

**The City Home of Benjamin Chew, Sr., and his
Family
A Case Study of the Textures of Life**

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If history is, at its heart, the story of the textures of life, one of the best ways to reach a fuller understanding of a society is to examine its social structure through the prism of individual lives.

Philadelphia's preeminence as an economic, social, political, and cultural center in the last half of the eighteenth century provides an ideal context for this kind of investigation. And the household of wealthy and socially prominent jurist Benjamin Chew (1722-1810) offers a model case study.

A protégé of the Penn family and one of the leading legal minds of the day, Chew rose to the position of Chief Justice of the Province of Pennsylvania before the Revolution and, after a period of political exile during the war, was reappointed to the Pennsylvania bench in the Federal era as the President of the High Court of Errors and Appeals. Like many other wealthy Philadelphians, he had extensive property holdings which included both a city residence and a country estate, as well as rental properties in the city, speculative real estate in western Pennsylvania, and inherited land in Delaware and New Jersey. His political position, his personal wealth, and two advantageous marriages¹ contributed to his high status in Philadelphia society.

The Chew family's penchant for preserving the records that chronicle their domestic life offers a rare window to look at life in the city in the late colonial and early Federal periods.² These records trace the interaction of the top strata of the upper class with the artisans and vendors who supplied the goods and services necessary for comfortable living as well as the relationship with the servants, slaves, and

¹ Chew's first wife Mary Galloway (d. 1755), a member of a prominent Maryland family, died shortly after giving birth to her fifth child. His second wife, Elizabeth Oswald (1732-1819), whom he married in 1757, was the niece of Joseph Turner, one of pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia's most prominent merchants.

² More than 200,000 Chew family documents from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are preserved at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. These are augmented by other papers in public repositories in Maryland and Delaware. Most of the twentieth century records are at Cliveden or are retained in the family.

occasional hires who were responsible for the smooth operation of the household.

This paper examines the patterns of the day-to-day domestic life of Benjamin Chew's household between 1771 and 1819 as viewed from within the setting of their South Third Street town house. By exploring not only the activities of the wealthy and highly visible Chews but also those of their servants and slaves who were expected to be invisible, it seeks to give faces and voices to specific people. In its use of household records to understand a family, it joins such recent studies in the new social history as Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1990) and Graham Hood's *The Governor's Palace in Williamsburg: A Cultural Study*, (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1991).

By the 1760s, Philadelphia was a thriving cosmopolitan port, its landscape a blend of public buildings, mercantile establishments, and domestic structures stretched out in a long thin line along the Delaware River (Fig. 1). The neat appearance of the pre-Revolutionary town, noted by foreign visitors, came from the two- and three-story brick houses with white trim found on many of the streets from the waterfront to about Seventh Street. City living was the custom for most wealthy and prominent Philadelphians; "Everybody of note has a residence in town" observed Lord Adam Gordon, visiting from Scotland in 1765.³ At the same time, prosperous residents seeking relief from the rigors of city life built impressive mansions along the Schuylkill and further out into the country. While many of these country estates remain today as symbols of Philadelphia's pre-Revolutionary prosperity, most of their equally impressive city counterparts have vanished, a byproduct of urban change.

³ From "Journal of an Officer in the West Indies who Travelled over a Part of the West Indies and North America, 1765," *Travels in the American Colonies*, Newton D. Mereness, ed., (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916), p. 411. Quoted by Beatrice B. Garvan in *Philadelphia: Three Centuries of American Art*, (Philadelphia: The Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1976), p. 59.

For more than four decades, Benjamin Chew (Fig. 2) maintained two homes in the Philadelphia area. His principle residence and the center of the family's domestic life was a town house on South Third Street in one of the most fashionable sections of the city.⁴ (Fig. 3). "Cliveden,"⁵ the country seat he built in Germantown (1763-1767) as a refuge from the diseases that plagued Philadelphia in the 1760s, served only as the family's summer retreat.

Chew had lived in the city for nearly two decades⁶ when he purchased the South Third Street town house from John and Ann Penn in May 1771. At the time, it was one of three buildings on the west side of Third Street in the block between Willing's Alley and Spruce Street.⁷ Although less than ten

⁴ During the years 1779-1797, the town house was the family's only Pennsylvania residence; "Cliveden," their summer home in Germantown, belonged to Blair McClenachan.

⁵ An Historic Structure Report on Cliveden is now in progress. For an early analysis of the building, see Margaret B. Tinkcom, "Cliveden: The Building of a Philadelphia Country Seat 1763-1767," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (hereafter *PMHB*), 88 (1964), pp. 3-36.

⁶ Benjamin Chew, his wife and four young daughters moved to Philadelphia in 1754. No record survives of the family's first city residence; possibly they lived in rented quarters. In September 1760, Chew bought a lot and town house on the west side of Front Street at Dock Creek from Thomas Crosby, a Bristol merchant, for £2200 (Pennsylvania currency). The deed of sale describes a 32-foot wide by 145-foot deep lot running from Front to Dock Street but offers no information about the structure(s) on it. There is no visual record of the building and only scant documentary record of its furnishings. After acquiring the Third Street property in May 1771, Chew resold the Front Street parcel to Philadelphia merchant Joseph Wharton, Jr., on August 14, 1772, for £3000. Philadelphia Deeds, Book I-10, pp. 514 and 516.

⁷ Merchant Thomas Willing's substantial four-bay house, built about 1745 for his father Charles Willing, anchored the corner of Third and Willing's Alley. See John Fanning Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: J. M. Stoddart & Co., 1877) Vol. II, opposite p. 618. Next door, Chew's new house had been erected in 1761 for Willing's sister Mary and her husband, William Byrd III of Virginia. On the south side of Chew's house was the dwelling constructed in 1765-66 for Charles Stedman and purchased by Samuel and Elizabeth (Willing) Powel shortly after their marriage in August 1769. See advertisement for sale in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 2, 1766. This row of aristocratic residences would be joined in 1788-89 by the impressive five-bay Federal mansion of William and Anne (Willing) Bingham.

years old, Chew's new house already had an interesting history of ownership. The land on which it stood had been acquired in two pieces (Fig. 4). The initial 30-foot-wide lot was given to William and Mary Byrd in February, 1761, by her brother Thomas Willing.⁸ The following January, Byrd purchased a second, approximately 80-foot-wide lot north of his property from his brother-in-law for £500.⁹ The house, erected on the southeast corner of the combined parcels, was completed before November 1762.¹⁰ (Fig. 5). Three years later, Byrd sold the entire estate, through Willing, to Adam Hoops of Philadelphia for £3,600.¹¹ Hoops held the land less than three months before reselling it for the same amount to Chief Justice William Allen on February 4, 1766. The deed for this transaction identifies a number of structures on the site: in addition to the "messuage" (dwelling house with its outbuildings) there was a "kitchen, stables, and other buildings."¹² Who occupied the house between the time Allen acquired it and its gift on December 23, 1766, to his daughter Ann and her husband, Provincial Governor John Penn, is unknown,¹³ but possibly the Penns rented it after their marriage on May 31, 1766. When the death of Penn's father forced their return to England in 1771 to settle the estate,

⁸ The February 23, 1761 deed notes the transfer for "five shillings and mutual love and affection." Philadelphia Deeds, Book I-7, p. 276.

⁹ This property was purchased January 30, 1762. Philadelphia Deeds, Book I-7, p. 277. The exact width of this lot is not clear since it is recorded variously in subsequent deeds.

¹⁰ The Clarkson and Biddle "Map of Philadelphia," published in November 1762, records the footprints of both the Willing and the Byrd houses. It shows a small, unidentified structure fronting on Willing's Alley and a larger building on Fourth Street behind the Willing house. There are two small buildings opposite the Byrd house on the east side of Fourth Street.

¹¹ November 27, 1765. Philadelphia Deeds, Book I-7, p. 278.

¹² Philadelphia Deeds, Book I-7, p. 281. Itemizing a kitchen suggests that there was a second free-standing structure (possibly a summer kitchen) in addition to one in the attached outbuildings.

¹³ The property was transferred "for five shillings and natural love and affection." Philadelphia Deeds, Book I-7, p. 283.

Benjamin Chew purchased the house and its extensive grounds--roughly 118 feet fronting on Third Street and extending 396 feet through the block to Fourth Street--for £5,000.¹⁴ The price paid for this estate was extraordinary,¹⁵ far exceeding the cost of similar town houses. (Samuel Powel paid £3,150 for his stately town house in 1769,¹⁶ John Cadwalader spent £3,500 to acquire his house and grounds in 1769-1770,¹⁷ and Chew's former Front Street property sold for £3000 in 1772.¹⁸) Chew's motive in spending such a vast sum remains illusive, but it is consistent with his pattern of large expenditures for such visible symbols of his position as fine clothing and carriages.

Since all physical evidence was destroyed when the building was razed about 1830, it is unfortunate that so fashionable a location should not have been recorded by contemporary artists. The only visual representation is a glimpse of the house in the distant background of William Birch's "View in Third Street" showing the William Bingham House (Fig. 6).¹⁹ The only detailed written account is the fire

¹⁴ Philadelphia Deeds, Book I-9, p. 279. Cliveden, Xerox Document XVIII-492 (hereafter CLIV, DOC). The schedule of payments to Penn began May 3, 1771, and stretched over almost a full year: £2,400 on May 3, 1771; £1,200 on June 1; £400 plus £4.9.0 in interest on July 10, 1771; £600 plus £26.5.0 in interest on January 29, 1772; and £209.18.0, in full on March 1, 1772.

¹⁵ Raymond Shepherd's early study speculated that the high cost included the purchase of many of the furnishings from the Penns. (See Raymond V. Shepard, Jr., "Cliveden and Its Philadelphia Chippendale Furniture: A Documented History," *The American Art Journal*, Vol VIII, No. 2, (November 1976), pp. 5-6.) No documentary evidence has been found to support this theory.

¹⁶ Nicholas B. Wainwright, "Cliveden and Its Furniture," *The University Hospital Antiques Show Catalogue*, (April, 1970), p. 67.

¹⁷ Wainwright estimates that John Cadwalader spent £3,500 on the house and land, more than £3,600 on renovations, and over £1,500 on furnishings. See Nicholas B. Wainwright, *Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia: The House and Furniture of General John Cadwalader*, (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1964), pp. 58-59.

¹⁸ See footnote 5.

¹⁹ The illustration from William Birch's *The City of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania North America; as it appeared in the year 1800*, shows the Powel House in the middle distance with

insurance survey taken by Gunning Bedford August 7, 1770, when the property was owned by Governor Penn. This document defines the footprint of the house with its back buildings and describes some of the exterior and interior architectural trim:

Governer Penns dwelling house and Back Buildings, Situate^d on the west Side of 3^d Street-- The house 30 feet front-- 52 feet deep-- 3 Storys high-- first Story wainscuted all through-- frett Cornish, 3 pediments, mantle Cornish frame &^c on Brest, in front parlor-- dorick intabliture, tabernakle frame &^c on Brest, 3 pediments in Back parlor-- modillion & dintal Cornish, 2 fluted pilasters, 3 pediments, in pasage-- Second Story wainscut^d all through-- 2 fluted pilasters mantle Cornish &c on Brest, frett Cornish, 2 pediments, in front Chamber-- modilion & dintal Cornish, 2 fluted pilasters tabernakle frame mantle Cornish &^c on Brest, 3 pediments, in Back Cham^r[.] 2 pediments, plain dubble Cornish in pasage-- Chimney Brests, Surbass, Scerting & dubble Cornish in 3^d Story-- 2 Storys of open Newel Stairs, Ramp^d[.] Bracketed, & wainscuted-- painted inSide & out[,] modilion Eaves-- ionick frontispiece at front door -
- - - -

Backbuildings, 20 by 13 feet one Story high, 40 by 18½ ft 3 Storys high, 20 by 18½ ft 2 Storys high, 9 inch walls-- finish plain-- the whole about 10 years old -- ²⁰

only the faintest suggestion of the Chew House beyond. In his introduction to the volume, Birch noted that "building[s], of any consequence, are generally included, and the street scenes all accurate as they now stand."

²⁰ The original survey, signed and dated by surveyor Gunning Bedford on August 7, 1770, is on file at the Philadelphia Contributionship. Under policies Nos. 1428-1431, Bedford valued the property at £2,000:

On the Entry & Stair Case £500
On front parlor & upward 500
On back parlor & upward 500

£1800 [sic] @ 42/6P C^t

Back buildings 500 @ 20/P C^t
£2000

I am indebted to Carol Wojtowicz Smith, Curator/ Archivist, The Philadelphia Contributionship Companies, for making this document available. Fire insurance surveys for several similar houses offer a means for comparison. See George B. Tatum, *Philadelphia Georgian: the city house of Samuel Powel and some of its eighteenth century neighbors* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1976), pp. 125-130, for surveys of the Powel House taken August 26, 1769 for the Philadelphia Contributionship (No. 1342-44) and January 11, 1785 for the Mutual Assurance Company (No. 39-42). See also Wainwright, *Colonial Grandeur*, pp. 150-152, for surveys of the Masters-Penn House, the Charles Stedman House (Powel House), the Alexander Stedman House, and the William Coleman House.

Bedford's survey simultaneously tantalizes and frustrates by giving enough detail to suggest the very high level of finish of the house without providing the specifics needed to reconstruct accurately either the elevation or the floor plans.

Some additional information about other architectural features of the house comes from Benjamin Chew's handwritten "List of Keys" for the Third Street house:²¹

Front Door
outer cellar Door [bulkhead door at street]
Inward D^o
2 keys to Door between Front & back Kitchen
pantry door
to Drawer in pantry
to Closet in D^o on y^e East
to Lettr's Closet in D^o
to door from piazza to back room
to both Closets in Said [back] room
to the Eastern Kitchen door
to a closet over the Wash house
to the smoke house
to the seed house
to the East stable door
to Letters Closet in back Cellar
to cellar door leading to back cellar

Up stairs -- 2^d Story
old key that opens both doors in the Front room
to the Linnen press over the Piazza
to the cupboard under the said press
to both closets in the blue painted Chamber
to one of the closets over the kitchen

In the Third Story
to the back chamber
to one closet in said Chamber
to the large Front Chamber

²¹ Although undated, the list probably was drawn up in the fall of 1779 in preparation for the rental of the property during the family's political exile. Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter HSP), Chew Papers, Box 250.

same keys [sic] opens small front chamber
to both closets in large Front Chamber

4th Story
a key to the store room

The key list, like the insurance survey, leaves many questions unanswered, but the two documents in concert begin to provide the skeletal framework for the setting.

The main block of the house was 30 feet across and 52 feet deep with three attached outbuildings stretching 80 feet behind. The chief distinguishing features of the three-story, three-bay facade were the modillioned cornice and an Ionic frontispiece or entrance. While most large city houses had a classical architectural cornice on the front facade, few had so elaborate an entrance. Insurance surveys taken in the 1760s for the Powel, Cadwalader, and Coleman houses all record a Doric frontispiece.²² This was the design favored in Philadelphia and the only style illustrated in the Carpenter's Company *Articles and Rules* (1786).²³

In plan, the house followed the typical, eighteenth-century-Philadelphia, three-bay, town house organization consisting of a passage and two rooms, one behind the other, on each of the first two floors. The placement of rooms on the third floor is less clear, although Chew's list of keys identified three spaces-- "a large front chamber," "a small front chamber," and "a back chamber." In the large Garret, the only specified space was a "store room" that could be locked. There was a Cellar below the main block with access from the street through a locked bulkhead door and, presumably, by interior stairs.

²² Tatum, *Philadelphia Georgian*, p. 64, fig. 29; Wainwright, *Colonial Grandeur*, pp. 151-152.

²³ Carpenter's Company, *Articles of the Carpenters Company of Philadelphia: and their Rules for Measuring and Valuing House-Carpenters Work*, (Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1786), reprint edition, Charles E. Peterson, (ed.), Princeton: The Pyne Press, 1971, Plate XXXIV.

Bedford's survey indicates that the first story of Chew's house was "wainscoted all through." Whether this was full floor to ceiling paneling on all four walls, a treatment especially popular in Southern houses of the mid-eighteenth century,²⁴ or a panelled fireplace wall with the other walls wainscoted to subbase (chair rail) height is not clear. An 1810 bill from Matthew Goul for "cleaning, restoring and varnishing the panel paintings in the Passage" supports the use of full paneling in at least that room.²⁵

And Joshua Francis Fisher, writing in 1864, remembered the first floor in this way:

The entrance hall and parlors [were] panelled with the most elaborate sculptures in wood, and the panels, I recollect, [were] filled with very black pictures, whether imported or native I never heard.²⁶

The hall and parlors were wainscotted & panelled with figures in heavy carving, & the panels were filled with pictures. It was all very gloomy & dirty, as I remember it, but it was everything that wealth & provincial art could make it, in the day it was built.²⁷

If Fisher's memory is accurate, the decoration in these rooms must have been unrivaled in Philadelphia for the combination of decorative painted paneling and carved figural ornament has no known parallels

²⁴ Byrd's choice of this type of architectural trim would harken back to familiar southern models. When the interior of his family home "Westover" was rebuilt in the early 1750s, Byrd chose to have the central hallway and all the first floor rooms panelled floor to ceiling. "Wilton" (1749-54), near Richmond, Virginia, also had full floor to ceiling panelling in the center hallway and in the drawing room on the first floor. Other similarly paneled Southern houses include "Readbourne," near Centreville, Maryland (1733); "Patuxent Manor," near Lower Marlboro, Maryland (1744); and "Belle Isle," at Litwalton, Lancaster County, Virginia (pre-1760).

²⁵ Matthew Goul's bill, dated June 29, 1810, charged the Estate of Benjamin Chew \$24.00 for "cleaning, restoring and varnishing the panel paintings in the Passage of the House, late residence of Benjamin Chew, Esq^r, deceased; and for varnishing the staircase of said house." HSP, Chew Papers, Box 13.

²⁶ *Recollections of Joshua Francis Fisher Written in 1864*, arranged by Sophia Cadwalader, Boston: Privately Printed by D. B. Updike, the Merrymount Press, 1929, p. 214.

²⁷ *Recollections of Joshua Francis Fisher*, p. 98.

in contemporary Pennsylvania building.²⁸

In addition to wainscoting, the first floor Passage featured an elaborate ceiling cornice ornamented with modillions and dentils (Fig. 7a),²⁹ two fluted pilasters, and pediments over three doors. Bedford's account does not specify whether these were "plain" pediments or the more elaborate "open" type with a broken cornice. The Stair Hall had "open newel stairs," a "ramped" baluster rail, and decorative "brackets" ornamenting the open side of the two-story staircase.

Bedford's description of the Front Parlor as "wainscoted all through," indicates that, at a minimum, the fireplace wall was fully paneled. The chimney breast featured a mantel shelf with ornamental cornice and a "frame" on the panel above. The ceiling cornice was in a fret design (Fig. 7b). There were pediments over the three doors in the room--one opening into the hall and two flanking either side of the fireplace satisfying the demands of symmetry.

The Back Parlor was similar in its architectural treatment--wainscoted, a tabernacle frame on the chimney breast, and pediments over three doors. It differed from the adjacent room in having a "Doric entablature" for its cornice molding (Fig. 7c). Chew's list of keys records two locked closets in the room as well as a locked door between this "Back Room" and the "Piazza" beyond.

The second floor Passage was less highly ornamented than the comparable space below. The

²⁸ Decorative oil-on-wood panels of the type Fisher describes are known from "Morattico Hall," built in Richmond County, Virginia, about 1715, and from "Holly Hill," built in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, about 1730, but neither has the accompanying sculptural ornament reported by Fisher. See John A. H. Sweeney, *Winterthur Illustrated*, New York: Chanticleer Press, 1963, pp. 26-27; H. Chandlee Forman, *Old Buildings, Gardens and Furniture in Tidewater Maryland*, Cambridge, MD: Tidewater Publishers, 1967, p. 27; and H. Chandlee Forman, *Maryland Architecture: A Short History from 1634 through the Civil War*, Cambridge, MD: Tidewater Publishers, 1968, p. 28.

²⁹ This same design appears in the ceiling cornice of the parlor at Port Royal, the country house built by Edward Stiles at Frankford in 1762. Portions of the architecture are preserved at the Winterthur Museum.

wainscoted walls and over-door pediments of the first floor were repeated, but a plain double cornice (Fig. 7d) replaced the dentil and modilion ceiling cornice of the lower room. The pilasters used in the Passage below were not repeated.

Gunning Bedford's survey specifies that the second story was "wainscut^d all through." In the Front Chamber, or "tea room" as Mrs. Chew later identified it,³⁰ a ceiling cornice of fret design encircled the room. Fluted pilasters ornamented the chimney breast. Missing from Bedford's inventory of architectural trim is the frame found on the chimney breast of all other rooms on the first and second floors. There is no way of knowing whether this is simply an omission on the part of the surveyor or a conscious design decision on the part of the first owner. Initially mystifying was the presence of only two door pediments. Given the temper of the day, these would have been placed symmetrically on the fireplace wall resulting in a Front Chamber running the full width of the house³¹ with one door giving access to the Passage and the other opening into the Back Chamber. According to Chew's key list, both doors could be locked using an "old key."

The architectural trim of the Back Chamber was more elaborate than that in other rooms in the house. It repeated the fluted pilasters and corniced mantel of the Front Chamber adding a tabernacle frame on the chimney breast. There were pediments over three doors. (The door on the fireplace wall closest to the Passage would have been blind.) The room was trimmed out with a ceiling cornice of modilions and dentils repeating the design of the First Floor Passage.

³⁰ This designation is taken from an 1810 memorandum for the distribution of household belongings attached to Elizabeth (Oswald) Chew's will. Probated will of Elizabeth Oswald Chew, 1819, no. 73. Courtesy of Mark E. Reinberger.

³¹ The second floor of the Powel House is laid out in a similar plan with the front chamber running the full width of the building.

The treatment of the third floor Chambers was much less elaborate than in the rooms on the floors below, clearly identifying them as private rather than public spaces. Bedford notes only "Chimney Brests, Surbass (chair rail or molding above a dado), Scerting (baseboard), & plain dubble Cornish." There were keys for each of the three Chambers, with the same key opening both the large and small Front Chambers. The Back Chamber had a single closet; there were two closets in the large Front Chamber. The Garret is not mentioned in Bedford's survey and Chew identified only a locked "store room" on that floor.

Attached to the main block of the house were three back buildings which, according to Bedford's survey, were constructed with nine-inch walls and were "plain finished." Joining the house was a two-story³² structure, thirteen feet wide by twenty feet deep, which probably was the "Piazza" mentioned in Chew's key list. The second floor of the Piazza was fitted out with a locked linen press and a secured cupboard beneath to store household linens.

Beyond was a three-story building, eighteen feet six inches wide by forty feet long, housing two Kitchens (front and back) and a Pantry on the first floor. On the east side of the Front Kitchen was a keyed door controlling access from the Piazza. There was also a lockable door between the Front and Back Kitchens. Included in one of the kitchens was locked Pantry equipped with a secured closet on the east wall, a lockable drawer (possibly for silver storage), and a "Letters Closet" (safe). On the second or third floor of the Kitchen was at least one room with a keyed closet. The "blue painted Chamber" with its two locked closets may also have been above the kitchens.³³ The Back Cellar noted

³² Gunning Bedford's survey lists this structure as a single story, but advertisements for the sale of the house prepared by Benjamin Chew, Jr., in 1819 and 1826 make it clear that the building had two levels with at least the upper story fully enclosed.

³³ While the exact location of this room is not clear, its position on Chew's list of keys suggests that it

on the key list was beneath the kitchens with access through a locked door. There was a second "Letters Closet" in the Back Cellar. At the far end of the house was a two story wash house, eighteen feet six inches wide by twenty feet deep, with a keyed closet in the room above.

Undoubtedly there were several other buildings on the property. Bedford's survey makes no mention of the stable/ carriage house or of the detached kitchen listed in the 1765 sale of the property to Chief Justice Allen; nor is there reference to the "smoke house" and "seed house"³⁴ cited in Chew's list of keys. Also absent from the survey is the "necessary" (privy).³⁵

The house and outbuildings occupied a relatively small portion of Chew's total property. More than two-thirds of the land was available for use as garden, orchard, and pasture. Possibly as much as fifty or sixty feet fronting on Third Street was allocated for a pleasure garden which was bounded along Third Street by a high brick wall³⁶ and enclosed on at least one other side by board fencing. The garden plan probably was already established when Chew purchased the property in 1771. And although no detailed description of the layout is known, bilateral symmetry was the guiding principle of eighteenth century garden design. The absence of bills in the years before the Revolution for major purchases of seeds, plant-, shrub-, or tree- stock, and for the organic materials necessary for developing a new garden suggests that Chew did not make substantive changes in the existing plan. Whatever its size and

is in the kitchen block.

³⁴ This small plant propagating facility was a relatively uncommon structure for a city house of the period.

³⁵ The privy at the Powel House was a multi-story, polygonal structure with access at the second level gained by means of an open catwalk. Tatum, *Philadelphia Georgian*, p. 86.

³⁶ A portion of the brick wall was taken down by John Mayberry and reused for part of a new stable when the property was subdivided in 1810. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 13.

design, Chew considered it sufficiently important to require the full-time services of a gardener and to provide a plant propagating "seed house" for his use.

At a time when anything that looked rural and country-like offered refreshment to those pent up in the city, Chew's garden was considered exceptional. Ann Warder noted it in 1786 in the same breath as that of Charles Norris, whose Chestnut Street property (between Fourth and Fifth) boasted a greenhouse, a hot house, and a seed house.³⁷ Four years later Susanna Dillwyn, who was familiar with several city gardens, found Chew's garden sufficiently impressive to mention in a letter to her father in London:

This is a pleasant part of the Town and one of its greatest ornaments is Benjamin Chew's garden, the trees of which are seen over a high wall from considerable distance all around. He has some of the largest and most elegant weeping willows I ever saw anywhere...³⁸

Given the esteem in which his garden was held by his contemporaries, it is regrettable that so few documents remain to suggest its appearance.³⁹ There are only two references in the Chew records

³⁷ "Prepared for a visit to Friend [Charles] Norris.... They have a noble house and beautiful garden, which is rare in the city, and I know of no other except Chew's...." October 18, 1786, excerpt from the "Diary of Ann Warder," *PMHB*, 18 (1894), p. 54. English Quaker Ann Warder, the wife of Philadelphia shipping merchant John Warder, recorded her observations on the social, domestic, and religious life of Philadelphia on a visit (1786-1789).

³⁸ Letter from Susanna Dillwyn (Philadelphia) to her father William Dillwyn (London), May 21, 1790. Library Company of Philadelphia (hereafter LCP), Dillwyn Papers, F-13.

³⁹ While contemporary accounts exist for several of the gardens at country estates, the appearance of their city counterparts is known only through the description of the large city gardens such as those of Charles Norris and William Bingham. These generally included beds and parterres, gravel and grass walks, and a mixture of trees, shrubs, and flowers. See Deborah (Norris) Logan, *The Norris House*, (Philadelphia: The Fair Hill Press, 1867), pp. 5-7; Henry Walnsey, *An excursion to the United States of North America in the summer of 1794*, (2nd ed., Salisbury, 1797), p. 123; John Fanning Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, (Philadelphia: Edwin S. Stuart, 1887), I, p. 408, II, p. 618, and III, p. 270; Letter from Susanna Dillwyn to William Dillwyn, May 21, 1790 (LCP, Dillwyn Papers, Folder F-13). See also Elizabeth McLean, "Town and City Gardens in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," *British and*

to the purchase of garden/ orchard materials during the 1770s. At his Mother's direction, Benjamin Jr. ordered three cherry trees in April 1778.⁴⁰ Almost exactly a year later he noted "This day [April 7] my Father furnished Robert [Burnett, the gardener] seeds"⁴¹ but he included no specifics on the type of plant material involved. With the prominence of Philadelphia (and Germantown) in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries as centers for horticultural and agricultural experimentation,⁴² it is tempting to speculate on the type of plant material Chew would have chosen. Chew's association with the botanists John and William Bartram may have resulted in the introduction of some exotic plants, but the extent of this is unclear. Certainly the ready availability of vegetables in the city's markets made a kitchen garden unnecessary.⁴³ How the remainder of the open land was used is uncertain although it seems likely that at least part of the acreage beyond the ornamental garden and the orchard was open field

American Gardens in the Eighteenth Century, Robert P. Maccubbin and Peter Martin, (eds.), Williamsburg, VA: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1984, p. 137.

⁴⁰ Benjamin Jr's cash accounts list the payment of 15 shillings on April 6, 1778, "Cash to Robert (Burnett, the gardener) to buy 3 Cherry Trees by Mother's order." HSP, Chew Papers, Box 76.

⁴¹ HSP, Chew Papers, Box 78.

⁴² This prominence was insured by the botanical work of John and William Bartram, by David Landreth's seed business and Bernard M'Mahon's nursery, and by the establishment of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture (1785). See Elizabeth McLean, "Town and Country Gardens in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," *British and American Gardens*, pp. 136-147; and Margaret B. Tinkcom, "Eighteenth Century Germantown Gardens," *Germantown Green: A Living Legacy of Gardens, Orchards, and Pleasure Grounds*, (Philadelphia: The Wyck Association, The Germantown Historical Society, and The Maxwell Mansion, 1982), pp. 5-8.

⁴³ The impact of city markets on city gardens is noted in Benjamin Franklin's letter to Polly Stevenson, May 6, 1786: "Considering our well-furnished, plentiful market as the best of gardens, I am turning mine...into grass plots and gravel walks...." Quoted in Karie Diethorn, "Domestic Servants in Philadelphia 1780-1830," (Research Project completed for Independence National Historical Park, August 1986), p. 70 (n3) from Carl Van Doren, (ed.), *Benjamin Franklin's Autobiographical Writings*, (New York: Viking Press, 1945), p. 669.

providing pasture for Chew's carriage horses.

Chew intended his house to be impressive. One need only enter the front door to be confronted with a visible symbol of power and prestige. It is clear from the level of architectural ornament that all the rooms on the first two floors were considered "public" spaces with those on the third floor demonstrably "private."

With no room by room inventory or other comparable document for guidance, function can only be inferred from other sources. As in most fashionable houses of the period, the public spaces would have had more than one use. Within the Third Street house, specific functions for the public spaces can be assigned only to the Back Parlor on the first floor and the second floor Front Chamber. The former served as a dining room, as John Adams' description of his visit to Third Street in 1774 records:

Dined with Mr. Chew, Chief Justice of the Province, with all the gentlemen from Virginia, Dr Shippen, Mr Tilghman and many others. We were shown into a grand entry and staircase, and into an elegant and most magnificent chamber, until dinner. About four o'clock, we were called down to dinner.⁴⁴

The latter, the "elegant and most magnificent chamber" to which Adams and the other guests first were taken, was the space Elizabeth (Oswald) Chew called the Tea Room. This room, the largest in the house, was generous enough for all kinds of entertaining--visits, teas, cards, and possibly even the occasional rout.

Use of the family's private areas is more easily determined. The rooms on the third floor were the family's sleeping quarters, but precisely how the ten resident family members⁴⁵ distributed themselves

⁴⁴ Entry for Thursday, October 22, 1774. *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, L. H. Butterfield, (ed.), Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961, Vol. II, p. 136.

⁴⁵ In 1771, the family included Benjamin Chew (age 49), his second wife, Elizabeth (39), Anna Maria called "Nancy" (22), Elizabeth (20), Sarah (18), Benjamin Jr. (13), Margaret called "Peggy" (11),

is less certain. Given the available space and the age spread of the children, one or more of the rooms probably were set up dormitory-style with several people sharing the chamber and possibly even a bed. Mr. and Mrs. Chew may have occupied one of the large chambers, sharing the space with one or more of their younger daughters. The other girls may have slept in the other large room as well as in the "blue painted Chamber."⁴⁶ Where Benjamin Jr. slept is unknown. He may have been assigned the "small front chamber" or relegated to the Garret or a room in the kitchen dependency. What is clear is that today's standard of privacy was unknown.

Sleeping accommodations for the family's approximately fifteen live-in servants is less clear. The garret floor, excluding the locked storage closet already mentioned, probably was partitioned into sleeping areas for some while others were housed in the outbuildings.

Chew's decision to relocate from Front Street to Penn's Third Street home may have been prompted by the superior location of the house, but even more persuasive would have been an urgent need to find larger accommodations for his ever increasing family. The few renovations made to the house before the family set up housekeeping in early summer 1771 seem to have been in the nature of minimal painting and whitewashing.⁴⁷

Despite the wealth of documentary material available, it is difficult to reconstruct a precise picture of the town house furnishings. Bills for the pre-Revolutionary period are scarce but do record a

Juliana (6), Henrietta (4), and Sophia (1). Chew's eldest daughter, Mary (24), was married and not living at home.

⁴⁶ The "blue room" with "our Lady's room" were the only areas wallpapered when the house was refurbished in 1784.

⁴⁷ Chew records the June 3, 1771, bill of £2.15.4 from Philip Warner for painting and an August 2, 1771, bill from William Anderson for £1.5.0 for whitewashing. Benjamin Chew Receipt Book (hereafter BCRB), Cliveden.

mix of goods purchased directly from Britain,⁴⁸ imports (especially metal wares and household linens) bought through Philadelphia merchants, and locally produced articles. In his choice of local artisans,⁴⁹ Chew patronized craftsmen capable of furnishing a house in a manner appropriate for a representative of the proprietary government. Family legend suggests that the existing appointments were augmented by furnishings sold to Chew by John and Ann Penn. No bill or other document survives to confirm this assumption, but an entry in Chew's receipt book for "£140.11.0 for sundries bought at vendue May 8th," less than a week after the purchase of the house, lends some credence to the supposition that the elaborate serpentine-back sofa and the set of upholstered back stools still at Cliveden were part of the furnishings acquired from the Penns.⁵⁰ Although their specific placement within the house can not be documented, it is reasonable to assume that they were used in one of the public spaces, most likely in

⁴⁸ Chew ordered "66 oz. of plate (silver)" from Thomas How & Co., London, in 1755. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 6. In an April 5, 1760, letter to John Allen, Chew ordered "40 yards of striped gauze for mosquito curtains," a 12-foot wide by 14-foot long carpet, and a "white flowered counterpane." The letter also included a request for 18 English yards of "superfine black velvet for women's wear, a similar amount of scarlet padusoy [peau de soie], flowered, or damask the color of the enclosed pattern [for dresses], 1 piece flowered silk for children's wear not high priced, 1 Doz. of women's white silk stockings, and ½ doz. Mens ditto." HSP, Chew Papers, Box 4.

⁴⁹ For his own household, Chew engaged the services of two London-trained craftsmen--upholsterer Plunket Fleeson and carver and gilder James Reynolds. Fleeson supplied a fire screen, green and white furniture check for chair "cases" [covers], Venetian [draw up window] curtains in green furniture check, relined a set of Venetian curtains in crimson, made a set of fabric covered cornices for a high post bedstead, and fabricated mattresses for the Front Street house. Reynolds provided elaborately carved looking glasses. On behalf of his daughters Mary Chew Wilcocks and Elizabeth Chew Tilghman, he also patronized upholsterers John Edmonston and John Ross, cabinetmakers Jonathan Gostelow, John Webster, and William Savery, silversmith Philip Syng, Jr., and brass founder Daniel King. Specifics on the items included in his daughters' dowries are on file at Cliveden.

⁵⁰ There probably were at least twelve back stools in the original set. Nine are at Cliveden and one at "Hampton," the Ridgely family property outside Baltimore associated with the Chews by marriage; the location of the other chairs in the set is unknown. The purchase was handled through Thomas Lawrence, Jr. See BCRB entry for September 9, 1771.

the "tea room" on the second floor front. Chew's April 20, 1772, receipt book citation for £51.10.0 paid to James Reynolds, a carver and gilder specializing in delicately carved looking glass- and picture frames, can be attributed with more confidence. It refers to the pair of large, white-painted, Rococo looking glasses now at Cliveden. These were intended to hang in the piers between the windows on the front wall of the large "tea room."

In the absence of an inventory of specific household goods,⁵¹ the best indication of the type of furnishings Chew considered necessary for a well-appointed household comes from two groups of documents. The first are the items purchased as dowries for his daughters Mary Chew Wilcocks and Elizabeth Chew Tilghman in the 1760s and 1770s.⁵² The second is the result of his decision to withdraw from Philadelphia following his release from house arrest in New Jersey during the early years of the Revolution.

Tomorrow morning at ten o'clock at the house of BENJAMIN CHEW, Esq. In Third-street, will be sold by PUBLIC VENDUE, Sundry HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE, consisting of Mahogany and walnut dining and card tables, chamber and tea ditto, mahogany and Windsor chairs, chests of drawers, writing desks and bookcase, a mahogany settee, one time piece, modillions, three open stoves, a good jack, a quantity of lead, window shutters &c. &c. &c. N.B. The money to be paid at the time of sale, or at the delivery of the bills.⁵³

⁵¹ The inventory of Chew's estate notes that since his will "specifically devised [to his wife] all his Household Goods and Furniture, Liquor..., Plate... Coach and Coach Horses, Coaches or Wagons," these form no part of the accounting. Excepted from the bequest to Mrs. Chew was the silver bearing the Galloway arms which was left to the daughters of his first marriage--Mary Chew Wilcocks, Elizabeth Chew Tilghman, Anna Maria Chew, and Sarah Chew Galloway. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 13.

⁵² Mary Chew married Alexander Wilcocks on May 18, 1768. Chew calculated his expenditures on their behalf at £630.9.1. Elizabeth Chew married Edward Tilghman, Jr., May 26, 1774. Chew valued the appointments for their house at approximately £867, plus a "Negro wench" (worth £60) and £1580 in cash. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 29. A compilation of the dowry information is on file at Cliveden.

⁵³ *The Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, October 27, 1779.

Chew's hand written lists of objects to be sold (Appendix I), items to be stored (Appendix II), and furnishings to be removed to Whitehall, the family plantation in Kent County, Delaware (Appendix III) suggest the wealth of furnishings within the house in the 1770s:

- 10 - Bedsteads (including 1 high post, 1 mahogany, and 1 old)
- 8 - Beds [mattresses] (including one for a servant)
- 2 - Washhand stands
- 2 - Dressing tables (including 1 mahogany with a drawer missing)
- 8 - Chests of drawers (including 1 mahogany, 2 walnut, and 3 half chest of drawers)
- 1 - High chest of drawers
- 18 - Tables in mahogany, walnut, and pine (including dining tables, breakfast tables, card tables, tea tables, and kitchen tables)
- 75 - Chairs (including 15 mahogany side- and 1 mahogany armchair, 12 chairs with hair bottoms, 8 walnut chairs, 2 kitchen chairs, 16 low-back and 1 high-back Windsor chairs, plus 6 worked bottom slip seats)
- 5 - Desks and writing desks
- 2 - Bookcases (one old)
- 1 - Teaboard
- 1 - Tea Chest
- 1 - Timepiece [clock]
- 5 - Looking glasses (including 2 girandoles)
 - Assorted pictures
- 4 - Stoves (3-open and 1-closed iron stoves)
 - Assorted carpeting (including an entry carpet and 2 Scotch carpets)
 - Window curtains (including 2 large green window curtains and 11 curtain rails)
 - Assorted linen and blankets
 - Assorted china and earthenware for the table and cooking
 - Assorted cooking utensils (including bakepan, stone pots, 2 grates, 2 cranes, 2 spits, 1 "barbykew" iron, and a kitchen jack with weights and 2 double pulleys)
- 2 - Iron Boards and 2 Kitchen hand irons
 - Assorted "Kitchen Furniture" and "loose Kitchen stuff"

A further memorandum, "sundries to be left at Philadelphia" (Appendix IV), details two large settees left with Mrs. John Stamper and two looking glasses left with A. Hamilton. Remaining in the house were a bookcase in the Garret, a second bookcase in one of the Chambers, a pair of brass sconces in the

Front Parlor, a large pine table in the Kitchen, and three iron fenders in the Cellar.⁵⁴

Like the house and the grounds, the household furnishings were intended to convey status. The mix of mahogany and walnut furniture was consistent with eighteenth century practice even in the best homes. And while it can be assumed that the furniture generally was arranged around the perimeter of the room with the center left open for ease of cleaning, the documents provide few clues to the precise placement of these articles within the house.⁵⁵ Benjamin Chew's list of items offered for sale mentions an "Entry Carpet." His memorandum of "sundries left in Philadelphia" notes a pair of brass sconces in the Front Parlor. But the only other space for which specific furnishings are identified is the large second floor Front Chamber. In a memorandum to her will, Elizabeth Oswald Chew itemized the proposed gift to her son of "the furniture of the front chamber called the tea room" which included "the damask curtains, the [illegible] chairs, card tables, also the old magony [sic] desk that was his fathers."⁵⁶

Fittings for the service areas are not easily determined. While some of the specific equipment for the kitchen is mentioned (tables, chairs, a kitchen jack, cranes, "barbykew" [sic] irons, and unidentified "kitchen furniture"), there is no record of how these items were distributed within either of the two kitchens in the attached dependency or in the detached kitchen.⁵⁷ Detailed information on the furnishings

⁵⁴ HSP, Chew Papers, Box 250.

⁵⁵ The most recent research on the range and disposition of home furnishings is Elizabeth Donaghy Garrett's *At Home: The American Family 1750-1870*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1990. See also Edgar deN. Mayhew and Minor Myers, Jr., *A Documentary History of American Interiors from the Colonial Era to 1915*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980.

⁵⁶ Memorandum attached to the probated will of Elizabeth Oswald Chew, 1819, no. 73.

⁵⁷ The best picture of the well-equipped kitchen comes from the dowries for Mary Chew Wilcocks and Elizabeth Chew Tilghman. (Lists on file at Cliveden). These dowries included jacks of various sorts with weights and chains, crane hooks, frying pans, chafing dishes, spits, pot racks and pot hooks, ladles, flesh forks, dripping pans, bake ovens, cleavers, skewers, iron pots, iron skillets, sauce pans, brass and

for servants' quarters is even more limited.⁵⁸ There are no particulars on the furnishings for his own servant's quarters.⁵⁹ It seems likely that most of his servants were provided with the common type of cattail-filled ticking "bed" (mattress).⁶⁰ Designed for use directly on the floor, it could be rolled up and stored during the day.

With its impressive architecture handsomely appointed with fashionable furnishings the Third Street house presented a public image intended to demonstrate deliberately and conclusively that Chew was a man of substance and taste. This, then, is the physical context for Chew family, the background for examining their world.

By 1771 Benjamin Chew's legal acumen and his more than fifteen year association with the provincial proprietors assured his place as one of the city's political and social leaders.⁶¹ Under the

iron kettles, iron stew pans, coffee mills, fish kettles, and copper chafing dishes.

⁵⁸ Karie Diethorn found that of the Philadelphia inventories examined for her study, "Domestic Servants in Philadelphia 1790-1830," most listed bedding as the only furnishing in the servants' quarters. Only eighteen per cent of the garrets with bedsteads included other furniture. She concluded that these spaces appear to have functioned as household storage spaces rather than better appointed servants' quarters. See Diethorn, "Domestic Servants...", pp. 89-91.

⁵⁹ Chew provided a bedstead with sacking bottom and "bed" [mattress] and bolster pillows for his daughter Mary's maid. Bills from August 3, 1768, note that the bedstead and sacking bottom was supplied by Germantown carpenter Jacob Knor for £2; Sarah Lloyd charged an additional £7 for labor and materials for the bed, bolster pillows, ticken [ticking]. This is an unusually high amount to spend on sleeping equipment for a servant.

⁶⁰ Ann King's bill of 23 February 1775 itemized the costs:

11½ yds Ticken [ticking] @ 3/	£ 1.11.6	
Making [a servant's bed] @ 4/	- . 4.-	
56 lb cat tails @ 4 ^d		<u>- 18.8</u>
		£ 2.17.2

⁶¹ From the mid-1750s, Chew had served the Penn family in various capacities. He was Attorney General of the Province of Pennsylvania (1755-1769), Register General of Pennsylvania and the Lower

patronage of the Penns, his political career was on the rise; in two years he would succeed William Allen as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Province of Pennsylvania. On his own and as a valued member of the proprietary government, Chew had a network of contacts in England who kept him abreast of British political activity, served as agents in procuring goods, and befriended various members of the family travelling abroad. His wealth, both inherited and acquired through a successful law practice and entrepreneurial and real estate investments, placed him among the ranks of the city's elite. This position was further strengthened by his membership first at Christ (Episcopal) Church and later at St. Peter's (Episcopal) Church⁶² in the company of such men of power as John Penn, Tench Francis, the Whartons, Thomas Willing, John Cadwalader, the Hamiltons, and the Peterses. Socially, the family moved with ease within the spectrum of local gentry, exchanging visits, sharing meals, and attending public social events. Chew's pre-Revolutionary circle also included Chief Justice William Allen; Dr. William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia; the botanist John Bartram⁶³; members of the Shippen family; Thomas Mifflin, later Governor of Pennsylvania; Brigadier General Henry Bouquet, hero of the French and Indian War; and a number of Pennsylvania merchants and traders

Counties (1765-1774), a member of the commission to resolve the boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Maryland (1761-1763), and of a commission to reach a treaty with the Indians (1767).

⁶² Although a birthright Quaker, Benjamin Chew left meeting and became an Anglican (Episcopalian) by 1754. His decision appears to rest on pragmatic rather than religious grounds. His father had left Meeting in 1741 in a dispute over the need to raise a militia to defend the province, and his patron, Thomas Penn, had joined the Anglican church in 1751. Chew's shift of membership from Christ Church (Second Street above Market) to St. Peter's Church (Third and Pine streets) in 1768 reflected his perception of the politics of power as much as it provided convenience to his Third Street house.

⁶³ Though not of the same financial circle as Chew, Bartram's link with Philadelphia's social elite came through his position as the leading American botanist of the day. A protégé of James Logan, Bartram corresponded with English Quaker Peter Collinson and supplied seeds and plant material to various clients in England.

who, with Chew, had been co-signers of the Non-Importation Agreement of 1769. Strengthening these business and social alliances was a broad network connecting the Chews by marriage to prominent Pennsylvania and Maryland families.⁶⁴

During the 1770s, the Third Street house was home to a large household including both family and the necessary support staff. Chew's immediate family numbered about a dozen. Resident at any one time were Chew and his wife, two (or sometimes three) adult daughters from his first marriage, and as many as eight children (ranging in age from infant to adult) from his second. There was also a sizable extended family. He was close to his sisters, especially Elizabeth Tilghman, and to his half brothers, Samuel and John, all living in Maryland, and the families paid lengthy visits to one another with some frequency. His wife's family--her mother, two unmarried sisters, and at least one uncle--resided in Philadelphia.

The sheer size of Chew's immediate family required an extensive household staff to cook, clean and maintain the house, do the laundry, provide personal service, drive the carriage, and maintain the garden. In most Philadelphia homes with a domestic staff, three or four people executed this combination of duties; in some of the larger households, five or six servants might provide the same service.⁶⁵ Available records show that Chew's staff was a mix of resident wage-earning servants,

⁶⁴ Chew's first wife, Mary Galloway, came from one of Maryland's most prominent families. His second wife, Elizabeth Oswald, was the niece of Joseph Turner, a partner with Chief Justice William Allen in one of the most successful mercantile enterprises in pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia. Chew's daughters would marry into the Wilcocks and Nicklin families of Pennsylvania, the Philips family of England and later New York, and the Tilghman, Galloway, Howard, and Carroll families of Maryland. His son Benjamin would marry another Marylander, Katherine Banning of Chestertown.

⁶⁵ Karie Diethorn, "Domestic Servants," pp. 128-129.

slaves,⁶⁶ and a fluctuating number of casual workers hired on a daily basis. Routine daily tasks were the province of the resident staff; periodic services generally were performed by individuals hired by the day. Determining the precise size of Chew's staff is not easy. His receipt book of personal expenditures from 1770 to 1809, which might be expected to provide this information, lists wages paid to only two categories of servants in the early years--those responsible for his garden and those entrusted with his carriages. Possibly these groups were deemed worthy of note because they represented specialized skills not required in the majority of Philadelphia households.⁶⁷ Indoor staff was another matter. Any residence of the size of the Third Street house required a cook, maids and male servants (waiters), and personal servants to function effectively. In this respect, Chew's complement of domestic servants follows more closely the pattern of other Philadelphia households. The absence of records for these employees is puzzling. One wonders whether their services were recorded in day- or waste books now lost or were omitted by Chew because they were paid by his wife as part of her household accounts. The duties performed by slaves would require no accounting.

⁶⁶ The Chew family had a history of owning slaves. In fact, in 1747, Chew's mother left an estate which included 54 slaves valued at £1341. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 1. Most labored on the various family plantations in Maryland and Delaware or were hired out to other families in the neighborhood, but it is reasonable to assume that at least some of them worked for Chew in his Philadelphia town house. A 1780 list, submitted in response to the act requiring the gradual manumission of slaves, names 14 blacks in Chew's Philadelphia household: Will (26), Chew's personal manservant who had been purchased in St. Croix in 1772 at a value of £75; two young men, David and George (18-20), and two young boys, Enos and Dick (14-16); two middle-aged women, Rachel (35) and Sal (40-45); two younger women, Priscilla (22 or 23) and Sarah (28-30); three young girls, Sal, Bet, and Judith (10-12); and two children, Harry (6) and Jess (2½). HSP, Chew Papers, Box 96.

⁶⁷ There were relatively few estates in the city with gardens sufficiently extensive to require a professional gardener. Those of Charles Norris and William Bingham have already been mentioned. Similarly Chew, who had both a coach and a chariot (phaeton), was one of only 84 carriage owners in Philadelphia in 1772. See Robert F. Oaks, "Big Wheels in Philadelphia: Du Simitière's List of Carriage Owners, *PMHB*, 95 (1971), pp. 351-362.

As an employer, Chew was responsible for providing lodging, board, and clothing for all resident workers whether servants or slaves. Generally all live-in servants shared a similar type of accommodations. Occupying unheated or poorly heated spaces, they slept several to a room on cattail-filled mattresses covered by a single sheet and a blanket. The amenities in their quarters were few; privacy was nonexistent. There is no mention in Chew's accounts of the specific food furnished for his servants, but the pattern in the second half of the eighteenth century for laboring people generally was a diet high in grains (wheat flour for bread, cornmeal, bran, and some rice) with small amounts of meat (primarily beef and veal with smaller quantities of mutton and pork), a few vegetables, fruits in season, dairy products (butter and milk), molasses and brown sugar, and a range of beverages (tea and coffee).⁶⁸

The minimum wardrobe for a laboring male in eighteenth century Philadelphia consisted of a cloth coat, a pair of cloth breeches, two coarse shirts, a pair of stockings, a pair of shoes, and a felt hat.⁶⁹ The comparable female wardrobe was a cloth skirt, two shirts, stockings, and shoes. It was the custom for domestic staff to receive two sets of serviceable clothing annually and Chew's buying pattern seems to fit this profile. It was also common for those servants expected to meet the public to have a

⁶⁸ Billy G. Smith estimated that the daily caloric requirement of a laboring male in Philadelphia in the second half of the eighteenth century was a diet of roughly 3000-3200 calories. This included one and one-third pounds of grains and a half pound of meat daily. Males engaged in heavy labor needed 4550 calories. Females needed about 2500-2650 calories daily; children 1800-2000 calories daily. (In the 1990s, the recommended daily diet for adult males not engaged in heavy labor is approximately 2000-2500 calories; for women, 1500-1800 calories.) Smith also calculated that the cost of feeding a male worker this "typical" diet was £10 a year with expenditures to feed women and children proportionately lower. See Billy G. Smith, *The "Lower Sort": Philadelphia's Laboring People, 1750-1800*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990, pp. 97-103.

⁶⁹ The value of this minimum wardrobe was approximately £4. A woman's wardrobe would have cost roughly the same. See Billy G. Smith, *The "Lower Sort"*, pp. 106-107.

slightly better grade of clothing than did their fellows in less visible positions. Chew's coachmen, for example, were issued leather breeches⁷⁰ rather than the more common twill. Leather had the advantage of being both hard wearing and distinctive; and while not livery in the accepted sense, the choice of leather breeches probably was sufficiently individualizing to present Chew to the public as a prosperous man. Comparatively little specific information is available concerning the wardrobe of Chew's indoor servants. The most frequently mentioned items of servants' apparel in Chew's day book are references to the repair or replacement of shoes for all staff and the purchase of new breeches for coachmen and other male servants. Chew also bought 257 yards of Oznabrig, a coarse, unbleached linen cloth commonly used for such articles of servants' clothing as shirts, trousers, skirts, and aprons.⁷¹ One exception worth mentioning is the extraordinary wardrobe taken by Joseph Badger, an English servant in the elder Chew's employ who ran away in June 1776.

Ran away on Thursday night last,...an English servant man, named John Badger, aged about 19 years, 5 feet 3 or 4 inches high, of ruddy complexion, his eyes grey, his face a little pock-marked, and his hair of a brown colour, curled behind, and turned up before; he had on a lightish coloured short cloth coat and waist coat, with white metal buttons, buckskin breeches, blue and white worsted stockings, a pair of new shoes, a white shirt and English cocked hat, with small gold twist around the crown, and pinchbeck shoe and knee buckles. It is probable that he will change his dress, having carried away with him a claret coloured superfine cloth coat and waistcoat, a whitish coloured cloth coat and waistcoat, and a dark coloured ditto, several white shirts, a pair of English boots, almost new, a pair of speckled silk stockings, with linen soales [soles] to the feet, two pair of white thread ditto, a pair of black worsted ditto, as blue and white silk waistcoat, and a red and white linen ditto. It is thought he intends to enlist himself either in the army or on board some of the ships or gondolas. Whoever takes up the said servant, and secures him, so that his master may get him again, shall have a reward of three pounds,

⁷⁰ Benjamin Chew, Jr.'s cash accounts for 21 March 1778 record expenditures "for Leather Breeches for Bill [coachman William Stuart]--£2.5.0; and for Shoes for Bill--£-.15.-." HSP, Chew Paper, Box 76.

⁷¹ This fairly hard wearing fabric cost only ten-pence a yard, a considerable saving over the least expensive muslin.

and if brought home, reasonable charges.⁷²

Probably these were garments stolen from Chew; if not, Badger was unquestionably the most highly visible of the household staff.

The Chew family's meticulous record keeping provides a means for examining the dynamics of the household. One especially useful window on their activities is the day book kept by Benjamin Chew, Jr., from late November 1777 through June 1779. (Appendix V). With his father under house arrest in New Jersey and British troops occupying the city, twenty-one year old Benjamin Jr. unexpectedly found himself responsible for managing the Third Street household. Kept to inform his father, his accounting of daily cash expenditures offers specifics not only on the personnel and operation of the household staff but also on the activities of family members.

In these accounts, young Chew records the names of sixteen servants, slaves, and regular hires plus an unnamed Nurse. The list identifies seven men: Robert Burnett, the gardener; William Stuart, the coachman; Cyrus, probably a house servant; David, whose specific duties are unknown; Will, a slave who was the elder Chew's personal attendant; Aaron, a slave from Maryland; and Abram, probably also a slave, who died while in Chew's service⁷³. The female staff included: Mrs. Furman, the Nurse; Fan, probably a maid; Nelly and Jenny, whose specific duties are not recorded; Dinah, the wife of Benjamin Chew's servant Will and who died in service⁷⁴; and Priscilla, a slave who may have been Mrs. Chew's personal servant or the cook. Augmenting the domestic staff were three regular hires--washing

⁷² *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 8, 1776. The advertisement appeared through August 7, 1776, when Chew was arrested.

⁷³ On May 19, 1778, young Chew paid David Evans £1.2.6 for a coffin for Abram.

⁷⁴ Chew records the expenditure of £1.5.0 in cash for "burying Dinah" on June 9, 1778.

women Betty and Katy, and Betsy, a seamstress--as well as several unnamed occasional hires providing service as modistes, additional washing and ironing women, wood cutters, chimney sweeps, and mowers and harvesters.

The Chew household was organized into two broad groups--those with outside duties (specifically gardeners and coachmen) and those who worked in the house (cooks, maids and waiters, and personal attendants). In each group there was a hierarchy based on the skills required for the position, on the range of responsibility, and, in part, on their public visibility. This hierarchical structure was most noticeable in the matter of wages.

Leading the staff in compensation was Chew's gardener, Robert Burnett, who worked for the family from 1771 to the fall of 1780.⁷⁵ During that time, Burnett received £35 in cash annually in addition to room, board, and clothing valued at approximately £25.⁷⁶ Because the grounds (gardens, orchards and fields) served as an index of his employer's wealth and taste, Burnett was expected to be accomplished in the main branches of

⁷⁵ Notice of his death appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, November 15, 1781.

⁷⁶ This figure (with housing, food, and clothing supplied) is roughly the median annual wage for laborers in Philadelphia. Billy G. Smith has estimated that in 1762 a male laborer working six days a week throughout the year would earn £59.3.0 but problems of full employment would reduce his actual wage to closer to £50 a year. Women could expect to earn only half that much or roughly £25 a year. According to his calculations, the annual budget for necessities (housing, food, clothing, and firewood for cooking and heating) for a family of four was approximately £60. See Billy G. Smith, *The "Lower Sort"*, pp. 107-112. Comparison with the wages of mariners and skilled artisans helps to put these figures in perspective. Common seamen earned £4.10 per month or £49 annually if fully employed; mates received £5.4 per month or £64 a year. Sandra Mackenzie Lloyd assembled corresponding wage data for the building trades in her research on colonial and federal period houses in Philadelphia. The master carpenter at Mount Pleasant (built between 1761 and 1763) was paid at a rate of 7/6 per day or roughly £97.10.0 annually. Journeymen carpenters received 5/0 a day or £65 a year; apprentice carpenters were paid 3/6 per day or £45.10.0 per year. These figures presume full employment six days a week throughout the year; actual income was considerably less. I am indebted to Sandra Lloyd for sharing this data.

horticulture, or as one eighteenth century writer put it, "to be well acquainted with the cultivation of fruits, flowers, vegetables, and in general everything growing in the gardens either for pleasure or use."⁷⁷ Reconstructing Burnett's specific duties is challenging since Chew's accounts offer few clues. The best general outline of recommended activities comes from the gardener's manuals.⁷⁸ Beyond planting three cherry trees and unspecified seed, the only mentions of garden/ farm-related activities are the purchase of two axes and two hoes⁷⁹ and supplying "whiskey for Robert [Burnett] while mow[ing]."⁸⁰

Despite the lack of specifics, Burnett's sphere of responsibility was extensive. Not only did he supervised the gardens and grounds at the town house, he also had similar duties at "Cliveden" and at "Whitehall," their farm in Delaware, during the family's political exile. At each site, Burnett supervised the care of the gardens, grounds, and orchards, engaged the "occasional hires" for planting and harvesting, kept track of their hours, and submitted the schedule of payments to Chew, activities within the general scope of a head gardener's duties. But Chew's cash accounts for the period also reveal an unexpected facet of Burnett's office. Every few days, on a regular basis, he was entrusted with cash for marketing. This seems to be at variance with the standard division of household responsibilities in which food

⁷⁷ Anthony Heasel, *The Servant's Book of Knowledge* (1773), quoted by J. Jean Hecht, *The Domestic Servants in Eighteenth-Century England*, London, Boston and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1956; reprinted 1980, p. 48.

⁷⁸ See Philip Miller's *The Gardener's Kalendar* (London: 1775) and Bernard M'Mahon's *The American Gardener's Calendar* (Philadelphia: 1806) for month-by-month recommendations on the work necessary in gardens, grounds, orchards, nurseries, and propagating structures. They outline a routine of soil preparation, planting, fertilizing, weeding, mulching, pruning, lawn care, walk and path maintenance, fence and garden furniture maintenance, propagation, and cleanup that remains applicable today.

⁷⁹ Chew paid Miller £15 for these items on February 4, 1779.

⁸⁰ August 13, 1778. Similar purchases during the planting and harvesting seasons confirm that this was a common practice for farm field hands.

purchases normally were the prerogative of someone working inside the house, generally the housekeeper or the cook.

In the Chew family's domestic hierarchy, the coachman placed a close second to the gardener because a carriage, like an impressive garden, was a highly visible symbol of wealth. Chew's ownership of both a coach and a chariot (phaeton) represented a major expenditure both for the vehicles themselves and for their on-going cost of operation. William Stuart was the last and longest-employed of the coachmen who worked for Chew in the 1770s.⁸¹ Hired in December 1774 or January 1775 at the rate of £30 a year, he remained with the family at least through the middle of 1779.

While driving skills were the most obvious requirement for his job, Stuart devoted relatively little of his day to this activity. He spent most of his time in and around the stable caring for the horses, the vehicles, and the tack.⁸² A large part of his daily morning routine was feeding, watering, and grooming the horses, cleaning out the stalls, and refreshing the bedding. At the end of the day, he saw that the horses were properly stabled and the carriages and tack cleaned and prepared for the next day's activities.⁸³ Payments for the purchase of stable and coach brushes and lamp black document some of

⁸¹ Benjamin Chew, Sr.'s Receipt Book lists William Watson who received his quarterly wages of £7.10.0 (£30 annually) on June 20, 1771. John Keith was hired in late 1771 at a rate of £25.10 per year. In December 1773 he concluded a new agreement with the elder Chew that raised his annual wage to £30, but with this increase Keith was required to provide his own clothing. Keith left Chew's service in December 1774 and was replaced by William Stuart (or Stewart). The senior Chew records the name as "William Stewart" in his Receipt Book; his son lists it as "William Stuart" in his cash book.

⁸² For specifics see Robert McClure, *The Gentleman's Stable Guide*, Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1870 or George A. Martin, *The Family Horse; Its Stabling, Care and Feeding*, New York: Orange Judd Company, 1895 (reprint of 1895 edition, Croton-on-Hudson, NY: North River Press, 1977).

⁸³ Prescriptive literature recommended that vehicles be washed with cold water daily to remove dirt and mud before they were put away. The process included sponging the body and panels, cleaning the wheels with a spoke brush, polishing the windows with a dry chamois cloth, sweeping the cushions and

these activities. Major repairs to the vehicles were handled by specialists outside Chew's personal staff. The cash book lists minor payments to a glazier for mending the glass in the phaeton and to a wheelwright or blacksmith for mending the coach wheels. No specifics are given for the repairs made by coachmaker Michael Caner, but his bill for £9 suggests that they were extensive. Strangely absent from Chew's records are entries for such routine expenses as feed, bedding straw, and horse shoes.

The coachman's duties, like those of the gardener, remained the same whether the family was in town or out at Cliveden. It is difficult to know whether Stuart handled all these tasks by himself or whether he was assisted by other male servants and slaves in the family's employ. Chew's accounts do not specify the duties assigned to Cyrus, David, Aaron, and Abram, but like most domestic employees, they may have been expected to work as needed either in the house or outside.

If outdoor work was primarily a male world, service within the house was largely the domain of women. Semi-skilled and unskilled white and black women labored in the three major areas of domestic activity centering on culinary matters, cleaning and laundry, and personal service. These types of duties rarely required pre-existing occupational skills, and because they could be performed by a large pool of available workers at the bottom of the economic spectrum, the pay scale was commensurately lower. In the Chew household, the majority of house servants generally received less than half the annual salary paid to the gardener or coachman. A notable exception was the cook whose job required a mastery of the minimum culinary skills of "plain cooking." Her wage averaged about £15-£20 a year; one whose skill extended to the art of confectioner could expect to be compensated at a higher level.

lining with a duster or fine-haired brush, cleaning and polishing the metal fittings, and greasing the axles. Tack was expected to receive similar treatment every time it was used. Harnesses required wiping with a damp sponge (or washing when dirty), drying, blackening with a tinted beeswax paste, and a final polishing with a brush.

In the absence of a paid housekeeper, the cook controlled all aspects of the culinary department. Working from before sun up till late in the evening, seven days a week, her primary duties included preparing meals for the family and staff, supervising the washing up, and superintending the cleanliness of the kitchen and pantry.⁸⁴ Chew's records do not name the family's cook during this period.

Feeding twenty-five people (family and household staff) daily was an enormous undertaking, one which the cook could not manage single-handed. With the possible exception of the Nurse, all female servants and slaves (Fan, Nelly, Jenny, Priscilla, and Dinah) would have been pressed into service as needed. She also could expect some help from the male servants (Cyrus and David) and slaves (Arron and Abram) assigned to the house.

The basic diet (meats, grains, vegetables, fruits, and beverages) was similar for family and staff, although the family diet was considerably higher in meats, vegetables, and fruits, and proportionately lower in grains than that of their servants.⁸⁵ Marketing was an almost daily event, with servants shopping at the large market on High Street or at the stalls of specialized local vendors. Staples such as meat, sugar, butter, tea, and coffee were purchased in bulk. Meats--primarily beef and pork, but occasionally

⁸⁴ See Hannah Glasse, *The Servant's Directory, or House-Keeper's Companion*, London: W. Johnston, 1760. See also J. Jean Hecht, *The Domestic Servants in Eighteenth-Century England*, pp. 42-45, and 65, and Karie Diethorn, "Domestic Servants in Philadelphia," pp. 48-49.

⁸⁵ Of the several English cook books available in America in the eighteenth century, the most widely circulated were Eliza Smith, *The Compleat Housewife: or Accomplish'd Gentlewoman's Companion*, (first American edition, Williamsburg, 1742; and subsequent editions), and Hannah Glasse, *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*, (London, 1747). For bibliography on cooking and household management see: Virginia Maclean, *A Short-title Catalogue of Household and Cookery Books published in the English Tongue 1701-1800*, (London: Prospect Books, 1981); and Eleanor Lowenstein, *Bibliography of American Cookery Books 1742-1860*, (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society; New York: Corner Book Shop, 1972).

veal and mutton--came from a variety of suppliers both in and outside the city. Specific purchases of fowl and fish, considered a basic component of English cuisine, are mentioned infrequently but may have been included in regular marketing expenditures. Sugar, an essential item in every well-stocked kitchen, figured in most routine household cooking as well as in the production of desserts, sweetmeats, and confections for entertaining. It was available in several grades from raw brown sugar to the more expensive refined variety found in white cone-shaped loaves. The Chews bought both brown and white sugar in quantities up to sixty-four pound loaves. In general there is a pattern of monthly purchases of white loaf-sugar with brown sugar bought less frequently. Tea and coffee were both household and social beverages. Chew's records for 1778-1779 show the purchase of various kinds of green (Hyson) and black (Souchong and Bohea) teas in quantities from one to ten pounds. In the same eighteen-month period, the family also bought a good deal of coffee while there are only three purchases of chocolate, a breakfast potable generally reserved for the family.

Barrels of flour, buckwheat, hominy, and rice were purchased at intervals. Local bakers supplied the family's bread at least from September 1778 through June 1779. But there are also routine outlays for yeast throughout the entire period and it is difficult to know whether it was used in bread baking, as leaven for cakes, or in making home-brewed beer and ale. Monthly payments for butter indicate that it was bought routinely from commercial sources although the family did keep some cattle. Almost totally absent from the records are mentions of vegetables and fruits. Probably these were bought at market with other perishables or were part of the foodstuffs supplied routinely from outside the city.

If cooking was primarily an in-house activity, cleaning/ care of the house and laundry demanded the services of both the resident staff for routine daily tasks and a variety of casual laborers hired for specific or recurring jobs. Cleaning generally was the province of the maid. In a house of this size, at

least two maids were needed to prepare all the public rooms for the day's activities and attend to the family's living areas on a daily basis.⁸⁶ While cleaning was the primary activity, a maid could be pressed into service to wait on tables at family meals or when the family entertained. And if a maid showed any talent with a needle, she would also be enlisted to assist in making repairs to bed hangings, curtains, or carpets.

Young Chew's accounts note some of the supplies necessary for household maintenance. The purchase of sweeping brushes, on three occasions, and thread "to mend carpet" indicate some of the routine activities. The largest expenditures for household maintenance came in the purchase of candles.⁸⁷ In the eighteenth month period of Benjamin Jr.'s records, the family bought at least 94½ pounds of candles costing almost £19.

Chew's records fail to identify any specific employee as a "housemaid," but it seems likely that Fan, Nelly, or Jenny held this type of position. There is no specific schedule of wages for them, but the average salary would have been about £10 a year.

Annually, in the spring and occasionally again in the fall, the daily household routine was disrupted by a major cleaning. As part of this ritual, all household furnishings were dusted, cleaned, and polished. Most of the domestic staff was pressed into service to scrub the plaster walls, paneling, and

⁸⁶ The duties of the resident staff included sweeping and dusting, removing the remains of the previous day's fires, laying new fires and lighting those necessary for the family's comfort, trimming wicks or replacing candles so that rooms would be adequately lit, airing and making beds, dumping slops from the wash bowls, emptying and cleaning chamber pots, and re-laying chamber fires. The pattern for cleaning service areas is less clear, but at a minimum these rooms would have received a heavy cleaning weekly. See J. Jean Hecht, *Domestic Servants*, pp. 66ff; and Karie Diethorn, "*Domestic Servants in Philadelphia*," p. 54-56.

⁸⁷ Spermaceti and molded candles provided light in the public areas. Molded candles were used in the family's quarters. Servants' areas generally were lit with dipped tallow candles or less expensive waxed rushes.

floors and to wash the windows in each room. Chimney sweeps appeared to clean the flues and freshen the hearths. In the Chew household, only some of the chimneys were cleaned in the spring; the remainder were cleaned later in the year. Normally, whitewashers recoated discolored plaster walls as a part of the annual cleaning, but this service is missing from Chew's records for 1777-1779. In the unhappy event that bugs were discovered in the bedding or other furniture, unusual disinfecting procedures took over. Regular purchases of brimstone for debugging, as recommended by Hannah Glasse,⁸⁸ or tobacco, another treatment, indicate that insect control was an ongoing problem in the Chew household as it was in most Philadelphia homes.

Another time-consuming activity was the laundry. It was no easy task in a household the size of the Chews. Not only did Betty and Katy, the Chew's resident washing women, have to provide clean clothes for Chew's family of twelve, more than a third of whom were under the age of ten, they also were charged with a similar service for those servants whose compensation included laundry. Clearly they required outside assistance to fulfill their obligation. Benjamin Chew Jr.'s accounts for the period indicate that additional washing and ironing women were hired on a temporary basis. Possibly they were given the household linens while Chew's in-house staff dealt with the family wardrobe.

Laundry was heavy, messy, and exhausting work. Since the house did not have running water, the wash women (or possibly men on the domestic staff) drew water from the house well, carried it to the kitchen or wash house fireplace where it was heated in large cauldrons, and then transferred it into the wash tubs. A good part of their day was spent stirring the clothes to keep them from burning. After several washings and rinsings, the clothes were set out to dry. Dried laundry was ironed on large, four

⁸⁸ See Hannah Glasse, *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* (1747), 7th edition, London: Printed for A. Millar, J. and R. Tonson, W. Strathan, and B. Law, 1760, pp. 329-330. Reprint of the 1796 edition, Hamden, CT: Anchor Books, and Wakefield, Yorkshire, UK: S. R. Publishers, 1971.

by six-foot ironing boards set on trestles⁸⁹ using a variety of flat (or sad) irons and cylindrical goffering irons. These irons functioned satisfactorily only when heated and this meant an open fire or a heated stove even in summer. Under ideal conditions the washing process took two or three days weekly with the ironing adding another couple of days. If done biweekly, the time doubled. And throughout the process, the washing women were at the mercy of both inclement weather and, in the urban setting, airborne soot. The remuneration for such messy, back-breaking work was less than a shilling a day. This averages as little as £10 a year making washing and ironing women the least well-paid of all the servants.

Every household the size of the Chew's had servants whose primary responsibility was to provide personal service for individual members of the family. Chew's manservant was a slave named Will who was purchased in St. Croix in 1772 at a value of £75. Will accompanied his master to New Jersey when Chew was placed under house arrest during the early years of the Revolution.⁹⁰ By 1779 Will was married and had a family. His wife, Dinah, may have been Mrs. Chew's personal maid or the position may have gone to one of the other slaves.

Chew's household staff included a resident nurse, Mrs. Furman, whose primary responsibility was care of the younger children. Relatively few families maintained this position on a long-term basis, but her presence was essential in a home where a child was born every year or so. Mrs. Furman's annual wage of £19.10.0 was the highest of all the women on Chew's domestic staff.

The Chews also employed a number of temporary workers. On several occasions, Benjamin Jr.

⁸⁹ Benjamin Chew ordered an ironing board of this type from Germantown carpenter George Knorr in September 1797. CLIV, DOC IV-150.

⁹⁰ Will remained with the family until Benjamin Chew's death in 1810. He may have been one of the free blacks listed in Chew's household in the 1810 census.

notes the presence of a seamstress named Betsy. Her wage of 7/6 a day (the scale of a master carpenter) indicated that her skills extended beyond mending and altering garments, marking household linens, and repairing curtains, bed hangings, and carpets to those of a modiste or dressmaker. In this position she was expected to be familiar with the latest English (and French) fashions and to be sufficiently accomplished to reproduce them. In October 1778 Betsy was employed for sixteen days designing and fabricating new clothes for the ladies of the house. She was reimbursed for eight days work in February 1779 and for an additional twenty days the following June.

No household could function effectively without a constant supply of wood for cooking and heating. Since neither the Third Street property nor Cliveden included a wood lot, the family was obliged to purchase timber from a variety of sources generally outside the city. Cutting it into usable lengths may have been a task assigned to slaves; Chew's day book for 1778 lists only two casual workers--Byrnes and Ferguson--and one unidentified laborer who were reimbursed for cutting wood.

Being employed in the Third Street house could not have been easy. For much of the year, a servant's day both began and ended by candlelight. In all probability it started at 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning, long before the family stirred, and finished late in the evening after the beds had been warmed, the house secured, and the master and mistress had retired for the night. Without exception their work was physically demanding. And those whose duties were in public areas had the added challenge of completing their tasks without impinging on public or family activities. If by today's standards, Chew's domestic servants seemed overworked and underpaid, they were, in fact, treated fairly well. They were adequately housed, clothed, and fed, and probably enjoyed a standard of living at least equal to or even better than that of the average laborer. In fact, the elder Chew probably considered the relationship

between family and staff as paternalistic.⁹¹ The truth of this was confirmed in a letter from Benjamin Chew, Jr., to his mother describing his meeting with a former family maid in England.

[A] servant...broke in upon me with a message that a woman had called from the country and wished to see me. On her being admitted...no other than Roché our former maid, in tears, vastly agitated in the pleasure of seeing me--for which purpose she has travelled near sixty miles.... She was really so affected and spoke with so much repentance of her ever having left the Family, that she seemed to consider her present situation as a punishment on her, accusing herself of ingratitude. Her affection however to the family is not abated and shewed itself on her producing a pocket book given her by Sophia with a lock of her hair [and] by her shedding a flood of tears. She looked somewhat old but not much wrinkled being twice as fat as when she left America. From her account, she has gone thro' many hardships and now lives at 8 Guineas a year, finding tea, sugar & something else, working much more severely than she was accustomed to with us, as indeed is the case with most of the Women servants here....⁹²

The key to the smooth running of the Third Street house was the daily supervision of a structured pattern of chores. It fell to Elizabeth Chew (Fig. 8), as mistress, to see that these tasks were performed efficiently and economically. Hers was the responsibility for balancing family needs against servants' routines. She had to assure that meals were ready on schedule, that the house was presentable for visitors, that there was adequate clean laundry, that torn household linens were mended and new linens made and marked, and that members of the family--especially the women--were appropriately and fashionably dressed. Superintending this household was no easy task given the size of the staff and the variety of concurrent activities. She probably was assisted on a routine basis by the older girls. This provided practical experience that was an important part of their education. They, and the younger girls in turn, used the training to develop the skills needed to run their own households.

⁹¹ His son's day book for March 30, 1779, lists a £10.10.0 payment for the "hospital account for Dinah," one of the slaves. She subsequently died and Chew paid £1.5.0 for her burial costs (June 9, 1778). His payment for hospital costs was made after the fact.

⁹² Letter from Benjamin Chew, Jr. (London) to his mother, Elizabeth Chew (Philadelphia), July 30, 1785. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 45.

Managing the house occupied a good deal of her time, but as a practical matter, Mrs. Chew's day also was ordered by the competing demands of her roles as mother and hostess. Of all her activities, none had more long term importance than her charge in raising her children. Throughout the eighteenth century, most American women married between the ages of nineteen and twenty-three.⁹³ Generally, the first child was born within a year and subsequent siblings arrived at two- or three-year intervals during the period of childbearing.⁹⁴ Elizabeth Chew fits this general pattern. Married at twenty-five to a widower with four young daughters (the eldest only fifteen years her junior), her first child was born when she was twenty-six; her last when she was forty-seven. Given the hazards of childbirth and the rate of infant mortality, it is remarkable that she survived and that eight of her nine children reached adulthood.⁹⁵

The documents offer no insights into her pregnancies, the deliveries, or the nursing and weaning of babies after birth. Perhaps these details were considered too common place to be recorded. Nor is there much specific information on the daily routine of caring for the children who, at a minimum, had to be washed, dressed, fed, and watched to see that they came to no harm. While Mrs. Chew may have supervised these activities initially, it seems likely that, as the number of offspring increased, she transferred this task to the nurse. The older girls also assisted in caring for their younger siblings; this, too, was valuable training for them for the future.

Practical experience was a major component of the Chew girls' education. Beyond assisting

⁹³ Jack Larkin, The Reshaping of Everyday Life 1790-1830, New York: Harper & Row, 1988, p. 63.

⁹⁴ Jack Larkin, The Reshaping of Everyday Life 1790-1830, p. 67.

⁹⁵ Joseph Turner Chew, born March 9, 1763, died of a "sore throat" at seventeen months.

their mother in supervising the servants or in caring for younger siblings, the girls probably were encouraged to learn money management by keeping accounts of their expenses.⁹⁶ Later manuals on child rearing also would recommend that the older girls be taught "to take entire care of their own clothes and of all light and easy work necessary in their own apartments."⁹⁷ It seems unlikely that this injunction was followed by the Chew girls. Surprisingly absent from the records is any evidence that the girls were required to learn sewing and embroidery, skills strongly recommended in later instructional literature. Moreover, although schoolgirl embroidery was a common part of female education in Philadelphia at the time, no family needlework survives today. Were needlework tasks simply assigned to the domestic staff? Did all examples of the girls' work leave the immediate family in the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries? Or were they destroyed in the Coach House fire at Cliveden in 1970? No easy answer is apparent.

Very young children had a schedule circumscribed by feeding and sleeping. As they grew older, the pattern was one of more flexible activities including both play and study. Despite the absence of documentary references or surviving artifacts, the Chew children probably enjoyed the same types of leisure activities as their contemporaries. Paintings of the period depict children with such playthings as pasteboard toys, pull toys, dolls, tops, cards, rocking horses, hoops and rolling sticks, pictures, and books. Each object had educational value because even at play children were expected to be learning.

Structured education was a vital component of child rearing⁹⁸ and formal learning undoubtedly

⁹⁶ By the 1770s, both mathematics and accounts (elementary bookkeeping) were part of the curriculum of most schools open to girls.

⁹⁷ Lydia Maria Child, The Mother's Book, Boston: Carter and Hardee, 1831, (facsimile of the 2nd edition), p. 63.

⁹⁸ The specifics of conventional education differed from one economic level to another. In the last

was an integral part of the Chew children's day. Following the accepted pattern, their study would have begun as two- and three-year olds learning the alphabet and their numbers. Once these skills were mastered, they moved on to reading, grammar, spelling, and writing. Formal schooling began when a child was about seven. It has long been assumed that there was a great disparity in education between the sexes, with opportunities for girls often lagging behind those available to boys. In the case of the Chew family, this difference may be more perceived than real. The details of Benjamin Chew, Jr.'s schooling are well documented. In many respects it was similar to that of other boys of his economic standing. His well-thumbed copy of Wetenhall's Latin Grammar,⁹⁹ inscribed "Benjamin Chew at 9 o'clock bought the 10 of June 1769," confirms that by the time he was eleven he was enrolled in the Academy in preparation for his eventual matriculation to the College of Philadelphia (later the University of Pennsylvania). At a minimum, young Chew received instruction in reading, penmanship, arithmetic, Latin (and possibly Greek), and geography.¹⁰⁰ Chew graduated from the College of Philadelphia in 1775 as valedictorian. His plan to follow his father in a legal career was temporarily interrupted by the outbreak of war, but once hostilities ceased, he was able to travel to London where, like his father, he

quarter of the eighteenth century, Philadelphia boasted a range of formal school experiences from free schools for the poor to private schools for the more affluent. There were options for day and boarding schools as well as in-home tutoring. Even within the artisan community, many apprentices received some instruction in reading and writing along with trade skills.

⁹⁹ Edward Wetenhall, A Short Introduction to GRAMMAR For the Use of the College and Academy in Philadelphia, Philadelphia, 1762.

¹⁰⁰ One indication of the range of knowledge considered necessary for a well-schooled upper class youth can be gleaned from an advertisement for the Academy in Leeds (England) which appeared in the Pennsylvania Journal, October 11, 1770. This school offered instruction "in English and other modern languages, the classics, penmanship, arithmetic, merchants accounts, mathematics, modern geography, experimental philosophy and astronomy, for Twenty Guineas per Ann[um] if under twelve years of age. ... Drawing, Music and dancing are extra charges."

read law at Middle Temple, the finest British law school of the day, from 1784 to 1786.

Parallel data on his sisters' education, especially that afforded his older stepsisters, is considerably less detailed. It is difficult to know precisely what type of structured training was available for girls in the 1760s, but it is clear that they received more than basic instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Their letters demonstrate that they had an excellent command of the English language, observed the conventions of standardized spelling, and wrote a legible hand. The pattern of schooling for the younger Chew girls is much clearer. After a period of in-home instruction, several of the girls attended Matthew Maguire's school for young ladies in Laetitia Court. His advertisement outlined the curriculum:

As I have discovered sundry inconveniences to result from teaching Youth of both sexes, and have been frequently solicited by several respectable families, in the city, to establish a SCHOOL, for the instruction of YOUNG LADIES only, in READING, WRITING, ARITHMETIC and ACCOMPTS; I shall on Monday the Eight of October inst. open a school for said purpose, in Laetitia Court, Contiguous to Front, Second and Market-streets. As the utility of such an undertaking (properly conducted) is undeniably evident, I hope for the encouragement of the Public, which I shall endeavour to deserve, by an unceasing assiduity to promote the improvement of my PUPILS, in the aforesaid branches, as also in having the strictest regard to their morals.

Such (Misses) as are obliged to attend other Schools I shall take for half days. MATTHEW MAGUIRE¹⁰¹

Benjamin Chew recorded the payment of £4.19.2 to Maguire on June 7, 1773, and an additional £10.2.0 on May 30, 1774. The first represents an expenditure for Peggy's schooling (she was 13 at the time) and the second for Peggy and her nine year old sister Juliana. Peggy's studies also included French. Between August 26 and December 15, 1778, Benjamin Chew, Jr., paid £19.10.0 to a French master to tutor Peggy in the language plus an additional £4.10 for a French grammar. Other payments for education include one from young Chew to Sarah Thomas on September 16, 1778, for £9.16.8 "for

¹⁰¹ Pennsylvania Journal, October 4, 1771.

childrens schooling," probably for teaching Juliana (age 13) and Henrietta (age 11). Whether this was done in a school or as in-home tutoring is not clear.

* Later instructional manuals would encourage young ladies to study both classical (Latin) and modern languages (French, and possibly Italian), history (to develop logical thinking) and geography (to know where events took place), natural history and natural sciences (to familiarize themselves with the great laws of the universe), and literature. Reading was especially encouraged with the recommendation that special attention be paid to works that developed and reinforced a sense of morals; novels and romance were generally to be avoided. The purpose of all these studies was for the young lady to acquire a cultivated mind permitting her to engage gracefully in general conversation and be at ease in polite society.¹⁰²

Of all the children's studies, both practical and formal, none were more important than those which taught genteel behavior. Gentility, for the eighteenth century, was more than simple polish; it combined manners, graceful movement, and proper dress. It was a goal of all members of the Chews' social set as well as for those with pretensions to fashionable society. One method of instruction was the advice manual. One of the most popular was Lord Chesterfield's Letters to His Son, published in London in 1774.¹⁰³ It offered advice on a variety of topics from the choice of companions and employment of time to carriage, address, laughter, modesty, and cleanliness. Copies of the book first appeared in Philadelphia in 1775 in an edition published that year in New York. So popular was the text that it was reprinted in various forms into the 1860s. While there is no record that the Chews owned a copy, the information contained in the book was sufficiently well known to have been available

¹⁰² The Young Lady's Own Book, Philadelphia: Key, Mielke & Biddle, 1832, pp. 72-78.

¹⁰³ Philip Dormer Stanhope, Letters to His Son on Men and Manners, London, 1774.

to them.

In all the instructional literature, much emphasis is placed on mastering the proper manner of speaking and conversing. The ability to converse intelligently on a number of subjects was one of the key elements of social intercourse because, properly done, it displayed both knowledge and elegance. "The art of speaking well," wrote Lord Chesterfield, "is useful in every situation of life, and absolutely necessary in most. A man ... who speaks with propriety and accuracy will have a great advantage over those who speak inelegantly and incorrectly."¹⁰⁴ In polite conversation, men were expected to signal their education through the subtle display of wit and worldly knowledge, while women were excused from a similar demonstration of either breadth or depth of learning. As one later writer observed:

In no subject is [a young lady] required to be deep; of none ought she to be ignorant. If she knows not enough to speak well, she should know enough to keep...from speaking at all;... enough to hear with intelligence, to ask questions with propriety, and to receive information when she is not qualified to give it.¹⁰⁵

Letter writing, an extension of conversation, was speech committed to paper, a skill needed both for business and pleasure. Letters were expected to convey ideas clearly and succinctly. Errors in style, usage, or spelling indicated a lack of education and were to be avoided. As Lord Chesterfield cautioned his son: "Inaccuracies...are never pardoned... [except] in ladies, nor is hardly pardonable in them. ... One false spelling may fix a ridicule on...[a gentleman] for the rest of his life..."¹⁰⁶ Standardized spelling was hardly routine at this time. It was quite common for letters to contain words written more or less phonetically, and a mastery of spelling reflected a level of education generally available only to the more

¹⁰⁴ Lord Chesterfield, Advice to His Son, on Men and Manners, or a New System of Education, Philadelphia: Printed for T. Dobson, 1787, pp. 120-121.

¹⁰⁵ The Young Lady's Own Book, Philadelphia: Key, Mielke & Biddle, 1832, p. 72.

¹⁰⁶ Lord Chesterfield, Advice to His Son, pp. 71 and 74.

affluent.

If conversation and letter writing focused on verbal skills, dancing provided the opportunity to demonstrate physical grace and fine manners. Books of manners offered instruction on posture and movement based on the proper positioning of the head and feet. Depending on the activity, the head would be held erect or inclined slightly; feet invariably were turned outward so that the figure appeared firmly balanced yet light and easy while standing, walking, or dancing.¹⁰⁷ There were rules for every type of movement. Gleaned from etiquette books and reinforced by dancing masters, graceful movement was learned in a painstaking process requiring time and practice.

It is reasonable to assume that all the Chew children received some type of dancing instruction, but the only early record is of Thomas Pike, a dancing master who was engaged in 1775 to teach fifteen year old Peggy the fine points of the art.¹⁰⁸ Presumably these lessons were given at home because shortly afterwards Pike advertised the opening of a formal school:

DANCING and FENCING. Mr. Pike proposes to open his SCHOOL; for the instruction of young LADIES, on Monday, September the 18th, 1775, at the Lodge-Room, in Lodge-Alley, and to continue three days every week from eight o'clock in the morning to one. -- From four o'clock on the same days to eight in the evening, for young GENTLEMEN.

Gentlemen who have not been instructed in their childhood, or may have forgot, will have the opportunity of an EVENING SCHOOL every Tuesday and Thursday, from six o'clock to nine....¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ F. Nivelon, Nivelon's Rudiments of Genteel Behavior, London, 1737, p. 1.

¹⁰⁸ Pike was paid £3.8.0 on September 14, 1775.

¹⁰⁹ Pennsylvania Journal, September 20, 1775. The following year he advertised in the Pennsylvania Journal (March 13, 1776) that he had moved his business to:

The house lately occupied by David Franks, Esq., in Second-street nearly opposite to Comb's Alley where he has provided a very large room for the more convenient accommodation of such gentlemen who chuse [sic] to learn the use of the SMALL SWORD:-- ...

He continues to teach young ladies and gentlemen in his other branch of business from

Three years later Peggy would use her dancing skills to advantage when, accompanied by her twenty-five year old stepsister Sarah, she attended the "Mischianza," the most important social event in Philadelphia during the Revolution. Held at Walnut Grove on May 18, 1778, the "Mischianza" was organized as a farewell fête honoring General Sir William Howe before his scheduled return to London.¹¹⁰

Another prerequisite of gentility was proper dress. Appearance was important because it served both as an indicator of character and as an index of social status. Since proper body posture was important, whether performing social rituals or in repose, clothing was constructed to reinforce elegant carriage. It is not by chance that fashionable dresses were fitted with stays to slim the waist, visually and genuinely. Similarly, the emphasis in men's fashions was a slender formfitting line. The end result in both cases was a style which suggested youth¹¹¹ and in which fashion outweighed physical comfort.

As a public official, personal appearance was very important to Benjamin Chew, and it should come as no surprise that the expenses for dressing himself and the members of his family represent a major allocation of his disposable income. In the years leading to the Revolution, payments to his tailor, John Cottringer, for his own wardrobe fluctuated between £30 and £80 annually. (The lower figure is equivalent to the annual cash salary paid to his coachman.) This sum does not include clothing

eight o'clock in the morning to one.

An Evening School for gentlemen who have not had the opportunity of learning proper Address, every evening from five to nine.

¹¹⁰ The event included a procession of decorated water craft moving along the waterfront, a mock tournament of medieval knights, an elaborate banquet, dancing and card playing, and a colorful display of fireworks. For a description of the activities see John W. Jackson, With the British Army in Philadelphia 1777-1778, San Rafael, CA: Presidio Press, 1979, pp. 235-249.

¹¹¹ Powdered wigs worn by both young and old served to unify all ages.

purchased directly from England. Nor does it cover the cost of shirts, stockings, shoes, hats, and other accessories. Chew also employed the services of a barber, William Maris, who was paid £2.10 annually to see that his hair was properly dressed. In a household with several marriageable daughters, it was important that they be fashionably outfitted as well. Records for money spent to costume the women are incomplete, possibly because Mrs. Chew paid for some of the purchases from her own accounts. Young Chew's enumeration of the cash paid during his father's incarceration lists purchases of fabric, gloves, handkerchiefs, stays, shoes, buckles, and combs. It also includes three separate payments to a seamstress for fashioning dresses for the ladies, a modest 15 shillings spent for making a gown for Juliana after the birth of her first child, and an extravagant £12.5.0 expended for a robe à la français¹¹² for Nancy Chew, the eldest daughter then at home. His accounts also include two payments for services to Henry Meyer,¹¹³ his barber, and an additional £6.7.6 to Meyer for oil, orange water, and lavender. Between 1773 and 1776, Chew paid the firm of LiBlank & Wagner, barbers who dressed the hair of "Mrs. Chew and the ladies"¹¹⁴ between £10 and £18 a year. There also are several expenditures for "powder" but it is unclear whether this refers to face powder or powder for dressing wigs.

Given Benjamin Chew's political position and the presence of several marriageable daughters, the Third Street house should have been a center of social activity with Mrs. Chew fulfilling her

¹¹² This most fashionable of eighteenth century gown designs featured a loose fitting dress with pleats at the back and open at the front, a petticoat (skirt), and a fitted bodice worn over a corset and panniers (hoops supporting the wide skirt). Garments of this type required yards of expensive fabrics and often were ornamented with lace, ribbons, or other decorative trim.

¹¹³ Meyer appears in Benjamin Chew, Sr.'s receipt book between 1771 and 1776 as Henrich Mair, Henrich Mier, and Henry Mayer.

¹¹⁴ Bill from LiBlank & Wagner, October 18, 1775. BCRB.

obligations as hostess to family, friends, and her husband's business associates. Despite the wealth of family papers available, specific references are few and detail often comes, not from members of the family, but from outside observers. The best known gathering, in the pre-Revolutionary period, occurred during the first Continental Congress when John Adams, George Washington and the members of the Virginia delegation, and a number of prominent Philadelphians dined with Chew at his town house. Adams' diary entry lists some of the delicacies served and suggests the level of hospitality provided:

Turtle, and every other thing, flummery, jellies, sweetmeats of twenty sorts, trifles, whipped sillabub, floating island, fools etc. and then a dessert of fruits, rasins, almonds, pears, peaches, Wines most excellent and admirable. I drank Madeira at a great rate....¹¹⁵

Regrettably, there are few parallel references although a certain amount of business entertaining was to be expected.

Wealthy members of the community spent at least part of their time in an elaborate network of social exchange. There was a formal structure of morning, afternoon, and evening calls regulated by a complex etiquette governing their length and frequency. Formal calling probably was considerably less enjoyable an activity than visiting friends or receiving friends at home. One wonders whether the Chew girls shared Susanna Dillwyn's opinion of the practice.

Few things give one more satisfaction than friendly visits from those we love, but these formal stupid visits where people often meet without the least connexion or friendship out of mere form are I think very disagreeable, as well as a silly waste of time¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Entry of October 22, 1774. Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, L. H. Butterfield (ed.), Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961, Vol. II, p. 136.

¹¹⁶ Letter from Susanna Dillwyn (Philadelphia) to her father William Dillwyn (London), May 21, 1790. LCP, Dillwyn Papers, F-13.

There was the full range of more personal social diversions--teas, dinners and suppers, and evening receptions; and in the 1780s, card parties were added to the list of entertainments. Not surprisingly, during the British occupation of the city from September 1777 to June 1778, the Chew ladies moved in a circle that was largely Tory and almost exclusively Anglican. They were routine visitors to the home of Grace Growden Galloway, wife of Loyalist Joseph Galloway who had fled the city with the British, where they were likely to meet the John Lawrences, the Allens, Mrs. Montgomery, the Mifflins, the Redmans, or the Whartons. At various times Mrs. Galloway entertained Mrs. Chew, Nancy [Anna Maria Chew], Sally, Peggy, Polly Wilcocks [Mary Chew Wilcocks], Betsy Tilghman [Elizabeth Chew Tilghman], and Peggy Oswald [Mrs. Chew's sister, later Mrs. Frederick Smyth]. Mainly the ladies went to call or to take tea, but occasionally they were invited to join Mrs. Galloway for a meal. Even Benjamin Chew Jr. visited Mrs. Galloway once with a friend; his father, accompanied by Mrs. Chew, made only one social call although the elder Chew called several times on business.¹¹⁷ The family's social interaction with the British and with Tory sympathizers during the early years of the war was to be expected. Like most Anglicans of their socio-economic level, they thought of themselves as colonial British. Moreover, the absence of other eligible men undoubtedly contributed to the Chew girls' decision to socialize with British officers. No doubt this was reinforced by the similar activities of their friends.

Social dancing at private parties and public balls and assemblies was a long-standing tradition in

¹¹⁷ See Raymond C. Werner (ed.), "Diary of Grace Growden Galloway. Kept at Philadelphia, June 17. 1778 to September 30, 1779," *PMHB*, 55 (1931), pp. 32-94 and *PMHB*, 58 (1934), pp. 158-189. After his parole, Grace Galloway hired Benjamin Chew to try to protect her Loyalist husband's estate from confiscation by the Continental government. She also sought to protect her personal inheritance from her father from being sequestered for her husband's use. She was unsuccessful in both instances.

the city and, except in the Quaker community, was considered an acceptable form of entertainment. The perceived interrelationship of dance and gentility has already been noted so it should come as no surprise that the Chew family were members of Philadelphia's Dancing Assembly. Begun in the winter of 1748-49, this venerable institution ceased operation during the British occupation to be revived once the city returned to normal.¹¹⁸ Benjamin Chew Jr. recorded a £15 payment as the family's subscription to the Dancing Assembly on February 19, 1779. The importance of the Assembly to the social life of the city extended far beyond offering a place to dance. It provided an appropriate setting for the public display of gentility, a place of social contact for young people, and an arena for their elders to engage in business and political interaction in a relaxed atmosphere.¹¹⁹

Even in occupied Philadelphia the Chew women attended a wide range of public social events including plays and musical programs. Young Chew's accounts for 1778 included the purchase of four play tickets (probably for Mrs. Chew, Nancy, Sarah, and Peggy) to attend the March 2nd performance of Fielding's "The Mock Doctor" and Farquhar's "The Inconstant, or The Way to Win Him" at the Southwark Theatre. The plays were performed by Howe's Thespians, a company of British officers and soldiers wives.¹²⁰ Chew also notes the payment of 7/6 "to coachman at y^e Play for Girls," but whether

¹¹⁸ See Thomas Willing Bache, The Philadelphia Assemblies, Philadelphia: Allen, Lane and Scott, 1916. Bache notes that the 1757 "List of Belles and Dames of Philadelphia" included Mrs. Oswald [Elizabeth Chew's mother], Miss Peggy Oswald [later Mrs. Frederick Smyth], Miss Betty Oswald [later Mrs. Benjamin Chew Sr.], and Miss Molly Oswald.

¹¹⁹ See Lynn Matluck Brooks, "Emblem of Gaiety, Love, and Legislation: Dance in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," PMHB, 115 (1991), pp. 63-87.

¹²⁰ The leading spirits of this amateur troop were Captain Delancy, an actor, and Major John André, the set designer and scene painter. The company performed from January 19 to May 19, 1778. See Thomas Clark Pollock, The Philadelphia Theatre in the Eighteenth Century, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933, pp. 130-131.

this was a tip for one of the Chews' coachman for extra work or payment to one of the city drivers is not clear. Concerts were somewhat curtailed during the British occupation, but there are later references to family attendance at a variety of music programs that abounded after the War.

Like his sisters, young Benjamin Chew participated in the range of social activities, but his primary responsibility was to look after the family's affairs. This included arranging for the repairs to Cliveden after the Battle of Germantown, keeping account of the monies lent at interest, collecting rents on properties owned in the city, and managing the land holdings in central and western Pennsylvania. In a letter to his father dated April 21, 1778, Chew expressed some of his concerns:

Nothing remains to be done in your affairs that are within this City but I cannot help expressing my fears that your confinement to so small a circuit will put it out of your power to attend to the concerns of your Estate in the back part of the province and that they of course must fall unless some person...will take management of them.¹²¹

His accounts for the period provide one insight into young Chew's other activities. Under an act of the provincial legislature, all white males between the ages of 16 and 50 were required to be enrolled in the local militia. Usually this included one day of training a month with hefty fines imposed to discourage non-participation.¹²² Young Chew apparently failed to meet this commitment because in May 1779 he paid a £6.6.0 fine for "non attendance y^e Militia." There is no indication that he was pressed into active service at any time during the War.

Benjamin Chew Sr. was released from house arrest in May 1778, and rejoined his family at the Third Street house. He found that little had changed in his absence especially in terms of the day to day

¹²¹ HSP. Chew Papers, Box 3. Young Chew's fear proved to be unfounded, but the elder Chew eventually chose to distance himself from the city to avoid any perception of support for the Crown.

¹²² See Arthur J. Alexander, "Pennsylvania's Revolutionary Militia," *PMHB*, 69 (1945), pp. 15-25. I am indebted to James Kochan and Thomas Maguire for providing the information on militia practices during the Revolution.

activities there. The household staff included some new faces, but the number and distribution of positions remained fairly constant. Even the pattern of family social activities--visits, parties, and public entertainment--was much as it had been before his arrest. The only significant change was in his political career. His legal acumen still was held in high regard by the various political factions in the city despite the events of the previous year, and from time to time he was called on to render legal advice. But it seems clear that despite his personal allegiance to the Penn family, he was sensitive to the political concerns of the new government. His decision to adopt a low profile until the political situation cleared was pragmatic. Late in November 1779, he retired to "Whitehall," the family plantation in Kent County, Delaware, south of Dover, with his family and probably many of his servants.

Although emptied of most of its fine furnishings, the Third Street house remained a prestigious address, and in an effort to supplement a reduced income, it seemed expedient to offer the property for rent. The first tenant was Don Juan de Miralles, the Spanish representative to the American government, who lived there from late November 1779 until his untimely death in April 1780. Despite the restrictions of war, de Miralles apparently entertained there in style. Judge Richard Peters, who was present at one of the parties, offers this description of the scene: "The spacious gardens were superbly decorated with variegated lamps, the edifice itself was a blaze of light."¹²³ After de Miralles' death, the house apparently was divided into apartments. The Marquis de Chastellux noted in his memoir that he found temporary lodging there on a visit to Philadelphia late in 1780.

My day having been sufficiently taken up, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, conducted me to the house where he had ordered lodgings to be prepared for me. It was the Spanish Minister's w[h]ere there were several vacant apartments; for M. Miralé, who occupied it, died a year before at Morris-Town. His secretary has remained chargé des affaires,

¹²³ William S. Baker, "Itinerary of General Washington from June 15, 1775, to December 23, 1783," *PMHB*, 15 (1891), p. 189.

master of the house, and well contented to enjoy the *incarico*, which included in it, besides the correspondence, a table maintained at the expense of the King of Spain. The Chevalier de la Luzerne, though well, and agreeably lodged, had no apartments to spare....¹²⁴

George and Martha Washington subsequently rented the town house from late November 1781 to late March 1782 before moving to larger quarters at 190 High Street.¹²⁵ With their departure, the house stood vacant until the Chews returned to the city after the war.

During the years it was rented, the various tenants extracted a severe toll on the house and the Chews found it in serious need of major refurbishing. Work began in late May or early June, 1784, and for roughly the next nineteen months an array of artisans and laborers--carpenters, plasterers, painters, whitewashers, paperhangers, masons, and chimney sweeps--toiled in the building. Chew's meticulous records detail the range and cost of activities (Appendix VI). By eighteenth century standards, the cost (£ 253.4.0) was staggering--the equivalent of seven years wages for his highest paid servant. Fortunately, given Chew's then uncertain political future, an inheritance from Mrs. Chew's uncle, Joseph Turner, who had died the previous year, provided the necessary capital for the project. The newly refurbished house must have been a show place. In a concession to new fashion, two of the rooms--"the blue room" and "our Lady's room"--were wallpapered.¹²⁶ Wallpaper had just recently become stylish as

¹²⁴ Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782*, (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1787), p. 195. The French Ambassador was renting John Dickinson's house on Chestnut Street.

¹²⁵ This property was formerly the home of Robert Morris.

¹²⁶ On June 9, 1784, Chew paid £3.5.0 for paper for the "blue room" and £2.14.0 on July 9 for paper for "our Lady's room." Benjamin Ashmead, one of the city's most prominent wallpaper manufacturers, was engaged to hang the papers. He was paid £2.18.6 for the work on September 14th.

a wall treatment and one wonders whether Mrs. Chew selected a plain paper¹²⁷ with a decorative border, the style favored by many of her contemporaries, or one of the newly fashionable linear patterns.

There is no evidence that these renovations were accompanied by extensive purchases of new furnishings. In fact, Chew seems to have been content simply to add a few new items from time to time, so that, for the most part, the contents of the house remained fairly static. The few exceptions are worthy of note. Chew took advantage of his son's presence in London in 1784-1786 to order curtains, carpet, and some items of silver plate for the Third Street house. Young Chew apparently had some difficulties with the request as he reported:

The curtains I could not possibly have made not having the size of the windows, everything is sent for them. The Carpet is quite new pattern & the Castors. You will observe that the Pins at the Bottom draw out for the Convenience of cleaning them. All Grit is particularly to be avoided.¹²⁸

In June 1785, Daniel Hay supplied a bedstead.¹²⁹ While no specifics are given, the price (£4.10.0) suggests that it was a mahogany, claw-foot, high post bedstead with plain posts and stained poplar rails and headboard. Where it was used is a mystery. It is unlikely to have replaced the elegant high post bedstead in the master bed chamber. Possibly it was intended for Benjamin Chew, Jr., or for use by his sisters. In 1786 Chew bought a set of twelve moderately expensive Windsor chairs from John

¹²⁷ The most fashionable colors for plain wallpaper were blue and pea green. See Catherine Lynn, *Wallpaper in America From the Seventeenth Century to World War I*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1980, p. 125.

¹²⁸ Incomplete letter from Benjamin Chew, Jr., (London) to his mother (Philadelphia), undated but probably late October or early November, 1784. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 45.

¹²⁹ BCRB, June 9, 1785. Daniel Hay, a Philadelphia cabinetmaker, operated a shop on Water Street near Pine.

Letchworth.¹³⁰ The specific placement of these chairs within the house is not known, but they would have been appropriate in the entrance hall, in Chew's office, in the dining room, or even interspersed with the mahogany furniture in the "tea room." Joseph and Nathaniel Richardson, whom Chew had patronized previously, supplied some unspecified silver valued at £12.8.0.¹³¹ Chew continued to be a client of carver and gilder James Reynolds until that artisan's death in 1794. His recorded accounts with Reynolds remain frustratingly unspecific but may have included carved looking glass and picture frames and brackets. The only other purchase of consequence is a "bed" [mattress] purchased from Footman & Co. for £6.17.3.¹³²

As the family matured and children married and established their own households, there was a perceptible decline in the purchase of additional furnishings for the house. In the two decades before Chew's death most bills for town house furnishings are for repairs rather than new purchases.¹³³ Again, the exceptions are worth noting. In 1801 Chew acquired a number of items from the sale of furnishings from the Estate of his son-in-law Henry Philips.¹³⁴

¹³⁰ BCRB, entry for June 9, 1786. The chairs cost £4.10.0 or 7/6 each. They were simpler in design than the set of "12 oval back Windsor chairs" costing 15/0 each that he would buy for Cliveden in 1797. John Letchworth (1759-1843) operated a Windsor chair shop on South Third Street between Chestnut and Walnut, a block from Chew's house.

¹³¹ BCRB, September 4, 1787. Joseph Richardson, Jr. (1752-1831) and his younger brother Nathaniel (1754-1827) were master silversmiths working in the city from 1777 until 1790 when Nathaniel retired from the business.

¹³² BCRB, October 14, 1795. The cost suggests that this was a feather-filled mattress intended for use by a family member.

¹³³ Joseph Burden, a Windsor chair maker who advertised that he was "in business with Joseph Henzey at No. 99 Third Street opposite Mr Chew's dwelling," billed Benjamin Chew's Estate in 1811 for a variety of services from 1799 to 1808. CLIV, DOC I-11.

¹³⁴ Sale was on or about June 10, 1801. CLIV, DOC I-15.

A lot Botanical China	\$19
15 Decanters, 1 Doz Claret Glasses & 4 salts	23
23 Lemonade D ^o , 15 Wine d ^o , 17 Jelly d ^o , 3 tumblers	9
3 Window Curtains	93
2 Grid Irons	2
Lot Sundries	<u>6</u>
	\$152

Some years later, in 1809, upholsterer John Rea billed Chew for "making a red case [slipcover]," "stuffing and covering 12 mahogany chairs," and making "a common red bolster, &c."¹³⁵ These last items may be part of the furnishings of the "tea room" left by Mrs. Chew to her son in her will.¹³⁶

In the years immediately following the war, the town house settled into a familiar routine. The overall size of the household had not changed appreciably from its pre-war number. Open travel to England allowed Benjamin Jr. to take up his legal studies in London. Three of his sisters were married but nine others ranging in age from five to thirty-five remained at home with their parents. Even the complement of staff caring for the family did not change appreciably. The Chews retained a gardener, coachmen in varying numbers, a cook, house maids, personal servants, and a nurse, as well as a variety of casual laborers for washing and ironing, cutting wood, etc. This group reflected the minimum staff deemed necessary for the effective management of the Third Street house.

While the number of servants remained fairly constant, the post war period signaled a change in Chew's financial dealings with his staff. Previously, resident servants had been paid somewhat irregularly but generally on an annual or a quarterly basis. Now wage payments were regularized with most resident servants receiving a monthly or bimonthly salary, although a few still were paid annually.

¹³⁵ Invoice covering charges for July 10, September 12, and October 26, 1809. CLIV, DOC I-23.

¹³⁶ See footnote 81.

Salaries generally were slightly higher than they had been before the War, but it is hard to know whether the increase was real or simply an adjustment to the post war economy. Whatever the cause, some servants seemed unable to budget sufficiently and routinely found it necessary to petition Chew for an advance.

The household complement continued to include black workers. Chew had registered fourteen slaves in 1780.¹³⁷ By the 1790 census, the number was reduced to three, and a decade later, to one slave and three free blacks. In fact, slaves remained part of the town house staff at the time of Chew's death on January 20, 1810. His will left his widow "my Man Harry, my woman Sarah, and all my Rights ... to her Children, and the time of Service of my Boy David who is bound [to] me until he attains his Age of Twenty Eight Years."¹³⁸ The Chews were among a very small number of Philadelphians who owned slaves as late as 1810; most blacks in the city already had been freed under the Gradual Manumission Act of 1780.

Although Benjamin Chew was not a participant in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and would not return to public life until his appointment as President of the High Court of Errors and Appeals in 1791, he and his family were part of the city's new social circle that included the Washingtons, the John Adams, the William Bingham, and the Robert Morris, as well as the John Penns, who had returned to the city from England. In large measure this was because Chew's legal perspicacity offered expertise needed by the new government.¹³⁹ The new "Republican court," as the

¹³⁷ See footnote 90.

¹³⁸ Benjamin Chew's will made April 1, 1806, and modified on August 8, 1809 after Juliana Nicklin became a widow. The will and codicil are recorded in Register of Wills Office, Book 3, p. 86.

¹³⁹ In a letter dated May 19, 1779, James Parker prophesied Chew's potential for contribution to the new government:

social circle came to be called, united old families and wealthy newcomers, Whigs and former Tories.¹⁴⁰ Led by Mrs. Washington, Mrs. Morris, and "the dazzling Mrs. Bingham," as Abigail Adams called her, the city embarked on a lavish program of public and private entertainment patterned on English and French models. Despite her prior misgivings, Mrs. Adams found herself pleasantly surprised by Philadelphia society: "There is an agreeable society and friendliness kept up with all the principal families, who appear to live in great harmony, and we are met at all the parties [with] nearly the same company."¹⁴¹

Attending public balls continued to be an integral part of the family's social life. Chew maintained his subscription to the Dancing Assembly as one avenue of social intercourse.¹⁴² He hired Mr. Cenas, a highly respected Philadelphia dancing master, to teach the younger girls.¹⁴³ Cenas' bill for £10.17.6, dated February 5, 1787, probably covered lessons for Sophia (age 17) and Maria (16). Abigail Adams commented favorably on the Chew girls' presence at her first Assembly in Philadelphia in 1790:

I don't think it by any means worth your while to retire to a farm from whence you would in so short a time be called to your usual place of residence to give your assistance in restoring the Constitution of your country or framing a better, which I think most like to be the case.... HSP, Chew Papers, Box 3.

¹⁴⁰ Ethel E. Rasmusson, "Democratic Environment--Aristocratic Aspiration, PMHB, 90 (1966), p. 160.

¹⁴¹ Letter from Abigail Adams (Philadelphia) to Mrs. Smith, dated January 25, 1791. Letters of Mrs. Adams, the Wife of John Adams, Boston: Freeman and Bolles, 1840; 2nd edition Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1840, Vol. II, pp. 215-216.

¹⁴² Chew was one of the prominent Philadelphians who in 1791 subscribed to a fund to replace the crowded Assembly room at City Tavern. There is no evidence that a larger space was constructed. By the early years of the nineteenth century, public balls were held at Oellers Hotel and the Washington House Hotel.

¹⁴³ George Washington paid Cenas \$9.33 in April 1793 for "instructing Miss Custis in dancing." See "Washington's Household Account Book 1793-1797," PMHB, 25 (1905), p. 391.

On Friday evening last, I went with [son] Charles to the drawing-room, being my first appearance in public. The room became full before I left it, and the circle very brilliant. How could it be otherwise, when the dazzling Mrs. Bingham and her beautiful sisters were there; the Misses Allen, and Misses Chew;¹⁴⁴ in short, a constellation of beauties? I am serious when I say so, for I really think them what I describe them. Mrs. Bingham certainly has given laws to the ladies here, in fashion and elegance; their manners and appearance are superior to what I have seen.¹⁴⁵

By the late 1790s, there was a proliferation of public balls. One of the most important was the annual President's Ball at which the Chews joined other members of Philadelphia's high society in honoring Washington. Not all dances were public affairs; often dancing was a feature of an evening gathering at home. "On Tuesday next I go to a dance at Mr. Chews,"¹⁴⁶ reported Abigail Adams. This tantalizing reference confirms that balls were held at the Third Street house although neither Mrs. Adams nor any of the other attendees have recorded any of the specifics of these event for posterity.

Although less essential than dance as a social skill, music provided another vehicle for a woman to display a refinement of taste. The earliest reference to music study by members of the Chew family comes by inference in a letter written from London by Benjamin Chew, Jr., to his sisters Peggy and Juliana in which he observed that "music &c are the less essential accomplishments."¹⁴⁷ At least one of his sisters ignored his advice concerning music. Bills for 1797 record the payment of £4.6.3 to Mrs.

¹⁴⁴ Probably Henrietta (age 23), Sophia (20), and Maria (19).

¹⁴⁵ Letter from Abigail Adams (Bush Hill) to Mrs. Smith, dated December 26, 1790, shortly after her arrival in Philadelphia. Letters of Mrs. Adams, the Wife of John Adams, Vol. II, p. 211.

¹⁴⁶ Letter from Abigail Adams (Philadelphia) to Mrs. Smith, dated January 8, 1791. Letters of Mrs. Adams, Vol. II, p. 214.

¹⁴⁷ This is a fragment of a letter from Benjamin Chew, Jr., (London) to his sisters Peggy and Juliana (probably at Burlington, NJ), dated January 3, 1784. In that same letter he encouraged his sisters to pursue a knowledge of history and geography and to read plays "but let it be with attention." HSP, Chew Papers, Box 29.

Gratton "on account for music,"¹⁴⁸ probably for piano lessons for Kitty (Catherine, age 18). Kitty continued her music lessons over the next decade studying with Mr. Shaw in 1800 and with Ms. De Breuys, one of the many French emigres in the city, on a biweekly basis from July 1805 through the end of the year. The seriousness of her commitment to music is confirmed by on-going charges from J. C. Hommann,¹⁴⁹ for tuning a "grand forte piano" beginning in 1800 and continuing to 1810.¹⁵⁰

Philadelphia enjoyed a revival of interest in the performing arts in the post war years. Members of the Chew family not only regularly attended public concerts and plays but also enjoyed such entertainments, new to the city, as art exhibitions and the circus. Charles Willson Peale's Museum offered a range of art and natural history exhibits.¹⁵¹ It was followed in the 1790s by exhibitions at the short-lived Academy of the Fine Arts and in 1809 by the successful Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. The Chews also attended performances of Ricketts' Circus, which opened in 1792 at Twelfth and Market Streets and featured equestrian acts. Spectators at subsequent circuses, such as the Pantheon Circus and Amphitheater at Sixth and Chestnut, were treated to clowns, slack rope walking, tumblers and acrobats, and even a pantomime in addition to the traditional equestrian feats.¹⁵²

Private gatherings were a major part of the family's social life, especially exchanging visits with friends. Nancy Shippen's "Journal" offers insight into the activities at such gatherings:

¹⁴⁸ Bill is dated June 24, 1797. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 6.

¹⁴⁹ A music master listed in the city directory at 126 Arch Street, above Ninth Street.

¹⁵⁰ The dates for tuning the piano forte in 1808 and 1809 exclude the summertime months when the family was at Cliveden and confirm that the piano was at the Third Street town house.

¹⁵¹ Peale's picture gallery opened in 1782 and developed into the natural history museum in 1786.

¹⁵² The Pantheon Circus operated from 1795 to 1798. Joseph Jackson, Encyclopedia of Philadelphia, Harrisburg: The National Historical Association, 1931, Vol. II, pp. 455-459.

This evening I shall always remember as one of the happiest I ever spent. Mrs. Allen and the Miss Chews drank Tea with me & spent the evening. There was half a dozen agreeable & sensible men that was of the party. The conversation was carried on in the most sprightly, agreeable manner, the Ladies bearing the greatest part --till nine when cards were proposed, & about ten, refreshments were introduced which concluded the evening.¹⁵³

Who do you imagine had a Tea Party & Ball last night? Miss Livingston invited by card 3 days before, 20 misses, treated them with all good things, & a violin, --Miss Morris, Bingham, Chew, Willing, &c &c, 5 coaches at y^e door at 10 when they departed....¹⁵⁴

There were also family gatherings, visits from relatives in Maryland and those in town. There seems to have been an especially warm interaction between Mrs. Chew and her son's eldest children. Her personal accounts from the early 1790s are filled with references to toys, books, and sweets bought for her grandchildren Sam and Eliza.¹⁵⁵

As the new federal capital in the period from 1790 to 1800, Philadelphia played host to many of the country's politicians, artists, writers, and intellectuals as well as a number of aristocrats from abroad. Almost anyone of importance would have had some social contact with the Chews. The Washingtons are a case in point. Their association with the Chew family dated back to pre-Revolutionary times. During the War, Washington facilitated the transfer of letters between Mr. and Mrs. Chew and he and Mrs. Washington rented their Third Street home briefly. When the Washingtons were in Philadelphia during the Constitutional Convention, the two families renewed their acquaintance. Harriet Chew was

¹⁵³ Entry for January 15, 1786. Nancy Shippen, *Her Journal Book*, Ethel Armes (ed), Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1935; reprint New York and London: Benjamin Bloom, 1968, p. 243.

¹⁵⁴ Letter from Dr. William Shippen describing his daughter Peggy's first tea party, April 1786. Nancy Shippen, *Her Journal Book*, p. 248.

¹⁵⁵ Both Samuel Chew (born 1789) and his sister Eliza (born 1791) succumbed to yellow fever within ten days of one another in March 1795.

one of the ladies who accompanied Washington on several occasions when he sat for his portrait at Gilbert Stuart's studio. Washington was also a guest at the celebration marking Peggy's marriage to John Eager Howard in May 1787; according to his diary, he "dined at Mr Chew's with the wedding guests (Colo. Howard of Baltimore having married his daughter Peggy) [and] drank tea there in a very large circle of ladies."¹⁵⁶ Chew's post war social circle seems to have been much broader than in earlier times, now including Quakers as well as Anglicans and politicians representing many disparate points of view. The records show social or business dealings with the Shippens, the Franks, the John Lawrences, Alexander Hamilton, Phineas Bond (British Consul General to Philadelphia), the Duc de la Rochfoucauld Liancourt, and the Henry Drinkers.

Even before he was officially back in the public eye, Chew resumed his earlier practice of dressing well. His son's study in London in the mid-1780s offered an opportunity to acquire fashionable dress fabric and millinery goods before they were available in Philadelphia. Charged with this task, Benjamin Jr. expressed his concern in a letter to his mother and sisters:

[Captain] Truxtun's arrival with you I heard of yesterday and am to repeat my hope that the small trunk he carried out will answer present purposes. I was greatly at a loss [as] how best to execute the List you sent me and I fear I have done awkwardly-- The patterns of Silk were the thing, yet I did not like the lilac stripe, but under the recommendation of some ladies had less difficulty in sending it knowing it might be exchanged if you disapproved it. The other articles are pretty well assorted. I did not exceed the List as I was satisfied most Kinds of Goods were to be purchased really lower with you than I could get them here and greater advantage would be in my Father's drawing Bills if he chose it....¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ Entry for May 23, 1787. See The Diaries of George Washington 1748-1799, John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), Boston and New York: published for The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union by Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925, Vol. III, p. 218.

¹⁵⁷ Letter from Benjamin Chew, Jr. (London) to his mother and sisters (Philadelphia), November 1, 1784. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 29.

A second letter reiterates his concern while detailing the material sent:

I do not know what to say about the Memorandum sent me by my Father in the very vague and indefinite manner in which it is left. Knowing however that you may without much difficulty dispose of the articles you may not want, I have purchased and sent a great variety which, tho' purchased at the lowest rates I could procure them either by my own endeavor or those of my friends, some of whom have been busily employed for me, amount in the whole to a considerable sum. The Book Muslin Handkerchiefs are just now so immoderately dear that I have been advised not to purchase them & have of course omitted them. The silks are quite new and the very liveliest even for young persons that are now worn[.] dark colors and quite plain are chiefly used but I thought they would be too bad for the Girls. I wished to have got a very small pattern instead of the pink but [none] was had to please. I have therefore sent that which you may perhaps change if you meet with what you like better. I should have supposed those articles might have been lower with you from the great glut sent out to you but I observe your reason and have completed your list. All I believe is well chosen. You gave me no directions in the quantity of silk for each and have purchase too great or more than was necessary. They are each intended for a full dress gown and petticoat which are only work with Hoop of course. The trimming of the sapphire biass [sic] or plain blue must be a narrow black velvet quite plain down the sides with a [design] thus "vvvvv" around the trail which now is not to be tremendously long. The trimming I have sent [is] for the blue with white stripe or the pink as you think best. But the trimming is not to be too full rather plain.The Muslins are s[ai]d to be cheap, but I fear the amount of the Millinery Bill. As U before observed what is not wanted may be well disposed of. From the Latitude you left me, I thought it best to send the Quantity I have....¹⁵⁸

While most of his purchases were for his mother and sisters, young Chew did forward his father a "suit of clothes, shoes & boots I hope will answer your expectations and that you will not object to the color of the cloth being grave and fashionable."¹⁵⁹ In addition to the materials sent from London by her son, Mrs. Chew purchased a wide range of dress materials and accessories from local merchants. There are bills for hats, gauze kerchiefs, ribbon, lace, gloves and mitts, stockings, shoes, combs, and fans. Surveying the records it is clear that Chew, again, allocated a major portion of his income to assure that

¹⁵⁸ Incomplete draft of a letter from Benjamin Chew, Jr., (London) to his mother (Philadelphia), undated but probably late October or early November, 1784. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 45.

¹⁵⁹ Letter from Benjamin Chew, Jr. (London) to his father (Burlington, New Jersey), February 27, 1784. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 3.

he and his family were fashionably attired. This included engaging Vincent Ducomb, a French emigre barber and hairdresser, to see that he and Mrs. Chew were properly coiffed. Ducomb provided this service from 1788 to at least 1797.

By the end of 1800, all but four of the children were married. With fewer family members to care for, the number of servants required could be reduced slightly although the same basic staff--cook, maid, personal servant, coachmen, and washing women--was necessary for the house to run smoothly. Servants' duties remained constant, but family activities--especially those relating to family social life--were modified considerably. Chew already had curtailed his active practice of the law and in a few years would retire from the bench. His health was fragile. The family was aging and except for the youngest girl, his daughters were well past the age when marriage might be expected. Undoubtedly, the Chews maintained some presence in fashionable society, but the need to present a high social profile was no longer necessary. Regular attendance at balls and assemblies declined; instead the pattern was one of visits, tea, and cards with friends and family plus the occasional concert or play. There probably was some formal entertaining, but the most frequently mentioned activity was family visits back and forth to Maryland.

Health was a major factor in family activities. There was a pattern of escape from the city during the yellow fever epidemics of the 1790s and of bleeding and blistering and mercurial treatments to cure various diseases. In 1802 Chew and his wife and daughters Henrietta and Maria embarked on an extended trip to "take the waters" at various nearby health spas. Their first stop (July 4-15) was at the sulphur springs at York, Pennsylvania.¹⁶⁰ They journeyed on to Hagerstown, Maryland, (July 16-20)

¹⁶⁰ As part of the treatment, their weight was recorded. According to notes kept by one of the girls, "Mama [weighed] 173 lbs., Papa 143 lbs., Maria 121 lbs., and Henrietta 128 lbs."

and to the spa at Berkeley Springs, near Bath, Virginia [now West Virginia] (July 21-August 5) before returning home by way of Baltimore where they visited the Howards¹⁶¹ at "Belvidere" and the Carrolls¹⁶² at "Homewood." The trip was deemed a success, but health concerns continued to be a factor and Mr. Chew was encouraged to ride out in his carriage as part of a continuing recuperative process.

Chew's death on January 20, 1810, after a long illness, signaled the first of a series of events that would forever change life at the Third Street house. He was, by the standards of the day, a wealthy man. His real estate holdings included the Third Street town house (assessed for tax purposes in 1810 at \$9688), Cliveden the country seat in Germantown (valued in the 1798 direct tax at \$12,300), rental properties in the city, numerous tracts of largely undeveloped land in central and western Pennsylvania, and several family properties in Delaware and Maryland. These were augmented by substantial land holdings in northeastern Pennsylvania and adjacent New Jersey and farms in Passyunk and the Northern Liberties that had come to his wife by inheritance from Joseph Turner and which, under eighteenth century law, were included in his estate. His own estimate of the value of the real and personal property in his estate was £84,050.¹⁶³ The accuracy of his assessment is difficult to determine because his household goods--the furnishings of the town house and possibly those at Cliveden--were left to his widow and do not appear in his probate inventory. But the inventory of his other assets (excluding his real and personal property)--ie. bank stocks, commercial stocks, principle on bonds let at interest,

¹⁶¹ Their daughter Peggy had married John Eager Howard May 23, 1787.

¹⁶² Their daughter Harriet had married Charles Carroll, Jr., son of Charles Carroll of "Carrollton," on July 15, 1800.

¹⁶³ Undated memorandum by Benjamin Chew noting some of his real estate holdings, monies already advanced to his married children, and proposed legacies. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 11.

outstanding debts, land rents, monies due on land sales, and his personal library--was valued at \$140,064.48½.¹⁶⁴ Chew's total estate was approximately \$366,864.¹⁶⁵

Chew's will outlined the division of his estate. In addition to the bulk of his personal estate (including the carriages and horses and all the household goods and plate except those pieces marked with the Galloway arms),¹⁶⁶ Chew left his widow a £700 annual annuity and "the use of the dwelling house (the Third Street town house) and lots during her life but with the authority to sell the same."¹⁶⁷ His son inherited Cliveden, an outright bequest of £2,000, and an annuity of £300 for six years. Each of the unmarried girls (Nancy, Henrietta, Maria, and Catherine) was given £2,500; each of his married daughters (Elizabeth Tilghman, Sarah Galloway, Peggy Howard, Juliana Nicklin, Sophia Philips, and Harriet Carroll) received £1,000 beyond her marriage portion. Once these bequests had been disbursed, the remainder of his estate--real estate, bonds, etc. --was to be converted to cash and divided into twelve equal parts, one for each of his children or their heirs.

In an effort to maximize compensation for the estate, Benjamin Jr., as executor, advanced a plan to divide the Third Street property into sections. His mother and his four unmarried sisters (identified affectionately in family correspondence as "the Girls") would continue to live in the Mansion House (the Third Street town house) while the bulk of the remaining property would be divided into lots and offered

¹⁶⁴ HSP, Chew Papers, Box 13.

¹⁶⁵ Efforts to settle Chew's large estate and to disburse the proceeds to his heirs set up a conflict within the family that continued into the 1850s.

¹⁶⁶ That silver was left to the offsprings of his first marriage: to Anne Maria Chew, Betsy (Chew) Tilghman, Sarah (Chew) Galloway, and to the heirs of his deceased daughter Mary (Chew) Wilcocks.

¹⁶⁷ Letter from Benjamin Chew, Jr., to his sister Peggy Howard in Baltimore, 29 January 1810. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 72.

for sale. Chew shared the proposal with his siblings in letters similar to this one to John and Sarah

Galloway:

I yesterday received your letter...enclosing the paper forwarded to you by Col. Howard,¹⁶⁸ the occasion for which I trust was fully explained by the accompanying letter. Mrs Tilghman¹⁶⁹ has since added her name, which completes the number of the concerned and I shall immediately proceed to the disposal of the ground according to the plan that was contemplated by our Father of dividing the lots upon 3rd Street from those on 4th Street, save that by an arrangement made by the purchase of the Estate of the late Bingham¹⁷⁰ the 3rd Street lots will be a little more shallow than originally proposed, in order to conform to the course of the court or street laid out by them and purchasing of them with Mr Rawle¹⁷¹ the right of outlet rather than laying off a passage on our own ground....¹⁷²

The heirs agreed to the plan as outlined and, with their approval, Chew placed the following advertisement in the local papers:

BUILDING LOTS, for SALE, Between Walnut and Spruce Streets on Third and Fourth Streets. About sixty feet on Third Street by one hundred and Eighty feet deep to a twenty foot passage leading into Spruce Street. Also one hundred and eighteen feet by 186 feet deep on the before mentioned passage.

If not sold at private sale on or before Wednesday the 14th instant, one or more lots will be exposed to public auction, on the evening of that day, at the Merchant's Coffee House, at 7 o'clock. For particulars and terms apply to Benjamin Chew, No. 112 Spruce Street.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁸ John Eager Howard (1752-1827), his sister Peggy's husband.

¹⁶⁹ His sister Elizabeth (1751-1842), wife of Edward Tilghman, Jr.

¹⁷⁰ William and Ann (Willing) Bingham, whose federal mansion stood at the northwest corner of South Third Street and Spruce.

¹⁷¹ William Rawle, a lawyer, had purchased the Powel House in 1805.

¹⁷² Letter from Benjamin Chew, Jr., (Philadelphia) to John and Sarah Galloway ("Tulip Hill," near Annapolis, Maryland), March 2, 1810. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 72.

¹⁷³ Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, March 10, 1810. Bills confirm that the advertisement ran nine times in Poulson's Advertiser and ten times in William Jackson's Political and Commercial Register. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 13.

Implementing the plan entailed certain built in costs. The land had to be surveyed and lots laid out. Architect Robert Mills, who later executed a design for the younger Chew's Fourth Street town house, was paid \$6.00 for drawing plans to show the parcels offered for sale. To gain access to the back of the newly laid out lots, Chew had to purchase from the Bingham Estate a right of way from Spruce Street into the center of the block.¹⁷⁴

The major costs of Chew's proposal centered on the work done on the property retained by his mother. This included erecting a new stable to replace the one now located on a parcel proposed for sale and renovating the house. Many of the bills for these projects survive.¹⁷⁵ John Mayberry, a carpenter, charged \$11 for "pulling down a brick wall in 3rd between Spruce and Walnut Streets; amount 5500 bricks." Chew's notation on the bill identifies this as "part of the garden wall of my Father's Estate." The bills record the use of a total of 28,000 bricks; although the size of the new stable is not known, it may have been a replica of the original 20 by 30 foot structure on Fourth Street. John Mullison served as the general mason; Adam Farquar, a stone mason, provided sills, posts, and jambs for the stable and for modifications to the town house. David Gray supplied scantling boards, shingles, lath, hinges, and fencing as well as providing carpenters work, plastering, and laborers work. Jacob Wagner was the plasterer. Additional iron work for the carriage house came from Patrick Lyon. Jacob Keighler supplied gutter, pipe, and spouts while windows for the stable and for the town house came from Benjamin Collins & Company.¹⁷⁶ John Stock was reimbursed for painting the outside of the stable,

¹⁷⁴ Chew paid the Bingham Estate executors (John B. Wallace, John H. Brinton, and Edward L. Burd) \$917.10 for this right of access. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 13.

¹⁷⁵ HSP, Chew Papers, Box 13.

¹⁷⁶ Collins bill specifies glazing "8 - 8 X 10 lights; 4 - 10 X 12 lights; and 1 - 13 X 16 light done at the Third Street House." HSP, Chew Papers, Box 13.

the fence, and sundry glazing as well as "for painting the outside front, 2 rooms, passage and stairs of the Mansion House."¹⁷⁷ Matthew Goul billed the estate "for cleaning, restoring and varnishing the panel paintings in the Passage of the House, late residence of Benjamin Chew, Esq^r, deceased; and for varnishing the staircase of the said house."¹⁷⁸ In his accounts, Benjamin Chew Jr. noted "the expense for building a stable, &c. &c." at \$2914.26.¹⁷⁹ There is no record of extensive new furnishings for the house, but John McCauley did supply "1 Bath, Copper, wt. 44½ lbs."¹⁸⁰

Chew disposed of the four lots within six weeks after notice of the sale appeared (Fig. 9). The first lot, a parcel twenty-nine feet four-inches wide on Third Street adjoining the property of Thomas Willing, was sold to Willing on March 29th for £2933.6.8. On April 4th, a twenty-six foot lot, the northern-most parcel on Fourth Street, adjoining the property of Thomas W. Francis, was sold to Francis for £1875.0.0. Francis also purchased a forty-four foot lot on the southern end of the parcel for £3300.0.0 on April 5th. (Benjamin Chew, Jr., acquired this lot on August 8th for his own new house.) John Allen purchased the final section, a forty-nine foot lot between the two sections owned by Thomas Francis, on April 19th for £3491.5.0. Chew calculated that the total realized from the sale of the land, less expenses, was \$16,039.25. This was divided as specified in the elder Chew's will with 1/12 share to each of his surviving children and 1/12 to the children of his deceased daughter Mary Wilcocks. Each

¹⁷⁷ The rooms painted probably were those on the second floor. Stock received \$243.59 for his work in both house and stable. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 13.

¹⁷⁸ Matthew Goul received \$24.00 for his services. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 13.

¹⁷⁹ Chew noted that William Rawle had utilized one wall of Mrs. Chew's new stable in the construction of his own and was expected to pay a portion of the cost although that figure is not specified. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 13.

¹⁸⁰ McCauley was paid \$30.99. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 13.

heir received \$1,336.60.¹⁸¹ Mrs. Chew retained a fifty-eight foot section between the Mansion House and the Willing property. This lot presumably included a portion of the original pleasure garden. Although there are no bills for refurbishing the garden, the family retained the services of a gardener whose duties would have included maintaining the grounds at the Third Street house as well as assignments at Cliveden.

One major change at the town house was the number of people living and working there.¹⁸² Even with the family unit reduced to five--Mrs. Chew (age 78), Anna Maria "Nancy" (61), Henrietta (43), Maria (39) and Catherine (31)--a minimum staff of two was necessary for the household to function satisfactorily. This included a cook and a maid. Given the age and health record of the family, Mrs. Chew probably also employed a nurse. The services provided by personal attendants, washing women, and coachmen, considered essential in earlier years, could be achieved in other ways. The nurse or the maid could assist as a personal servant. The availability of professional washing women within the city made in-house laundry less critical. Other positions might be shared with other family members. Elizabeth Chew chose to employ her own coachman, but her son assumed the cost of retaining the gardener, possibly because of the increased farm activity at Cliveden.

Of all the employees noted, coachmen were the most common, but few stayed more than a

¹⁸¹ HSP, Chew Papers, Box 13.

¹⁸² It is difficult to reconcile the names noted in the family records for the period with the 1810 census which lists a household complement of fifteen:

- 1 - male, age 27-45
- 1 - female, over 45
- 3 - females, age 27-45
- 3 - females, age 17-26
- 7 - free

year. Their salary generally ranged from \$10 to \$14 a month (\$120-\$168 a year) with Festus Grant, coachman for the Misses Chew beginning in 1816, paid \$15 a month (\$185 a year). Among the other male employees was a group with unidentified responsibilities who were paid \$6-\$8 a month (\$72-\$96 a year) and a number of young boys whose duties are not noted and whose salaries were minimal. None of the wage-earning female workers was paid at a level commensurate with the duties of a cook suggesting that perhaps this position was filled by an indentured servant or a slave. Maids generally received \$1.25-\$1.50 a week (\$65-\$78 a year). A similar salary would be appropriate for the nurse. Washing women earned \$1.13- \$2 a month (\$13.56-\$24 annually).

Perhaps the most conspicuous change came in the scaling back of entertaining. With no need to provide hospitality for Mr. Chew's business and political associates, the ladies settled into a pattern of more informal gatherings. They continued to exchange visits with friends sharing tea, conversation, and cards. They attended plays, concerts, and exhibitions but their participation at balls and assemblies probably was limited. Much of their social activities focused on family. Benjamin Chew Jr., his wife, and their ten children livee nearby¹⁸³ and there probably was daily contact between the two households. Juliana Nicklin and Sophia Philips, who lived in the city, visited with some frequency. The Chew girls living in Maryland came less often but remained longer and the Philadelphia ladies returned visits to their Maryland relatives.

Elizabeth Chew's death in May 1819 marked the end of the town house as the center of the family's domestic life.¹⁸⁴ Within months the unmarried girls relocated to quarters on Walnut Street.

¹⁸³ In 1810 they were living in rented quarters on Spruce Street and would move into their newly constructed town house on South Fourth Street the following year.

¹⁸⁴ Under the terms of the elder Benjamin Chew's will, the house was to be sold and the profits distributed to the heirs. A willing buyer could not be found easily and for eight years the "mansion house"

Efforts to sell the Third Street property were unsuccessful and the house was let for use as a boarding house. By the late 1820s the land on which the house stood became so valuable that the house was razed and several smaller town houses replaced the Chew's grand mansion.

For most of its history the town house symbolized a pattern of living enjoyed by only the wealthiest segment of Philadelphia society. The house and its surrounding landscape was intended to demonstrate its owner's position and power. Its furnishings, crafted by some of the finest artisans in the country, were comparable to the appointments in other fashionable homes. In most respects life in the town house followed predictable patterns for both the staff and the family. It differed from most of its contemporaries by cutting across all levels of society. In doing so it illustrates not only the fabric of eighteenth-century upper class life but also the various textures of that cloth.

was rented. The sale of the Third Street property was not easily resolved and Benjamin Jr., as executor, was forced to rent the mansion house. It took eight years to dispose of the property. Chew eventually sold the northern-most lot, nineteen-feet six-inch wide plot, to Charles Robb and David Winebrenner, merchant tailors, in February 1823 for \$3,333.33. (Philadelphia Deed Book, GRW-6, p. 212.) Joseph M. Eldridge purchased the house and the final lot in 1828 for \$13,250. (Philadelphia Deed Book, GRW-19, p. 374.)

APPENDIX I

Insurance survey of Byrd-Penn-Chew house on South Third Street taken by Gunning Bedford for the Philadelphia Contributionship, August 7, 1770.

N. 1428, 1429, 1430, 1431

Governor Penn

Aug^t 7. 1770

Survey aug^t 7th 1770

Governor Penns dwelling house and Back Buildings, Situate^d on the west Side of 3^d Street-- The house 30 feet front-- 52 feet deep-- 3 Storys high-- first Story wainscuted all through-- frett Cornish, 3 pediments, mantle Cornish frame &^c on Brest, in front parlor-- dorick intabliture, tabernakle frame &^c on Brest, 3 pediments in Back parlor-- modillion & dintal Cornish, 2 fluted pilasters, 3 pediments, in pasage-- Second Story wainscut^d all through-- 2 fluted pilasters mantle Cornish &c on Brest, frett Cornish, 2 pediments, in front Chamber-- modilion & dintal Cornish, 2 fluted pilasters tabernakle frame mantle Cornish &^c on Brest, 3 pediments, in Back Cham^r, 2 pediments, plain dubble Cornish in pasage-- Chimney Brests, Subbass, Scerting & dubble Cornish in 3^d Story-- 2 Storys of open Newel Stairs, Ramp^d Bracketed, & wainscuted-- painted inSide & out modilion Eaves-- ionick frontispiece at front door -- -- --

Backbuildings, 20 by 13 feet one Story high, 40 by 18½ ft 3 Storys high, 20 by 18½ ft 2 Storys high, 9 inch walls-- finish plain-- the whole about 10 years old --

On the Entry & Stair Case £500 Gunning Bedford
On front parlor & upward 500
On back parlor & upward 500

£1800 @ 42/6P C^t

Back buildings 500 @ 20/P C^t
£2000

APPENDIX II

List of Keys for the Third Street House¹⁸⁵

Front Door

outer cellar Door [bulkhead door at street]
Inward D^o [door at bottom of bulkhead stairs]
2 keys to Door between Front & back Kitchen
pantry door
to Drawer in pantry
to Closet in D^o on y^e East
to Lettr's Closet in D^o
to door from piazza to back room
to both Closets in Said [back] room
to the Eastern Kitchen door
to a closet over the Wash house
to the smoke house
to the seed house
to the East stable door
to Letters Closet in back Cellar
to cellar door leading to back cellar

Up stairs -- 2^d Story

old key that open both doors in the Front room
to the Linnen press over the Piazza
to the cupboard under the said press
to both closets in the blue painted Chamber
to one of the closets over the kitchen

In the Third Story

to the back chamber
to one closet in said Chamber
to the large Front Chamber
same keys opens small front chamber
to both closets in large Front Chamber

4th Story

a key to the store room

¹⁸⁵ Undated list of keys in the hand of Benjamin Chew. This list probably was prepared about the time the property was rented in 1779. HSP, Chew Paper, Box 250.

Appendix III

Furnishings purchased in 1768 by Benjamin Chew for his daughter Mary as part of her dowry for her marriage to Alexander Wilcocks¹⁸⁶

From William Savery, Philadelphia cabinetmaker¹⁸⁷

(Aug 22) 6 - Rush bottom Chairs delivered to his daughter Wilcocks -- £ 2.0.0
 A close stool arm chair to ditto -- £ 2.7.6
 6 - board bottom chairs to ditto -- £ 1.4.0

From Philip Syng, Philadelphia silversmith¹⁸⁸

(Aug 27) 12 polish'd spoons 26: 11½ at 14/ -- £ 18.12.0 18 Tea spoons & Tongs polished -- £ 8.14.8
 (Sept 12) A Soop Ladle 5: 14½ at 14/ -- £ 4.10.1½ Pd Henry Dawkins for engraving 14 Cyphers 14/6 6 Spoons 13: 12 at 11/6 -- £ 7.16.4½

From Jonathan Costelowe, Philadelphia cabinetmaker¹⁸⁹

(Aug 3) To two Mahogany Chamber tables of the newest fashion --£ 14.0.0
 To a Mahogany Breakfast Table with Leaves & Three Drawers with a Lock and Brass Casters to the feet, £ 3.12.6
 To putting up 4 Bedsteds -- £ 0.4.0
 To altering two window blinds -- £ 0.3.0
 To 8 rings & Nabs for ditto -- £ 0.1.6
 To a Black Walnut Wash hand Stand -- £ 1.5.0
 To a Pine kitchen Table with Turned feet and a drawer in it -- £ 1.18.0

From Sarah Lloyd

(Aug 3) To a large Bed, Boulster pillows, Ticken, & making ditto -- £
 11.5.0
 To a smaller Ditto £ 7.0.0
 To one Do for the Maids £ 7.0.0

From Jacob Knor, Germantown carpenter

(Aug 3) for Bedstead for maid & sacking bottom -- £2. 0.0

¹⁸⁶ Mary ("Polly") Chew married Philadelphia lawyer Alexander Wilcocks on May 18, 1768. The total expenditure was calculated at £630.9.1. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 29.

¹⁸⁷ CLIV, DOC XI-330.

¹⁸⁸ CLIV, DOC XI, 329.

¹⁸⁹ CLIV, DOC XI, 328.

for a small Bedstead & sacking bottom -- £1.10.0

From Samuel Samson, Jr.

(May 4) 1 fine 10/4 Damask Table Cloth -- £1.15.0
 (May 10) 4 Ditto @ 20/ -- £4.0.0
 (Aug 5) 2 Pair of best 10/4 Blankets @ 50/ £5.0.0

From William Rush:

(Aug 5) To a Jack and Sundrys -- £4.12.6
 To a Jack weight 12/, Jack Line 5/0 -- £ 0.12.0
 Jack Chain 6/0, 1 Grid Iron 12/ -- £ 0.18.0
 1 frying pan 8/9; 1 Chaffing Dish 15/ -- £1.3.9
 1 plain shovel & Tongs -- £ 0.16.6
 2 Spits 13/6; 1 pair Dogs 30/10 -- £ 2.4.4
 1 pair Pott Racks & 3 potthooks -- £ 0.8.6
 (Aug 13) 1 Iron Rimb Lock & putting on -- £ 0.6.0
 3 pair pott hooks -- £ 0.7.6
 1 Laddle and 1 flesh fork -- £ 0.6.3
 (Aug 31) 1 Dripping pan -- £ 0.14.0

From Hugh and George Roberts, Philadelphia merchants

(nd) To Sundry furniture bot of him for my daughter -- £21.2.2
 (Aug 6) To a Large Japanned Waiter £4.0.0
 an Iron Bake Oven 2.8.0
 4 Pr Lad Irons 33/2 @ 8d 1.3.4
 2 Stands for ditto 3.0
 1 Bright Cleaver 3.9
 1 Iron ash pan handled 18.0
 2 Jigging Irons 4.0
 1 Pr Common snuffers 0.8
 1 Pr best polish'd ditto 12.0
 1 Pr Bellowses 5.6
 1 Pr Chamber ditto 6.6
 1 Set Bright Scewars [skewers] 3.6
 2 Cork Screws 1.6
 2 Pr Polished Candlesticks 18.0
 1 Common Iron ditto 0.9
 ½ Doz Knives and Forks 7.6
 3 Iron Potts from 1 to 4 Gallns 15.0
 3 Iron Skellets 8.0
 3 Sauce pans 7.0
 1 Brass Kettle wg 21 3/4 @ 2/6 £2.14.4½
 1 Small Brass ditto 1.0.0
 1 Large Iron Pott 31/2 @ 4d 10.6

1 Ditto Cast Iron Tea Kettle 12.0
 (Sept 6) 1 Steel Post Coffee Mill 13.0
 an Iron Kettle 5.6
 (Sept 8) To an Iron Stew-Pan wg 24/2 @ 1/8 £2.0.10
 [Note: "All the Goods were bot for my Daughter Polly and given by me to Alexr
 Wilcocks towards Housekeeping, BC"]

From Isaac Jones:

(Apr 25) Sheeting, 1 Ps 41 yds @ 3.3^d -- £ 6.13.3 }
 1 Ps 42 yds @ 3/5 -- 7. 3.6 }
 1 Ps 42 yds @ 4/3 -- 8.18.6 } £22.15.3

From Willing and Todd:

(May 9) 4 Tablecloths @ 32/ £ 6. 8.0 }
 1 Do 1. 6 } £ 7.14.-

From Conyngham & Nesbit:

(May 16) 1 Ps Linnen, 24 yds @ 3s £ 3.12.- }
 1 do, 25 yds @ 6s 7.10.- } £11. 2.-

From John Kaigham:

(Aug 3) 2 doz hard metal plates £ 3. 3.6½

From Samuel Sansom:

(Aug 5) 1 fine 10/4 damask Tablecloth £ 1.15.- }
 4 do. @ 20/ 4. -.- }
 2 pair best 10/4 Blankets @ 50s 5. -.- } £10.15.-

From Kearney & Gilbert:

(Aug 12) 2 spotted 8/4 rugs @ 16s £ 1.12.- }
 1 pair 9/4 Rose Blankets 1. 2.6 } £ 2.14.6

From Pd Naeve and Harman:

(Aug 12) 2 doz. hard metal plates, Wt 30 @ 2/1, £ 3. 2.6

From Pd George Wescott:

(Aug 12) one Fish Kettle £ 3. 8.0 }
 2 pair Candlesticks 1.16.- }
 2 Copper Chaffing Dishes 15.0 }
 2 Saucepans 16.6 } £ 6.15.6

From Dawkins:

(Aug 12) for marking Pewter £ -.10.0

From Alexander Bartram, Philadelphia merchant

(Sept 7) 1½ doz china Cups & Saucers £ 2. 3.6

From Tench Tilghman, Philadelphia merchant
(Sept 7) 21 yds Sheeting £ 2.16.0

From Elliott and Stapleton:
(Sept 7) for Brushes £ -.6.3

From unidentified vendors
(Sept 7) for a tin Sugar holder £ 9.3
(Sept 7) for 9 Brushes £ 9.3
(Sept 7) for ordinary Pewter £ 1.18.2½

An Account of the Cash expended and laid out by Mrs Lloyd and Mrs Chew for sundries for my Daughter Mary Wilcocks on her Marriage advanced by B. Chew as part of her Fortune

(Aug 3)	To cash pd by Mrs Lloyd for a tin Sugar holder --	£0.9.3
	To Do pd by Do for ordinary pewter --	£ 1.18.2½
	To 12 pillow cases pd by Mrs Chew at 4/6	£2.14.0
	To 6 Do by Do at 6/6	£1.19.0
	To 5 Table Cloths by Do at 28/	£7.0.0
	To 23 Towells by Do	£1.4.0
	To a Blue & white bed Quilt by Do.	£5.1.2
	To Pd a Tin man by Do for sundries	£1.5.0
	To Napkins by Do	£4.8.0
	To Mujs & Salts by Do	£3.4.0
	To Stoneware Dishes & plates pd by Do	£3.7.0
	To Castors 40/, a tea chest 26/, bottle boards by	Do -- £3.0.0
	To cups & saucers 27/, cut wine Glasses 56/ --	£4.3.0
	To a set of China pd by Do	£6.10.0

Appendix IV

Furnishings purchased in 1774 by Benjamin Chew for his daughter Elizabeth as part of her dowry for her marriage to Edward Tilghman, Jr.¹⁹⁰

From Jacob Knor, Germantown carpenter:

(Sept 7)	To a mahogany bedsted -----	£ 2. 8.-	
	To a Green D ^o	1.15.-	
	To a Ditto Lowpost	1. 7.6	
	To a Comode Table	9. -.-	
(Oct 3)	To a Kitchen D ^o	- .14.-	
	To a Close Press	15. -.-	
(Oct 5)	To a Bedsted for ye Boy	- .12.-	
	To a Stand	1. 5.-	
	To a Wash hand D ^o	1. 5.-	
	To a Dressing Table	2.10.-	
(Dec 15)	To a Tray	- .12.-	
	To a D ^o	- . 9.-	
	To a knife Box	<u>- 7.6</u>	
			£ 42. 5.3
	Deduct for Mr. Chew <u>5 - 3</u>		
	E. Tilghman	£ 37. 5.0	

From James Reynolds, Philadelphia carver, gilder and framemaker:

(Sept 29)	A pair of Glasses in Carv'd oval frames	£ 25. 0.0	
	To 2 pair of Girandoles @ 45/	4.10.0	
	To a Japann'd Waiter	1. 0.0	
	To a Glass in Carv'd White frame	<u>5.10.0</u>	
			£ 36. 0.0

From John Ross, Philadelphia upholsterer:

(Sept 20)	To making a plain Bed 21/ & 1½ yd		
	binding added 4/6 -----	£ 1. 6.9½	
	To making 3 w[indo] ^w Curtains	0.15.0	
	To 2½ yds linen for lining heads of		
	the bed Curtains - -----	0. 5.10	
	To wooden rods for ye bed -----	0. 3.6	
	To large Curtain Rings for Bed &c,		
	braiding tape, thread &c -----	0.10.0	
	To 3 pully lathes -----	0. 7.6	

¹⁹⁰ Elizabeth Chew married Edward Tilghman, Jr., May 26, 1774. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 29.

To 6 Cloak pins @ 7 ^d -----	0. 3.6
To 6 flat Hooks @ 4 ^d -----	0. 2.0
To 36 yds Line @ 3½ ^d -----	0.10.6
To 12 Tassels @ 22 ^d -----	1. 2.0
To making a full trimmed Bed -----	1.10.0
To 82 yds Line @ 3½-----	1. 4.0
To 21 Tassels @ 22 ^d -----	1.18.6
To 6-¾ yds binding @ 4/6 -----	1.10.4
To a Set of Sloped Cornices -----	1.15.0
To 4½ yds muslin for lining valences 4/6	1. 0.3
To making 3 W[indo] ^w Curtains -----	0.15.0
To rings, braiding tape, thread, tinker hooks, tax [tacks], pins, &c. ---	0.15.0
To 14 Cloak pins @ 7 ^d --8/2; To 3 pully lathes -- 7/6 -----	0.15.8
To 6 flat hooks -----	0. 2.0
To making 3 Chintz Curtains -----	0.15.0
To 54 yds Line @ 3½ ^d -----	0.15.9
To rings, braiding tape, thread, &c &c	0. 7.6
To 3 pully lathes -- 7/6 }	
To 6 Cloak pins @ 7 ^d -- 3/6 }	
To 6 flat hooks @ 4 ^d -- 2/0 } -----	0.13.0
To 12 white Tassels @ 22 ^d -----	1. 2.0
To 2 pully lathes for back parlor -- 5/ }	
To 4 Cloak pins & 4 flat hooks }	0. 8.8
To puting up [th]em -----	0. 1.6
To 1 P paper 6/ & 8½ yds linin 1/10 15/7 for paper Curtains -----	1. 1.7
To making D ^o up for 3 windows -----	0. 7.6
To binding for D ^o 4/0 }	
To 3 round sticks &c 3/0 } -----	0. 7.0
To making 20 chair cases @ 1/-----	1. 0.0
To 5 Ps [pieces] tape @ 1/6-----	0. 7.6
To thread -----	0. 1.0
To making 3 Check W ^w Curtains -----	0.15.0
To 36 yds line @ 3½ ^d -----	0.10.6
To 3 yds tape @ 1/6 -----	0. 4.6
To 3 pully lathes -----	0. 7.6
To rings braiding tape &c, &c -----	0. 7.6
To making a Carpet, binding thread &c	<u>1. 0.0</u>

£ 27. 5.4

[Noted on bill "the above amount for Work Services &c for his Daughter, Elizabeth Tilghman.]

From Joseph Stansbury, Philadelphia merchant:

(Sept 14)	1 Sett Dishes -----	£ 2. 1. 2
	1 Tureen & Dish -----	-.12.-
	5½ Doz small Plates -----	1. 3.10
	2 small Tureens -----	-. 5. 6
	3 bottles & basons -----	-.12. 0
	1 Water Jug, 3 Pint -----	-. 1. 6
	6 Bowls, 4 @ 4 ^d , 2 @ 6 ^d ----	-. 2. 4
	1 Doz Cups & Saucers -----	-. 4. 0
	1 Sugar Dish -----	-. . 6
	1 Cream Jug -----	-. . 4
	1 Teapot -----	-. . 8
	1 Coffee pott -----	-. 2. 9
	2 fluted P[in]t Mugs -----	-. 1. 4
	1 Doz China Cups & Saucers --	-.19. 0
	1 D ^o Bowl -----	-. 4. 3
	1 Doz Cut Wines -----	1.16. 0
	1 Pair D ^o Decan[ter] ^s Q ^{ts} ---	1. 6. 0
	1 D ^o D ^o D ^o P ^{ts} ---	-.18. 0
	1 Table Sett China -----	19. 0. 0
	2 Doz Plates in addition to the Sett -----	2.10. 0
(Sept 15)	1 P ^f Pint Decanters -----	-.18. 0
	2 blue & W ^t Pint mugs @ 5/ --	-.10. 0
	2 Tumblers -----	-. 2. 6
	1 Red China Teapott -----	-. 1. 6
	1 D ^o Sugar Dish -----	-. 3. 0
	1 P ^f Bottle Stands -----	-. 7. 6
(Sept 27)	1 Castor -----	2. 3. 0
	2 Tureens -----	1.10. 0
	1 Cream Ewer -----	-. 3. 9
(Oct 17)	1 P ^f Cut Salts -----	-. 7. 6
(Nov 1)	1½ Doz Cups & Saucers @ 19/	1. 8. 6
	1 Nankeen Teapott -----	-.15. 0
	1 D ^o Sugar Dish -----	-. 7. 0
	1 D ^o Bowl -----	-. 3. 6
	2 Queens-ware Dishes -----	-. 2. 0
	1 P ^f Sauce Boats -----	-. 1. 6
(Nov 4)	½ Doz QW Small Plates -----	<u>-1. 6</u>

£ 41. 7. 2

From Magdⁿ Devine, Phila:

(Ju 22) 28 yds Check @ 1/8 ----- £ 2. 6.8

(Aug 3) 2 Pieces furniture Cotton,

57-3/4 yds @ 6/1 -----	17. 6.8	
(Dec 3) 7½ yds purple, blue & white		
Calico @ 4/4 -----	<u>1.12.6</u>	
		£ 21. 5.8

From James Cunning:

(Oct 5) 2 pair Blankets @ 57/ -----	£ 5.14.-	
2 paid ditto @ 37/ -----	3.14.-	
(Oct 14) 1 pair ditto -----	<u>2.17.-</u>	
		£ 12.5.-

From Elizabeth Lawrence:

(Oct 7) To a Mattress hair & wool -----	£ 1.13.6	
To 40 wt of Feathers @ 3/4 ----	<u>6.13.4</u>	
		£ 8.6.10

From Baker & Weiss:

(Dec 11) To 13 yds Carpeting @ 4/3 ----	£ 2.15.3	
---	----------	--

From John Bates:

(Oct 25) To 6 pot Lids -----	£ -.15.-	
------------------------------	----------	--

From Francis & Tilghman

(Aug 3) To 3 p ^s Furniture Callico @ 70/	£ 10.10.-	
(Aug 26) To 6 p ^s 7/4 Damask Table Cloths @ 11/6	3. 9.-	
To 1 p ^s Clouting Diaper N ^o B	-.18.-	
To 3 p ^s d ^o C @ 19/	2.17.0	
(Sep 14) To 1 p India Chintz	4.15.-	
(Oct 14) To 36 Ells Huggaback ¹⁹¹ @ 12 ^d	1.16.-	
(Dec 2) To 2 p ^s Clothing Diaper N ^o C @ 20/	2.-.-	

From Samuel Grove:

(Jul 23) 28 yds of Sheeting @ 4/6 -----	£ 6. 6.0	
28 yds of D ^o @ 3/9 -----	<u>5. 5.0</u>	
		£ 11.11.-
(July 29) 66 yds of sheeting @ 2/6 -----	£ 8. 5.0	
2 Counterpains -----	9. 8.-	
(Nov 10) 12 yards of Hessian @ 18 ^d -----	£ -.18.0	

From John Davis:

(Nov 12) To Stuffing 10 Chairs @ 1/4 -----	£ 1.15.-	
--	----------	--

¹⁹¹ Linen for towels with a raised woven figure.

To 28 pounds Curl'd Hair @ 2/2 ----	3. 0. 8
To 6½ yds of Sheeting @ 2/6 -----	0.16. 3
To 5 yd of Canvas @ 2/3 -----	0. 5.10
To 30 d° of Webb @ 5 ^d -----	0.12. 6
To 10 Pedestals @ 1/6 -----	<u>0.15. 0</u>

£ 7. 5. 3

From Edward Oxley, Phila:

(July 20) To 96 lb Feathers @ 3/6 -----	£ 16.16.0
To 3½ yds of Ticking @ 2/ -----	0. 7.6
Making Beds, Bolsters, & Pillows --	0.10.0
Thread -----	<u>0. 1.0</u>

£ 17.14.6

From John Webster, Phila:

(July 15) To a large hair Mattrass of Ticken	£ 5. 0.0
(Oct 8) To 10 mahogany Chairs }	
To two card tables }	
To one Tea Table }	----- £ 20.0.0

[NB. Bill notes "all the Furniture I have yet had from Jn^o Webster" (signed) Edw^d Tilghman]

From William Turnbull:

(Oct 24) To 1 Carpet 6 by 5 is 30 yds @ 6/	£ 9. -.-
22 yds yowed [jute] Carpeting @ 8/	8.16.-
¾ yds ½ yowed [jute] Ditto @ 3/	<u>- 9.9</u>

£ 18. 5.9

From Daniel King, (Phila) brass:

(Nov 3) 1 p ^r of Brass Dogs for y ^e Parlor	£ 6.10.-
1 p ^r Shovell & Tongs	1. 2.6
1 p ^r of Chamber Dogs	1.10.-
1 p ^r of shovell & Tongs	-.18.-
2 p ^r of Chimney hooks	<u>- 15.6</u>

£ 13.15.6

From Hugh & George Roberts

(Sep 12) To 4 Iron potts, sorted	£ .15.6
2 Ditto W ^t 69½ @ 4 ^d	1. 3.2
2 Skellits 4/3; a Coffee Mill 15/	.19.3
1 Chopping Knife 2/-; 2 Stands 3/ ..	. 5.-
a Dustpan 3/-; a Ladle 1/6 4.6
4 P Iron pott Hooks 9.-
1 P ^r large Kitchen Tongs & Shovel	<u>15.-</u>

			[total] £ 4.11.5
(Nov 1)	To a P polish'd snuffers 7.6	
(Nov 2)	To 1 P D ^o End Irons .. £ .15.- }		
	To P Tongs & Shovel10.- }	
	To P polish'd D ^o	<u>18.-</u> }	2. 3.-
(Nov 9)	To a Cleaver 4/6 }		
	8 br[ass] Hooks & Rings 2/10 }	0. 7.4 }	
	2 doz Green Ivory H Knives		
	& forks	1.16.0 }	
(Nov 10)	2 Cupboard Locks	<u>0. 5.10</u> }	2. 9.2
21/ ; P ^r Bellows	1. 9.- }		(Dec 12) 1 Warming Pan
	2 large Copper Chaf Dishes ...	<u>0.19.-</u> }	<u>2. 8.2</u>

Furnishings purchased in 1775 by Benjamin Chew for his daughter Elizabeth as part of her dowry

From John Ross:

(Apr 6)	To 6¼ yds & ½ quarter Calico @ 6/ ..	£ 1.18.3	
	To making 10 Chair Cases @ 1/	0.10.0	
	To tape & thread	<u>0. 2.0</u>	
			[total] £ 2.10.3

From Ann King: for a servant's bed

(Feb 23)	11½ yds Ticken @ 3/	£ 1.11.6	
	Making [a servant's bed] @ 4/	- 4.-	
	56 lb cat tails @ 4 ^d	<u>- 18.8</u>	
			[total] £ 2.17.2

From Alexander Smith:

(Sep 10)	To 1 Pare of Citchen Dog 46 lb 8 oz @ 1/	£ 2. 6.6	
	To 1= 5 Inch 2 wheld Jack	4.10.0	
	To 2 Freams of pullies, 6 in ech fream..	0.15.0	
	To 1 Liddieng pullie 1/6 }		
	To 1= 60 yard Line @ 5/0 }	0. 6.0	
	To 1 Boord & Studs & Keys @ 3/ }		
	To 1 Wight 11/ }	0.14.0	
	To 4 Crampets @ 3/ & Nails	0. 1.3	
	To 4 yards & 6 Inches of Chen @ 1/3 ^d ...	0. 5.2½	
	To Fixieng up	0. 5.0	
	To 4 Cren hooks, to 2 Link hooks @ 10/ }		
	To 1 Spit @ 9/ }	<u>0.19.0</u>	
			[total] £ 10. 2.5½

From Hugh & George Roberts:

(Jan 6)	To a pair neat Polish'd End Irons ...	£ 2. 5.0	
	A pair japanned Candlesticks	0. 8.0	
	1 Polish'd Copper plate warmer	3.10.0	
	1 D ^{ble} doz: Green Ivory Desert knives &c	1.16.0	
	½ doz: Brass Nobs	<u>0. 1.6</u>	
		[total]	£ 8. 0.6
(Feb 22)	To 1= 13 In: Barr'd Stock Lock	<u>0.10.0</u>	
		[total]	£ 8.10.6

Appendix V
Chew's handwritten list of items offered for sale
at public vendue, October 1779.¹⁹²

a Square Mahogany Dining Table
2 round Mahogany Tea Tables
1 " Ditto card Table
1 square Ditto Breakfast Table
1 Ditto dressing Table--one drawer wanting
1 Mahogany Chest of Drawers
one Large oval Walnut Table
one smaller ditto
* a Settee Mahogany Frame & Check Cover with Brass rollers
9 Mahogany Chairs with hair Bottoms
* 8 Mahogany Chairs without Bottoms
16 low back's Windsor Chairs
1 High back's Ditto
* 2 elegant Commode Mahogany Dressing Tables
* 1 Large Scotch Carpet [illegible]
1 smaller Ditto Scotch [sic] Carpet
1 Entry Carpet
2 Large Green Window Curtains
2 pair of Walnut Chest of Drawers
1 Large Writing Desk & stool covered
1 smaller Ditto covered
1 old smaller Ditto
1 Painted Book Case with Brass Lock
3 open Iron Stoves, compleat
a time piece with Weight & key
an excellent Kitchen Jack, with weight & 2 double pulleys
& 1 small Ditto [weight] of Lead
an old Bedstead
Empty Wine Pipes
Iron Hoops
Inside Window Shutters
Modillions & other Carpenters Work
1 close stove Iron
a Walnut Chamber Table
a Milch Cow

¹⁹² All entries marked with * have been crossed out. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 250.

Appendix VI
Items Stored during the move to Delaware in 1779.¹⁹³

11 chairs at Mrs Craigs;
1 D[itto] at P[olly] W[ilcocks];
6 mahogany ditto at J T [Joseph Turner]
1 arm chair [at Joseph Turner's]
a Chest of Drawers of Betsy's at P W [Polly Wilcocks];
Breakfast Table ditto;
1 High Post Mahogany Bedstead at J T [Joseph Turner's]
2 Beds and Mattress ditto
1 Chest of drawers & Dressing Table;
2 Card Tables;
Mahogany Tables Dining;
Top of Book Case;
Tea Chest;
Pictures;
2 pine Tables & 2 Iron boards;
2 Looking Glasses, NB 1 at Mrs Ham[ilton's];
Teaboard -- J T [Joseph Turner];
1 pair Blankets;
Wash Stand;
Ned's Writing Desk with Drawers & high Desk in the house;
Nelly Table & drawers;
pieces of Carpeting;
11 Curtain Rails;
Bake Pan;
2 Grates;
Stone Pots;
China;
Large Table with Carpet;
2 Leaves with ditto. NB one with Carpet;
12 Chairs with Hair Bottoms;
Bedstead with Mahogany Posts;
8 Chairs;
High Chest of Drawers.

¹⁹³ CLIV, DOC IV 142.

Appendix VII
Items shipped to Dover, November, 1779.¹⁹⁴

a barbykew iron;
2 kitchen hand irons;
2 cranes and 56 iron weights;
bookcase bottom;
3 boxes of kitchen furniture;
chest of linen;
boxes of china and earthenware;
case with 3 looking glasses;
4 beds [mattresses];
4 bedsteads;
4 wash hand stands;
4 bedsteads;
bundle of head boards;
3 half chest drawers;
small walnut tables;
8 walnut chairs;
a pine leaf table;
2 beds (one of the servants').

¹⁹⁴ CLIV, DOC IV 143-144.

Appendix VIII

An Account of Expenditures in hard money. [Kept by Benjamin Chew, Jr., November 24, 1777 to October 2, 1778.] HSP, Chew Papers, Box 76.

Nov^r 24th 1777

Del^d to my Mother the Bundle of P[aper] C[urrency] £100. -- (11/25) Cash to Robert for 6 lb Coffee & 6 lb Sugar 1. 2.6

Cash for p^r Shoes for myself -.12.3

(11/30) Cash for ½ Cw^t brown Sugar 5.10.-

D^o for a Piece of Linnen @ 6/8 bo^t at

Madden^{had} 8. 5.-

D^o for 24 Y^{ds} d^o bo^t at d^o at 3/9 4.10.-

(12/8) d^o for a Cord of Wood & Car^{tg} 3. --

d^o for a p^r of Gloves -. 7.6

d^o for 2 Sheep bo^t of J. Allan 3. 7.6

(12/9) d^o for cart^g Meat from Wharf -.11.3

d^o the half hard Cash for kill^g a Beef @ 15/ -. 7.6

(12/10) d^o to my Mother 2. 2.-

(12/12) d^o for Postage of Letters from England -. 5.4

In my absence my Mo^r took out 8 ½ Joh[annes]¹⁹⁵

& 3½ Gui[neas] 30. 2.6

(12/13) d^o for Brinehle for 130 Beef @ 8/ 4. 1.10

d^o to d^o for 3 Cw^t 2" Flour 11. 1.1

d^o to Edenfield for Poultry 1.10.-

(12/18) d^o to my Mo[ther] 1.17.6

(12/19) d^o to d^o -. 7.6

(12/20) D^o for Shoeing of Horse -.10.-

d^o to my M^o[ther] 3.15.-

d^o for 11 Oranges for my Father -. 7.6

Cash to Nancy as Exp^s dur^g Stay in

Jersey £24.-.-}

But she ret^d Jan^y 7th 6.-.-} 18. --

1778

(1/7) Cash to W^m Stuart Quarters Wages as Coach .. 10. --

d^o to D^o for his Time since to this day

as p^r his Acc^t 4.11.4

Cash our Exp^s to Jersey & on Retⁿ in

Cont^l £9.5.9

¹⁹⁵ A half Johannes is a Dutch coin worth £3.

- (1/15) Del^d to my Mo^r this Day 3 Joes [Johannes]
 & 8 dollars 12. --
- (1/9) Cash for 2 p^r worsted Stockings 1. 6.-
 Cash for a Pig 2 Couple Fowls & a quarter
 Veal 1.13.6
- (1/10) Cash to Rob^t for Market -. 7.6
 d^o for 165 lb Pork 9. 6.-
 d^o for 149 lb D^o @ 1/3 9. 6.3
- (1/12) d^o to Girls 3½ Joes [Johannes] each for Exp^s 27. --
 d^o for 2 Pcks Buckwheat -. 3.6
 d^o to Rob^t for Rum for himself -. 1.10
- (1/13) d^o to my Mo[ther] -. 7.6
 d^o for Candied Sugar for Har[r]iet &c -. 3.9
 d^o for a Lock -. 6.-
- (1/15) d^o for 18½ lb Veal @ 2/ 1.17.-
- (1/16) d^o for Yeast -. 1.10
- (1/17) d^o for a Cord of Wood 4. --
 d^o for cutting 4 Cord 1.12.3
- (1/19) d^o for haul^g 2¼ Cord @ 45/ 5. 2.6
 d^o Rob^t for Mark^t -.15.-
 d^o for haul^g 3½ Cord of Wood 7. 7.6
 d^o to Rob^t for Mark^t 1.10.-
 d^o for Stick of Seal^g Wax -. 1.6
- (1/20) d^o for 1 lb Chocolate -. 4.3
 1 doz. Combs -. 3.4
 21 y^{ds} Linnen @ 1/6 1.11.6
 10 y^{ds} Check @ 2/6 1. 5.-
 38 y^{ds} Russia Sheeting..... 7. 5.-
 1 p^r Blankets 2. --
 Thread -.10.-
 4 pieces of Tape @ 1/6 -. 6.-
 d^o to Washing Woman -. 7.6
 d^o to J[ohn] C[hew] Money borrow'd by my Mo^r 3.10.-
- (1/21) d^o Shoes for Aaron -.10.6
 Stockings for D^o -. 4.6
 Coarse Hat for D^o -. 2.6
 d^o to him for Exp^s down to Mary^l
 in Cont^l Money..... £1.10.0 --. --
 d^o Shoes for myself -.17.-
- (1/22) d^o to Rob^t for Mark^t -. 7.6
- (1/24) del^d to my Mo^r 3 ½ Joes 9. --
- (1/23) My Mo^r took out of Mr Craigs Money 3 Gui[nea] 5. 5.-
- (1/22) Cash for 2 lb Butter -. 5.-
 d^o to Fan by my Mo^r order -. 7.6

- (1/23) d^o Exp^s to Mark^t 3. 1.7
 d^o for a Loaf of Sugar 1. 6.2
 d^o for haul^g Cord of Wood 2. 5.-
- (1/24) Cash in part for Spouts 3. -.-
 d^o for 50 lb 3 oz Loaf of Sugar 5.12.6
 d^o for haul^g 1-3/4 Cord of Wood 3. 5.-
 d^o to my Mo^r -. 2.-
 d^o for 6 Gauze handchfs for Girls -.15.-
 d^o to Byrnes cutting Wood -.15.-
- (1/26) Cash for 22 lb Veal @ 2/ 2. 4.-
 d^o to Ab^m Rex his Acc^t in full 3. 5.-
 d^o for 4 Fowls -.14.-
 d^o for a Pig, -.15.-
 this Day del^d out of J[oseph] T[urner's]
 Money to my Mo^r 6. -.-
- (1/29) d^o to Rob^t for Market 2. 5.-
 d^o to Ferguson in p^t for cutt^g Wood 1. 2.6
 d^o to Mrs Fisher for my Father's great Coat 8.15.-
 d^o Rob^t for Rum -. 1.10
 d^o to Nancy 1/10, Nelly for Yeast 1/10 -. 3.9
- (1/30) d^o to Rob^t for Mark^t 1.10.-
 d^o for F Sweep^g Brush -. 6.6
 d^o for haul^g ½ Cord of Wood 1. -.-
 d^o to Nancy for my Mo^r 1.15.-
 d^o to my Mo^r to pay for Stays 1.17.6
 d^o to Rob^t for mark^t -.15.-
 d^o to Fan for Thread to mend Carpet -. 3.9
- (2/2) p^d Ferguson in full for cutt^g Wood -.15.-
 Cash to C Williams for a Cord of Wood 4.10.-
 d^o to Rob^t for Mark^t 1.10.-
- (2/3) d^o for a p^r of Buckles for myself -.10.-
 do to Peg[gy Chew] for my Mo^r &c 3. -.-
 d^o to my Mo^r -.11.-
- (2/4) d^o for 6 lb Butter @ 2/6 -.15.-
 d^o for a bshl of hominy Corn -.10.-
- (2/5) d^o for 120 lb Beef, 1/1 6.10.-
 Cash to my Mo^r 1. ??
 d^o for 1 lb Nails -. 1.6
- (2/6) d^o for weaving 2 p^r Stockings -.15.-
 Almanack for my Mo^r -. 1.6
 Yeast -. 1.-
- (2/7) Cash to Rob^t for Mark^t -.15.-
 Exp^s to Girls -.15.-
 Cash to Rob^t for Mark^t -.17.6

- (2/9) d^o to d^o for d^o -15.-
 d^o p^d Byrnes in full for cutt^g Wood -.11.3
 d^o for 4 play tickets 1.10.-
 d^o to my Mo^r 3.10.-
 d^o to Rob^t in part of Wages 10.10.-
- (2/10) d^o to d^o for Mark^t 1.11.2
 d^o to a Coachman -. 7.6
 d^o to Palmer [shoemaker] his Acc^t in full .. 1.10.-
- (2/12) d^o haul^g 1 Cord Wood 2. 5.-
- (2/13) Exp^s for Children -. 3.6
 Cash to Rob^t for Mark^t -.17.6
- (2/14) d^o to d^o for d^o -15.-
- (2/15) d^o to d^o for d^o 2. 5.-
 d^o for a bll [barrel] of Flour 5. 6.6
 d^o for ¼ Cwt of d^o -.15.-
 ½ bshl of Indian Meal -.11.-
 Cash to Nancy [Anne Maria Chew] -.17.6
- (2/16) Cash to Rob^t for Mark^t 1. 2.6
 Cash to my Mo^r for Nancy and Sally [Chew],
 4 Guin 7. -.-
 Pd Jos Stride, Glazier -. 5.-
 Cash for 24 y^{ds} Linnen @ 3/10 4.12.-
 d^o for 23 y^{ds} of D^o @ 4/4 4.19.8
- (2/17) Shoes for Priscilla -. 7.6
 d^o for Washing Woman -. 7.6
- (2/18) d^o for a Serv^t at Dance for Girls -. 3.9
 d^o for 140 lb Beef @ 1/3 8.15.-
- (2/19) d^o to Ironing Woman 1.15.-
- (2/20) d^o for 45½ lb Pork @ 1/2 2.13.1
- (2/21) d^o to Rob^t for Mark^t 2. 4.8
 d^o to d^o for d^o 2.10.-
 d^o for 8 lb Butter @ 2/6 1. -.-
- (2/22) Cash for Yeast 1/ , Fan for Tea by Mo^r order
 7/6 -. 8.6
 Cash to Rob^t for Mark^t 2.17.6
 d^o for a bshl of Salt -. 7.6
 d^o to my Mo^her 1.15.-
- (2/24) Cash to Rob^t for Mark^t 1.10.-
 d^o for a p^r of Boots for myself & mend^g Shoes 3.10.-
 do to my M^o 1.15.-
 d^o for haul^g a Load of Rails¹⁹⁶ -. 2.6

¹⁹⁶ This may be for repairs to Cliveden resulting from the Battle of Germantown.

- d^o to my Mo^r money Betty had but ret^d 3. -.-
- (2/25) Cash to Rob^t for Mark^t 1.15.-
 d^o to my Mo^r 4 Guineas 7. -.-
- (2/26) Cash to Rob^t for Markt 3. 5.-
 d^o to d^o for d^o 3.10.0
- (2/27) d^o to d^o for d^o 5.15.6
 d^o to Mrs Simpson her Acc^t in full 5. 8.-
- (3/3) Cash for mend^g & repairing 3 Locks -. 7.6
 d^o to a Coachman at y^e Play for Girls -. 7.6
- (3/4) d^o Portorage for bll Flour -. 1.6
 d^o for a bll of Flour bo^t at Vendue 5. 2.-
 d^o to Fan for my Mo^r 1.15.-
 d^o for mend^g Wheel &c of the Coach -.15.-
- (3/6) Cash to Rob^t for mark^t 4.15.-
 d^o for a Pig 38 lb 1.19.-
 d^o to my Mo^r for flannel -.18.-
 d^o p^d Griffiths in full for y^e Spouts 9.19.10
 d^o for a Load of Hay & carting 15.10.-
- (3/7) Cash for 29 lb Veal 1/3 two fore q^{rs} 1.16.3
 d^o for 28 lb d^o @ 1/6 two hind q^{rs} 2. 2.-
 Charity -. 2.-
- (3/11) P^d Hood for his Acc^t in full 2. 9.9
 Cash to Rob^t for Mark^t 4. 7.6
- (3/13) Cash to a man sawing two days -. 9.6
 Cash for Yeast -. 1.3
- (3/14) Cash for 3 Shoe Brushes -. 7.6
- (3/16) Cash for 68 lb mould Candles @ 1/10 5.16.5
 d^o for 47 lb Soap @ 1/1 2.10.11
 d^o to Nancy 1.15.-
- (3/17) Cash to my Mo^r 10 Guineas 17.10.-
 d^o to Butcher kill^g Calf -. 7.6
- (3/18) Cash for 176 lb Beef @ 1/6 13.14.-
- (3/19) Cash for caseing Wine -.15.-
- (3/20) Cash to my Mo^r 3.10.-
 d^o for a Loaf of Sugar -.18.9
 d^o for 1/4 Cwt brown Sugar 1.10.-
- (3/21) Cash for 12 lb d^o @ 1/6 1.
 d^o to my Mo^r 5. 5.-
 d^o for Leather Breeches for Bill [coachman] 2. 5.-
 d^o for Shoes for Bill -.15.-
- (3/23) Cash for Rob^t for Mark^t 3.10.-
 d^o for Newspapers for my Father -. 3.9
 d^o for my Mo^r -.10.-
 d^o to my Mo^r for Spirits 16/6 she rec^d 1.15.-

- (3/24) d^o grinding Knife, Scissors &c -. 4.3
 (3/25) d^o to my Mo^r for Tea 1.15.-
 d^o to my Mo^r for Betty &c 8 Guineas 14.-.-
 (3/27) d^o to J Lawrence for 6 days Work in G[town] 2. 5.-
 d^o to Dragoons w^t Flag (½ to be rep^d by
 Mrs Penn) 3.10.-
 d^o to Rob^t for Mark^t 3.10.-
 (3/28) d^o to my Mo^r 1.17.6
 (3/30) d^o to Rob^t for Mark^t 5.-
 d^o to my Mo^r, 2 Guineas for Girls 3.10.-
 d^o for 7 y^{ds} of Calico @ 30/ Con^t Curr^y
 hav^g bo^t of T. Lowry 30 dollars cont^l
 cur[re]n[c]y for 1.15.-
 Cash Sweeping 4 Chimneys -. 7.6
 d^o for a lb Suchong Tea -.15.-
 (4/2) Cash to Rob^t for Mark^t 3.10.-
 (4/3) d^o to d^o for d^o 4. -.-
 d^o for Yeast, 1/10; my Mo^r 2/3 -. 4.1
 (4/4) d^o p^d Betsy for my Mo^r -. 7.6
 (4/5) d^o to my Mo^r 3.10.-
 (4/6) Cash to Rob^t to buy 3 Cherry Trees by Mo^r
 order -.15.-
 (4/7) Cash to Rob^t for Mark^t 3. -.-
 d^o to a Man cleaning Street -. 5.-
 (4/9) Cash to my Mother -.13.-
 (4/10) Cash to Mrs Simpson her Acc^t 3. 6.-
 (4/11) Cash to Rob^t for Mark^t 3. -.-
 d^o for a bll of Pork 8. -.-
 d^o to Rob^t for Mark^t 3.17.6
 d^o to Cyrus to mend His Shoes -. 3.-
 d^o for a Side of Veal 28½ lb @ 1/6 2. 2.6
 (4/13) P^d Cash for a Dance 3. 8.6
 p^d Fan in p^t her Wages 1.15.-
 Cash to Rob^t for Mark^t 3. -.-
 (4/11) Cash to Cottringer for a p^r Corderoy Breeches 2. 6.-
 (4/14) Cash to Greentree for 128 bshls of Coal @ 2/6 16. -.-
 Cash a lb. Green Tea 1. 6.8
 d^o for Pins for my Mo^r 1. -.-
 d^o to my Mo^r 5 Guineas 8.15.-
 (4/16) Cash for Thread, N^o 13. 24 & 27 -. 9.8
 Laces 7/6, 4 P^r Stock^{gs} @ 4/3 .. 17/ 1. 4.6
 4 p^r d^o @ 5/3 1. 1.-
 Muslin @ 22/6 -.18.4
 (4/17) Exp^s Waistcoat, Breeches, &c 5. 5.-

	Cash for 56 lb 9 oz loaf Sugar @ 2/1	5.17.3
	Cash to Rob ^t for Mark ^t	3.10.-
(4/18)	Cash for Shoes for my Mo ^r p ^d to Betsey	-.17.6
	d ^o p ^d Mr Maurice for my M ^o	-.17.6
	Cash for Needles	-. 2.6
	d ^o to my Mo ^r	-.15.-
	d ^o to Sally	-.15.-
	d ^o to Nancy	1.15.-
	d ^o to Peggy for her Cap	-.15.-
	p ^d Betsy T[ilghman] for my Mo ^r	-.17.6
	d ^o to Rob ^t for Mark ^t	2. -.-
	p ^d Rob ^t what was due on his Acc ^t the 14 th at Mar[ch]	1. -.9
(4/19)	p ^d Porter for Mrs Tilghman	-.11.6
(4/20)	Cash to my Mo ^r 6 Guineas	10.10.-
(4/21)	Cash for 1 Cw ^t Rice	2.10.-
	d ^o to my Mo ^r , 2 Guineas	3.10.-
(4/22)	Cash to Rob ^t for Mark ^t	3.10.-
(4/24)	Cash to Cyrus for Shoes	-.15.-
	d ^o for Buf ^g Ball	-. 1.8
	d ^o Shoeing my horse	-.10.-
(4/25)	Cash p ^d mend ^g Stable door & brwn ^g Lamp	-. 7.6
	d ^o to Rob ^t for Mark ^t	3.10.-
	d ^o to my Mo ^r , 8 Guineas	14. -.-
(4/27)	Cash for two lambs 15/ each	1.10.-
	d ^o p ^d Rob ^t due to him	-.12.-
	d ^o to d ^o for Mark ^t	3. -.-
	Cash p ^d for weav ^g Linsey	1.17.6
	Cash for 3 bls of Flour as p ^r Acc ^t	21.8.6
(4/28)	Cash for Tooth Brushes & Powder for all	-.11.9
(4/29)	Cash to Betty for Starch	-. 7.6
(4/30)	Cash to my Mo ^r for Juliana a Comb	-. 7.6
(5/1)	Cash to my Mo ^r	-. 5.3
	Cash to Rob ^t for Mark ^t	3.17.6
	d ^o for a Bridle	1. 2.6
(5/2)	Cash for Nancy's Robe, 7 Guineas	12. 5.-
	Cash for Gloves for Girls	-.17.6
	d ^o for 17 lb Veal @ 2/	1.14.-
(5/3)	Cash to a Tailor for Shoes bo ^t of him for Children	1. 2.6
	d ^o for Breeches Pattern to d ^o	-. 9.6
(5/4)	Cash to my Mo ^r 5/ and 22/6, Yeast 2/	1. 9.6
(5/6)	P ^d Palmer for Shoes for Girls	2. 5.-
	Cash to Herdsman for attend ^g 2 Cows 1 Week,	

3/9 and 3 Cows @ 1/10, 7/6	-11.3
(5/7) Cash to my Mo ^r for houshd Exp ^s , 3 Guineas ..	5. 5.0
(5/8) Cash to Rob ^t for Mark ^t	3.17.6
(5/9) Cash for ¼ Cw ^t brown Sugar	1.10.-
(5/10) Cash to Peggy for Exp ^s by my Mo ^r ord[er] ...	1.15.-
p ^d mend ^g Coach wheel as p ^r Acc ^t	-10.-
Cash to my Mo ^r	2. 5.-
(5/11) Cash to Rob ^t for Mark ^t	3.10.-
(5/12) Cash to my Mo ^r	1.17.6
(5/14) Cash to Rob ^t for Mark ^t	3.17.6
(5/16) d ^o to d ^o for d ^o	1.15.-
Cash	- . 4.-
Sweep ^g Kitchen Chimney	- . 1.10
p ^d Hugh for Journey to Iron Works	1.10.-
(5/17) P ^d red Feather for Peg	0. 5.8
Cash to Sally	- . 7.6
d ^o mend ^g my watch & Acc ^t with Jeffry's	1. 6.3
(5/18) Cash for 3 p ^r Children's Buckles	- . 3.-
(5/19) Cash to David Evans for a Coffin for Abram	1. 2.6
(5/20) Cash to Blane for 64 lb loaf Sugar 1/9	5.12.-
d ^o for Soap	- . 1.8
d ^o to Rob ^t for Mark ^t	3.10.-
(5/23) Cash to Rob ^t for Mark ^t	3.10.-
d ^o to my Mo ^r	1.15.-
d ^o to Mr Newton for Letter	- .15.-
(5/24) Cash p ^d Myers my Barber	3. -.-
d ^o to Cyrus in p ^t Wages	1.15.-
(5/25) Cash to my Mo ^r , 10 Guineas	17.10.0
d ^o for wheel ^g 13 Cord Wood	-18.6
(5/26) Cash to Rob ^t on Acc ^t his own Wages, 3 G[uin]	5. 5.-
Cash to my Mo ^r at Freeman's Store	14. -.-
d ^o to my D ^o 1 h[alf] Joe [Johanne]	3. -.-
(5/29) p ^d Vannost mend ^g Pumps in full	1. -.-
p ^d Porter bring ^g Barrels &c	- . 3.9
Cash to the Washing Woman	-15.-
(5/30) Cash to Nancy 7/6, Peggy 3/, Starch 1/6	-12.-
Wash ^g Woman 7/6, Wheel ^g 25 Cord 37/6	2. 5.-
Sawing & piling part of d ^o	-14.-
Half Gallon Rum	- . 4.6
(5/31) Cash to Rob ^t for Mark ^t but he p ^d haul ^g 10	
Cord of Wood @ 7/6	3.10.-
Cash to D ^o for Mark ^t	3.10.-
Cash for Sundry Goods purchased as p ^r List	
by me [NB: See detailed list below] ..	159.14.4

- (6/1) Cash p^d Miller Acc^t of Cart^g as p^r rec^t 9. -.-
 Cash p^d to Mrs Russell for Stays 5. 5.-
 Cash for 2 p^r Shoes for my Fath[er] 1. 8.-
- (6/2) Cash to my Mo^r -. 7.6
- (6/4) Cash p^d Cha^s Gordon in full of forty Guineas
 borrowed of him Nov^r last 70. -.-
 Cash p^d [illeg]d^y Tubs &c -.18.-
 Cash p^d for six hundred of Hay 2. 5.-
- (6/6) Cash to Rob^t due to him on last Mark^t Acc^t. 2. 5.-
 D^o to for Mark^t 3. 5.-
- (6/9) Cash to David Franks for 10 lb Tea 10. -.-
 Cash burying Dinah 1. 5.-
 p^d Cainer his Acc^t mend^g Phaeton 1. 2.6
- (6/8) Cash to Nurse by my Mo^r order 3. -.-
- (6/10) Cash to my Mother 1.15.-
- (6/12) Cash p^d to Tench Coxe's Acc^t p^r rec^t 24. 5.-
- (6/15) p^d grazing our Cows to this day -.17.6
 p^d Cyrus in full & discharged 1.15.-
 p^d haul^g 9 load Coals 3. -.-
- (6/16) Cash to 2 Soldiers appre^g Priscilla 3. 7.6
 p^d their cross^g & recross^g Ferry & Mich^l? .. -. 7.6
- (6/17) Cash to Mark^t 1.15.-
 d^o p^d to Adam Hubley for 2 lb Tea, Vid Rec^t 3. 4.-
 P^d Capⁿ Payne in full By a Pipe of Wine
 sold him 2 May delivered, £120.-.-
 By Cash p^d to Mrs Lydia McCall according to
 Capⁿ Payne's Order & her Receipt, £55.-.- 175. -.-
- (7/3) Cash to my Mo^r 3 h[alf] Jo^s & 4 dollars 10.10.-
 Cash to M. Freeman for 10 y^d Coating 4. -.-
 p^d Rob^t what was due him on Mark^t 1.10.-
- (7/23) p^d Weav^g Linnen at Skipp Acc^t 4.16.-
- (7/24) p^d Sam^l Richards his Acc^t 5. 5.-
 p^d Newton Rem^r for Let[ters] 1. 2.6
- (8/4) Cash to my Mo^r to pay Palmer the Shoemaker 1.10.-
- (8/23) Cash to Nancy -. 7.6
- (8/17) p^d for keeping the young Horse as p^r Ac^t ... 1.10.-
- (9/2) lent Mr Hemsley 1 Guinea 1.15.-
- (9/7) p^d Sidney Evans in p^t her Acc^t 6. -.-
- (9/27) p^d for 3 lb Butter @ 1/3 -. 3.9
- (10/2) Gave my Mo^r to pay Mrs C for Butter -. 15.-

List of Goods bought by BC2 from May 25th to 30th, 1778

1 piece Linen, 25 yds @ 3/8	£ 4.11.8
1 piece ditto, 49 yds @ 3/9	9. 3.9
1 piece ditto, 26 yds @ 3/10	4.19.8
*2 piece ditto, 50 yds @ 5/7	18.19.2
5 Table Cloths, @ 10/	2.10.0
1 doz. Handchfs	3. -.-
2 doz. Women's Gloves, @ 2/9	- .16.6
2 pair fine Blankets, 45/	4.10.-
1 piece Flowered Dimity	6.- .-
1 piece fine Jean, 20 yds	4.16.0
1 piece Dowlass, 33 yds	3. 4.-
1000 Needles	- .18.-
1 piece Calicoe	2.10.-
½ doz. Mens plain cotton Hose	2.10.-
7 yds Flower'd Muslin, 11/6	4. 0.6
10 yds Brown Cloth coarse, 6/2	3. 1.8
5 yds Dimity, 5/4	1. 6.8
S[uper]fine Grey Cloth, 2½ yds, 40/	5. -.-
4 doz. large & 4 doz. small Buttons	- . 6.-
3½ yds Velvet, 10/	1.12.8
17 yds brown Fustian, 3/6	2.19.6
1 piece Oznabrig, 129 yds }	
1 ditto ditto 128 yds } 257 yds @ 0/10	10.14.2
25 bhls [bushels] of fine Salt, 2/9	3. 8.9
1 ready made S[uper]fine white cloth Coat	4. 6.-
1 ditto brown	3.10.-
28 yds of printed Cotton, 5/3	7. 9.3
1 pair raw silk Hose	- .19.-
7 yds of White Cassimer, 18/11	6.12.6
1 doz. large tooth Combs	- . 3.6
1 doz. small ditto	- .18.-
58 lb loaf Sugar, 1/4	3.17.4
1 cwt 1 gr 20 lb brown ditto, 120/per cwt	8.11.5
10 Gallons of Spirits, 10/ ; Cask 7/6	5. 7.6
1 doz. Mustard.....	1. 1.-
½ lb Nutmegs, ...	- .12.6
½ lb Mace,	1. 2.6
½ lb Cloves	- .14.-
½ lb Cinnamon ...	1. 1.-
2 lb Pepper	- .10.-
6 lb ditto @ 8/ .	- .18.- 4.18.-
10 yds white Flannel, @ 6/	3. -.-
1 piece brown Camblet, 54/	2.14.-

12-3/4 yds of Silk for my Mo[ther's] Gown, 10/6 6.13.10
Hair Line for yard -. 8.4
2 piece printed Linen for Nancy, 33/ 3.6-

£ 159.14.4

* This account settled by A. W. [Alexander Wilcocks]

List of Sundries collected from my Mother

2 Manchester Gowns, 50/ £ 5. -.-
1 piece Bandana hckfs [handkerchiefs] 2. 5.-
1 piece black Calimanco 3.19.-
1 piece pink Durant [or Diveant?] 3.13.-
6 lbs Bohea Tea, 6/6 1.19.-
Blue Dye -. 6.6
1 oz. silk -. 6.6
Cash to Betty 1.15.-
ditto to Fan 1.15.-
ditto to Palmer in payment 2 Guin[eas] 3.10.-
ditto to Robert for Meat 1.15.-
3 pair Shoes for Girls, 17/6 2.12.6
Black Pins, 7/6; a pitit? at 35/ 2. 2.6

£ 30.19.-

List of Sundries taken by my Mother of Mr Cumpston upon cred. NB since paid.

2 pair common silk hose, 17/6 £ 1.15.-
9 pair plain cotton ditto, 10/0 4.10.-
5 pair ribbed thread ditto, 13/0 3. 5.-
1 pair fine silk ditto 1.10.-
6 yds black silk, 12/6 3.12.-
2 small tooth combs, 2/9 -. 5.6
6 yds Scotch kenting, 2/6 -.15.-
18 yards black hair Ribband..... -.19.-
2 pair scissors, 3/6 -. 7.-
2 pieces Hanover Lace ... 2/9 -. 5.6
1 ditto ditto -. 3.6
cap 1.10.-

Upon credit £ 18.17.6

Account of Continental Cash expended by B Chew [Benjamin Chew, Jr.] for Family Use," [June 20

1778- June 19, 1779] {HSP, Chew Papers, Box 78.}

(6/20) Cash p^d for a quarter of Veal 24 lb @ 5/ . £ 6. -.-
(6/22) Cash to Robert for Market 6. -.-
(6/23) Cash to my Mother on going to the Jer[sey] 21. -.-
Expenses to Union 8/6, 17/6, 7/6 1.13.-
(6/27) Gave Bill & other Servants 1. 2.6
Cash to my Father at Tomkins 1.10.-
(7/1) Cash for ¼ hund. of Limes -.15.-
(7/3) Pd for grazing 3 cows @ 3/9 per week -.11.3
(7/4) Cash to my Mother 3/9; pd Myers in full 37/6 2. 1.3
(7/7) Pd bleeding Nelly 5/..... -. 5.-
(7/9) Pd Pew Money, 60/ 3. 0.-
(7/10) Pd grazing cows -.11.3
(7/16) Expenses paid N.Shaminy 1.10.-
(7/17) Cash to my Father 60/ Do to market 67/6 .. 6. 7.6
(7/18) Cash to my Father to pay for work at Wilton 2. -.-
(7/19) D^o to my Mother for Market 60/ }
(7/21) D^o to d^o 3/9 }..... 3. 3.9
(7/22) d^o to my Mother for Marketing 3. 7.6
Cash to Robert Burnett on his own account. 1.17.6
Cash to Negroes for Work at Wilton 1.17.6
Pd R. Lewis's account for Flour & Shorts . 6.14.1
P^d Towne for his papers 10/ W. Charity 5/. -.15.-
(7/23) p^d for 12 lb Butter 45/, Cows 11/3 2.16.3
Pd Negroes for work at Wilton 1. 2.6
(7/24) Cash to my Father to pay Richards acc^t ... 1.10.-
(7/23) Cash to my Father going to Cliveden, 38 dol. 14. 5.-
(7/24) P^d Hoods Acct for Shoes in full 3. 2.6
Pd ½ groce of Corks -. 6.-
Pd Workhouse fees, 13/6; ½ lb Powder 7/6 -.13.6
Cash to Negroes at Wilton -.15.-
(7/26) Expenses to Wilmington & return 2. 4.-
(7/28) Market money 52/6 }
(7/29) Do to Do 62/ } 5.14.6
(7/30) Cash to my Mother 22/6}
(7/31) Marketing 52/6 } 3.15.-
Cash for Marketing tomorrow 3. 1.5
Cash to Nelly on her own Account 2.12.6
Ditto to Nurse for Starch 1. -.-
Pd pulling a tooth for Hen^rriettja -. 2.6
Crossing Bridge 5/ , Fire Company 1/ -. 6.-
(8/1) Cash paid for 25 bushels of Oats @ 11/ 13.15.-

- (8/3) Cash to Market 60/, my Mother 12/ 3.12.-
Paid grazing cows due last week -.11.3
Cash for a live Pig 2. -.-
- (8/4) Portorage of 2 barrels Flour -. 3.9
Pd for the Flour per Acct. Waln 9.10.-
Cash to Robert for Market 3. -.-
- (8/5) Cash to my Father 30 dollars 11. 5.-
Cash for Wash^s Womⁿ Bath 30/, Marketing 60/ 4.10.-
- (8/6) Yeast 3/9, Cash to my Mother 75/ 3.18.9
Cash to Robert this morning for market 2. 5.-
- (8/7) Do to Robert for Market 52/6, my mother 15/,
cows 11/3 3.18.9
- (8/8) Do to Robert Marketing to be accounted for . 6. -.-
Pd Blacksmith's account per receipt 4.12.6
- (8/10) Cash to Robert on Acct £6 }
- (8/11) Do to my Mother 33/1 } 7.13.1
- (8/13) Cash to my Mother 17/6 & 60/ 3.17.6
Pd Whiskey for Robert while mow[ing] -. 5.-
Cash to Do for Market 3. -.-
- (8/14) Cash to Robert for Marketing 6. -.-
Do to my Mother -.15.-
- (8/16) Cash to Robert for Marketing 3.15.-
- (8/17) Lent W[illiam] Hamilton 4.10.-
- (8/18) Cash to Peggy 15/, Robert for Market 45/ ... 3. -.-
- (8/19) Do to my Mother 15/ -.15.-
- (8/20) Pd T Sterling for £58 Gold bo^t at 4 for 1 .. 72. -.-
- (8/21) Cash to Robert for Market 5. 5.-
Pd Portorage of Salt to Shallop -. 5.-
- (8/22) Cash to purchase sundries for Mr Whyte 18. -.-
Cash to Betty, washing 1.17.6
- (8/23) Pd for grazing cows until the 21st Instant . 1. 2.6
- (8/24) Cash to Robert for Market 11. 5.-
- (8/24) Pd for Paper for Chairs 8/9, my Mo 7/6, 2/6 -.18.9
- (8/25) Cash to my Mother 45/ , 7/6 2.12.6
- (8/26) Pd Entrance for Peggy to French Mas[ter] ... 4.10.-
Pd for 9 lb Butter 67/6, Weaving 34 yards
@4/ , 36/ 10. 3.6
- (8/27) Bot 14 lb Mutton @ 2/ 1. 8.-
- (8/28) Pd for cows 11/3, Cash to my Father 30/ 2. 1.3
- (8/29) Cash to Robert for Market 4. -.-
Do to my Father in Change -.16.-
- (8/30) Robert for Market 45/, Yeast 3/9 2. 8.9
- (8/31) Pd Panquest for Boards per Rect. 16. -.-

Cash to Robert for Market 4.10.-
Pd for 7 lb of Nails @ 7/6 2.12.6
(9/2) Cash to Robert for Market 75/ & 9/7 due 4. 4.7
(9/3) Do to Do for Market 3.15.-
Do to my Father in Change to McCall 1.10.-
Do for Candles 6/ -. 6.-
(9/6) Cash to Robert for Market 7.10.-
(9/7) Cash to Will to buy Powder Black &c 1.10.-
Cash for [grazing] cows due Thursday last .. -.11.3
(9/8) Pd bill for a French Grammar 4.10.-
Cash to my Mother for sweeping Brushes &c .. 3.12.6
(9/9) Paid for 2 loaves Bread 2/6; Do to my Mo 15/ -.17.6
(9/10) Bread 3/9 }
(9/11) Pd Portorage of Flour 8/3 } -.12.-
Cash to my Mother 30 Dols., Robt for Market 16. 2.6
(9/12) Pd for Flour as per acct. & rect. Humphrey.. 31. 2.2
(9/13) Pd for 12 lb Starch @ 3/6 2. 2.-
Robert for Market 112/6, Yeast 2/6 5.15.-
(9/14) Pd Betty, Washing Woman 1. 2.6
(9/16) Pd Sarah Thomas [for] Children's Schooling . 9.16.8
(9/16) Robert for Market 90/ & 12/ due last 5. 2.-
Yeast 1/, Bread 3/9, grazing cows 2 weeks 22/ 1. 7.3
Pd Katy, Washing Woman -.15.-
(9/17) Cash to my Mother 1. 7.6
Pd for a pair of Shoes for Sally 4. 2.6
(9/18) Cash to Robert for Market 7.10.-
(9/19) Cash to my Mother for Sundries 15. -.-
(9/21) Cash for Yeast 2/6, Do paid to J Keith 30/ . 1.12.6
(9/22) Cash pd
(9/23) Pd Hood mending Shoes 5/ -. 5.-
(9/24) Cash pd for £32.8 Gold bo^t at 4 for 1 129.12.-
Cash to Robert for Market 4. 7.6
(9/26) Cash to Robert for Market 7.10.-
Pd grazing cow -.11.3
(9/28) Pd Peggy's French Master 4.10.-
Cash to my Mother 60/, Sweep 3/9, bread 2/6 3. 6.3
(9/30) Do to Robert for Market 7.10.0
(10/1) Cash to Robert for Market 4.17.6
(10/2) Pd Betty remainder of her wages in full 4.10.-
Bread 5/ }
(10/5) Bread 7/6, Whiskey 5/} -.17.6
(10/6) Cash to my Mother 11. 5.-
(10/7) Robert for Market 11. 5.-

- (10/12) Cash paid Betty, washing woman in full 1. 2.6
 Robert for Market 11. 5.-
- (10/13) Paid Seamstress in house 16 days 6. -.-
- (10/15) Robert for Market 90/, Yeast 2/6 4.12.6
- (10/17) Cash to Jenny for Market 2. 5.-
- (10/19) Cash to my Mother 11. 5.-
 Cash for 7 lb Butter @ 7/6, Pidgeons 5/ 2.17.6
- (10/20) Pd Peggy's French Master 4.10.-
- (10/22) Pd J[ames] Reynolds his Acct, Glasswork 6.15.6
 Pd Little John for 9 days work @ 7/6 3. 7.6
 Cash to my Mother 2.10.-
 Cash to Bill for Coach Brush L[amp] Black .. 1. -.-
 Pd Cook for Freight of Wheat &c per Rect. .. 10.15.-
 Cash to my Father 1. 5.10
- (10/23) Cash to Nurse for market 1.17.6
 Do to my Mother 7.10.-
 Pd W. West's Acct per Receipt 190.10.-
 Pd Starr's Acct per ditto 23. -.-
 Pd Hugh Leeds, Blacksmith per rect. 5.10.-
- (10/24) Cash to Robert for Market 5. 5.-
 Do to my Mother for Girls 7.10.-
 Yeast 2/6, Bread 5/ -. 7.6
- (10/25) Bread 5/ -. 5.-
- (10/27) Cash to my Mother 11. 5.-
 Do to Robert for Market 7.10.-
 Bread 5/ , Yeast 9^d -. 5.9
- (10/28) Pd for Husk & Biscuit -. 7.6
 Cash to my Mother } Both went to Market 11. 5.-
 Do to Robert for Market } 7.10.-
- (11/2) Cash to my Mother 11. 5.-
- (11/3) Pd for 134 feet Board for Whitehall, hauling 3.14.-
 Pd for grazing cows as per receipt..... 2.15.9
- (11/4) Cash to Robert for market 5. 5.-
 Pd Bob Clymer for Work at Cliveden, per rct. 12. 5.-
 Bread 7/6, Yeast 3/2 -.10.8
 Pd heel tap for Peggy 10/ do for my Mother 10/ 1. -.-
 Pd for 1 lb Powder, 7/6; Juliana's shoes 7/6 -.15.-
- (11/6) Pd William Roberts laying Coach house floor 18.10.-
- (11/7) Cash to Robert for Market 7.10.-
- (11/9) Pd Mrs. Allen for 1600 wt. of hay 19.10.-
 Pd for 2 stable brooms -. 6.-
 Pd for 2 lb candles -.15.-
- (11/10) Cash to my Mother 15.- .-

Do to Robert for Market 7.10.-
(11/13) Pd for ½ Gallon Rum 2. 5.-
(11/17) Cash to Robert for Market 7.10.-
 Bread 5/0, Yeast 3/9 -. 8.9
(11/17) Pd remainder of grazing cows in full -.15.-
(11/20) Cash to Robert 11. 5.-
 Cash to my Mother 11. 5.-
(11/24) Do to Robert for Market 7.10.-
(11/25) Pd Christian Gostner for hauling load of hay 4. -.-
 Cash to Mrs. Chew 1.10.-
(11/26) Do to Robert for Market 11. 5.-
 Do for 2½ lb of Powder -.15.-
 Pd Carp^f Wharton for load of hay 19. 2.6
 Pd Michael for 16 lb Butter 10/} 8. -.-
 7 Fowls } 1. 6.3
(11/27) Pd man 2 days work pulling corn 1. -.-
 Pd little John 11 days work @ 10/ 5.10.-
 Yeast 1/3 -. 1.3
(11/28) Cash adv^d Keyser [smith] on Acct for Shoes . 52.10.-
(11/29) Do to Robert for Market 7.10.-
(11/30) Pd for 2 bushels of lime 25/ 2.10.-
 Pd for 4½ lb. candles 2. 5.-
(12/1) Cash to Robert for market 9. -.-
 Pd Lumsden for a load of hay 25. 5.4
 Pd for hauling it 2. 2.6
(12/2) Pd expenses for pigs 7/6, Mrs Elison 7/6 ... -.15.-
 Pd McGraw for liquor he had when at Wil[ton] 4.10.-
(12/3) Pd John Palmer for work done 6. -.-
(12/4) Cash to Robert for Market 7.10.-
 Pd for 21 lb Starch @ 5/ 5. 5.-
 for 1 lb powder -. 7.6
(12/5) CASH to my Mother for Expenses 22.10.-
 Pd for 218 lb Beef @ 2/3 24.10.-
(12/6) Pd Mrs. Furman her wages to 1st January 19.10.-
(12/8) Expenses Supper at Burns's 4.17.6
 Pd bleeding Bill [coachman] 5/0, change to
 my Father 9/6 -.14.6
 Cash to Robert for Market 7.10.-
(12/9) Do to Robert this morning 2. 5.-
 ¼ hundred Quills 15/, Ink Powder 15/ 1.10.-
 Cash to my Mother for the shoemaker 4.10.-
(12/11) Pd for 1 doz. Penknives for John Chew 12.-.-
(12/11) Cash to Sally for Pomat[um] 7/6, to pay E. T.

[Elizabeth Tilghman] 22/6 1.10.-
(12/12) Pd for 21 lb Tallow @ 7/6 7.17.6
2 Rabbits 5/, Charity 7/6 -.12.6
Pd for 2 doz knives & forks for John Chew .. 30.- .-
Pd Hollingsworth Acct Coff[ee] for J Chew .. 194. 7.6
Cash for my Mother for Needles 1. 2.6
Do for Do 5. 2.6
(12/14) Cash to Robert for Market 7.10.-
Pd for 20 lb Candles @ 10/ 10. -.-
Pd Lumsden for Hay per receipt 32.15.-
Pd Levi Hollingsworth Coffee for J. Chew ... 134. 7.6
Pd Leonard Dorsey Do for J. Chew 62.10.-
Pd Portorage to Do to Shallop -. 5.-
Cash to my Mother 7.10.-
Pd Keyser the Blacksmith receipt in full ... 2.12.6
Pd Morris the Freight of Meat & ____ 13. 2.6
(12/15) Cash to Robert for Market 7.10.-
Cash to my Mother for Expenses 12. -.-
Pd Peggy for French Master, 12 dols 6. -.-
(12/16) Cash to my Father going to Germantown 7.16.3
Pd Mrs Wisther's? Acct per rect..... 4. -.-
Cash to Lentz for Whiskey for Jnfor? -. 3.9
Pd Portorage from Store to Shallop John Chew -. 4.9
Pd Carting Meat from Shallop 3. -.-
Pd Carting Hay bo' by Lumsden last 3. -.-
(12/17) Pd for ½ lb brown sugar at Germantown -. 6.6
Cash to my Mother 4. 7.3
(12/19) Pd Mrs Russel for mending Peggy's stays..... 1. 2.6
Pd Daniel Morris for Freight of Meat 13. 2.6
(12/20) Cash to my Father going to Wilmington 26. 5.-
(12/22) Pd for 9 lb 14 oz loaf Sugar @ 25/ per rect. 12. 6.10
(12/23) Pd Michael for Butter £8.10}
for 17 Veal @ 2/ £1.14} 10. 4.-
(12/24) Pd Robert for Whiskey -. 5.-
(12/25) Cash to Do for Ferryage over Schul [Schuylkill] -. 3.6
Do to Do for Market 6. -.-
(12/26) Do again this day 4. -.-
(12/28) Cash to my Mother for Chocolate 2. 2.6
Gave Charity at Church -.15.-
(12/29) Cash to Watchman N[ew] years -.15.-
Bread 5/ -. 5.-

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- (1/1) Cash to Robert for Market 7. -.-
 - Pd Dorsey for 25 lb Coffee @ 12/6 15.12.6
- (1/2) Cash pd Snuff for J. Chew per rect 9.10.3
- (1/3) Pd for mending Boiler -.10.-
- (1/4) Cash to my Mother for Tea &c 7.10.-
- (1/5) Do to Robert for Market 9. -.-
 - Pd 2 washing women, 1 days work 1.10.-
- (1/6) Pd Henry for 24 lb Butter @ 10/6 12.12.-
- (1/7) Cash to my Mother 5.12.6
 - Pd Bringhurst's acct for mend^g sulkey in full 7. 5.-
- (1/8) Cash to Robert for Market 9. -.-
 - Pd for 6 lb Powder 2.15.-
- (1/10) Pd for J. Chew's Boots 18.15.-
 - Cash to my Mother for shoemaker 5. 5.-
- (1/11) & for Expenses 7.10.-
- (1/12) Do to Do 7 Doll 2.12.6
- (1/13) Pd for Cutting Straw 2.12.6
- (1/14) Cash to my Mother 7.10.-
- (1/16) Pd crossing Ferry with Carriage & return ... -. 5.-
- (1/18) Cash to my Mother to pay Betsy Tilghman borrow 29. -.-
 - Do to Mich^l McGraw by my Mother's order 2. 5.-
 - Do to Peggy £3, Do to my Mother to pay for
Tea, £22.10 25.10.-
 - Do to my Father going to Dover 50.18.-
 - Do to Robert for Market 9.15.-
 - Pd Stoneburner in full of all accts 57.10.-
 - Pd Sweeping Chimney 7/6; grinding razors 2/6 -.10.-
- (1/20) Cash paid Washing women..... 3. -.-
- (1/21) Do to Robert for Market 6. -.-
 - do to Coachman for Girls -.15.-
- (1/22) do to Henry for 15 lb Butter @ 11/ 8. 5.-
- (1/25) Pd for a loaf of Sugar pr rect 18. -.-
 - Pd Expenses to a Dance 11.12.6
 - Pd Myers for Oil Orange Water & Lavender ... 6. 7.6
- (1/26) Pd for 2 pair shoes for David 8. 5.-
- (1/28) Cash to Robert for Market 13.- -.-
 - Pd for 12 lb Candles @ 14/ 8. 8.-
- (2/1) Cash to my Mother for Thread &c 7.10.-
- (2/3) Pd for 20 lb Candles @ 15/ 15. -.-
 - Pd Molly Jones for Tea &c 12. -.-
- (2/5) Pd for a pair of shoes for my Mother 7.10.-
 - Cash to my Mother going to G__ 2. 2.6
- (2/4) Bo^t of Major Edward 12 Guin at the rate of

9 for 1 189. -.-
Pd Miller for 2 axes and 2 hoes per rect. .. 15. -.-
Cash to Robert for Market 5. -.-
(2/7) Pd Myers dressing hair &c. 2.10.-
(2/9) Exchanged £27 [illeg] Curr^y for Mr Allen ... 27. -.-
(2/12) Cash to Robert for Market 10. -.-
Pd him money he advanced 1.12.6
(2/13) Cash to my Mother 15. -.-
(2/15) Pd Henry Miller for printing advertisement . 3.15.-
(2/16) Cash to my Mother 7/6, Do to Robert for
Market 30 dolls 11.12.6
(2/17) Gave him more Cash 1. 8.9
(2/18) bo^t 10 lb Butter @ 11/ 5.10.-
Cash to Robert for Market 11. 5.-
(2/19) Pd my subscription to Assembly 15. -.-
Cash to my Mother -. 15.-
Do to Robert for Market £11..5, Charity 5/ . 11.10.-
Pd Henry for 5 lb Butter @ 11/ 2.15.-
(2/20) Cash to my Mother for Pasteboard -.11.3
(2/22) Do to Do in morning 15/, Do to mend China ware 1.13.9
Exchanged for Henry 34 dol of y^e two ____ for 9. 7.6
(2/23) Sent my Mother by Henry 37/6, Robert for
Whiskey 3/9 2. 1.3
(2/24) Do to Robert for Whiskey -. 7.6
(2/26) Pd Armstrong & Co 12 lb. loaf Sugar 19.12.-
Cash to Robert for Market 11. 5.-
Pd Betsy the seamstress 3. -.-
Cash to my Mother 1.10.-
(2/27) do to Do 2. -.-
(2/28) Pd for a Ledger for J. C. [John Chew] 3.10.-
(3/2) Pd Palmer in full for Woman's shoes 15. -.-
Cash to Robert for Market 8. -.-
(3/3) Do to Do for Do 11. 5.-
Pd Molly Jones for my Mother 15. -.-
(3/5) Pd Betty the washing woman in full 5. 5.-
Cash to my Mother 11. 5.-
Pd [for] sweeping chimneys 2. -.-
(3/6) Pd Robert y^e ____ due him on market 1.10.-
Pd for 2 lb Butter @ 15/ for E. T. 1.10.-
Cash to Sally for Betsy Tilgh[man] 2.12.6
Do for milk 5/ }
(3/7) ____ 3/9 } -. 8.9
(3/8) Cash to Robert for Market 15. -.-

- (3/9) Pd for Milk -. 7.6
(3/10) gave Change to my Father for Mr Pearce -.17.6
(3/12) Cash to Julia for a Comb -.10.-
 Do to my Mother 5.12.6
(3/13) Cash to Robert for Market 15. -.-
 Do to my Mother to pay making Julia Gown ... -.15.-
 Pd Keyser the balance on his Acct in full .. 39.12.6
 Cash to my Mother 11. 5.-
(3/15) Milk 3/9, mending Watch 22/6 1. 6.3
 my Mother 30/, Pd Will for crystal broke by
 my Father 22/6 2.12.6
 Bread 5/, Yeast -. 8.9
(3/17) Cash to Robert for Market 11. 5.-
(3/18) Do to Do for Do 18.15.-
(3/19) Cash to my Mother, 57 dol 21. 7.6
 Ret'd to Felker¹⁹⁷ what he overpaid last rent 1. -.-
(3/20) Pd Molly Jones on account 18.15.-
 Pd Robins 2 lb Powder 1.10.-
 Pd Robert due on this days last market -.11.3
 Cash to Do for Market 7.10.0
(3/21) Pd for 3 lb Tea Hyson 27. -.-
(3/22) Cash to Robert for Market 7.10.-
(3/23) Pd for a bshl of Potatoes 2. -.-
(3/24) Pd for ¼ hun[dred] Quills -.11.3
(3/25) Cash to Robert for Market 18.15.-
 Do for Milk 2/9 }
(3/27) Do to my Mother 30 dol } 11. 8.9
(3/29) Do for my Father going to Chester 120 dol .. 45.- .-
 left with my Mother going to Cliveden 18.15.-
(3/30) Cash to Robert for Market 11. 5.-
 Repaid Ned Tilghman money borrowed 93.15.-
 Hospital acct for Dinah 10.10.-
 Pd for Apples 7/6 }
(3/31) Pd 1 oz. black thread 28/ } 1.15.6
 Pd Betty ye washing woman in full..... 3. -.-
 Milk 7/6, Robert for Market 50 dollars ... 19. 2.6
(4/2) Pd Freight of 36 bhls of Wheat @ 5/ 9. -.-
 Milk & Yeast 7/6 }
(4/3) Robert for Market 50 dol } 19. 2.6
(4/4) Crossing & recrossing Bridge in Carriage ... -. 7.6

¹⁹⁷ George Felker, a cordwainer, rented a property in Laetitia Court from the Chews.

- (4/5) Milk 3/9, my Mother £15 15. 3.9
Pd Robins for 6 lb Starch @ 11/3 3. 7.6
Cash to Robert for Market 11. 5.-
- (4/7) Milk 3/9, -. 3.9
NB this day my Father furnished Robert seeds
- (4/8) Cash to my Father going to Maryland 84.15.-
Pd Caner [coachmaker] in full of all accts
& 7/6 mending [illegible] 9. -.-
- (4/9) Cash to Robert for Market 18. -.-
- (4/10) Pd Mr Fearis for Brushes for my Mother 4.15.-
- (4/12) Pd Mr Berry, Pins thread per acct 13.10.-
Milk 2 days 1. 2.6
- (4/13) Robert for Market 15. -.-
Milk 11/3, lent Betsy T[ilghman] 20/ 1.11.3
Pd Ogden for y^e Pass^s scraping of Gov Phaeton 1. -.-
- (4/14) Milk 11/3, Yeast 3/9 -.15.-
- (4/15) Cash to Robert for Market 15. -.-
- (4/16) Pd Henry for 10 lb Butter 8/9, 6 lb Butter 20/ 7.17.6
- (4/17) Pd Palmer for 2 pair of Shoes for Sally 18.15.-
Repaid Betsy T money borrowed by my Mother
in full 3.15.-
Pd Betty ye washing woman 1.17.6
Cash to my Mother 10/ Pd draw^s pair tooth 7/6 -.17.6
- (4/18) Cash to Peggy for mending Stone Buckles 3.12.6
- (4/19) Cash to my Mother for Mrs Sutton 7.10.-
Crossing & recrossing Ferry -. 2.6
- (4/10) Cash to Robert for market in addition 7. 2.6
Bread 7/6, Charity 2/6 -. 10.-
- (4/25) Bread 5/, Subscription for church yard fence,
£6 6. 5.-
Cash to Robert for 6 Shad 2. 2.-
- (4/22) Pd for Garden Seeds for J[ohn] C[hew] 8.10.-
Pd Robert for Whiskey charged me _____ 1. 2.6
Pd Do due him on last market acct. -. 7.6
Pd for Bread 5/, Cash to Rob^t for Mark^t 48 dol 18. 5.-
- (4/23) Pd Caner [for] mending Gov^f Phaeton 3. -.-
- (4/25) Pd John Galloway¹⁹⁸ Expenses of traveling he
advanced 5. 2.-
- (4/27) Cash to Robert for Market & 3/9 for Yeast .. 22.13.9
- (4/28) Pd for a Quire of Paper 1. 5.-

¹⁹⁸ Son of Benjamin Chew Sr.'s elder sister Ann and Samuel Galloway.

- (4/29) Cash to my Mother going to Gov. - .12.6
(4/30) Cash to Bill to pay mending leather breeches 3. -.-
Pd mending my watch 4.17.-
Cash to Nancy for Shoes 9. 7.6
Pd Betty washing woman in full 3. -.-
(5/1) Pd for 1 lb Bohea Tea 5. -.-
Pd 3 lb Coffee @ 17/6 2.12.6
Pd for 4 quarts of Oatmeal 6.15.-
Pd Robert bal^a due him on Market Acct. & for
3 days to £31.18 9. 8.-
Cash for Soap 15/, Robert for Whiskey 7/6,
_____ 2/8 1. 5.-
(5/3) Cash to Robert for Market 600 dol, Yeast 2/6 22.12.6
Pd to Wister & Aston for 1 bll Flour 42.11.9
(5/4) Pd Levi Hollingsworth 2 blls Flour 74.17.1
Cash delivered to my Father 40 Dols 15. -.-
Pd Dr Way for 2 lb Pins bo^t at Wilmington .. 7.10.-
(5/6) Cash to Nancy - .12.-
(5/7) Cash to Robert for Market 15. -.-
(5/8) Pd for ½ doz Coffee @ 17/6 5. 5.-
(5/8) Pd my fine for non attendance ye Militia ... 6. 6.-
(5/9) Crossing & recrossing the Bridge with A. W.¹⁹⁹ -. 7.6
(5/10) Cash to Robert for Market 7.10.-
(5/11) Cash to Nancy for h[ar]d soap 1.10.-
Cash to Robert for Market 15.- .-
(5/12) Pd him the bal^a on the Acct to this day 3.18.6
(5/13) Pd Betty ye washing Woman in full 2. 5.-
(5/14) Yeast 3/9, Cash to Robert 50 Dol for market. 18.18.9
Cash for mending Boiler 3. -.-
(5/17) Cash to Robert for market 18.15.-
Pd Evan Evans, mending Cellar Door -.10.-
(5/19) Cash to Robert for Market 15. 0.-
Yeast 5/, Char[it]^y 2/6 -. 7.6
(5/21) Pd William Miller for 25 lb loaf Sugar @£3/lb 75. -.-
Cash to Robert for Market 15. -.-
(5/22) Pd Myers ye Barber in full 3. -.-
Pd Bill Money owing him by his Mart 3.15.-
Pd Do for Lampblack &c 1.10.-
(5/24) Pd Butcher killing Calf 2. 5.-
(5/25) Charity to Banister -. 7.6

¹⁹⁹ Alexander Wilcocks, husband of Mary Chew Wilcocks.

- Bread 20/, Vinegar 30/, Yeast 7/6 2.17.6
(5/26) Cash to Robert for Market 3.15.-
(5/27) Pd Betty the Washing woman in full to this day 4.10.-
(5/28) Cash to Robert for Market 55 dol 20.12.6
(6/1) Cash to Robert for Market 55 dols 20.12.6
(6/2) Pd for a sweeping brush 2. 5.-
Pd glazier mending glass of phaeton -.15.-
Pd for sweeping chimney last week -.15.-
Pd Robert due him on Market Acct. -.15.-
(6/3) Cash to Do for Market 11. 5.-
(6/4) My Mother expended out of ye 60 dol from JT²⁰⁰ 4.12.6
Cash to Robert for Market 39 dol 14.12.6
(6/5) Pd Robins for Powder & Starch in full 5. 2.6
Cash to my Mother for Pasteboard -.15.-
Ditto to Peggy for mending her shoes -.12.-
Do for 2 lb Coffee @ 17/6 1.15.-
Pd for Mr Parker's crossing & recrossing
Bridge in Coach 1. -.-
(6/6) Pd crossing do on horseback -. 2.6
Pd Robert to balance of market acct -. 7.6
(6/7) Cash to Robert for Market 22.10.-
(6/8) Pd for 2 lb brown Sugar 2. 8.6
(6/9) Cash for Tobacco for Carpeting -.10.-
(6/10) Paid Lumsden for 2 cord Hickory and hauling 58.10.-
Pd for a bll Tar sent to W[hite]hall 11. 5.-
Pd [for] a quart Oil for Harness 1.15.-
Postage for letters 3/9, to my Mother going
to Gov 30/ 1.13.9
Pd for 1 lb Sugar last night, 2 lb do th Ev^s 3. 7.6
(6/11) Charity 5/, Pd Aston Porterage of Flour 7/6. -.12.6
(6/12) Pd Robert due him on this day Market Acct... 1. 2.6
Cash to my Mother by Julia -. 8.-
Pd for 3 lb Sugar @ 25/ , 2 lb Coffee @ 17/6 5.10.-
(6/14) Pd for 28 lb brown sugar @ 25/ 31.10.-
Cash to Robert for market which I received
from my Father 15. -.-
(6/15) Crossing & recrossing Bridge 1. -.-
(6/16) Robert applied to Market Acct what he sold
the Pork 3. 4.-
Pd for 2 lb Chocolate @ 2/6 5. 5.-

²⁰⁰ Joseph Turner, Mrs Chew's uncle.

(6/17) Cash del'd to Robert for Market 4.15.-
(6/18) Do del'd to him this morning for Market 22.10.-
Pd herdsman attending cows for 1 month
 due tomorrow 3. -.-
Pd Betsy the seamstress 20 dols 7.10.-
(6/19) Pd for a Quire of Paper 1.10.-
Pd Robert balance due him on market acct ... 1. 3.9

APPENDIX IX

BRIEF CHEW FAMILY GENEALOGY

Benjamin Chew (November 29, 1722 - January 20, 1810)

(1) married **Mary Galloway** (d. 1755) June 13, 1747

Mary (March 10, 1747/8 - July 22, 1794), married May 18, 1768, Alexander Wilcocks (- 1801)

Anna Maria [Nancy] (November 27, 1749 - November 19, 1812)

Elizabeth (September 10, 1751 - April 4, 1842), married May 26, 1774, Edward Tilghman, Jr. (1750-1815)

Sarah (November 15, 1753 - 1826), married October 23, 1786, John Galloway (- 1810)

***Henrietta** (September, 1755- June, 1756)

(2) married **Elizabeth Oswald** (1732 - May, 1819),
September 12, 1757

Benjamin, Jr. (September 30, 1758 - April 30, 1844), married December 11, 1788, Katherine Banning (July 6, 1770 -March, 1855)

Margaret [Peggy] Oswald (December 17, 1760 - May 29, 1824); married May 23, 1787, John Eager Howard (1752-1827)

***Joseph** (March 9, 1763 - September 1764)

Juliana (April 8, 1765 - August 11, 1845); married April 1, 1793, Philip Nicklin (- November, 1806)

Henrietta (August 15, 1767 - March 8, 1848)

Sophia (November 13, 1769 - September 3, 1841); married October 3, 1796, Henry Philips (- February 11, 1800)

Maria (December 22, 1771 - March 20, 1840)

Harriet (October 22, 1775 - April 10, 1861); married July 15, 1800, Charles Carroll, Jr. (1775-1825)

Catherine [Kitty] (May 3, 1779 - May 28, 1831)

* Died young.