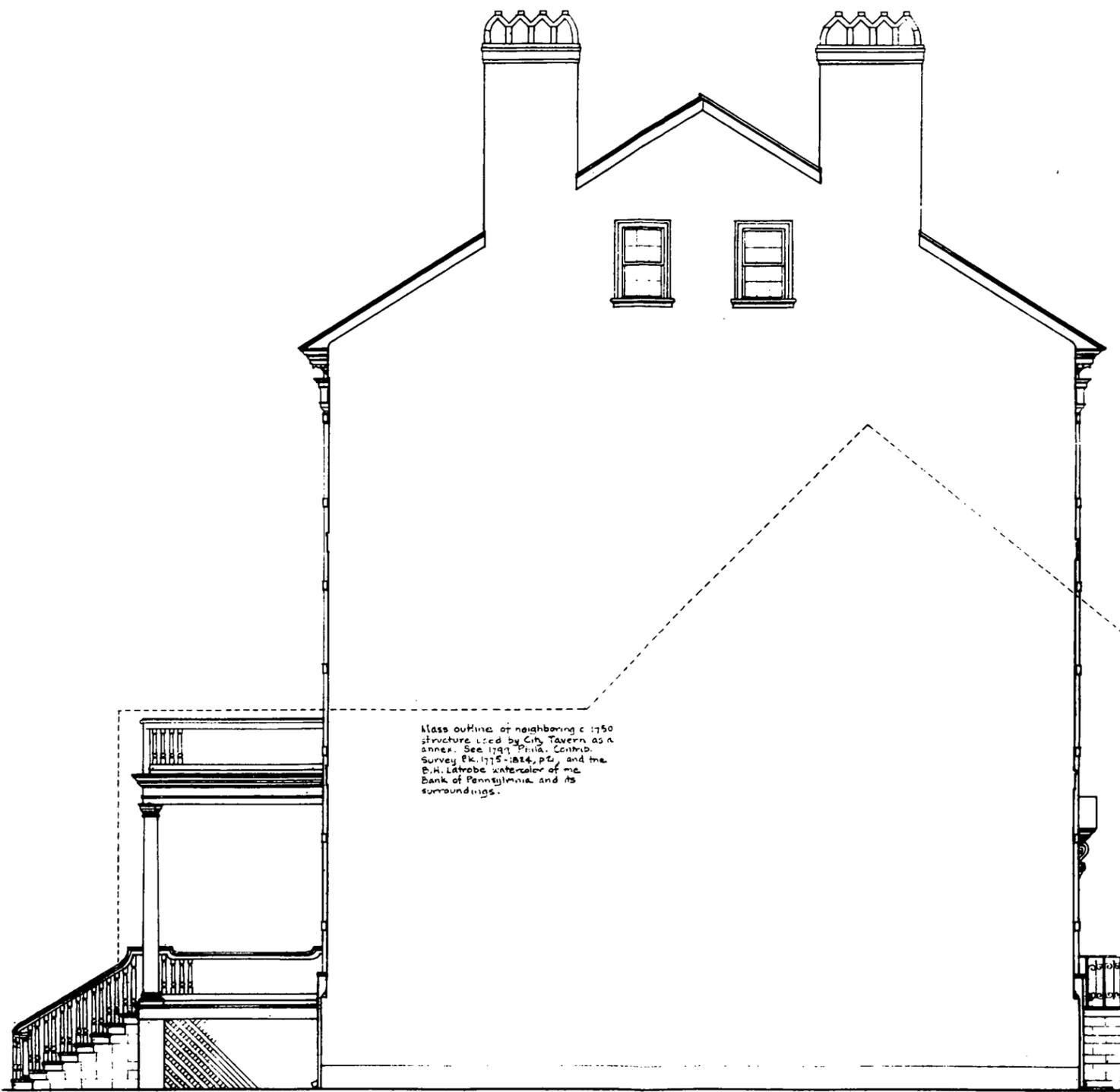
B. West and South Elevations

VIII. PROPOSED FURNITURE PLACEMENT



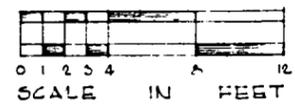
WEST ELEVATION

CITY TAVERN

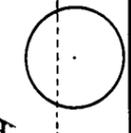


SOUTH ELEVATION

Mass outline of neighboring c. 1750 structure used by City Tavern as an annex. See 1927 Phila. Contrib. Survey Pl. 175-1824, pt. 1, and the B.H. Latrobe watercolor of the Bank of Pennsylvania and its surroundings.



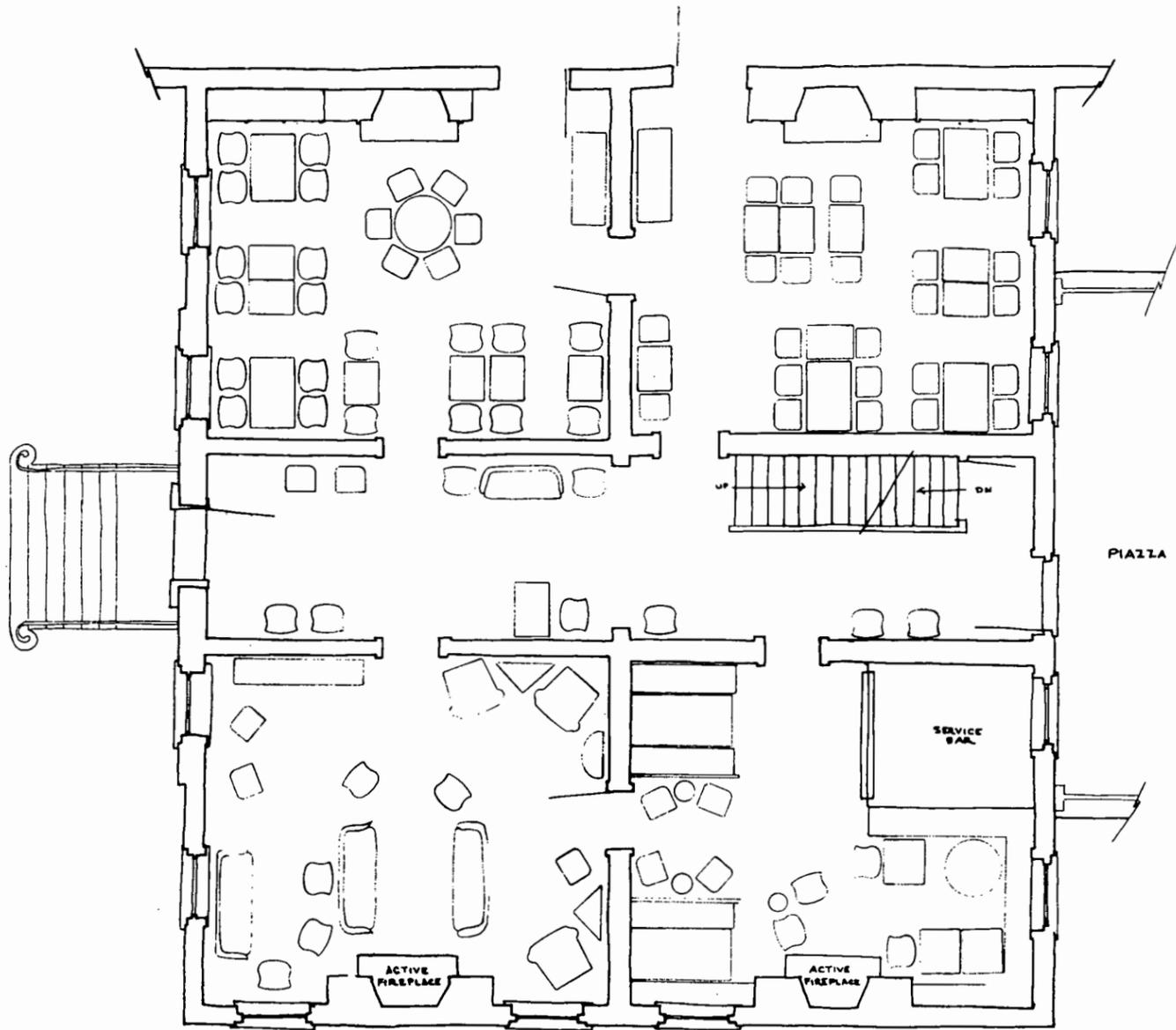
SCALE 1/4" = 1'-0"



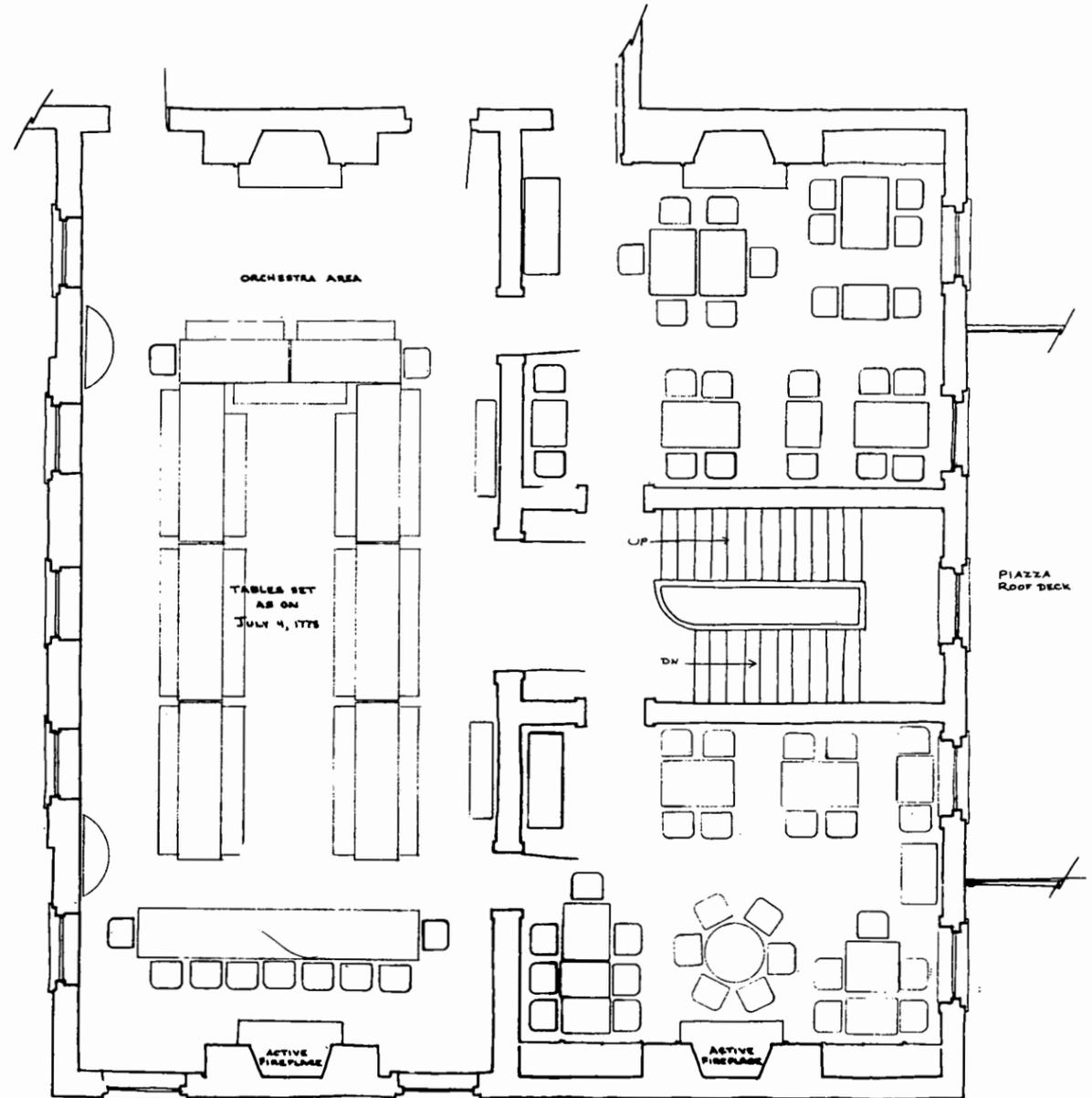
ORIENTATION

PREPARED
HARTSHORN
DESIGNED
SALTMAN
P. H. HARRISON
DRAWN BY
C. W. B. COOPER

DESIGN UPDATED AFTER ADDITIONAL RESEARCH	DATE	BY	CHK'D	PLD
MARK	DESCRIPTION OF REVISION	DATE	REVISION	REVISION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE DENVER SERVICE CENTER HISTORIC PRESERVATION TEAM				
WEST AND SOUTH ELEVATIONS CITY TAVERN NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK				
REGION				NORTHEAST
PROJECT				IND-17C
SHEET				7 OF 10
DRAWING NO.				NHR-IND
DATE				3/5/73



1



2

CITY TAVERN

PROPOSED FURNITURE PLACEMENT



SCALE: 1/4" = 1'-0"

PREPARED	DRAWING NO.
C. HENNEY DESIGNED	
S. SWARTZ DRAWN	PCIP PKG.
CHECKED	SHEET
2-20-74	1
DATE	OF 2

IX. ESTIMATED COSTS AND SOURCES OF SUPPLY

Cost estimates have been incorporated into section V, as have recommendations for articles that should be reproductions rather than antiques.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

INVENTORIES OF TAVERNS

The inventories presented here cover the second half of the eighteenth century, and are records drawn from Massachusetts to Virginia. They detail the furnishings of a very simple out-of-town tavern (Thomas Mallaby's in Southwark) and an unusually elaborate one (Henry Wetherburn's in Williamsburg). It is not presumed that any one of them would be an accurate inventory of City Tavern, but all of them contain valuable clues for the refurnishing of the tavern.

Inventory of the estate of Thomas Munroe, taken August 28, 1760.
 [Munroe was keeper of the Wright Tavern, 2 Lexington Road, Concord, Massachusetts].

Middlesex County Probate Records,
 First Series, #15715, Cambridge, Mass.

Imprimos the Best Suit of apparel Duroye	£ 0-17-0
Second Dito German Surge Coat & Westcott & one pair of Black nit Breaches - - - - -	0- 8-6
Three pair of old Breeches - - - - -	0- 3-6
Six pair of Hoes 9/E/ a Great Coat 13/4 - - - - -	1- 2-4
To a pair of Boots 4/ paire of Shoes 1/ Boot Straps & spur /8 - - - - -	0- 5-8
To a worsted Cap and Two White Dito - - - - -	0- 1-6
To three old Wiggs 1/6 & an old Bever it 2/8 - - - - -	0- 4-2
To Two Check Hankerchiefs 1/- - - - -	
The Best Bed Bolster & Pillibs 51 at 1/ pr pound - - - -	2-11-0
The Bedsted 2/ the Cord 1/ the under Bed 1/ - - - - -	0- 4-0
the Second Bed Bolster & Piller 51 at /8 ^d pr pound - - -	1-14-0
the Bedsted 2/ the Cord 1/ the under Bed 1/ - - - - -	0- 4-0
The Third Bed Bolstr & Pillers 68 at 5/ 1/2 ^d pr pound- - -	1-11-2
the Bed Sted 5/ the Cord 2/8 the under Bed 1/ - - - - -	0- 8-8
the Fourth Bed Bolster & Pillers 52 at /6 ^d per pd.- - - -	1- 6-0
the Bed Sted /10 the Cord /10 ^d the under Bed 1/4 - - - -	0- 3-0
the Fifth Bed & Bolster & one Piller 52 1/2 at /7 ^d pr pound	1-10-8 1/2
the Bedsted & Cord 1/8 under /4 - - - - -	0- 2-0
to a nother Bedsted & Cord- - - - -	0- 1-8
To a Green Bed quilt Blue Lining - - - - -	0- 6-8
To a Checked Couv laid [coverlet] 7/ a Blue Rug 5/ - - -	0-12-0
To a nother Checked Dito 4/ to a Callaco quilt 2/4 - - -	0- 6-4
To an old Rag Coverlaid & two yorn Ditto- - - - -	0- 3-0
To a Red Bag Plakked 3/ and seven white Ditto - - - - -	
and some of them Striped at 28/ & three old Dito 4/1	1-15-0
To Three pair of Sheets 14/ & one Linnen Ditto 5/4- - - -	0-19-4
To one Sheet more 2/4 & Two Table Cloaths 4/8 - - - - -	0- 7-0
To an old Dito /8 & Three Piller Cases 4/6 & old Dito /6-	0- 5-8
	<hr/> 17-13-10 1/2
To a Silver Tankard- - - - -	9- 0-0
To Six Silver Spoons 2/16 and Five Ditto Teaspoons 10/ -	3- 6-0
To a Blackin Teapot 3/ to Six Tea Cups & Nine Sausers a Cream pot 4/ and Cannister /8 - - - - -	0- 7-8
To Six Putter [pewter] Tea Spoons- - - - -	0- 0-8
To three Large Earthan Plates 4/ & Ten more Ditto 5/4 - -	0- 9-4
To Six Small Dito 1/8 to and Earthan Mustard pot & Earthan Salt Seller /8 & two Galss Mustard pots 1/ -	0- 3-4
To a pair of Goold Ear Ring 2/ & Two Galss Salts /6- - -	0- 2-6
to Two vinegar Cruses /cruets/1/6 To Four Decanters 6/- -	0- 6-6
To Eleven wine Glasses 4/8 & Two Servers 1/4 - - - - -	0- 6-0
To Ten Earthan Bolls- - - - -	0- 5-0

To Four Large Putter Platters - - - - -	1- 2-0
To Seven Smaller Dito & one Supe Dish - - - - -	1- 5-9
To Flve Dozen of Putter Plates- - - - -	2- 7-6
To a Putter Bason 1/2 & 17 1/2 of Bullion Putter 15/2	0-16-4
To Two Putter quart Pots 3/ and Four Pint Ditto 4/	0- 7-0
To a Saddle 12/ and Bridle & Straps 1/ - - - - -	0-13-0
To one quart & Two point [pint] Putter Measure 3/ - -	0- 3-0
To Three half pint Dito 1/6 & three Dito 1/ - - - - -	0- 2-6
To a Tin quart & pint Dito & Funnel - - - - -	0- 1-4
To a Large Maple Round Table - - - - -	0-16-0
To Six old Keen [cane] Backed Chairs - - - - -	0-12-0
To Six giners [joiners] Chairs 18/ & Five old Dito 5/	1- 3-0
To an old Walnut Desk 5/ & a White Chest 4/ - - - - -	0- 9-0
To a Round giners Chairs 3/ to a great Chaire 1/6 & Cushing [cushion] 1/ - - - - -	0- 5-6
To Ten old Chairs 6/8 and a Looking Glass 8/ - - - - -	0-14-8
To a Chest with one Draw 4/ & Small walnut Round Table 4/	0- 8-0
To a Small Table /8 To a Chest with Draws Red 10/ - -	0-10-8
To a Chamber Table 6/ & a white Chest with Draws old 1/6	0- 7-6
To a Large Broken Round Table 2/ - - - - -	0- 2-0
To Three Spits & a Broken Jack 5/& Two Tramelts 6/ - -	0-11-0
To a pair of Tongs 4/& a Fire Peal Small 1/ - - - - -	0- 5-0
To a pair of Hand Irons 4/8 & a paire of Dogs 4/ - -	0- 8-8
To a paire of Stillyards [Steelyards] 5/4 & Schales & Weights 5/4 - - - - -	0-10-8
To a paire of Saddle Baggs 6/4 & Testing Iron 2/ - -	0- 8-4
To a Chaffin Dish 2/ Two Skimming & Meat Forks 2/4 -	0- 4-4
To a Dozen & half of patte pans 3/ Two Peper Boxes & Two Druggen Boxes 1/ - - - - -	0- 4-0
To a paire of Bellows 4/ & Seven Sqeres [Skewers] 1/8	0- 4-8
A Large Brass Kittle 20/ a Small Dito 6/4 a nother Dito 1/ - - - - -	1- 7-4
To Light Candle Stick & one Brass Dito 3/4 - - - - -	0- 3-0
	48-13-9 1/2
To an Iron Pot 3/& a Frying Pan 3/& Iron Skillett 2/-	h 0- 8-0
To a warming pan 4/ & Four Sythes 3/6 a pair of Iron Fethrs 2/ - - - - -	0- 9-6
To a Shovel 1/ & Hammer /4 a Tabore /4 - - - - -	0- 1-8
Two narrow axes 4/ & a Small Dito /4 - - - - -	0- 4-4
To a Small Iron Bar 3/ & a Pitchfork 1/8 - - - - -	0- 4-8
One Hoe 2/8 Two old Dito 1/2 & Hay hook / 8 - - - - -	0- 4-6
To Two Peacies of Chains 2/& Three Frammd Pictures 2/	0- 4-0
To a Harth Brush 1/& Suffers /5& Box & Heatters 1/4 -	0- 2-9
To Six Cases of knives & Forks 12/ & Bucher Dito /6 -	0-12-6
To a pair of Bottle Rings & Two weyes & union Hoe 1/6	0- 1-6
To three Case Bottle 2/ Eight Brown Mugs 1/6 white Dito /6 - - - - -	0- 4-0
and a Stone Mug 1/& a Stall Rope /8 - - - - -	0- 1-8
To a paire of Curtain Rods 4/8 & a Crisett 2/ - - - - -	0- 6-8
To a Tin Hanger /8 Four Powder horns 1/4 - - - - -	0- 2-0

To a Cork Scrue & Gimblet /7 & File /4 - - - - -	0- 0-10
To Two Kellers 6/ one old Dito 1/2 Two pails 1/ & pigeon /4 -	0- 8-6
To Corn Basket Cloaths Dito A Small Dito & Pigeon Cage 2/2 -	0- 2-2
To Nine glass Bottles 8/ & Bread Trough 1/6 & Sive /6 - - - -	0- -0
To a half Bushel & a Two quart Measure /8 & Two Trays /8 - -	0- 1-4
To a wodden Bowl /6 & Two Jugs & one Pitcher 1/ - - - - -	0- 1-6
To Two Small Earthen Platters /6 & Three Dodun pans 1/ - - -	0- 1-6
To Five Wooden Plates /5 & a Log head 1/8 - - - - -	0- 1-1
To Two Brooms 1/ & Four Bushels of onions 8/ - - - - -	0- 9-0
To one Barrel of Cider 6/ & Ten More Barrels at 3/ pr. Barrel	1-16-0
To Ten quarts of Rum at 2/ pr. Gallon - - - - -	0- -0

The Inventory and Appraisalment of the Estate of Henry Wetherburn in
 York County. December 19, 1760. York Co. Va. Records, Wills &
 Inventories, Vol. 21, pp. 36-43.

IN THE BULL HEAD ROOM

1 doz. Mahogany chairs,	L	9.. 0..0
1 Mahogany Tea Table		0..15..0
1 Round <u>do.</u>		1.. 6..0
1 Walnut <u>Oval</u> Table		1.. 6..0
1 Larger <u>Do</u>		2.. 0..0
1 Desk and Book case with glass Door		4.. 0..0
1 Eight day clock		8.. 0..0
1 Pier glass		5.. 0..0
1 chimney <u>Do</u>		4.. 0..0
1 <u>pr</u> Dogs and Bellows		0..15..0
8 Prints		0..16..0
1 <u>pr.</u> Pistols		1.. 6..0

IN THE MIDDLE [ROOM]

1 Doz walnut chairs		9.. 0..0
1 Old Card Table		0..10..0
2 Large Square Tab[les]		1..10..0
1 Large Black wal[nut]		4.. 0..0
1 Pier Glass		1.. 6..0
1 chimney [torn]		3.. 0..0
8 Large Prints		0.. 8..0
1 [torn]		8.. 0..0
2 European [torn]		0.. 6..0
1 <u>pr</u> Dogs and [torn]		0.. 7..6

IN THE CHAMBER

1 Bed & Bolster Bedstead Cord Hide 2 Blankets & Counterpin		4.. 0..0
1 <u>Do</u> Bolster Blankets Hide Cord & Bedstead Quilt		3..15..0
6 Leather Bottom Chairs		2.. 2..0
1 <u>pr</u> Dogs		0.. 5..0
1 pier Glass		2..10..0
1 Desk and Book case		1..10..0
1 Old Press		0..10..0
1 <u>Pr</u> Backgammon Tables		0..12..6
Bedstead and Cord		0.. 3..0
3 Leather Chairs		0.. 9..0
1 <u>pr</u> Doggs		0.. 2..6

IN THE ROOM OVER THE BULL HEAD

1 Bed Bedstead Cord Hide Bolster & Pillow 1 Blanket	£ 2..10..0
1 Bed Bolster Pillow Blanket Bedstead and Cord	3.. 0..0
1 Easy Chair	0..10..0
1 [close] Stool Chair and Pan	1..10..0
3 Old Leather Chairs	0.. 6..0
1 Pr <u>Doggs</u>	0.. 2..6

PORCH CHAMBER.

1 Bed Bedstead Rug Blanket Pillow and Cord	3..10..0
2 Chairs	0.. 5..0
9 Chamber Pots	0..10..0

OVER MIDDLE ROOM

1 Bed Bedstead Bolster Pillow Counterpin 2 Blankets Hide & Cord	5..10..0
1 Bed Bedstead Counterpin Bolster Pillow 2 Blankets Hyde and Cord	5..10..0
1 Bed Bedstead Curtains Cord Hide [torn] Quilt	8.. 0..0
4 Chairs, 1 Oval Table	0..10..0
1 Dressing Glass	1..16..0
1 Fire Shovel	0.. 2..0

GREAT ROOM

1 large mahog[torn]	4..10..0
6 small [torn]	9.. 0..0
1 wal [torn]	2..10..0
2 [torn]	2.. 5..0
1 [torn]	8.. 8..0
[torn] Mahogany Chairs	6.. 0..0
1 Screen	5.. 0..0
1 Guilt Sconce Glass	8.. 0..0
1 Large <u>Do</u>	7..10..0
1 Large Chimney <u>Do</u>	10.. 0..0
10 [torn]aps	1.. 0..0
14 Small Prints	3.. 8..0
1 Pr <u>Dogs</u>	1.. 0..0
12 brass Candlesticks	1..16..0
2 Iron <u>Do</u> 2 Pr <u>Snuffers</u>	0.. 3..0
--nd Snuffer Stand	0.. 3..0
1 Tea Kettle 2 Coffee Pots 1 Chocolate <u>Do</u>	1..15..0
1 Carpet	2.. 0..0

MR PAGES ROOM.

1 Bed Bedstead Blanket Bolster Quilt Hide & Pillow	[torn] .6
1 Bed Bedstead Quilt Cord 1 Blanket Bolster Hyde Pillow	5..15..0
1 Bed Bolster Curtains Pillow Bedstead Cord Hyde	7.. 0..0
1 Dressing Glass and table	1..15..0
3 Chairs	0..12..0
[1 pr. dogs] [illegible]	0.. 5..0
[torn]	

1	Bed Bedstead Bolster Pillow 2 Blankets Cord & Counterpin	4..10..0
1	Bed Bedstead [torn] Bolster Pillow & 2 Blankets & Counterpin	5..10..0
3	Chairs, 1 Table	0..17..0

END ROOM.

1	Bed Bedstead Bol[ster] [b]lankets and Quilt	4..10..0
1	Bed Bedstead [torn] Quilt	3..10..0
3	Chairs	0..12..6

THE SH [torn]

1	Bed Bedst[ead] [torn]	6.. 0..0
1	Bed [torn]	
3	Chairs	
1	Tab [torn]	
1	Glass	0.. 5..0
1	Bed and Bolster	1..16..0
1	Bed Bolster Pillow Counterpin 2 Blankets Curtains & Sacking Bedstead	7..10..0
4	Chairs 1 Table	1.. 5..0
1	Shovel and Tongs	0.. 5..0

GLASS WARE

8	Wine Decanters	1.. 0..0
19	Syllabub Glasses	0..12..0
62	Gelly <u>Do</u>	1..10..0
14	Sweetmeat Glasses and Pans	0..17..6
21	Wine and Cyder <u>Do</u>	0..12..6
9	Glass Salvers	3.. 0..0
1	Glass Bowl and Ladle	1.. 0..0
2	Candle Glasses	0..15..0
5	Blue and White China Bowls	1..15..0
2	Red and White <u>Do</u>	0..15..0
2	Japan Mugs	0.. 7..6
1	Set white flowered China)	
1	Tea Pot and Stand 1 Slop Bason Sugar Dish)	
	Tea Canister 7 Cups 8 Saucers Spoon and)	
	Tong stands 6 Coffee Potts and 1 Plate)	1.. 6..0
6	Enameled cups and Saucers 1 Cup and 4 Saucers <u>Do</u>	0..15..0
5	Red and White Cups and 4 Saucers	0.. 5..0
12	Custard Cups	0.. 6..0
A	Parcel of Odd China	0..17..6
10	White Stone Patty Pans and [torn] Tart Pans	0.. 5..0
A	parcel of Stone ware 2 [torn] & a Possett Can	0.. 3..9
3	Small 10 large [torn] Shells	1.. 6..0
9	Square Blue [torn]	0.. 9..0
15	Round [torn]	1.. 0..0
8	Red [torn]	0..12..0
4	[torn]	1.. 5..0
	[torn]	0.. 2..0
	[torn]	0..12..6
	[torn]	1..15..0

IN THE YARD AND STABLE

17 [S]heep at 7/	£ 5..19..0
4 Cows	11.. 0..0
1 gray Mare	5.. 0..0
1 Black Horse	1..10..0
1 Sorrel Do	1..10..0
1 Gray Do	4.. 0..0
1 Bay Do	1.. 0..0
2 Chair Do	20.. 0..0
1 Chair and Harness	10.. 0..0
1 pr Wheels	2..10..0
1 Waggon and Harness	10.. 0..0

LINEN

15 [pr]sheets at 22/	16..10..0
2 pr old Do	1..10..0
6 pr fine Do	9.. 0..0
28 napkins a 2/6	3.. 7..6
17 Towels 8/6 19 Pillow Cases 31/	1..19..6
3 large Damask Table Cloths	5.. 5..0
2 Small Do	2..10..0
2 Large old Do	1.. 0..0
2 Do 30/ 1 Do 15/ 4 Do. 32/	3..17..0
1 New Do.	1..10..0
1 Old Do	0.. 8..0
2 [torn] and 1 Damask Do	0..10..0

SILVER

	Oz d. n.	
1 Tea Kettle	130 3/4 a 7/6	49.. 0..7-1/2
1 Tea Pot	25..10 a 8/	10.. 4..0
1 Milk Pot	11..19 a 7/6	4.. 9..7-1/2
1 Tea Pot	16 5 a 8/	6..10..0
1 Coffee Pot	32 a 8/	12..16..0
2 Salvers, 2 Stands [torn]	39 5 a 6/8	13.. 1..8
4 Salts	8 10 a 7/6	3.. 3..9
4 Candlesticks	30 a 6/8	13.. 0..0
1 Quart Can	10 a 6/8	6..16..8
1 Quart T[ankard] [torn]	a 8/	11.. 2..0
1 Pottle Q....[torn]	a 6/8	11.. 2..8
1 Do [torn]		12..14..4
1 Quart C[an] [torn]		6..16..8
1 Silver [torn]		11..3
1 Do		8..4
16 Table 1 so[op]		6..9
11 Desert Do Spoons	12 8 a 7/6	4..13..0
19 Tea Spoons & Sugar Tongs	7 10 a 7/	2..12..6
1 Butter Boat	10 3 a 7/	3..11..6
1 Pepper Box and Punch Strainer	5 a 6/	1..10..0
2 Punch Ladles		1..15..0
1 Saucepan	20 4	7.. 7..0

10 Silver Hand Knives and 11 Forks with a Case	E	1..14..0
1 Silver Hilted Sword		1.. 6..0

IN THE KITCHEN.

11 Black handle Knives, 12 Forks with Case.		1..10..0
23 Buck Knives & 20 Forks, 1 Carving Knife and Fork		1.. 6..0
1 Set Castors		0..12..6
1 Set <u>Do</u>		0.. 4..0
24 Tin Patty Pans		0.. 2..6
2 Cheese toasters, 1 knife Baskett, 1 Funnel, 2 Tobacco Sieves		0.. 5..0
1 <u>pr</u> Stilyards		0..12..6
1 <u>pr</u> Brass Scales and weights		0.. 5..0
2 <u>pr</u> money Scales		0..10..0
1 Marble Mortar		1.. 0..0
1 Bell Mettle Skillet		4.. 0..0
3 Stew Pans		1.. 2..6
1 round Dripping Pan		0..18..0
1 Square <u>Do</u>		1.. 6..0
1 Iron <u>Do</u>		0.. 5..0
2 frying Pans		.. 7..6
2 Grid Irons		0.. 8..0
1 large Stew Pan		0..15..0
1 large Dutch Oven		5.. 0..0
1 Fish Kettle		3..10..0
1 Copper Boiler		2..10..0
1 Small <u>Do</u>		0..18..0
1 Copper Saucepan and [torn]		1.. 0..0
1 large Copper Tea [kettle]		2.. 0..0
1 Flesh Fork, Skimmer [torn]		0.. 3..0
2 Iron Pottsand [torn]		0..17..6
6 Spitts		1..10..0
1 Chafing [torn]		0.. 2..6
1 large [torn]		6.. 0..0
69 [torn]		3.. 9..0
6 [torn]		0..18..0
107 [torn] Pewter Dishes, 2 Basons and 30 Dishes		5.. 7..0
7 Earthern Milk Pans		0.. 2..6
1 Spit Jack and chains		3..10..0
1 spit Rack & Dog		1.. 0..0
4 Pot Racks		1.. 8..0
1 Shovel and [torn]		0.. 6..0
1 small Copper Kettle		1.. 0..0
1 Chopping Knife Cleaver and 8 scures		0.. 6..4
1 Bell		0.. 5..0
1 cloaths Horse		0..10..0
32 Candle Moulds and frames		2.. 5..0
2 Soap Jarrs		0..12..0
3 Spinning Wheels		1.. 3..0
1 a[illegible] Hoe		0.. 4..6
A parcel of Old Copper		0.. 7..6
1 Warming Pan, Lanthorn and Meat hooks		0..16..0
3 Tubs, 3 Pails		0..12..6
2 Kitchen Tables		0.. 5..0

LIQUOR.

4 Gallons Arrack	£ 4.. 0..0
17 Doz & 4 Bottles of Beer a 9/Doz.	7..16..0
18 Bottles Port	2.. 5..0
Part of Pipe Madeira Wine	20.. 0..0
1 [torn] Claret	4..10..0
[torn] Doz. and 4 Bottled Do a 2/ Bottle	17.. 4..0
9 Doz and 10 Porter a 3/4 Doz.	1..12..9
3 Doz and 8 Beer a 6/. Doz	1.. 2..0
43 1/2 Gallon[s] Rum a 4/6	9..15..9
3 Gallons Cordial	1..10..0

AT MILL SWAMP

27 Head Cattle 9 [torn]	37.. 0..0
2 Old Chaise 1 Tab [torn]	0..10..0
1 Old Copper [torn]	1.. 0..0
7 Milk Pan [torn]	0.. 5..0
9 Hoes 2 [torn]	1.. 1..0
1 Sorrel [torn]	1..10..0
1 Black [torn]	1..10..0
2 [torn]	1.. 0..0
1 Fodder [torn]	[?] 10..0
6000 Bun[dles] [torn]	[?]
49 Barrells	[?] ..12..0

NEGROES

Cesar	70.. 0..0
Belinda	40.. 0..0
Billy	35.. 0..0
Gabriel	25.. 0..0
Sarah	45.. 0..0
Sylvia	50.. 0..0
Sarah	40.. 0..0
Rachael	25.. 0..0
Tom	20.. 0..0
Phillis	8.. 0..0
Judy Clariss's Child	7.. 0..0
Clarissa £ 45 given by will	45.. 0..0

£ 410.. 0..0

Cash in the House

91..17..6

Inventory of all and Singular the Money Goods and Chattels of
 Thomas Mallaby late of Southwark [Philadelphia] deceased taken
 this 15th Day of Oct^r 1765

Viz

£ S D.

In the Back Parlor

1 Walnut Desk valued	3	-	-
Cash in the House	23	-	-
1 Looking Glass & 5 Pictures	2	10	-
1 Large Walnut oval Dinning Table	1	5	-
1 Walnut Tea Table	-	15	-
6 Rush Bottomd Chairs & 1 Arm'd <u>Do</u>	-	10	-
1 Craddle	-	7	6
1 John Stool	-	3	-
1 Pair of Hand Irons Shovel & Tongs	-	15	-
Sundry pieces of China Glass & Delf ware in the closet	-	15	-
6 Silver Tea Spoons and 3 large Table <u>Do</u>	4	-	-

In the Front Parlor

1 Pair of large Hand Irons Turned with brass Heads . .	2	-	-
4 Rush bottom'd Chairs	-	10	-
4 Delf Bouls mended	-	4	-
3 Chaina Bouls mended	-	7	6
Sundry small Pewter Measures	-	8	-
3 Small Decanters & 3 Tumblers & 2 Wine Glasses	-	6	-
2 Pair of small Tin Scales & 2 lb & 1 lb weights	-	3	6
1 Jugg & A Sign Cagg	-	6	0
1 Case & 6 Bottles	-	7	6
4 Quart Bottles & 2 half Gallon <u>Do</u>	-	2	-
2 Tin Funnils & Squeesers & Spoon & Strain	-	2	-
1 Barr Tub	-	2	6
	£41	19	6

In the Kitchen

Brought over	41	19	6
1 Pair of hand Irons Shovel & Tongs	-	10	-
1 Pot Pott hooks & Racks	-	7	6
1 Copper Sauspan a 3/4 & 1 Tea Kettle	1	6	-
4 Pewter Dishes	-	12	-
15 Pewter Plaits	-	15	-
2 Frying Panns & 1 Grid Iron	-	10	-
1 Cheese Toast a 1/one Glass Lanthorm 7/6	-	8	6
4 Earthen Pans 2 <u>Do</u> Pots 1 <u>Do</u> Basion	-	2	-
6 Knives and Forks	-	2	6
4 Brass & four Iron Candlesticks & 1 Lamp	-	13	-
2 Pair of Flat Irons	-	6	-
2 Buckets & 3 Washing Tubs	-	7	6
1 Old Dough Trough & Ironing Board	-	10	-

In the Front Chamber

	L	S	D
6 Leather Bottom'd Chairs	4	10	-
1 Walnut Table	1	5	-
7 Pictures	1	-	-

Back Chamber

1 Feather Bed & Beding	8	-	-
1 Mohogenny Bedstead & Sacking Bottom	1	15	-
1 Couch		7	6
1 Dressing Table	1	-	-
7 Pictures	-	15	-
1 Pair of Old small Hand Irons	-	10	-
2 Rush Bottom'd Chairs	-	6	-
1 Old Watch	2	-	-

Kitchen Chamber

1 old Corded Bedstead Bed & Bedding	3	10	-
1 Bedstead & sacking Bottom	1	-	-
1 Pair of Blankets & Counter Penn	1	-	-
Carried Cross	L75	7	-

In the Garret

Brought over	75	7	-
1 Old Bed & Beding	2	10	-
2 Old Beds	1	-	-
1 Bedstead Sacking Bottom Bed & Beding	6	-	-
1 Cubbart	-	2	6
4 Empty Hogs	1	2	6
1 Barrell & about 15 Gallons of Cherry rum	3	10	-
1 Quarter Cask & about 3 Gallons of Wine	-	10	-
1 Con & Some Hay	5	10	-
1 Sign	3	10	-
1 Negro Boy	70	-	-
10 Cords of Wood	7	12	-
Riging Work started and the Time of his Decease) Valued by Joseph paree)	20	-	-

Inventory and Appraisalment of the Estate of Anthony Hay late of the
City of Williamsburg Tavern Keeper [Raleigh Tavern]

York County Va. Records, Wills & Inventories, Book 22, p. 19.
Inventory taken February 2, 1771; Hay's will dated Jan 20, 1770

3 bedsteads 30/, 3 beds, 3 bolsters, 3 pillows 200/.	11/10/0
2 matts, 1 hide 6/3, 1 pine table 3/9	0/10/0
1 bedstead, 1 bed, 1 bolster, 1 pillow 1 matt	4/10/0
1 small looking glass 7/6, 1 old walnut table 5/	0/12/6
1 chest 10/, 1 cloathes press 20/, 11 old prints (the Caesars 12)	2/2/0
1 bedstead and striped Holland curtains, 1 bed 1 bolster 1 pillow and hide	7/0/0
1 pine table	0/3/9
2 bedsteads, red strip'd curtains, 2 beds, 2 bolsters, 2 pillows and 2 hides	14/0/0
3 white window curtains 7/6, 1 pine table 3/9	0/11/3
2 bedsteads, 2 matts, 2 beds, 2 pillows, 2 bolsters	8/0/0
1 small looking glass 5/, 1 fender and poker 2/6, 1 pine table 3/9	0/11/3
2 bedsteads and blue check curtains, 1 hide, 2 beds, 2 bolsters 2 pillows	13/0/0
23 chamber pots and 2 basons 25/, 1 pine table 5/.	1/10/0
2 bedsteads, 2 matts, 2 beds, 2 pillows, 2 bolsters. 1 pine table	7/0/0 0/5/0
1 bedstead, 1 bed, 1 bolster, 1 pillow, 80/ 1 walnut table 7/6	4/7/6
3 bedsteads, 2 hides, 3 beds, 3 bolsters, 3 pillows, matt,	13/0/0
1 table	0/3/9
2 bedsteads and curtains, 1 hide, 2 beds, 2 bolsters, 2 pillows	14/0/0
1 looking glass 11/6, 1 pine table 3/9	0/18/3
1 bason stand, bason and bottle	0/10/0
2 bedsteads and curtains, 2 hides, 2 beds, 2 bolsters 2 pillows	12/0/0
1 bason stand and bottle 10/, 1 pine table 5/, 1 fender 2/6	
2 bedsteads, 1 hide, 1 matt, 2 beds, 3 bolsters, 4 pillows	
1 pine table	
70 blankets, a. 18/ a pair	
11 Dutch do. 7/6 each	

figures
illegible

35 counterpains	35/0/0
40 pair of sheets 17/6	35/0/0
37 pillow cases 2/	3/14/0
1 glass lanthorn at the stair foot	1/0/0
6 French plate candlestick	9/0/0
16 china bowls	14/7/6
6 silver punch ladles, 80/, 4 silver salts, and shovels 100/	9/0/0
2 silver punch stainers 40/, 1 glass lamp 15/	2/15/0
18 wine glasses 10/, 1 mahogany tea board 12/6	1/2/6
3 rims and castors 25/, 4 china coffee cups 2/	1/7/6
1 china jar, 1 milk pot 3/9, 2 china stands 2/	0/5/9
10 china saucers and 8 cups	0/12/6
2 china butter saucers 7/6, 1 do. sugar dish 5/	0/12/6
1 red canister 2/, 1 walnut knife box 3/9	0/5/9
63 white handled knives 59 do forks 50/, 1 carving knife 1/3	2/11/3
2 pair of snuffers	0/3/0
1 looking glass 40/, 2 four foot square walnut tables	5/0/0
1 mahogny card table 40/, 9 chairs 67/6	5/7/6
1 back gammon table 5/, 1 iron fender 5/, 1 large black jack 5/	0/15/0
1 walnut card table 25/, 1 do corner table 25/, 1 do. square 35/	4/5/0
10 chairs 70/, 1 fender and blower 10	4/0/0
3 large oval mahogany tables	9/0/0
1 mahogany corner do. 20/, 12 chairs 90/, 2 looking glasses 100	10/10/0
1 fender and poker 7/6, a parcel of brass sconces, cloak pins etc. 40/	2/7/6
1 bedstead and curtains 160/, 1 bed, 1 bolster, 1 pillow 170/	16/10/0
1 book case and desk 120/, 1 small walnut square table 15/	6/15/0
1 fender and poker 3/9, 1 chair 7/6. 1 looking glass 20/	1/11/3
1 gun lock 12/6, 1 pair of shoe boots	1/7/6
1 press bedstead, 1 bed, 1 bolster, 1 matt, 1 pair, sheets 3 blankets	5/?/0
1 walnut dest 40/, 1 pine chest of drawers 10/ 1 beaufet 40/	4/?/0
44 china saucers and 17 cups 20/, 11 do. coffee cups 2/6	1/2/6
4 large china cups and saucers 8/	0/8/0
9 Queens china coffee cups and 10 do. saucers	0/5/0
2 do. milk pots, 2 do. tea pots	0/3/0
1 tin canister 20/, 2 china bowls 7/6	1/7/6
4 window curtains 12/6, 1 Japan plate warmer 10/	1/2/6
1 large scale box, scales and weights 20/, 1 fender 3/9	1/3/9

24 brass candlesticks 105/, 1 pine table 3/9, 12 wine glasses 7/6	5/16/3
3 china bowls 10/, 3 decanters 15/, 6 pair snuffers 3/9	1/8/9
2 pr. lime squeezers 3/9, 6 pewter ink stands 7/6	0/11/3
1 walnut bedstead and curtains 100/, 1 oak do. do. 80/	9/0/0
4 beds, 4 bolsters, 6 pillows 500/, 1 hide 2/6	25/2/6
1 square walnut table 25/, 6 chairs, 1 fender 47/6	3/12/6
1 poker, 1 blower 1/, 1 looking glass 12/6	0/13/6
14 coloured prints 20/, 1 mattress 40/	3/0/0
11 small square walnut tables 260/, 2 horse shoe do. 40/	15/0/0
2 large square do. 140/, 1 large oval mahogany do. 80/	11/0/0
1 small cherry do. 10/, 2 mahogany card tables 140/	7/10/0
1 large oval walnut do. 50/, 1 mahogany card table 25/	3/15/0
1 pine press 20/, 1 billiard table 500/, 2 mahogany fire skreens 60/	29/0/0
1 book stand 2/6, 1 walnut plate tray, 1 mahogany tea do. 5/	0/7/6
33 chairs, 1 close stool do. 355/, 11 brass sconces 27/6	19/2/6
1 large fender 10/, 1 plate warmer 5/, 1 large old carpet 15/	1/10/0
3 round mahogany tea boards 17/6, 2 Venetian Blinds 15/	1/13/6
2 coffee mills 12/6, 2 new deep pewter dishes 17/6	1/10/0
4 new flat pewter dishes 26/, 15 bottles different sorts 1/3	1/7/3
3 1/2 doz. new pewter soap plates 70/, 22 flat do. 44/	5/14/0
4 tin canisters 1/3, 2 brass headed fire dogs 12/6	0/13/0
3 pots sweetmeats and syrups	3/0/0
412 pieces of glass ware for pyramids etc.	15/0/0
5 bedsteads, 2 mattresses 135/, 4 beds, 4 bolsters, 1 pillow 200/	16/25/0
2 hides, 1 matt 10/, 4 pr. window curtains 20/, 2 pine tables 7/6	1/17/6
2 bedsteads, 2 beds, 2 bolsters, 1 pillow, 1 hide	10/10/0
122 china plates at 15/ per. doz.	7/12/6
4 do. dishes 30/, 2 do. tart plates 5/, 6 do. butter plates 20/	2/15/0
139 Queens china plates 57/6, 38 stone cups and saucers 5/	3/2/6
5 stone pickle shells 3/, 4 Queens china butter boats 5/	0/3/0
2 large coloured stone tea pots 1/3, 3 Queens china turin and dishes 55/	2/16/3
2 Queens china fish strainers 5/, 5 do. sauce boats and dishes and 2 spoons 15/	1/0/0

8 do. egg cups 2/6, 1 delft sallad dish 7 1/2	0/3/1-1/2
2 Queens china fruit baskets 5/, 5 do. fruit dishes 10/	0/15/6
34 do. dishes 60/, 6 do. corner do 15/	3/15/0
3 doz. white stone paltres 10/, 34 do. dishes 40/	2/10/0
67 tin tart moulds 25/, 11 pickle and other bottles 6/	1/11/0
10 butter pots 12/, pair brass scales and weights 5/	0/17/0
10 brass chafing dishes 27/, 1 hand bell and 4 tin canisters 12/6	1/19/6
2 tin kettles, 1 table bell, 4/, 11 stone tart pans 1/3	0/5/3
1 cloaths brush 1/3, 1 pine press, 1 corner cupboard 40/	2/1/3
2 pine tables	0/12/6
36 table clothes, 16 napkins	48/0/0
4 pr. brown sheets 10/, 1 delft pickle dish 1/3	0/11/3
1 new table cloth and 10 napkins not made up	5/0/0
3 large copper tea kettles 40/, 2 do. boilers 40/	4/0/0
1 do. coffee pot, 1 do chocolate pot 30/, 2 do. fish kettles 60/	4/10/0
1 do. dripping pan 15/, 2 iron do 5/	1/0/0
2 copper Dutch ovens 40/, 4 tin do 5/, 1 do. cullinder 2/6	2/7/6
1 spice mortar and pestle 5/, 2 frying pans 5/,	0/10/0
1 marble mortar 7/6, 1 pr. stake tongs and 2 gridirons 15/	1/2/6
1 iron chafing dish, 2 spits 25/, 1 plate basket, 6 iron pots 55/	4/0/0
4 pot hooks, 5 racks, 42/6, 1 pr. dogs, 2 flesh forks and 2 spit racks 55/	4/17/6
1 pair tongs, 1 shovel, 1 jack	3/0/0
3 tin pans, 3 do. dish covers 5/, 2 bell metal skillets	1/5/0
4 trays 8/, 10 washing tubs, and pails 20/	1/8/0
2 tin coffee pots, 2 pine tables 15/, 2 copper coal skuttles	1/5/0
2 large copper kettles 240/, 1 kettle trivit 10/, 5 flat irons 15/.	13/5/0
1 cloathes horse 7/6, 1 large pine table 12/6, 26 pewter dishes 130/	7/10/0
10 dozen and 5 pewter plates at 18/	9/7/6
6 water plates 20/, 2 coolers, 1 warming pan 20/, 1 tin cistern 5/.	2/5/0
5 horses £62, 1 cast and harnes for 4 Horses £9	71/0/0
1 Phaeton and Harnes £20, 1 single Chair and Harnes 15/	35/0/0
4 Cows, 1 Yearling 1 Calf £12. 1 Saddle and Bridle 20/	13/0/0
9 old Hogsheads 11/3, 1 Iron chair Harnes Bar 20/	1/11/3
1 1/2 Bushell and 1 Gallon Measures 5/, 1 old spade 1/6.	0/6/6

3 bedsteads and curtains £8, 3 beds, 3 bolsters, 3 pillows £10	18/0/0
9 blanket, 3 counterpane 90/, 12 chairs 90/	9/0/0
1 square walnut table 30/, 1 walnut dressing tables 35/	3/5/0
1 mahogany chest of drawers 80/, 1 pr. tongs and poker 2/6	4/2/6
28 silver tea spoons and 1 pair of sugar tongs	5/0/0
22 do. table spoons wt. 40 oz. 26/	12/0/0
1 cask scots ale qts. 10 doz. & 3 Bottles	5/5/0
1 Pipe vinegar 10/, 1 Box Sperma Caeti Candles at 2/lb. 40/,	2/10/0
23 doz. Porter at 6/ per. doz. £6, 18.. 1 Carboy Arrack £3	9/18/0
1 Carboy old Rum not quite full	0/15/0
1 Iron bound Hogshead of Rum	25/0/0
30 Gallons Rum or thereabouts in a large Cask at 10/ per. Gall.	9/0/0
7 empty Casks 17/6, 3 Bottle cases 10/	1/7/6
10 Carboys / sold Col. Burwell/ at 7/6	3/15/0
16 panes glass 10 Inches by 12	0/10/0
23 Bottles oil 23/, 3 Brass Cocks, a parcel of empty Casks 8/9	1/11/9
2 large Iron Backs 120/, 6 Butter pots 15/	6/15/0
1 small carpet 15/, 18 doz. Maideira Wine at 36/ £ 32:8.	33/3/0
1 Rum taster 1/3, 8 China salts 8/, 1 pair steelyards 15/	1/4/3
1 Pipe Vinegar in the yard	2/10/0

NEGROES, VIZ _____

Lucy	25/0/0
Peggy and her children, viz. Ben. Lucy, Jemmy, Jenny	125/0/0
Caesar	45/0/0
Gaby	60/0/0
Rachell	30/0/0
Rippon	60/0/0
Jerry	50/0/0
Wiltshire	65/0/0
Sarah and her child Mary	70/0/0
Will	60/0/0
Tom	50/0/0
Kate	50/0/0
Betty	50/0/0
Nancy & her child Edmond	60/0/0

£1778/11/10-1/2

James Mitchell
Swan Tavern, Yorktown, Va.

1772

York County, Va., Wills and Inventories
Book 22, pp. 104-6

Appraisalment of the Personal Estate of James Mitchell deced

One Negro Man Named Paul	75.. 0..0	
One Negro Woman Named Betty	60.. 0..0	
One Ditto Boy Named Lynn	30.. 0..0	
One Ditto Girl Named Rose	50.. 0..0	
One ditto Woman named Jeane	40.. 0..0	
One Ditto Ditto named Grace	<u>55.. 0..0</u>	310..0..0

in the Rooms Upstairs Viz.

One bed, bedstead, Boulster, Pillow, a pr.		
Blankets Coverlid Sheets Curtains & Matrass	10.. 0..0	
1 Bed furnished as the above £10	10.. 0..0	
1 Ditto	10.. 0..0	
1 Ditto	11.. 0..0	
1 Bed with furniture without Curtains or Matrass	8.. 0..0	
1 Ditto	8.. 0..0	
1 Matrass 30/. 12 pr. Sheets £14	15..10..0	
3 Counterpanes £3.10 18 Pillow Cases 40/	5..10..0	
5 large Damask Table Cloths	7..10..0	
2 large pine Cloths Presses	5..00..0	
1 large Screen 50/ . 1 small Ditto 20/	3..10..0	

In the large room next the Street below

12 leather Bottom Chairs	6.. 0..0	
1 large Oval Walnut Table	4.. 0..0	
2 Mahogany Tables (Oval)	6.. 0..0	
1 other Mahogany oval Table	2..10..0	
1 Walnut Corner Table	1.. 0..0	
1 Mahogany Table for Cards lined	4.. 0..0	
1 Iron Grate with Brass Front	2..10..0	
1 large looking Glass	3.. 0..0	
12 Prints of the Seasons Glazed & framed	4..10..0	
1 large Map of Virginia	<u>1.. 0..0</u>	34.10..0

in the Billiard Room Viz.

1 Billiard Table	45.. 0..0	
4 pr. Billiard Balls	1.. 5..0	
6 Green Silk Pockets 15/ 2 pine Forms 20/	1..15..0	
6 Tin Sconces	<u>1.. 0..0</u>	49..0..0

in the Room next the Billiard Room Viz

12 leather Bottom Chairs	7.10..0	
1 Small Square Walnut Table	.12..6	
1 Small Round Walnut Table	.15..0	
2 Pr. Backgammon Tables	2..0..0	
1 Chess Board and 2 Setts of Chess Men	1..0..0	
11 prints Glazed and framed	2..0..0	
1 Iron Grate	<u>2.10..0</u>	16..7..6

In the Room next the Kitchen Viz

12 Leather Bottom Chairs	7.10..-	
1 Leather Couch	2.10..-	
1 large oval Mahogany Table	4.10..-	
1 Smaller Ditto	3.---.-	
1 Round Mahogany Tea Table	2.---.-	
1 Clock in its Mahogany Case	10.---.-	
1 looking glass 30/ 1 Grate with Brass Knobs & fender)	4.---.-	
8 prints 24/ 2 Window Curtains & Iron Rods 10/	<u>1.14..0</u>	36.14..-

IN THE Chamber Viz

19 Stone Earthen Dishes	2.10..0	
4 3/4 doz white Stone Plates	1.10..-	
2 Butter Boats. 1 Strainer. 3 Mustard Pots.)		
10 Small Bowls and 2 Hand Basons (Stone))	. 6..-	
1 large China Bowl 30/. 1 Smaller Do 10/	2.. -	
9 Blue and white China Bowls 50/	2.10..-	
2 Small China Bowls 4/ 1 large do 20/	<u>[illegible]</u>	

Pewter &c in the Passage Vize

2 Dish Warmers 15/. 6 plate Warmers 25/	2...--...-
27 Dishes £ 4.10..0 4 1/2 dozen pewter plates £4.10..0	9.. 0..0
1 Tureen 15/. 1 Bed Pan 15/.	1..10..0
3 doz Knives and 3 dozen Forks (new)	2.. 5..0
2 dozen Do. Ivory Handles & 1 Carving Knife &c	<u>2...--...-</u> 16..15..0

In the Cellar Viz.

19 1/2 doz Bottle Maderra Wine £29.. 2 Gro: Empty Bottles 60/.	32.. 0..0
3 large Powdering Tubbs 22/6 3 large Jarrs 20/	2.. 2..6
2 Boxes Pipe 20/. 2 large pine Safes 35/	2..15..0
1 large Case with Bottles 70/. 5 small Do. 70/	7...--...-
7 Earthan Pans and 4 Stone Chamber pots 10/	..10..-
3 Flour Tubbs 15/. 1 Wheat Sive 5/.	1...--...-
1 large lignum vite Mortar and Pestle	<u>..10..-</u> 45..17..6

In the Kitchen Viz.

1 Jack with Pullys £6 5 Spitts 32/6	7..12..6
1 very large Copper Kettle	8...--...-
1 middle Size Copper Kettle	4...--...-
1 Brass Kettle £3.--.-- 1 Smaller Do. 20/.	4...--...-
2 Small Copper Kettles 15/ 1 Copper fish Kettle 30/	2.. 5..0
1 Tin Do. 10/ 6 Copper Sauce Pans 40/.	2..10..-
3 Copper Stew pans 50/ 3 Tea Kettles 40/	4..10..-
4 Copper Coffee and Chocolate Pots 45/	2.. 5..-
6 pr. Brass Candlesticks 55/. 6 Iron Pots & pot Hooks 50/	5.. 5..-
2 frying pans 5/. 3 Grid Irons 30/.	1..15..-
1 Iron Chafin Dish 2/6 2 Dripping pans 23/	1.. 5..6
1 Spice Mortar and pestle 15/	..15..-
3 Iron Ladles 1 Skimmer & 1 flesh fork	.. 6..-
5 Trivits and a Salamander	1...--...-
5 Pot racks 50/. 1 large Shovel & Tongs 7/6	2..17..6
5 Sad Irons 12/6 1 Hand Mill 40/. 1 Coffee Mill 3/	2..15..6
3 pr. Small End Irons	<u>..15..-</u> 51..17..-

At the Stable

2 Saddles & Bridles 50/ 1 dble Chain & Harness £25	25..10..-
1 old Single Chain £5.--.-- 1 Tumbrill & Harness for 3 Horses £6	11.. 0..0
1 Horse £9.10..0 3 Cows & i Yearlin £7.10.0	<u>17...--...-</u> 55..10..-
	£797..19..11

Inventory of Sundry Household goods &c. found in the house of
 Laurence Fegan, Innholder in the Northern liberties [Philadelphia]
 near the barracks.

INHP photostatic neg. #40.003

Philadelphia County August 8th 1773

1 cask of rice two thirds full	8-	-	-
1 pr of brass scales and sundry weights	2-	5	-
1 tin and 1 glass lamp	--	5	-
1 scale beam	-	10	-
1 pr tin scales beams and weights	-	10	-
1 pr small ditto	-	10	-
1 tin half gallon	-	-	9
1 pewter ditto	-	7	6
2 ds pints	-	1	3
1 bottle crain 8 patty pans	-	7	6
1 knife box 1 proof bottle	-	7	6
9 empty bottles of different sizes	-	15	-
2 Wine decanters 1 sugar funnel	-	15	-
2 axes and 1 tin funnel	-	5	-
1 brush 2 pewter spoons	-	3	9
4 packs of cards	-	5	-
1 rush bottom chairs	-	5	-
2 small baskets	-	1	-
3 stone jarrs	-	15	-
1 tin cannister	-	1	-
1 Walnut table	-	10	-
1 Tea ditto	-	10	-
4 Windsor chairs	2	5	-
2 rush bottom chairs	-	7	6
1 dish 1 bread basket of delf	-	3	9
1 plate queens ware	-	1	6
3 salts and 2 pepper boxes	-	5	-
1 small Tea cannister	-	-	3
1 case bottle	-	1	3
1 pickling jarr	-	3	9
2 glass tumblers	-	-	6
1 do decanter	-	7	6
1 tea pot queens ware	-	7	6
1 large do coffee pott	-	15	-
1 China bowl	-	15	-
1 do plates 1 do dish broke	-	7	6
2 glass salts	-	1	-
6 silver tea spoons	1	15	-
2 sugar dishes	-	5	-
1 large slop bowl 1 pint	-	15	-
1 tin Cannister	-	2	-

1 Mahogany small waiter	-	1	-
1 tea board 3 books	-	15	-
1 brass kettle 2 half barrels	2	12	6
2 pine tables	-	10	-
3 rush bottomed chairs	-	2	-
3 Washing tubs	-	15	-
4 buckets	-	15	-
1 iron plate dutch oven	1	10	-
7 pewter plates	-	11	3
1 dish 1 small bason	-	10	-
1 old bread basket	-	7	6
1 flower 1 pepper castor	-	-	6
1 tin pint	-	1	-
1 tea cannister cheese toaster 1 skimmer	-	1	-
1 Coffee mill			
1 old coffee pot	-	5	-
2 Brass Candlesticks and 2 pr snuffers	-	2	6
1 pewter candle moulds	1	5	-
1 scimmer and flesh fork	-	2	-
1 Toaster and 1 Turnspit	-	10	-
1 tin crator 1 Cullander	-	2	6
1 Iron pott	-	7	6
1 pr dogs cast Irons	1	2	6
1 pr shovil and tongs	-	7	6
1 copper tea kettle	-	7	6
1 grid Iron and flat Irons	-	15	-
2 Iron bound buckets	-	10	-
1 Watering pot	-	1	-
3 Iron potts	-	15	-
1 Frying pan	-	7	6
4 old camp kettles	-	5	-
1 bake Iron	-	5	-
1 Tea chest 1 bar tub	-	10	-
1 tin flesh kettle	-	5	-
2 bags	-	2	-
1 large Iron dripping pan	-	15	-
1 old Iron tea kettle	-	1	-
6 Black bottles	-	3	9
1 tin funnell and 1 old lime squeezer	-	-	2
1 dresser	-	7	6
1 pewter gallon measure	-	15	-
1 large Jarr			
2 old pewter basons and porringer	-	1	6
1 Wheelbarrow	-	10	-
1 spade 1 dung fork	-	7	6
1 green rug	-	10	-
1 blanket	-	1	6
1 brass warming pan of Jacob Schreiner claimed by him			
1 small curtain furniture check	-	1	-
1 old sircingle	-	1	6
1 pr cloth breeches said to belong to McCricken	-	10	-
1 Walnut desk	2	-	-
1 do table	1	15	-
1 pine do	-	7	6

2 Walnut chairs	- 15 -
4 pictures framed	- 10 -
1 bedsted and sacking	1 10 -
1 feather bed	7 10 -
1 bolster	- 15 -
2 pillows	- 10 -
1 pr sheets	- 15 -
1 blanket 1 old do	2 5 -
3 Walnut and two Windsor chairs	3 - -
1 looking glass, sconces and brackets	7 10 -
1 small table	- 15 -
18 glass pictures	4 10 -
1 pr hand Irons	- 10 -
1 glass lanthorn	- 10 -
1 bedsted & sacking	1 10 -
2 Collars 2 pr harness	1 10 -
1 old blanket	- 2 -
4 sashes with twenty four lights	1 2 6
lumber in the garret and third story	- 15 -
about half bushel of salt in a barrel	1 10 -
19 dozen of black bottles or thereabouts	6 5 -
1 pewter half gallon	- 7 6
1 do Quart	- 3 9
1 do dish	- 2 6
1 stone jarr 1 tin funnell	- 2 6
2 old cases	- - 6
1 empty Tierce	- 5 -
1 saw and horse	- 5 -
5 empty kegs	- 5 -
1 do large box	- - 6
1 harnish tubs 1 bread tray	- 5 -
1 old Iron pot	- 5 -
1 empty chest and a Jug	- 5 -
An eight day clock	35 - -

Inventory, "Royal George" Tavern (later called "George" Tavern)
Alexandria, Va., Wm. Ramsey, innkeeper.

Sept. 22, 1785

- 2 Old Trunks
- 1 Small ditto
- 1 Wash Stand with Bottle and Basons
- 1 pr And Irons with Brass Tops
- 1 Bed bolster and pillow
- 1 Bedstead with sacking bottom
- 1 Eight day Clock
- 2 pictures of his Excellancy Genl. Washington in frame
- 1 ditto King of Prusia ditto
- 8 Wine and 2 Beer Glasses
- 6 coffee Cups and 5 saucers
- 17 China Tea Cups and 15 saucers
- 3 Tea potts
- 2 Cream Jugs
- 5 Broken China Punch Bowls [probably repaired for use]
- 1 Delf bowl
- 1 Punch Strainer
- 2 Jappand Servers 4 Mahogany do
- 1 broken Case
- 47 Oz Silver plate
- 1 Bed bolster and pillow
- 2 Bed bolster and pillow
- 2 Bedsteads, one with sacking bottom
- 1 Walnut Chest of drawers
- 2 Pine Chests
- 1 Large Seal Skin Trunk & 1 small ditto
- 2 Beds, 2 Bedsteads, 2 bolsters & pillows

- 1 Case
- 1 Small Trunk
- 32 China plates
- 4 China Dishes
- 24 Blue edg'd Queens China plates
- 10 ditto dishes
- 2 Tureens
- 1 Jappand Coffee pott and 1 bread basket
- 6 plates 6 Tart bowls
- 11 Oyster Knives
- 17 Knives and forks and one Steel
- 2 pr Fluted Candlestocks [sticks]
- 5 Old Brass ditto
- 5 pr Snuffers and 2 Stands
- 2 Beer Jugs, Copper and Tin
- 1 Stone Jug 1 Pr brass Scales and weights

Sundry earthern potts, Old Hhds and Tubs

3 pr Old bellows
7 tongs - 3 Shovels and 1 poker
2 Fenders 4 old Chafin dishes
2 pr Doggs 3 Tea Kettles and one stand
3 old Coffee Potts
1 Brass plate warmer
3 Buckets, Basket & Bag
1 Bed Bolster pillows and Bedstead
3 pr brown Sheets
2 Coverlets
2 Beds, Bolster, pillows, Bedsteads & Coverlids
1 pr Brown & 1 Pr white sheets
128 Yards Oznabrigs
12 Pair Sheets
5 Table Cloths
1 1/2 doz. Towels and napkins
2 White cotton coverlids
1 blue ditto
1 Doz pillow cases
8 Pr Blanketts
1 doz Oyster knives
2 Spy Glasses
1 Chest Tools
1 Old pewter Tureen a parcel old pewter
1 Cooler 9 Tubs & pales
1 Large Iron poker

From Fairfax Co. Will Book E. No. 1.

Quoted in Helen Worth, "Rising Sun Furnishing Plan," (unpublished typescript prepared for Rising Sun Tavern Restoration Project. N.d. 32 pages), pp. 16-18.

Gadsby Tavern (Alexandria) Inventory

Compiled in 1802 in reference to John Gadsby's second lease--
possessions to be used as security for a loan.

John Gadsby
to
Creditors

Amt bt up [§] 1003 00

No. 10	1 Field Bedstead with furniture compt	20 00
	1 Bed Bolster & pillow compt	25 00
	1 pr Sheets do pillow case	5 00
	1 1/2 pt. Blankets 6\$ 1 counterpain 2d 4\$	10 00
	1 Bed sd Carpet 1\$50 Looking glass 2\$0	
	1 chair 1\$	5 00
	Window curtains 1\$50 Looking glass 2\$	3 50

No. 9	Ball Room	
	2 Looking Glass s gave John Wise for do 80\$	60 00
	2 Chandeliers with Chains from the ceiling)	
	Compt	60 00
	1 pr hand Irons Large 8\$ Bellows 1\$	9 00
	2 Shovels 1\$	1 00
	5 Doz brass Cloak pins D 6/	5 00
	7 large curtains with Laths leds & Lines)	
	Compleat a 9\$ per curtain)	63 00
		<hr/>
		2069 50
	1 Small Table 2\$50	2 50
		<hr/>
		2072 00

No. 8	2 Field Bedsteds with furniture	50 00
	2 Bed Bolsters & pillos compt.	50 00
	4 1/2 pt Blanket at 4\$	18 00
	2 Counterpains 7\$ Jugs Basin fender 1\$	8 00
	2 pr Sheets & pillow cases compt.	10 00
	2 Tables a 15/ 2 chairs 2\$ Bellast 1\$	23 00
	2 Bd sd carpets cover 1.50 Looking Glass \$3	4 50
	<u>illegible</u> 1.50	1 50
		<hr/>
		2237 00

No. 7	Amt bt up	2237 00
	2 Field bedsteds with furniture compt	40 00
	2 Beds Bolsters & pillows compt 50	50 00
	2 pr good Sheets 10\$ & 2 pillow cases	10 00
	3 1/2 pt Blankets 4\$ - 14\$ 2 Counterpains	
	\$6	20 00
	Looking glass 2\$ Chamber table 2\$50	4 50
	3 Chairs 3\$ - 2 Chamb potts 50 ct 1 Win	
	dow curtain 1\$50.	5 00
	Jug & bason	75
		<hr/>
		2367 25

No. 6	1 Field Bedstead - Bed bolster & pillow	
	a \$25	35 00
	1 pr good Sheets & pillow cases	5 00
	2 pr Blankets 8\$ Counterpaines 2\$50	10 00
	Curtaina 1\$50 tables 2\$50 Table \$2.50	
	1 Chamber pot	4 00
	2 Chairs \$2 1 old Fender 50 cents	2 50
		<hr/>
		\$2424 25
No. 5	Back parlour	
	2 large Window Curtains with Lins Lath &c	18 00
	11 Chairs \$11 No. 3 dining Tables \$8.\$24	35 00
	Card Table \$6	6 00
	1 Large looking Glas \$8	8 00
	1 Large Iron fender \$2.50 Shovel & L	
	2 Doz Cloak pins	5 50
		<hr/>
		\$2496 75
No. 4	Front parlour	
	1 Set Mahogany dining Tables	80 00
	1 Dining Table \$8 Dollard card Tables	
	\$6/15 chairs \$5	29 00
	4 Curtains with Lines Lath Compt	36
	1 Large looking Glass \$8 Grate \$20 Fender	
	\$2.50	30 50
	8-day Clock cost \$90 valued \$75	75
	2 Doz cloak pins \$2	2
		<hr/>
		\$2749 25
No. 3	Amot bt up	\$2749 25
	1 Large window curtain compt	2 00
	Dining Tables or 3 card tables 11\$	11 00
	6 Chairs 6\$ Looking Glass 5\$ - Grate fen-	
	der 3\$	14 00
		<hr/>
		\$2783 25
No. 2	Large corner cupboard 1d 10\$	10 00
	1 Large Dish [Desk] compt 20	20 00
	Dining Tables 8\$ Card Tables 2/21	
	5 Chairs 5\$	15.00
	Stool 1\$ 25 candle sticks 20\$ snuffer 1\$50	22 50
		2 00
		<hr/>
		\$2853 25
No. 1	Barr Room 1 Fenesa blind 5\$ map bd 5\$	10 00
	6 Small Casks compt 18\$ 1 Doz Decan-	
	ters \$10	28 00
	3 doz Tumblers 4\$ and wine Glass 3\$75	7 75
	2 Doz pails 18/- 8 Bowles 8\$	11 00
	20 Crates Sundry	40 00
		<hr/>
		\$2950 00

passage	
L Front door Lamp with Irons compt	[\$] 30 00
do inside Lamp	10 00
	<hr/>
	2990 00

Amt bt up	2990 00
Whit hall	
1 Large Glass 10\$ 6 Curtains 10\$	20 00
10 Chairs 10\$ 1 Dining Table 8\$ 2 card Tables	38 00
Handirons 8\$ 3 Doz Cloak pins 3\$75	11 75
1 Small Table 5\$ Tongs 75 cts.	5 75
	<hr/>
	3065 50

Servants Hall	
1 Large Table 8\$	8 00
1 pr Hand Irons - 4\$	4 00
2 Chairs 9\$ Coffee Mitts 10\$	19 00
Roasting Jack 30/	5 00
	<hr/>
	3101 50

Wash House	
4 Tubbs a 6\$ - Bioler 6\$	12.00
Table 8/\$	8 00
	<hr/>
	3121 50

Cooking Kitchen	
Smoak Jack 50\$ Range 100 wt pewter	150 00
1 Large Fish Copper Boiler	15 00
1 Coppr do 10\$ 1 Do Do 10\$	20 00
Boilers 10\$ Table 12\$ block & choper 10\$	32 00
Sundry potts Do in Kitchen spits \$10	10 00
	<hr/>
	3348 50

(private house)

Amot bt up	3348 50
30 Table coaths vd at least	127 00
52 pair Sheets 3\$	260 00
13 pillow cases " a 50	6 50
6 1/2 pair Blankets 6\$ pr	39 00
2 Large Wood chists a \$3	6 00
3 Wt Counterpains \$6	18 00
1 Table China £ 15	50 00
1 Doz Decanters 10\$ 6 Doz Wine Glasses 6\$	16 00
8 Doz of common knives & forks 6/	8 00
8 do Ivory 4\$	32 00
1 Dresser 10\$ corner cupboard 10\$	20 00
China cups & saucers in private house	15 00
3 China Bowls a 2\$	6 00
1 Set of Silver candlesticks	46 00

3 Teapotts 16\$ 29 Silver Table Spoons	[&] 80 00
do Tea 3 Doz spoons	30 00
4 Ladles Silver	30 00
7 Glass Stands 20\$ Doz Jelly Glasses 10\$	30 00
do 12 Candlesticks 4 Jappaned the rest brass	4 00
Range in my Kitchen 40\$	30 00
Small Table 10\$ Dining do 15\$	25 00
2 Card Tables 30\$	30 00
Large Glass 10\$ 4 Small do 2\$	12 00
19 Chairs \$19	19 00
Earthen Ware as pr Invoice Wm Hodgson	36 00
Do in the house before at cost \$15	15 00
4 Crewet Stands with Silver pepper Boxes	15 00
1 pr Hand Irons 3\$ tongs a \$1	4 00
	<hr/>
	4358 00
 Amt bt up	 4358 00
Small Room upper stairs in	
Field Bed vd 1 Stump do	15 00
2 feather Beds 2 bolsters 1 pillow	50 00
Room over Kitchen	
1 Stump bedstead do 1 Bed Bolster & pillow	20 00
1 Stove 2\$	2 00
	<hr/>
	4445 00
 My Bed Room	
1 Mahogany 4 post fluted Bedstead)	
and Sacking compt cost \$44)	40 00
1 Large hiar Mattress	25 00
1 Double Bodied bed Bolster & pillow	40 00
Furniture compleat for do	30 00
1 Beaubreau Desk with drawers compt	40 00
1 Chest of Drawers	20 00
1 Chamber table 5\$ Child cott 10\$	15 00
Middleton's Dictionary of Arts & Sciens	20 00
Sundry other books vd	10 00
Carpet	15 00
14 Brass Chaffg Dishes	20 00
3 Field Bedsteads at Mr. Muirs	30 00
Sundry prints	10 00
	<hr/>
	4760 00
2 Looking Glasses	6 00
Mangle Cost 100	80 00
	<hr/>
	4846 00
 Amot bt Over	 4846 00
One new Sett of Dinning Tables in Wt. Hall	43 00
Silver Tea Urn, Coffey Do Cross an Table)	
Clock cost 130)	130 00
One new Set of Table China 186 pieces	100 00
2 Carriages cost	480 00
4 Horses and 1 set harness compt	555 00
Book Debts due to my acct	5000 00
One new Sett of [illegible] compt for 50	
Dishes cost	68 00

1 New Set of Walnut Tables)	
paid Muir for) 60	
Old Tyler Walnut Table 20	
8 New Stoves or grates from)	
Hodgson & Thompson Balln) 74	[§] 154 00
Do 1 New Smoak Jack paid Martin	50 00
4 Pair of New Looking Glasses cost	250 00
1 New Patent Kitchen Range	30 00
	<hr/>
	11706 00
To amot. brot up	11706 00
1 Cart and Horse worth at least	150 00
1 Lott of Ground in Fee Simple in Washington St	530 00
Coffey house Boxes [stableage] I have laid out upon the property I leased from Mr. Wise at least \$4000 which Adds all that to that property to the Value of that property Coffee House furniture &c	
	500 00
	<hr/>
	16886 00
2 Negroes cost)	
Tom 400 Anney 300) 700	700 00
Negro John Bt and cost	400 00
Do Aron	250 00
Do Ranny	290 00
Do Wm	315 00
Negro Gowen pd Jas Wilson	400 00
Moses	350 00
Do as Servant Wine Cellar	500 00
Negro Godfrey cost	200 00
Henny	150 00
All my stock of Liquor now upon hand or which) may be upon hand at the time of a Sale)	2000 00
	<hr/>
	\$22441 00

The amount of property including Debts due to me and assigned by the annexed Deed of Trust amounts \$22,441. -Given under my hand this 14th day of December 1802

Witness

[not signed]

John Minor's Inn, Fredericksburg, Va. Inventory 1816.
Fredericksburg Will Book A.

Quoted in Worth - "Rising Sun Furnishing Plan," pp. 29-30.

- 1 Large mahogany press
- 1 Mahogany sideboard
- 1 do book case
- 1 do dining table & 2 half rounds
- 1 do card table
- 1 cherry bottle case
- 1 Mahogany Key box
- 1 Small clock
- 4 maps
- 1 Walnut dining table
- 1 Mahogany card table
- 1 Green pine press
- 1 Large chest
- 1 Stool
- 1 Leather bank
- 1 Mahogany chest drawers
- 1 do sugar case
- 7 Large pictures
- 3 small ditto
- 1 pine dressing table & glass inclusive
- 1 Small mahogany table & backgammon board
- 1 Mahogany candle stand
- 16 Chairs
- 8 do
- 1 Curtain bed & furniture
- 1 Mahogany chest drawers
- 2 Small beds
- 1 Cradle
- Curtain bed & bedstead
- 1 Crib & bed
- 1 Mahogany dressing table
- 1 Pine cloaths chest
- 1 old hair trunk
- 2 beds
- 1 Large mahogany press
- 1 Mahogany book case
- 3 chairs
- 1 Small leather trunk
- 2 old carpets
- 1 Large picture
- 1 Fowling piece
- 1 Pine press
- 4 Trunks
- 1 Easy Chair
- 2 old carpets
- 1 1/2 dozen bottles
- 2 tin chafing dishes

17 blankets
1 pair Globes
31 bottles
1 Carboy
1 Jug
Pewter Basins
8 Chafing dishes
2 pictures
5 decanters
Plate [valued at \$170.50]
2 Bottle sliders
Teaboard
Floor cloth
2 Beds

APPENDIX B

CRAFTSMEN INVOLVED IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF CITY TAVERN

[Cadwalader] Accot of Sundry Bills of Materials & Workmanship for Building City Tavern. Viz.

pd James Bringhurst's	Bill of Ironmongery	pd £80.18.11/2	pd £255.---.--
pd John Bistel's	Bill of Iron Work		pd 76.13. 3
pd James Barn's's	Bill of Painting		pd 163. 7. 9
pd Richard Trueman's	Bill of Wire-work &c		pd 14.---.--
pd Wetherill & Cresson's	Bill of Boards &c		pd 36.10.--
pd John Britton's	Bill of Boards &c		pd 9.---.--
Thomas Procter's	Bill of Carpentry &c		pd 963.17.10
pd George Wescott's	Bill of Copper &c		pd 13. 5. 3
pd Alexander Smith's	Bill of Hanging Bells &c		pd 27. 9.--
pd Robert Erwin's	Bill of pd £40 } not Carrd outPd 60 } [carpentry]		30.---.--
pd Robert Keer's	Bill of Duffield [10 written over 9] pd		10.---.--
Andrew Cribble's	Bill of [blank in MS] [cooper]		1.12. 6
pd John Colstoner's	Bill of Lyme		3.10.--
pd Ludwick Brall's	Bill of Sheet Iron 56 ^{lb} 3/4 @ 1p		2.16. 9
d ^o d ^o	D ^o of D ^o for the Oven & Grates		14. 9.10
James Glen's	Bill of Workmanship altering Chimneys		5.19. 6
Christopher Cave's	Bill of [Pumpmaker] supposed	£11.5.3	
Martin Jugiez's	Bill of Carving		5.12. 6
William Martin's	Bill Upholster		11.19. 6
David Morgan & Com ^y			3.--.10

175.--	
100.--	
9.--	
1.12. 6	
3.10.--	
2.16. 9	
14. 9.10	
5.19. 6	
12.--	
5.12. 6	
<u>329.14. 1</u>	
155. 3. 8	
<u>484.17. 9</u>	Supposed amt of Bills
93.14. 3	1-1/2 years / ground rent
<u>578.12.--</u>	

103.--.--
51. 6.--
34. 4.--

18/8 10

<u>9 8 .10</u>
.11
<u>9.9 . 9</u>

		246
		120
		40
	263	86
	67	877
01'8 . 877.	196	963

City Tavern, General John Cadwalader Section, Cadwalader Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The above account represents all we know about the names of the men who built City Tavern and the services they rendered the trustees. Some of them are well known among those who study Philadelphia buildings in the eighteenth century, others advertised in Philadelphia newspapers, but a few are known only by name. The following summary includes citations and advertisements or public records which provide information about these workmen or men like them.

James Bringhurst is listed in Prime's Directory of Craftsmen by Name (Xerox copy of unpaginated typescript in INHP library) as being an ironmonger located on Front Street between Walnut and Spruce in 1785.

John Bistel (Bissell) is listed in Prime as being a blacksmith located at 19 South Third Street in 1791. One John Bissell paid £24 10s. tax for one servant in 1774 (Philadelphia Tax Records, note card in INHP file).

James Barns has not been located.

Richard Trueman presents a problem. He is cited as having done wirework, but no Richard Trueman, wireworker, has been found. A man by that name is listed in Prime as a paper manufacturer on South Fourth Street in 1793.

Peter Pettredge, skreen-maker, in an advertisement in the Pennsylvania Gazette (February 15, 1759), said that he "continues to make Wheat and Flax Skreens, with all Kinds of other Wire Work."

Jeremiah Cresson advertised in the Pennsylvania Gazette on July 9, 1761, as having removed to a house on Chestnut Street "directly opposite to the Shop of John Elliot, Looking Glass Maker, and a little below Fourth-street, where he continues to carry on the Business of a Joyner and Chair-maker. . . ." In 1779 Jeremiah Cresson advertised for sale "Sundry Joiners or Cabinet and Chair-makers Tools . . ." with an extensive list of the articles offered. (Weatherill and Cresson over a period of years engaged in various building trades.)

John Britton has not been located.

Thomas Proctor is well recorded. His role in the construction of City Tavern has been detailed by John D. R. Platt in his historic resource study for the City Tavern, pp. 26-29.

George Wescott has not been located. His bill being rather small suggests that his copper or copper goods were interior fittings rather than something as extensive as a roof. Advertisements of other coppersmiths include numerous articles, from stew pans and wash boilers to brass cocks and weights.

Alexander Smith has been discussed in section II, part A.

Robert Erwin, like Martin Jugiez, was a carpenter capable of doing fine interior finishing.

Robert Keer, who presented a bill from Edward Duffield, did not advertise in any of the sources consulted. However, one Robert Kerr paid taxes in the Middle Ward of the city in 1769 and is listed in the records as a shopkeeper. If it is the same Mr. Keer, his bill, which is small but not insignificant, could have been for an assortment of interior fittings and hardware. The mention of the name Duffield, however, opens the tempting possibility that he had supplied a wall-mounted clock for one of the rooms. The cartoons in section II indicate the universality of the use of wall-mounted timepieces in English taverns.

Andrew Cribble (Creeble) paid taxes in the city's Middle Ward in 1769 and 1774. He was listed as a cooper. A cooper's work was among the most essential in a tavern. He could have provided a cistern, storage barrels, bins for dry storage, or the washtubs or sinks, which would have been lined with copper by Wescott.

John Colstoner has not been located.

Ludwick Brall, ironmonger for City Tavern, had anglicized his name by the time he appeared in the City Directory of 1793 as a blacksmith living at 12 Wood Street in the Northern Liberties. (Prime, Appendix)

James Glen has not been located.

Christopher Cave supplied two pumps for the front of the State House in 1773, according to a bill in the Pennsylvania Archives.

Martin Jugiez, of the partnership of Barnard and Jugiez, advertised as a carver and gilder "in Third-street, the corner of the dock between Chestnut and Walnut streets." He provided looking glasses and their frames. He also made "gorondolas" [girandoles], brackets for wall ornaments, and bases for supporting such trifles as oriental vases. Jugiez sold or made papier-mâché wall and ceiling trim and carved his own wooden mouldings and trims.

William Martin, upholsterer, "who served his apprenticeship to Mr. Palmer of London," advertised first in 1770. By 1775 he was selling upholstered chairs, tables of several sorts, and "trimmings." His 1776 advertisements are of most interest to us in that they include among the items for sale markees, drapery, and curtains. It is possible, though not likely, that Martin supplied curtains for the tavern. More likely he supplied venetian blinds for some of the windows or room dividing screens for some of the dining areas.

David Morgan and Company has not been located.

APPENDIX C

ADVERTISEMENTS PLACED BY THE MANAGERS OF CITY TAVERN

31 March 1773

TO BE LETT,

A LARGE commodious new HOUSE, in Second-street, near Walnut-Street, in the City of Philadelphia, intended to be kept as a genteel tavern, it contains several large club rooms, two of which being thrown into one make a spacious room near fifty feet in length, for public entertainment: There are likewise several commodious lodging rooms, for the accomodation of strangers, two large kitchens, and every other conveniency for the purpose. Whoever inclines to take the house, they may know the persons to be treated with, by applying to HUGH JAMES, at the London Coffee-house, who will forward any proposals made to the Proprietors by persons at a distance.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Supplement to April 21, 1773, p.1, col. 3.

7 July 1773

To be lett, THE CITY TAVERN, Situate in one of the principal Streets, near the Center of the Town. --

It has been built, at a great expence, by a number of gentlemen, and is the most convenient and elegant structure of its Kind in America: The front is fifty-one feet and fourty-six feet in depth; the rooms are spacious, and the ceiling lofty. As the Proprietors have built this tavern without any view of profit, but merely for the convenience and credit of the city, the terms will, of consequence, be made easy to the tenant: The extensiveness of the undertaking, in superintending so capital a tavern as this is proposed to be, requires some stock before hand, as well as an active, obliging despostion: A person so qualified, it is imagined, will find it his interest to engage in it. The house is nearly finished, and may be entered into the First of September. For further particulars apply to HUGH JAMES, WAITER, at the London Coffee-House.

Pennsylvania Journal, August 11, 1773

14 February 1774

DANIEL SMITH, begs leave to inform the PUBLIC, that the Gentlemen Proprietors of the CITY TAVERN have been pleased to approve of him, as a proper person to keep said tavern in consequence of which he has completely furnished it, and, at a very great expense [sic] has laid in every article of the first quality perfectly in the style of a London Tavern: And in order the better to accomodate strangers, he has fitted up several elegant bedrooms detached from noise, and as private as in a lodging house. The best livery stables are quite convenient to the house. He has also fitted up a genteel Coffee Room well attended and properly supplied with English and American papers and magazines.

He hopes his attention and willingness to oblige, together with the goodness of his wine and larder, will give the public entire satisfaction, and prove him not unworthy of the encouragement he has already experienced.

The City Tavern in Philadelphia was erected at a great expense by a voluntary subscription of the principal gentlemen of the city for the convenience of the public, and is by much the largest and most elegant house occupied in that way in America.

Pennsylvania Packet, March 21, 1774

STRAYED or STOLEN, last Monday was a week, from the City Tavern, a large thick headed Spanish Pointed DOG, with dark liver-coloured ears, two large spots of the same colour on his back, and one at the setting of his tail; he was broke by the ear, and has been very tender of it ever since, and always carries his head lower on that side. Whoever brings the said DOG to the above place, shall receive Twenty Shillings reward, and all reasonable charges, and if stolen, Three pounds, for apprehending the thief. May 30, 1774

Pennsylvania Gazette, June 15, 1774

SIX DOLLARS REWARD

RAN AWAY on the 10th instant, July from the subscriber at the City Tavern, in Philadelphia, a Welsh Servant Man named EVAN THOMAS, but may change his name. He says he kept a beer-house in Covent Garden, London, and professes to be a Waiter. He is a strong stout fellow about 24 years of age, has a down look, tallow complexion and wears his own brown hair tied behind; Had on, when he went away, a full suit of brown fustian with several white spots or stains before and behind, white thread stockings, good shoes, and a pair of silver plated buckles. Whoever takes him up and secures said servant, so that his master may have him again shall receive the above reward, and reasonable charges paid by

DANIEL SMITH

N.B. He came over in the brig Dolphin, Capt. Randell, from London, about six weeks ago. All masters of vessels are desired and forewarned not to take him off at their Peril.

Pennsylvania Gazette, July 20, 1774

Philadelphia, December 10, 1777

To be SOLD, by public VENDUE, on Friday next, the twelfth instant, and nine o'clock, all that large elegant assortment of HOUSE HOLD and KITCHEN furniture, in the CITY TAVERN, among which are feather beds, bedding [] looking glasses, mahogany and walnut dining tables, card tables, bureau tables, desks, chairs, Windsor chairs, window and bed curtains, pictures, table linen, carpets, glass, china and earthen ware, a neat assortment of plate, andirons, shovels, and tongs, open stoves, with sundry other articles too tedious to mention.

N.B. The cash to be paid at the time of sale.

Pennsylvania Evening Post, 3 (no. 431): 575.

4 August 1778

CITY TAVERN. On Monday next this well situated and commodious house, in Second street, will be opened for the reception and entertainment of company, in large or small parties. The subscriber having been persuaded suddenly to undertake the accommodation of travellers and other gentlemen, who may favor him with their custom, can only promise the utmost industry and exertions to render his house agreeable, hoping that the obstructions to free commerce, and the late peculiar circumstances of this city, will excite favorable allowances in the minds of his customers for any unavoidable deficiencies which may appear in the early period of this his endeavour to serve the public.

August 10.

GIFFORD DALLEY

Pennsylvania Evening Post, August 6, 1778

August 6, 1778

CITY TAVERN

On Monday next [August 10] this well and commodious House in Second-Street will be opened for the reception and Entertainment of Company in large or small parties. The Subscriber having been persuaded suddenly to undertake the accommodation of Travellers and other Gentlemen who may favour him with their custom, can only promise the utmost industry and exertions to render his House agreeable, hoping that the obstructions to free commerce, and the late peculiar circumstances of this City, will excite favourable allowances in the minds of his Customers for any unavoidable Deficiencies which may appear in the early Period of this his endeavor to serve the public.

GIFFORD DALEY.

August 10, 1778.

"Household Furniture for Sale
TO BE SOLD,

At the City-tavern on thursday the 24th instant. by Public Action, at nine o'clock in the morning, sundry Household and Kitchen Furniture; consisting of Tables, Chairs. Beds and Bedsteads, a variety of Tea and Table China, Tea spoons, Glasses and Decanters, Desert and Jelly Glasses and Glass pyramids, an excellant large Jack compleat, a number of And-Irons, Shovels and tongs, Knives and Forks, Kettles, Candlesticks, Pewter, Pots &c, &c.

July 14

The Pennsylvania Packet, or the General Advertiser, Philadelphia,
July 19, 1783, p.1, col. 1.

19 April 1785

Edward Moyston

Having taken the City Tavern, laid in a supply of liquors of the first quality, engaged English and French Cooks of approved abilities; intends to conduct said tavern in such manner, that he hopes to give general satisfaction to all his Friends and Customers. Ladies and Gentlemen Travellers may be accomodated in a suitable manner, and their Horses and Carriages taken proper care of at the Livery Stables back of said Tavern. He hopes by his assiduity and care to merit the favor of the Public, The Tavern will be opened the first day of May.

Philadelphia, April 19, 1785

August 22, 1785

CITY TAVERN,
Philadelphia, August 22, 1785.
EDWARD MOYSTON

Takes this method of returning his sincere thanks to those Ladies and Gentlemen who have been pleased to honor his house with their custom, and hopes for a continuance of their favours, and the Public in general. Having provided himself with Cooks of experience, in both the French and English taste, he flatters himself that he will be able to give satisfaction to those who please to use his house; and careful attendance shall never be wanting to render their accommodation agreeable. Ladies and Gentlemen Travelers can be commodiously lodged at the tavern, and their horses and carriages taken great care of at the Livery-stables back of said Tavern. He has laid in a supply of Liquors of the best quality:-- And proposes, on the 30th day of September next, to Open a COFFEE-HOUSE, where single Gentlemen or Companies may depend on being served and attended in the best manner. He also intends to take in all the Daily and Weekly Papers, for the Perusal of his Customers.

June 14, 1786

City-Tavern and Coffee-House
Philadelphia, June 14, 1786

Edmund Moyston,

TAKES this method of returning his sincere thanks to those ladies and gentlemen who have been pleased to honor his house with their custom, and hopes for a continuance of their favors and the public in general. Having provided cooks of experience in the French and English taste, he flatters himself that he will be able to give satisfaction to those who please to use his house. He proposes to open an ordinary, on Monday the 19th instant, for gentlemen at 3s 9 each; dinner to be on the table precisely at 2 o'clock. Careful attendance shall not be wanting to render their accommodations agreeable. Ladies and gentlemen travellers can be commodiously lodged at the tavern, and their horses and carriages taken care of in the livery stables back of the tavern, Gentlemen who choose to board and lodge by the week, will be accommodated as conveniently and cheap as in any private lodging house in the city. He has laid in a supply of liquors of the very best quality; and also intends to take in all the daily and weekly newspapers, for the perusal of his customers.

N.B. Ice Cream of various kinds to be had at the above tavern every day.

Three Guineas Reward.

RAN-AWAY on the 17th instant, a Mulatto BOY, about 5 feet high, named JAMES; snub nose, can dress hair and shave, high cheek bones, has an awkward gait, but is smart and handy. Whoever will deliver him to EDWARD MOYSTON, City Tavern, shall have the above reward and all charges paid.

October 23

Pennsylvania Packet, October 24, 1786

12 January 1789

City Tavern

The Merchants Coffee-House and Place of Exchange, Opened and established by the subscription of Merchants, Captains of Vessels, and other Gentlemen, at the CITY-TAVERN, in Second Street.

The two Front Rooms of the house are specially appropriated to these purposes.

CHANGE HOURS from 12 to 2 at Noon, and 6 to 8 in the Evening.

The remainder of this spacious and elegant Building is totally unconnected with the aforementioned appropriation; and continues to be occupied as a TAVERN and HOTEL --- where Gentlemen and their Families are accommodated, as usual, with the most superior Liquors, at reasonable rates, and every Article for the Table is served up with elegance, in either the French or English stile.

COMMODIOUS STABLES are fitted up adjoining the Premises, when Horses may stand at Livery, and be well taken care of.

The whole kept by EDWARD MOYSTON, who with peculiar pleasures takes this opportunity to return his grateful Thanks to those Gentlemen who favored him heretofore with their commands. At the same time he begs permission to solicit their future Patronage; to merit which nothing shall be wanting that is in his power to command.

Philadelphia, January 12, 1789.

Pennsylvania Packet, January 20, 1789

29 November 1790

City Tavern

The Merchant's Coffee-House,

AND PLACE OF EXCHANGE,

Established by the Subscription of Merchants, Captains of Vessels, and other Gentlemen, at the CITY-TAVERN, No 86 Lower Second Street, will be continued on its present Plan by

EDWARD MOYSTON,

WHO presents his most grateful acknowledgements to all those who now, or heretofore have, favoured him with their commands. He assures them it has ever been his earnest endeavour to acquit himself in his business with propriety, and to merit the reward of their countenance. The degree of satisfaction he has given, he hopes is such as may still entitle him to their patronage and support; under this impression he in this public manner solicits it.

The Merchants Coffee House is capable of a high degree of accomodation; any thing tending to this point will be cheerfully executed when pointed out. The European Publications, which have not latterly come so regularly to hand as might be wished, will in future be forwarded with punctuality by their respective proprietors, conformably to an arrangement made with them some months since.

The Dancing Assembly having lately procured a Hall for themselves, are removed from the CITY-TAVERN: Hence it is, that the whole of this spacious and elegant Building (except the Coffee-Rooms) can be occupied as a

TAVERN AND HOTEL,

Here gentlemen and their families will be accomodated with boarding and lodging as usual. PUBLIC DINNERS can be furnished as a short notice, and served up in a stile, if not superior, at least equal, to any in the United States of America. PRIVATE DINNERS any day or every day, for members of Congress, or parties of Private Gentlemen, will be set on the table at any hour; the elegance with which such orders shall be executed--the excellance of provisions and superior quailty of the liquor--it is hoped will not fail of gratifying every sense and giving complete satisfation.

Stables are fitted up adjoining the premises; where gentlemen's horses will be well taken care of.

Philadelphia, November 29.

Pennsylvania Packet, November 29, 1790

January 4, 1794

THE MERCHANT'S COFFEE -- HOUSE AND
PLACE OF EXCHANGE,

Established by the subscription of Merchants, Captains of Vessels, and other Gentlemen, at the CITY TAVERN, No 86 S. Second-street -- will be continued on its present plan, by EDWARD MOYSTON,

Who presents his most grateful acknowledgements to all those who now, or heretofore have favoured him with their commands -- he assures them, it has been ever his earnest endeavor, to conduct himself in his business with propriety, and to merit their approbation.

The degree of satisfaction he has given, he hopes is such, as may still entitle him to their patronage and support -- under this impression, he in this public manner, solicits them.

He will take care to have the Coffee-House regularly supplied, not only with all the Periodical Publications of this City, but also with the principal Papers published throughout the United States, and the most interesting of those from Europe, &c. If any thing should yet be wanting to the complete and elegant accommodations of his customers, he will be much obliged to any Gentlemen who will point it out, and it shall be immediately procured.

Exclusive of the Coffee-House, he continues to keep a TAVERN and HOTEL, where gentlemen and their families may be accommodated with Boarding and Lodging, as usual -- Public Dinners can be furnished at a short notice, and served up in a stile, if not superior, at least equal, to any in the United States of America. Private Dinners any day, or every day, for members of Congress, or parties of private Gentlemen, will be set on the table at any hour. -- The elegance with which such orders shall be executed, the excellence of the provisions, and the superior qualities of the liquors, it is hoped, will not fail of gratifying every sense, and giving complete satisfaction.

N.B. Excellant Jelly and Soup may be had at any hour, when required.

Stables are fitted out adjoining the premises, where Gentlemen's horses will be taken care of.

Bound Books of Public Papers for some years back, may be seen at the bar.

December 26, 1793

Philadelphia Gazette and Universal Daily Advertiser, January 4, 1794

April 19, 1796

SAMUEL RICHARDET

RESPECTFULLY informs the Gentlemen Merchants, and Traders, that he has this day Opened The City Tavern and Merchants' Coffee House, in the City of Philadelphia.

The Subscription Room will be furnished with all the daily papers published in Phila N. York, Boston and Baltimore; together with those of the principal cities of Europe. They will be regularly filed, and none permitted to be taken away on any account.

Tea, Coffee, Soups, Jellies, Ice Creams, and a variety of French Liquors, together with the usual Refreshments, will at all times be procured at the Bar.

Gentlemen may depend on being accommodated with the choicest of Wines, Spirituous Liquors and the most approved Malt Liquors, from London and other Breweries.

The Larder will be supplied with the prime and earliest productions of the season.

Large and small parties or single gentlemen, may be accommodated with breakfast, dinner, or supper at hours most convenient to themselves. A cold collation is regularly kept. For Conveniency the Bill or Fare is to be had at the Bar.

The Lodging Rooms will be completely furnished, and the utmost attention paid to cleanliness and every other requisits.

SAMUEL RICHARDET will be happy to receive and execute the commands of his Friends and the Public at large . . . [and will continue to the same, etc., etc.]

Philadelphia, April 19, 1796.

Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser, May 26, 1796

6 November 1798

City Tavern

N O T I C E

SAMUEL RICHARDET, informs the Gentlemen Subscribers, that the EXCHANGE is opened for their reception; and the CITY TAVERN, for Gentlemen and Travellers--Last Spring added as addition of twelve Bed Chambers to the side of the building, which makes is perfectly convenient.

November 6

Gazette of the United States, November 6, 1798

May 20, 1799

City Tavern

The public are respectfully informed that

THE CITY TAVERN

And Merchants' place of exchange

is now kept by the subscriber, where gentlemen and families are accommodated with board and lodgings by the day or week.

Dinners for large or small companies, provided at the shortest notice; private parties, clubs, arbitrations, furnished with rooms, &c. upon the most reasonable terms. Gentlemen whose families reside in the country during the summer season, are informed that an ordinary (Table [sic] d'hote) is kept every day precisely at 3 o'clock.

JAMES KITCHEN

Kitchen takes this opportunity of returning his most grateful thanks to the Merchants, underwriters and other gentlemen of this city, who have so liberally subscribed for the support of the Exchange, for the present year, and earnestly solicits their patronage and custom to the Tavern.

May 20.

Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser, May 24, 1799

APPENDIX D

DANIEL SMITH, THE FIRST MANAGER OF CITY TAVERN

Daniel Smith's departure with the British retreat raised an immediate suspicion that he might have been a Loyalist. Examination of the Library of Congress's microfilm copies of the Loyalist Claims confirms that suspicion. According to the papers from the Audit Office of the Exchequer and Audit Department of the Royal Government in London, Daniel Smith submitted a statement of loyalty, petition for aid from His Majesty's Government, and several supporting letters, all of which are reproduced below.

The file has provided several significant items of information in addition to the fact that Smith was indeed a Loyalist. Although he had been in North America for 12 years before he departed in such haste, he had been born in Ireland and had lived in Philadelphia for only the last 6 of his years in America, so he may have owned or managed a tavern elsewhere. Much of the wealth that such a prosperous establishment would provide its manager had been fed back into his business or used to buy property outside of Philadelphia. The furnishings he had bought for the tavern had for the most part remained there.

His solicitude toward the British prisoners lodged with him is cited as the cause of his unpopularity with the Philadelphians, that unpopularity which caused him to fear for his safety, and to account his business ruined should he remain after the departure of the British troops. Smith was not listed in any of the acts of attainder which branded present or departed Philadelphians as Tories. His open assistance to his military prisoner-guests, however, caused "frequent riots in his House."

Samuel Shoemaker, a prominent Philadelphia Quaker who chose to maintain his loyalty to Great Britain saw Daniel Smith in England after his departure from North America. Shoemaker had gone to London after the Treaty of Paris, as had many other Loyalists, to press his claim for losses incurred in consequence of his support of the Crown. While there, he kept a diary, which he mailed regularly to his wife who remained in Philadelphia. On Sunday, September 19, 1784, he wrote:

though I met many thousands in my walk thro the Parks
I did not see one person I knew but Parson Mungen of N. York
who married one of Tho. Marston's daughters, and little Smith
who formerly kept the City Tavern in Philada. He now keeps a
Tavern on the road to South Hampton somewhere near Bagshot.
He desired most earnestly that I would come to his House where
he had an excellant bed prepard for me and would be very happy
in doing every thing in his power to make me welcome. He has
lately buried his wife. (p. 232)

The next summer Shoemaker and Smith met again. Shoemaker was returning from Southampton to London and on July 13, 1785, his entry read:

Arose at 4 Clock and a quarter before 5 took our seats in the Coach and left Southampton. . . . Stopped at Winchester and got our breakfast and then proceeded through Basengstoke &c. to a place called the Hook where we stopd & changed horses and driver. The Tavern we stopd at is kept by Danl. Smith who kept the City Tavern at Philada. He was extreme glad to see me & pressed me very much to spend a few days there and said it should not cost me a farthing. He keeps a very genteel house indeed to which he has a very fine garden and wished to accommodate me with anything in his power. I could not stay to partake of his offer, but on our getting into the coach he sent me a quantity of very fine Gooseberrys and currants which were very acceptable to refresh us on the road. After our carriage was ready we proceeded to a small town calld Egham where we stopd and dind and then proceeded through Houslow, Brentford, Farnham Green &c. to London where we arrived at 5 Clock . . . at St. Paul's Church-Yard. . . . (p. 432)

It is clear that this genial and accommodating host is the same man whose "attention and willingness to oblige" made him--briefly--the most successful tavern keeper in Philadelphia.

The ill fortune that beset Smith in 1778 followed him home to England. His new tavern at Hook failed, his health broke, and he was forced to fall back on the support of the Crown. A notation in the Audit Office records states the closing of his case with recommendation of a pension of £30 per annum. But there seems to be no further record of his activities. A search of county and Crown records conducted in England by a researcher working on an Eastern National Park & Monument Association grant revealed nothing further.

Smith's great venture failed utterly; but the tradition of a "genteel" house whose "accommodating" host supplied the best food, drink, and entertainment in the latest fashion had been firmly established by the City Tavern and was carried on by such legendary houses as the Tontine in New York and Gadsby's in Alexandria.

To The Right Honorable The Board of Commissioners for settling the
Claims of the Loyalists of North America.

The Petition of Daniel Smith late of Philadelphia, but now
resident in London.

Humbly Sheweth

That your Petitioner is a Native of Ireland That about twelve
Years since he removed to America, That the six last Years he lived
in Philadelphia and was Master of the Principal Tavern there That
he lived without giving offence untill Colonel Prescott was brought
prisoner there from Quebec, That the said Colonel Prescott being
lodged by Order of the Friends of Government there, in your Petitioners
House, a Mob was raised, and your Petitioner exerted himself in
protecting him and shewed him in other respects all the kindness in
his power. That by this means your Petitioner made himself obnoxious
to the people there. That he purchased Land from the produce of his
Industry of about six hundred acres being part of the Estate called
Bald Eagles next [nest?] belonging to M^r Rhuben Haines and when
Colonel Prescott was shewed this protection and favor the Rebels
deposed your Petitioner of his Estate. That when General Howe took
possession of Philadelphia your petitioner remained in it, took the
Oaths of Government and carried on his Business. That when the City
was evacuated it was not possible for your petitioner to remain there
without being exposed to the rage and fury of the Populace. That
he therefore not only was obliged to quit his Business but to leave
to the Value of Eighteen hundred Pounds in Effects besides his Estate
before mentioned, that he brought but a small part of his Effects
away with him, and far from being sufficient to support him, or put
him into any kind of Business.

Your petitioner therefore humbly prays your Honours favorable
consideration of his distressed Case and that such grant may be
made for his relief as to your Honors Wisdom shall seem meet And
your Petitioner in duty Bound shall ever pray.

We do certify that the Petitioner Daniel Smith, has only set
forth the truth in his Petition as above and is a person deserving
of favor.

(W^m Dalrymple L^t Col III
Sign'd (James Robinson Brig. Gen^l and Barrack Master Gen^l
(Chewton Capt. Cold Stream Regiments Guards
Delawarr

M^r Daniel Smith bore an exceeding good Character in America, and suffered much on Account of his Loyalty.

Sign'd Cornwallis

I hereby Certify that M^r Daniel Smith kept the principal Tavern in the Town of Philadelphia with the fairest character during the time the King's Troops were in possession of that place in the Years 1777 and 1778 and I have good reason to believe he has suffered considerably in his property from his attachment to His Majesty's Government.

Sign'd W. Howe

Cholderton December 5, 1779.

M^r Daniel Smith late Publican in Philadelphia having made application to me then a prisoner of War, in the revolted province of which he was a resident, to draw up and sign a paper expressing my opinion of his principles, deeming that it may be of Service to him, and his present distressed situation; the result of his adherence to Loyalty; which obliged him to abandon his property. I do Certify that it is consistent with my knowledge that the said Daniel Smith always possessed the principles of, and in no instance deviated from the Conduct of a good and faithful subject, and behaved with remarkable attention to all the British prisoners during their Captivity.

Lindore, Lt 26th Regiment

We the Subscribers, in Justice to the Character of Mr Daniel Smith, Inholder in Philadelphia, do declare as follows

That during our confinements when Prisoners with the Rebels in the Year 1776, we experienced a great assistance and comfort from him, he supplying us to the utmost of his power with Money and other things necessary for our Subsistance.

Also that he to our knowledge did relieve, assist and support many indigent Soldiers, prisoners, at his own expence.

We further declare, that we are fully perswaded, that he by his Loyal and humane Conduct, did render himself obnoxious to the Rebels, and is thereby a great loser in his property and a sufferer in his person.

We therefore do humbly conceive him to be a worthy object for public Favor.

Sign'd (James Hughes T. M. Montreal
(John Ashton Shuttleworth Lt Royal Fusiliers

June 14, 1787: Says he is a Native of Ireland, and went to reside in America in the Years 1768--Lived at Philadelphia when the troubles commenced and kept a Tavern-- Made himself very Abnoxious by Col. Prescott being a Lodger in his House after he was brought Prisoner from Quebec in 1775. Left Philadelphia with the Kings Troops and came to England in 1778.

Had a Share in the House he lived in which he estimates is £400 Sterling. Left Furniture behind him to the Value of £300.

He had 600 Acres of Land which he bought just before the Troubles--paid £300 Currency. about 40 or 50 Acres Cultivated, 47 Miles from Philadelphia Built two Small Log Taverns - His Wife is Dead but he has two Children, one is 13 the other 9 Years of Age. He kept a Tavern at Hook till the latter end of April last - Failed and is not at present worth more than One hundred Pounds. . .

Certificates to Loyalty from Lord Cornwallis, Sir W^m Howe, Gen^l Robinson & several other persons of Character who were acquainted with M^r Smith at Philadelphia. [p. 82]

No Claim under the Act.

These are to Certify that We were personally acquainted with M^r Daniel Smith, Tavernkeeper in Philadelphia, before and after the Rebellion began in that Country; and particularly while the British Troops lay there under the Command of General Howe.

That we ever Considered him a Loyalist and attached to the British Government, and had reason to believe him a Man of considerable Property, in Household Furniture, Lands &c, which could not be removed when he left Philadelphia.

London June 18th 1787
R. Prescott Lt Gen^l

There were frequent riots in his House, occasioned by the Assistance he gave to the King's Officers.

These are to Certify that we were personally acquainted with M^r Daniel Smith, Tavernkeeper in Philadelphia, before and after the Rebellion began in that Country, and particularly while the British Troops lay there under the Command of General Howe.

That we ever considered him a Loyalist and attached to the British Government, and had to believe him a man of considerable property in Household Furniture, Lands &c^a which could not be removed when he left Philadelphia.

London June 18th 1787

David Sproat
And^w Allen
Dan^l Coxe

June 21, 1787: Produces further Certificates from General Prescott, M^r And^w Allen, M^r Dan^l Coxe, & M^r Dav^d Sproat to M^r Smith's Loyalty and of their believeing him to have had a good deal of Property.

£30 pr Annum from 5th Jan^y 1787.

DECISION

This Man's Case being so fully attested by Persons of Rank & Character, We can have no doubt of his propriety of his application for Temporary Support, he being at present out of Business and in a bad State of Health. Besides which it appears from the Certificates he produces that he suffered considerably in his property, and not having presented a Claim under the Act of Parliament, We the more readily recommend him an Object deserving Relief from Government and that he should be allowed after the rate of £30 pr Annum from the 5th Jan^y 1787. [p. 83]

APPENDIX E

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF SAMUEL SHOEMAKER, ESQUIRE, OF PHILADELPHIA DURING HIS RESIDENCE IN LONDON

Diary of Samuel Shoemaker, Esq., of Philadelphia.
From November 7, 1783, to October 5, 1785.

Samuel Shoemaker was a prominent and prosperous Philadelphia Quaker who, like many others of his rank and persuasion, remained loyal to the King. His loyalty cost him his station in the community, his land, and his personal liberty.

Cited by Pennsylvania's Supreme Executive Council in its warrant of August 31, 1777, Shoemaker left the state, returning after the arrival of the British troops that fall. Howe appointed him a Magistrate of Police, and he was later appointed Mayor (for the second time: the first had been in 1769). This return to public service and to the comforts of the city lasted only as long as the British occupation. When the King's troops evacuated the city on June 18, 1778, Shoemaker apparently left with them, fleeing to New York to avoid arrest.

The terms of the Treaty of Paris, which ended the war, included the establishment of a Royal Commission to make restitution to loyal subjects who had lost money or property because of their loyalty. Commissioners stationed in Canada and in London received testimony from plaintiffs and supporting statements from their associates. Shoemaker left New York for London in the fall of 1783 to file his claim.

As might be expected, "colonies" of expatriates gathered in London, frequenting the same clubs and taverns, visiting each others' homes, and often signing corroborative statements detailing each others' loyalty and losses. The Quakers among them formed a circle within the larger group; it was to this community that Shoemaker and his teenage son came.

Bureaucracies move slowly, and Shoemaker was forced to remain in Great Britain for 2 years. During the enforced separation from his wife and family, he kept a diary of his activities, which he mailed to his wife at frequent intervals. The entries, now bound in manuscript and typescript volumes at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, describe his daily routine, the friends from home who shared his exile, and his efforts to prepare, submit, and see processed his claim for reimbursement.

Because he lived in rented rooms, he ate his meals in clubs, "eating houses," or private homes. Because his funds were severely limited, he kept careful record of what he bought. For both reasons, his diary contains extremely useful material for anyone wishing to reconstruct an eighteenth-century English/American menu.

The extracts below have been limited almost exclusively to those that list or describe food or menus. These passages do little to indicate the affectionate tone of the whole or to convey the frequently touching sense of hardship being borne with a cheerful countenance.

- Dec. 29, 1783: At Portsmouth Point, in a boarding house ". . . had a comfortable breakfast of Coffee and good Toast & Butter. . . ." [p. 11]
- Dec. 30, 1783: ". . . this day came thro. the Towns of Wickham, Wanford and Alton to Farnham where we arrived after sunset. . . ." [p. 11]
- Dec. 31, 1783: "After a good breakfast we left Farnham at 9 Clock & proceeded thro Bagshot, Staines & Hounslow crossing the dreary Barrens commonly called Bagshot Heath & Hounslow Heath both noted for many Robberies having been committed on them, however, we met with no interruption and arrived safe at Hyde Park corner. . . ; our Post Chaise brot us as far as the Strand where we quitted it and took coach for the New York Coffee House where we arrived at half after 3 Clock. . . After staying half an hour at the Coffee House, Tho. Skelton accompanied me to a House where we had an excellent dinner of Beefsteake, Veal Cutlets &c &c. . . ." [p. 12]
- Jan. 1, 1784: "I then went to the New York & Pennsylvania Coffee Houses," [went walking] at 'a Tavern' with young Dr. Caspar Wistar had dinner of 'some excellent fresh Cod and a roast fowl.'" [p. 13]
- Jan. 3, 1784: [his lodgings at No. 26 in Grace Church Street] "a neat small Parlour & Lodging Room, a good Bed & furniture for the Bed, & for both rooms, a servant to attend to make my Fire, get my breakfast and tea afternoon, for which I am to pay 16/ pr week & am to take my quarters there this evening. I am to bear the expence of Coal for my fire, Candles & Bread, butter, tea and coffee." [p. 15]
- Jan. 4, 1784: "The boys & I stayd all the day at home & sent for some mince Pies & Tarts on wch. we dind very confortably."
- Jan. 6, 1784: "—— at 3 took the boys with me to John Blands where we had a Choice Dinner, a boiled Turkev & Oyster sauce, a fine English hare &c &c &c. . . ." [p. 18]

- Jan. 20, 1784: "As I had indisposd I chose to keep house and sent out for a Mutton Chop & some Tarts. . . ." [p. 31]
- Jan. 22, 1784: "Rose at 8 and were soon entertaind with a good breakfast of coffee, hot rolls and muffins [at the home of friend Edw. Street in Croyden]. [p. 32]
- Feb. 2, 1784: "Edward went skating to the Serpentine River and returned at 3 Clock when I took him with me to an eating House where we got an excellent Beef Steak Pye for dinner, a common dish here tho I never tastd any before. . . ." [p. 44]
- Feb. 17, 1784: "I now made the best of my way to my friend Watsons where I arrived at 3 Clock [for dinner]." ". . . after the dishes of meat were removed, a choice Apple Pye and a parcell of very fine apples were put on the table [these came from his son at N. York]. . . ." [p. 57]
- Mar. 2, 1784: "all invited to Eat Buckwheat Cakes made of meal sent from Philada." [p. 70]
- Mar. 8, 1784: "Being tired with my walk I sent out for a Mutton Chop and a Cheese Cake and dind in my Room alone." [p. 76]
- Mar. 12, 1784: "I have a great deal of writing to do in making out 5 Copies of my memorial to the Commissioners and the same number of copies of the Estimate of my losses &c. . . ." [p. 81]
- Mar. 17, 1784: "At 10 Clock E. [Enoch] Story called in, and from that time I was busily employd in finishing Copys of my Papers to go to the Commissioner of Claim, which I completed by two Clock and was then visited by Andrew Allen, accompanied by John Potts, and presently after Benja. Chew came in." [p. 83]
- Mar. 18, 1784: "At 10 Clock Chris. Sower paid me a visit and I got him to assist me in examining and comparing the Copys of my Papers which I had made to deliver to the Commissioners of Claims. At 11 Clock I received a written notice to attend the Commissioners, on the subject of my Memorial for Temporary Support, at their office at the Treasury at 3 Clock today." [p. 83]

- Mar. 21, 1784: "Doctr. Wistar came home and sat half an hour with me when John Warder came in to ask me to dine with him --but if these Gentry expect me to dine with them they must be more polite and early in their invitations, to Call on me in that way just at dinner time looks as if they thought I might be at a loss for a dinner, but that is not the case, and if it was I should take care to prevent their knowing it; to be poor and to look poor is too much. I don't know any good reason to assign for it but my Spirit is higher, (or I have more pride these will perhaps say) in that way now, than when I was in a different situation in Life. At 1 Clock I went and Dind at E. Storys on a very fine Loin of Veal boiled Tongue and Potatoes and a choice bread & butter pudding." [p. 87]
- Mar. 29, 1784: "Came home at 2 Clock and the weather being so bad I sent out for a Slice cold Roast beef & a Tart and dind in my own Room alone. . . ." [p. 94]
- May 1, 1784: [at a country home at Lambeth, near Vaux Hall]
"At 1/2 after two we were entertaind at a very genteel dinner indeed, among other varieties Cucumbers, kidney or french beans and Strawberries." [p. 115]
- May 10, 1784: "I went to Leaden Hall Market soon after and purchasd two Lobsters to treat Edwd. on which and a slice cold Roast beef and some of my Sssrs. Hannahs Choice Cranberry Jamb, we made an excellent dinner. . . ." [p. 121]
- June 3, 1784: "At 2 Clock sent out and got a slice of ham and a Gooseberry Tart and dind in my room very comfortably, alone. . . ." [p. 140]
- June 24, 1784: ". . . our kind relation [in Exeter] feasted us with a nice roast Chicken, green Peas, Gooseberry Tart and Clouted Cream and fine Strawberries. . . ." [p. 157]
- June 26, 1784: "at the London Tavern [in Tingmouth] where we had an excellent dinner of fresh Salmon, Roast Chicken, Green Peas &c &c." [p. 159]
- July 13, 1784: "had a Mutton Chop & a Colliflower--dind sumptuously." [p. 175]
- Aug. 29, 1784: [at Chelsea] "entertained with a good dinner, a fine loin of Veal, roast Duck, Apple Pye &c. and plenty of fruit." [p. 213]

- Sept. 12, 1784: [Edw. & Shoemaker at E. Sheene at friend Watson's house; dinner was] "very elegant a dish of Turtle, Ham and Fowles, Saddle of Mutton, besides 2 or 3 made dishes, with Colliflower and other Vegetables in abundance, Tarts, Custards &c. and afterwards Grapes, Cherries, Peaches, Nectarines, ripe Figs, Mulberries, Currants &c. in great Abundance." [p. 225]
- Sept. 19, 1784: ". . . though I met many thousands in my walk thro the Parks I did not see one person I knew but Parson Mungen of N. York who married one of Tho. Marston's daughters, and little Smith who formerly kept the City Tavern in Philada. He now keeps a Tavern on the road to South Hampton somewhere near Bagshot. He desired most earnestly that I would come to his House where he had an excellent bed prepar'd for me and would be very happy in doing every thing in his power to make me welcome. He has lately buried his wife." [p. 232]
- Oct. 3, 1784: "Our dinner [at John Bland's house] was very genteel, choice Turtle, fine Roast Goose, boild Mutton, Pastry and variety of fine fruit plenty." [p. 242]
- Oct. 4, 1784: "entertained at a genteel dinner [at Thos. Duche's] a fine Hare, some boild Indian Corn & Squashes which I have not seen at any other Table in this County, the Corn was raised in Ben. West's Garden and I thought it as sweet as is common in America." [p. 242]
- Oct. 15, 1784: [at a large dinner--many guests--at John Warder's home] "a very genteel dinner indeed, Turtle soup, Roast Pheasants, Chicken pye, Roast Beef, plenty of Vegetables, variety of Pastry, Whip Syllabubs, Jellies, Pine Apples, Peaches and other fruit." [p. 255]
- July 13, 1785: "Arose at 4 Clock and a quarter before 5 took our seats in the Coach and left Southampton. . . . Stopped at Winchester and got our breakfast and then proceeded through Basengstoke &c. to a place called the Hook where we stop'd & changed horses and driver. The Tavern we stop'd at is kept by Danl. Smith who kept the City Tavern at Philada. He was extreme glad to see me & press'd me very much to spend a few days there and said it should not cost me a farthing. He keeps a very genteel house indeed to which he has a very fine garden and wished to accommodate me with anything in his power. I could not stay to partake of his offer, but on our getting into the coach he sent me a quantity of very fine Gooseberrys and currants which were very acceptable to refresh us on the road. After our carriage was ready we

proceeded to a small town called Egham where we
stopped and dined and then proceeded through Hounslow,
Brentford, Farnham Green &c. to London where we
arrived at 5 O'clock . . . at St. Paul's Church-
Yard. . . ." [p. 432]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

1. Manuscript Material

Great Britain. Public Record Office. Exchequer and Audit Department. Claims, American Loyalists, Series I: Audit Office 12/102, ff. 82, 83.

_____. Series II: Audit Office 13/72, ff. 31-42.

Philadelphia. First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry Archives. Donaldson-Smith Account, 1774-95.

_____. Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Clement Biddle Papers.

_____. John Cadwalader Papers.

_____. Elizabeth Powell Papers. Receipts and Payments, 1792-97, 1814-20.

_____. Diary of Samuel Shoemaker, Esquire, of Philadelphia, November 7, 1783, to October 5, 1785.

Washington, D.C. National Archives. Record Group 39. Journal of Treasury and Audit of Accounts, 1775-81.

_____. Record Group 217. Miscellaneous Treasury Accounts of the GAO, 1790-1894.

2. Newspapers

Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser (Philadelphia). Advertisement. May 26, 1796.

_____. News Item. June 24, 1797, p. 2.

_____. Advertisement. May 24, 1799, p. 2.

Gazette of the United States (Philadelphia). Advertisement. November 6, 1798.

Pennsylvania Evening Post. Announcement. June 17, 1777, vol. 3, no. 431, p. 575.

_____. Auction Notice. December 10, 1777.

_____. Advertisement. August 4, 1778.

Pennsylvania Gazette. Advertisement. Supplement to April 21, 1773,
p. 1.

_____. News Item. May 25, 1774, p. 2.

_____. Notice. June 15, 1774.

_____. July 20, 1774.

Pennsylvania Journal. Advertisement. August 11, 1773.

_____. Announcement. April 13, 1774.

Pennsylvania Packet. Advertisement. March 21, 1774.

_____. August 6, 1778.

_____. July 19, 1783, p. 1.

_____. April 19, 1785, p. 3.

_____. August 27, 1785, p. 3.

_____. June 14, 1786, p. 3.

_____. Notice. October 24, 1786.

_____. Advertisement. January 20, 1789, p. 3.

_____. November 29, 1790.

Philadelphia Gazette and Universal Daily Advertiser. Advertisement.
January 4, 1794, p. 4.

3. Books

Adams, John. Diary and Autobiography of John Adams. Edited by Lyman H. Butterfield. 4 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1961.

_____, et al. Adams Family Correspondence. Edited by Lyman H. Butterfield. 2 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1963.

- Beatty, Joseph M., Jr., ed. "Letters of the Four Beatty Brothers of the Continental Army, 1774-1794." Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 44 (1920): 244.
- Briggs, Richard. The New Art of Cookery, according to the present practice. Philadelphia, 1796.
- Burnett, Edmund Cody, ed. Letters of Members of the Continental Congress. 8 vols. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1921-36.
- Carter, Susannah. The Frugal Housewife: or, Complete Woman Cook. Philadelphia: James Carey, 1796.
- Chastellux, Francois Jean, Marquis de. Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782. Translated and edited by Howard C. Rice. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963.
- Du Ponceau, Peter Stephen. "The Autobiography of P. S. Du Ponceau." Edited by James L. Whitehead. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 63 (1939): 189-227, 311-43, 432-61.
- Ellery, William C. "Diary, June 28-July 23, 1778." Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 11 (1887): 476-81.
- Farley, John. The London Art of Cookery, and Housekeeper's Complete Assistant. 4th ed. London, 1787.
- Franks, Rebecca. "A Letter of Miss Rebecca Franks, 1778." Edited by Henry J. Thompson. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 16 (1892): 216-18.
- Hamilton, Alexander. Gentlemen's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton. Edited by Carl Bridenbaugh. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948. Printed for the Institute of Early American History and Culture.
- Hiltzheimer, Jacob. Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer of Philadelphia. Edited by Joseph C. Parsons. Philadelphia: Press of W. F. Fell & Co., 1893.
- Littell, John Stockton, ed. Memoir of His Own Time . . . by Alexander Craydon. Philadelphia, 1846.
- Miranda, Francisco de. The New Democracy in America: Travels of Francisco de Miranda in the United States, 1783-84. Translated by Judson P. Wood and edited by John S. Ezell. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.

- Moore, Frank, ed. Diary of the American Revolution from Newspapers and Original Documents. New York: C. Scribner, 1859.
- Moreau de St. Méry, Médéric Louis Elie. Moreau de St. Méry's American Journal. Translated and edited by J. Kenneth Roberts and Anna M. Roberts. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1947.
- Niemcewicz, Julian. Under Their Vine and Fig Tree: Travels through America in 1797-1799, 1805. Edited by Metchie E. Budka. Elizabeth, New Jersey: Grassman, 1965.
- Washington, George. The Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799. Edited by John C. Fitzpatrick. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1925.

Secondary Sources

4. Books

- Hibernian Society of Philadelphia. A Brief Account of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick. Philadelphia, 1884.
- Scharf, J. Thomas, and Westcott, Thompson. History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884. 3 vols. Philadelphia: L. H. Everts & Co., 1884.
- Wainwright, Nicholas B. Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia: The House and Furniture of General John Cadwalader. Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1964.

As the Nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has basic responsibilities to protect and conserve our land and water, energy and minerals, fish and wildlife, park and recreation areas, and for the wise use of all those resources. The Department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in Island Territories under U.S. administration.

