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FURNISHINGS PLAN FOR GRAFF HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA, PA

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Foreword

The mischevious aspect of Clio's personality obscures the past and prevents the complete apprehension of History. Her coquettishness makes the historian's job simultaneously seductive and frustrating. While we appreciate the significance of past events, we are often at a loss to rejoin their components and assign weights to their influence. Such is the case of the Graff House where Thomas Jefferson boarded during the summer of 1776 and where he wrote the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson and his confreres were keenly aware of the Second Continental Congress' impact on the course of world affairs. They were less cognizant of - even disinterested in - the minutiae of their own daily surroundings. That ignorance is understandable given the demands of their tasks, the disinclination of human nature to record every sensory impression, and the impatience that summer heat provokes.

The few comments that delegates to the Second Continental Congress made about their lodgings were negative ones. Boarding houses were crowded, noisy warrens. John Adams complained that he heard "every Cough, Sigh, and Groan" of his friend, William Barrell who lodged in the adjacent chamber and suffered a terminal fever. Thomas Jefferson joked that swarms of hungry flies from stables and tanneries caused congressman to quickly vote independence. His statement informs us of the inconveniences under which the delegates labored. Disgusted by urban congestion and effluvuim, the Virginian quit his lodgings at cabinetmaker Benjamin Randolph's for quieter quarters at Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Graff's in a less populated part of town, Seventh and High Streets. He lived there from May 23 to September 3, 1776.

Jefferson left Philadelphia on Tuesday, September 3, 1776. The following year, Jacob Graff sold his house. Nothing in his correspondence indicates that Jefferson gave the Graffs nor the house further consideration for nearly fifty years. Nearing the jubliee of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, Dr. James Mease asked Jefferson to describe the residence where he wrote the document. The aging statesman's response is the only primary account of his tenancy at the Graff house. His reminiscence was limited to his use of the two second floor rooms;[1] he did not describe any furnishings. This omission is frustrating because evidence indicates that by 1825, Jefferson was keenly aware of his place in history and of the sanctity his presence imparted to objects he owned or used.[2] Had Mease but asked about the rooms' appointments, this furnishings plan might be more soundly grounded in fact than in conjecture.

The subsequent history of the Graff House reflects the shift in priorities of historic preservation and interpretation. Overshadowed by Independence Hall with its formidable claim as a shrine, the Graff House lost stature in the public eye. Seven years after our nation's Centennial, the building was torn down.[3] However, the National Park Service determined to rebuild the Graff House in order to properly commemorate the momentous event that occurred there. Sufficient documentation exists to permit the accurate reconstruction of the building's exterior. Relying upon comparitive evidence, the interior second floor rooms have also been recreated with probable accuracy. No evidence of the original furnishings survive.

When former Curator, Charles G. Dorman began this furnishings plan, his installation deadline was the bicentennial of Jefferson's residency. As with many such projects, the furnishing plan was postponed in favor of the site's timely opening. The furnishing's plan herein relies upon Mr. Dorman's initial research and first draft but - with the benefit of a less stringent deadline - amplifies some areas and tests the hypotheses of others.

Earlier scholars who worked on the Graff House combed through the available public records and private sources. John D. R. Platt's narrative summarizes available primary documents related to the Graffs and their house. Charles Dorman contacted Graff descendants but discovered no furnishings datable to their ancestors' brief tenure at Seventh and Market Streets. Mr. Dorman also presented an exhaustive account of Jefferson's habits and activities in Philadelphia during the summer of 1776. My task in this chain of research has been to link this information together into a useful reference tool.

One fruitful exercise was a review of the Graff family geneaology. Materials deposited at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania permit a close review of the Graff family's kinship. The owner of the Graff house was not the second generation of his familial line in America, he was the third. For this reason, I refer to him as Jacob III throughout this plan. The patriarch in America; Jacob I, had many children and the name "Jacob Graff" recurs on city directory and tax lists. The prolific Graffs left a lot of wills and inventories. These have served as comparable data for furnishings recommendations. In addition, Charles Dorman gathered the inventories of Philadelphians with Germanic surnames who lived in the same German neighborhood north of Market Street as the Graffs. Those inventories, used with caution, also serve as primary furnishings data. Secondary studies of eighteenth century Philadelphia have also been valuable to this plan.

The primary and secondary information about Jefferson are overwhelming. He was a compulsive listmaker and a spendthrift. The latter habit proved his undoing; but I am grateful that his memoranda chart so minutely his road to financial hell. A careful reading of his purchases, recorded daily on the blank pages of Aitken's Pocket Almanack for the year...1776, divulges the many aspects of the Virginian delegate's pesonality: trinkets and toys for his wife and daughter; stationery supplies to sustain his business and personal needs; music supplies; scientific instruments; farming implements; maps, and his beloved books. Jefferson's acquisitions permit us to fill the Graff House rooms with the multitude of material possessions he required, not from habit of pecuniary consumption, but as temporary sustanence for his insatiable inqusitiveness. While none of Jefferson's personal possessions are available for display in the Graff House, the collections at Monticello provide documentation for the acquisition of suitable prototypes. Finally, an advantage to producing a furnishings plan after the installation is the luxury of experimenting with room installations. For the past ten years, the curatorial staff at Independence Park has added, subtracted and regrouped objects in the parlor and bedchamber as use and new knowledge have prompted. The resultant installation and plan will, hopefully, work more closely together than a more theoretical study.

Notes
Foreword

[1]John Adams to Abigail Adams, Philadelphia, August 25, 1776, L. H. Butterfield, ed., Adams Family Correspondence, The Adams Papers, Series II (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963): 108, Jefferson's lodgings and reminiscence about the flies are discussed in this report.

[2]Six months after his letter from Mease, Jefferson presented Joseph Coolidge, Jr. with the lap desk on which he wrote the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson fastened a label to the desk that stated, in part, "politics, as well as Religion has its superstitions, these, gaining strength with time, may one day, give imaginary value to this relic, for its association with the birth of the Great Charter of our Independence. Monticello, Nov. 18, 1825," as quoted in Margaret W. Brown, Jefferson's lap Desk in the United States National Museum (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, Series, 1959:458.)

[3]The structural history of the Graff House is chronicled in Thomas Donaldson, The House in which Thomas Jefferson Wrote the Declaration of Independence (Phila., 1897) and in John D. R. Platt, Historic Structure Report, Graff House (Philadelphia: Independence National Historical Park, 1972).

Acknowledgements

The efforts of many people contributed to the completion of this study. John C. Milley, Chief of the Division of Museum Operations performed a great kindness when he assigned this project to me and gave me every encourgement to compete it. Charles G. Dorman not only passed all of his notes and drafts on to me when I succeeded to his position at Independence, he also generously shared his opinions about Jefferson and the Graffs. I hope he will continue to do so for a long time to come.

No one can investigate eighteenth centu y Philadelphia without recourse to one of its premier institutions, the American Philosphical Society. The Society gave me access to its holdings with characteristic helpfulness. Once again, my colleague, Reference Librarian Roy Goodman demonstrated his encyclopedic knowledge of bibliography. Lucia S. Goodwin, editor of Jefferson's Memorand, headquartered at Monticello took time away from her work to share her notecards with me. Karie Diethorn and I had many lively discussions about domestic servitude in the eighteenth century. Those conversations informed my conclusions about the Jefferson/Hemmings relationship.

Finally, but by no means least, I have benefited from my association with Robert L. Giannini, III, our Associate Curator. A native Virginian, Mr. Giannini is a direct descentant of Antonio Giannini whom Thomas Jefferson brought from Italy to be his vintnor at Monticello. Without Bob's intimate knowledge of the site and its principle characters, this report would have been quite stilted. He has also begun to amplify the installation at the Graff House based upon the new information in this study. If the visitor to the Graff House's furnished rooms gains knowledge of Jefferson, the Declaration of Independence, or daily life in the eighteenth century, credit is due in larger measure to Robert Giannini's actualization of this report.

Introduction

This plan is divided into three major sections: the history of the occupants of the Graff House during the summer of 1776; evidence of the original furnishings of the bedchamber and parlor that Jacob and Maria Graff rented to Thomas Jefferson during that summer; and a list of recommended furnishings for these two rooms. The list is divided into three sections: first, items the Graffs would have provided; second, items Jefferson must have brought; and, third, an annotated list of Jefferson's purchases taken from his memorandum book. Appendices include transcribed inventories and an abbreviated Graff family geneaology.

To encourage the Park staff's use of this plan, I have endeavored to keep the narrative minimal. The accompanying drawings indicate the precise placement of large furnishings. The hundreds of smaller objects recommended as examples of Jefferson's habits and purchases are explained within the text.

Part D. History of the Occupants

I. Jefferson's Activities in Philadelphia, May 14, 1776 to September 3, 1776,

A. Attendance at the Second Continental Congress

On May 7, 1776, thirty-three-year-old Thomas Jefferson "Set out for Philadelphia" to attend the Second Continental Congress. Jefferson was one of Virginia's delegates to the Congress which convened on May 15. He arrived in Philadelphia a day early and, with his slave, Bob Hemmings, took lodgings with cabinetmaker, Benjamin Randolph in Chestnut Street. This arrangement proved unsatisfactory for, on Thursday, May 23, Jefferson made a memorandum that he "took lodging at Graff's."[1]

Accustomed to the pastoral stillness of Monticello, Jefferson undoubtedly found the Graff's location more suitable. Seventh and High Streets was then considered the outskirts of the city. The house, situated on a corner lot, provided excellent ventillation for easterly, northerly and southerly air. Across the street, to the east, were Jacob Hiltzheimer's stables. Hiltzheimer's own home occupied the northeast corner of the intersection.[2]

Jefferson's principle activity in Philadelphia was to represent his colony in Congress. In addition to attendance at regular sessions, he served on committees. On June 11, Congress appointed Jefferson to a committee charged with the preparation of a draft declaration of independence. The committee also included Roger Sherman, Robert Livingston, Benjamin Franklin and John Adams. Jefferson was, by far, the most active member of that group, and he worked assiduously to complete his assignments.[3]

As if writing the Declaration of Independence was not accomplishment enough, Jefferson produced other drafts of significant documents and reports for Congress and his colony. This work cannot be overshadowed by the Declaration in the refurnishing of the Graff House.

During his early residency at the Graff's, Jefferson wrote three drafts of the Virginia Constitution. This latter fact is often overlooked in the popular mind. The Declaration of Independence had international impact; but the Virginia Constitution contains the doctrines of Jefferson's political philosophy and both works share similar text. Julian Boyd considers the Virginia Constitution as Jefferson's first effort at applied political theory.[4]

As a member of the committee appointed to digest the intelligence on the Canadian situation, Jefferson drafted a report to Congress on June 17. On June 15, he was appointed to a committee to report on the Cedars cartel. He also wrote that report on June 17. Jefferson's interest in parliamentary procedure is evidenced in his service on and "Report of the Committee to Draw Up Rules of Procedure in Congress," written by July 10. On the fifteenth of July he wrote a report addressed to the executives of Virginia for himself and his fellow Virginia delegates of their activities

in congress; and he authored a position paper on the disputed jurisdiction of Fort Pitt addressed to the Speaker of the Pennsylvania Convention. In August, Congress appointed a committee to respond to Great Britain's negotiations with German suppliers of mercenaries. Jefferson and the committee devised their own plan to "Invite Foreign Officers in the British Service to Desert." He submitted his report on August 27. Added to the extant committee on gold and silver coins, Jefferson drafted a complex repor. with a table of the values, relative to the dollar, of over sixteen species of foreign currency.[5]

Presumably due to his wide literary and artistic interests, Jefferson also served with Adams and Franklin on an ad hoc committee to design the Great Seal of the United States. He reported that committee's progress to Congress on August 20. In July, Jefferson had kindly assisted fellow Virginian, John Page in procuring the artistic services of Pierre Eugene Du Simitiere to draw and engrave a seal for Virginia.[6]

We have no records as to the meeting places of these committees. Perhaps they met in the State House, perhaps at Robert Smith's City Tavern where Jefferson took most of his meals. Possibly, they gathered in one another's rented rooms. While Jefferson doesn't record their presence, surely some of his meals and stops for punch at taverns were enjoyed in the company of his fellow delegates.

Congress met six days a week. Morning sessions convened around ten o'clock and business continued until four o'clock when the group adjourned for dinner. As with today's congress, delegates did not punctiliously attend every session. Committee and private meetings may have occurred simulataneously with congressional sessions and delegates apportioned their time as their responsibilities required. Discussions continued over dinners at local taverns and sometimes ran far into the night. The delegates also used their visit to Philadelphia as an opportunity to inspect local sights. On Sunday, May 19, for instance, Jefferson and his colleagues rode to Fort Mifflin. Obligatory social engagements also filled the delegates' lives and left little time for relaxation. In a May 29 letter to Benjamin Hickborn, John Adams complained that his work was so demanding that he had neither riden horseback nor taken a walk in four months.[7]

Delegates had to sandwich their personal demands between their political responsibilities. For Thomas Jefferson, diverse interests, numerous friends and a large household placed an additional burden on him.

B. Purchase of Goods and Services

An extended trip to a large urban area presented an opportunity to procure goods not readily available in the rural South. Jefferson arrived in Philadelphia, the second largest port in the British empire, armed with orders from family and friends. He applied himself to shopping with characteristic diligence. A set of glass cans for his cousin Francis Eppes, a doll for his four-year-old daughter, Patsy, fabric for his wife,

and hardware for Monticello, perpetually under construction, illustrate the variety of requests placed upon him. In all, Jefferson's memoranda indicate that he made at least seventy-four separate purchases of over one hundred thirty-eight items. Added to that astonishing figure are an uncountable number of items purchased for his wife Martha, by her friend, Mrs. Thomas Nelson. It is little wonder that on August 31, Jefferson shipped a box persumably containing some of his purchases back to Virginia to alleviate his crowded quarters.[8]

Purchasing items was a stress-releasing activity for Jefferson. At thirty-three, he was a man of great responsibility. Heir to his father, Peter Jefferson's and his father-in-law's estates, he owned some seventeen plantations and land parcels that totalled over ten thousand acres, and covered fifteen square miles of three Virginia counties. On March 31, 1776, his mother, Jane Randolph Jefferson, died. While Jefferson made little mention of her death in writing, Fawn Brodie speculates that it caused a six-week attack of chronic headache which delayed his trip to Philadelphia. During his residence at the Graffs, Jefferson purchased a mourning ring which could have been a memorial to his mother.[9]

Martha Jefferson's health was a continual source of worry to her husband. None of the Jeffersons' correspondence survives to explain the nature of his wife's problems; but Jefferson's letters to his friends and family express his concern for her and his desire to return to Monticello. By mid-August, his petitions for release from his duties were denied and his hopes for an early adjournment were dashed. Jefferson had come to Philadelphia reluctantly and he remained here unwillingly. One aspect of his life that must have provided solace was the acquisition of books.

Jefferson used every opportunity to replenish his library. Six years earlier, in 1770, his home, "Shadewell," burned with his large collection of books. That fire prompted his remove to Monticello where he began to rebuild his collection. No small task for an omnivorous reader. By 1783, Jefferson's manuscript catalog of his library numbered 2,450 titles. He had reconstructed his destroyed library at the astonishing acquisition rate of two hundred books per year![10]

At Monticello, Jefferson devised a classification schema of forty-four catagories in which he arrranged his books. This structure was based upon Francis Bacon's system of knowledge as proposed in Advancement of Learning (Book 2) Bacon identified three "faculties of mind, memory, reason and imagination, which were evidenced in the disciplines of history, philosophy, and the fine arts. The application of such organization to his library bespeaks of Jefferson's predilection for design and order as well as his need to quickly retrieve books. He used his library daily.

Books were the material containers of knowledge and Jefferson rejoiced in their very physicality. He read, re-read, and notated his books so thoroughly that each bore his indelible presence. For example, Jefferson marked the page gathering lettered "I" with a "T", producing his initials in Latin, "TI". If the book was large and also had a "T" gathering, he would add the letter "J" in ink to monogram it. He also made his own

polyglot editions by disassembling several books and reassembling them into one volume for textural or linquistic comparison.[11]

Besides discursive, hard-bound volumes, Jefferson's library boasted a stock of that wonderful eighteenth-century literary form, the pamphlet. Pamphlets, brief single essays or arguments stitched with paper wrappings, were expeditiously printed and distributed. Jefferson had a fondness for political pamphlets and often purchased several copies which he sent to friends. On July 21, Richard Henry Lee requested Jefferson to send him "Dr. Prices pamphlet by next post." Jefferson did so, apologizing that while he had sent Price's Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty to several fellow-Virginians, he had omitted Lee from the mailing on the presumption that Lee's older brother, Francis Lightfoot, would have provided a copy to him.[12]

Philadelphia, a major city, had a large number of printers and booksellers. By the close of that summer, Jefferson must have known each one. He purchased books, pamphlets and maps on at least twelve occasions. Jefferson's records do not always indicate the quantity of items purchased. But by examining bookseller's advertisements and checking them against E. M. Sowerby's Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson, we can suggest appropriate titles. Booksellers sold used as well as new books and it is possible that some of Jefferson's purchases were unadvertised, second-hand items.[13] In addition to books and pamphlets, Jefferson's correspondence indicates that he read the daily newspapers. He may have read out-of-town editions at the local taverns; it is likely that he occasionly purchased a copy of a local paper.

One book-related purchase that merits brief discussion here is the much touted, custom-designed bookcases that Jefferson had Benjamin Randolph build. These remarkable cases were an early American example of multifunctional furniture; they were intended for the transport as well as the storage of books. In a 1793 letter to James Wilson; Jefferson noted that "not a single nail, screw, nor glue" was used to securely join the cases. In correspondence negotiating the sale of his library to Congress in 1815, Jefferson mentions his pine book boxes and obliquely describe them. Evidently his books went to Washington packed in the boxes which were subsequently destroyed. While surviving documentation is tantalizing, it is insufficient for an accurate reconstruction of these cases. Furthermore, Jefferson's account book notations cast doubt on the three book boxes' presence in the Graff house. On August 3, he paid "for 3 bookcase locks 7/6." On September 2, the day before he departed Philadelphia, he paid "B. Randolph's workmen for 3 boxes 9/." If the boxes were ever in Jefferson's rented rooms, it is unlikely that they were there before August 3. Even if the locks were an afterthought, they must have been attached before Jefferson packed his books for travel. It is equally possible that Jefferson's book boxes remained at Randolph's until he packed them and left town. Until more solid evidence about the boxes' appearance emerges, this report will not recommend their conjectural reconstruction.[14]

If the demands of his occupation proved too great, Jefferson had the assistance of his slave, Bob Hemmings; Hemmings was the mulatto half brother of Martha Wayles Jefferson. He frequently traveiled with Jefferson as his

manservant. For one of Jefferson's status, a servant, who functioned as a valet, was considered indispensible. In March, 1776, John Adams wrote to his wife, "I want a servant excessively. Know not what to do for want of one. So much Company and so many things to do." Abigail Adams commiserated with her husband in her reply. "Cannot you hire a Se[r]vant where you are," she wrote, "I am sorry you are put to so much difficulty for want of one."[15] In Philadelphia, fourteen-year-old Hemmings probably coordinated Jefferson's daily needs such as having laundry done, helping his master wash and dress, seeing to their horses' welfare and running errands. On August 9, for instance, Jefferson noted that he "gave Bob to pay for blackg 4/."[16] This and one other entry, "gave barber to buy castile soap for me 22/6" dated August 3, lend weight to the assumption that, unless otherwise noted, Jefferson made his purchases and paid his bills himself.

As a delegate, Jefferson received money for his expenses through the Philadelphia firm of Willing and Morris. He recorded the receipt of "delegate money" on May 20, August 8, August 26 and September 2. The money subsidized room, board, and selected travel expenses. His accounts do not reveal whether Jefferson took any meals at the Graffs. His favorite eatery was Smith's City Tavern where he kept an open account which he occasionally satisfied by paying "in full." It is likely that Jefferson took all of his meals in public places and reserved a supply of wafers, fruits, and tea for refreshment in his rooms. The Graff kitchen provided hot water.

Fellow delegates followed similar arrangements. In 1775, for example, John Adams lodged at Sarah Yard's in Philadelphia when Congress was in session. A surviving bill in the Adams papers breaks out his expenses. Mrs. Yard charged Adams separately for "board and lodging," for his servant's "board," for his "Proportion to the Parlour and Candles," and Adams' "proportion of the Liquor."[17] Jefferson seems to have found a less penurious landlord in the Graffs. In 1776, he paid 5 shillings per week more than Adams for his lodging; but no entries indicate that he was charged separately for candles, liquor, meals or his slave's presence.

C. Room Use

Jefferson, in an 1825 letter to Dr. James Mease, described his use of the rooms he rented from the Graffs: "I lodged in the house of a Mr. Graaf, a new brick house 3 stories high of which I rented the 2d floor consisting of a parlour and bed room already furnished...in that parlour I wrote habitually and in it wrote this paper [the Declaration of Independence] particularly."[18] By common practice, we may assume that the statesman used the northern room which opened onto an intersection as a parlor. The southern room, opening onto the back yard and alley, would have been a more suitable bedchamber.

Jefferson's chief activity in the parlor would have been writing. As if his delegate's responsibilities were not enough, he also maintained personal correspondence with his family and friends. In rare free moments, he probably read his new books, sketched ideas for the Great Seal, or played the violin. An avid amateur musician, Jefferson owned a kit, a small

violin used by dancing masters and suitable for travel. He made a special case for the instrument so that he could take it on trips and practice without disturbing anyone. He purchased sheet music and also wrote the melodies of tunes he enjoyed into music notebooks.[19]

Jefferson's music burned in the Shadewell fire. He replenished his supply but it was subsequently destroyed after his death.[20] Although his memorandum book does not indicate that he bought sheet music or supplies for his violin, he did buy reeds and guitar strings which were probably intended for a fellow music enthusiast.

Another function Jefferson's rented rooms performed was storage. As the summer wore on, his parlor and bed chamber must have gradually taken on the appearance of a warehouse. Containers for his many purchases would have filled closets and corners. His own trunks for clothes and equipment that he brought to Philadelphia would also have been stored in his rooms. He purchased a "nest of trunks," that is, trunks which could be fitted inside one another for storage, to hold the overflow. Possibly, items that Lucy Nelson purchased for Martha Jefferson were stored at the Graff house.

Bed Chamber

Jefferson rented the entire second floor of the Graff home and could have used the two rooms there as he chose. We will presume that he used them in a traditional manner that is, the parlor provided space for social, work, storage, and relaxation activities and the bedchamber was utilized for sleeping, hygiene, dressing, relaxing and possibly, eating.

Sarah Randolph's compilation of Jeffersoniana contains several clues to her great grandfather's morning rituals. Like most men of his time, he rose at dawn. His accounts show that the Jefferson had a barber who shaved him daily.[21] This as well as other aspects of his toilet would have been performed in the bedroom.

In his later years, Jefferson attributed his lifelong good health to the curious "habit of bathing my feet in cold water every morning for sixty years past."[22] This hygienic activity was probably accomplished in his bedroom before he dressed.

Because of his large land holdings, he maintained an agronomist's interest in the weather and recorded the temperature and barometric pressure at six each morning. It is to Jefferson's "observations on the weather, Philadelphia, 1776" (copy in Appendix) that we owe our knowledge of climatic conditions on July 4, 1776.[23]

Jefferson habitually read and wrote in his rooms before breakfast. In later years at Monticello, he left instructions for no one to disturb him while he worked with his books spread around him on tables and on the floor.[24] In Philadelphia, he may have breakfasted in his rooms or simply had tea and postponed his morning meal until he left for Congress.

Bob Hemmings would have attended Jefferson's personal needs. His slave would have helped Jefferson dress, provided tea or a light repast, and

coordinated the barber's visits. It was Hemmings' responsibility to maintain his master's wardrobe and see that Jefferson was undisturbed during his periods of solitude. His reliance upon his slaves for his mundane needs is evidenced in a 1764 letter to William Fleming. At eleven p.m. Jefferson wrote, "my head aches, my candle is just going out, and my boy asleep, so must bid you adieu."[25]

Eighteenth century employers or owners did not usually reserve a separate living space for the exclusive use of their servants or slaves. It is likely that Bob Hemmings simply slept in the garret of the Graff home. An 1802 insurance survey of the house describes the top half story as "Garrets not plastered, Trap Door winding stairs, Common floors in the Eastern part,..." Such areas were used for storage. Recent research has shown that indentured servants in Philadelphia frequently slept in storage areas of homes. This practice fostered their liminal status as "non-people" who had no earthly space to claim as their own. While Jefferson's treatment of his in-laws, the Hemmings, was documentably deferential, we must not exaggerate his actions and misrepresent them as egalitarian. In the Graff house, we cannot portray the Jefferson/Hemmings relationship according to the former's written theories about slaveholding; out of historical honesty, we must characterize the master/slave relationship by Jefferson's actions as a slaveholder at Monticello. Accordingly, Hemmings should be portrayed in the performance of support services to Jefferson: bundling laundry or blacking his masters' boots. We have every reason to believe that Jefferson had a pleasant trusting relationship with Hemmings because he enjoyed complete freedom of movement in Philadelphia. There is no evidence, however, that Hemmings slept in Jefferson's rooms or ate with him at table. If the Jefferson/Hemmings relationship was sanguine, it was due to the personalities of both parties. Hemmings repaid his master's trust and generosity by successfully performing his role as servant. In the eighteenth century, that mean he was loyal, dutiful, and unseen.[26]

II. Jacob and Maria Graff

Jefferson's landlords, Jacob and Maria Graff were members of Philadelphia's thriving German community which flourished north of High Street. Jacob Graff was a third generation American. His grandfather, Jacob Graff I was a tailor who came to America with his wife, Maria Stormer Graff and at least two sons in 1741. Jacob II, the third son; married Anna C. Abel on September 18, 1750 at St. Michael's and Zion Lutheran Church. The Graffs were founding members of that congregation. Jacob Graff III was born in 1751, the eldest of eight children. As the eldest, Jacob III followed a tradition of learning his father's trade and joining his business, contracting, just as his uncle, Caspar, had followed his grandfather's trade of tailoring. The Graffs rented brickyards and may have manufactured and laid brick. Their operations were extensive, however, and included building properties for rent and for sale. Graff II also held a partnership with Frederick Shinkle in a dry goods store. Jacob Graff III married Shinkle's daughter, Maria on September 21, 1774. By 1776, they had one son, Frederick.[27]

Graff II's receipt book indicates that income from various pursuits permitted him to contribute to his city and afford small luxuries. In

1766, he contributed £1/7/6 to his share in Pennsylvania Hospital. In 1767, he paid George Keeperle, barber, the annual sum of £ 1/4 for shaving.[28] Graff's children married properous tradesmen and merchants. Maria married Charles Syng, a customs official and Anna married Joseph Bitting, a hatter. If the Graffs were ever a struggling, provincial immigrant family, they were not by 1776. Surviving inventories and wills appended to this report indicate that they were well ensconced in the German middle class.

On June 1, 1775 Edmund and Abigail Physick sold their property on the southeast corner of Seventh and High Street to Jacob Graff II. Graff proceeded to build a three-and-a-half story house on the lot. By April of 1776 the house was completed and Jacob Graff III, his wife, and their infant son moved into their new home.[29] I believe the Graffs viewed their tenancy in the house as temporary. It was undoubtedly an investment property intended for their occupancy only until the family could sell it at a profit. Viewed as a finiancial endeavor, it is not surprising that one month after the Graffs moved in, they rented their second floor to Thomas Jefferson. The following summer, they sold their home to Jacob Hiltzhemer for £1775. Subsequent city directories list Jacob Graff, "brickmaker," at 157 Mulberry Street (1785, 1791, 1793). Graff's father-in-law, Frederick Shinkle lived at 155 Mulberry. Jacob Graff III died in the 1793 yellow fever epidemic.[30]

Surviving records inform us only of Jacob, Maria, and Frederick Graff's occupancy of their house. It is likely, but not provable that the Graff's employed servants. However, that question is not germaine to this report. Indeed, the portrayal of the Graff's presence in Jefferson's rented rooms will be through the inclusion of objects comparable to those they might have owned. No soundly documented Graff furnishing survive.

Notes,
Narrative, Part A

[1]Jefferson, Account Book. Transcript in Curator's Office, Monticello. In a letter to Thomas Nelson dated May 16, 1776, Jefferson stated, "...I think, as the excessive heats of the city are coming on fast, to endeavour to get lodgings in the skirts of town where I may have the benefit of a freely circulating air." Jefferson Papers vol. 1, p.292. It is not known how Jefferson located the Graffs. Charles G. Dorman found no advertisement for rooms in the Pennsylvania Gazette. In my review of ads in the Pennsylvania Gazette for 1775 and 1776, I found few notices of rooms to let. The few ads for houses to rent were usually for ones located outside of town. In-town rentals must have been advertised by word-of-mouth or by notices posted in public places. The name, "Graff" is seen variously spelt as Graaf, Graef, Graff. For purposes of consistency, I'm using the modern usage, "Graff" except in direct quotations.

[2]Jacob Hiltzheimer purchased the house from Jacob Graff in July, 1777.

[3]The best detailed account of the preparation of the Declaration of Independence is James Munves' reconstruction of the seventeen days during which Jefferson wrote it, in Thomas Jefferson and the Declaration of Independence: The Writing and Editing of the Document that Marked the Birth of the United States of America (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1978). It is assumed that Sherman and Livingston saw a draft of the document, although no records exist to support this. Franklin was recovering from a trip to Canada at Edward Duffield's in Bristol. Munves assumes that Jefferson sent a copy of the final draft to him for review. Bernard May quotes Jefferson's description of the document's preparation in Jefferson Himself: The Personal Narrative of a Many Sided American (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1942): 62-64. According to this account, the committee met as a whole at least twice, once before he wrote the document, and once to review it. Jefferson gave copies of his draft to Franklin and Adams for separate review because "they were the two members of whose judgements and amendments I wished most to have the benefit before presenting it to the committee," May, p.622.

[4]Julian Boyd, ed. The Papers of Thomas Jefferson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950) I: 329-337. Boyd dates the three drafts as completed by June 13, 1776.

[5]All references here to Jefferson's writings are taken from Boyd, ed., Papers, I: 389-519.

[6]For a detailed account of the three committee members' proposals for the device, see John Adams to Abigail Adams, Philadelphia, 14 August 1776 in Butterfield,2, 196-97. Butterfield elaborates on Adam's participation and its sources in Correspondence 2,IX-X. Cf. Jefferson's Committee Report, Boyd, ed., Papers, I:494-497. On the seal for Virginia, see the Page - Jefferson correspondence in Papers, I, pp.482-83, 510-511.

[7]John Adams to Benjamin Hickborn, May 29, 1776 as quoted in Butterfield, ed., Adams Papers, 4, p.218.

[8]All references to Jefferson's purchases are taken from his memoranda or accounts which he kept in the back pages of his copy of Aiken, op. cit., unless otherwise noted. In calculating the numbers of items and purchases for 1776, I have counted each separate entry as a purchase and where possible, the number of individual items or pairs of items procured at the purchase. An entry such as "paid...for books," gives no indication of quantity and was counted as one item. For this reason, the calculation of 138 items is a conservative estimate. According to Munves, Martha Wayles Skelton Jefferson and the Jeffersons' daughter, Martha, were visiting Mrs. Jefferson's sister, Elizabeth, on the Virginia coast during the summer of 1776. Unfortunately, Jefferson destroyed his wife's correspondence after her death in 1782. Thomas Nelson was Jefferson's good friend and fellow Virginian. He carried the Virginia resolution that the colonies cught to be independent of Great Britain to the Second Continental Congress. Nelson married Lucy Grymes of Middlesex County, Virginia on July 29, 1762. Lucy Grymes Nelson's correspondence burned with her home shortly after her death. We cannot know what items Martha Jefferson directed her to purchase.

[9]Fawn M. Brodie, Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1974: 114-116. See also Edmund Pendleton to Thomas Jefferson, May 24, 1776, "I am sorry to hear your pleasure at home was interrupted by an inveterate head ach (I don't remember the hard name for it) which I hope you travelled off," in Boyd, ed., Papers, I: 389-519. White Brodie speculates that Jefferson suffered from migraine headeaches throughout his life, I am persuaded by John D. Battle, Jr., M.D.'s argument that Jefferson was afflicated by tension headaches. See Battle, "The 'periodical head-achs' of Thomas Jefferson, "Cleveland Clinic Quarterly, 51; No. 3 (Fall, 1984): 531-539. I am gratfeul to Robert L. Giannini, III for calling my attention to this article. One might argue that the kind of headache Jefferson suffered is immaterial in retrospect. However, the pathologies of the two syndromes differ markedly, Jefferson knew he did not have migraines and in fairness to him, this fast begs notation.

[10]n.a. Thomas Jefferson and the World of Books: a symposium held at the Library of Congress, September 21, 1976 (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1977) 9.

[11]ibid., pp.13-15. for example, Jefferson combined a Latin and Greek edition with Dryden's translation of Plutarch's Lives.

[12]Boyd, ed., Papers, I: 471. Price's pamphlet was published in London in 1770 and reprinted in Philadelphia in 1776. This event provides an excellent check on the accuracy of Jefferson's accounts. He sent the pamphlet to Lee on July 29. His account book for that day "pd for pamphlets 4/."

[13]E. M. Sowerby, Comp., Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1952 et. passim). According to Brigham the following English language newspapers were in print in Philadelphia during 1776: Pennsylvania Evening Post; Pennsylvania Gazette; Pennsylvania Journal, Pennsylvania Ledger, and the Pennsylvania Packet. The following German language papers were in print: Wochenlichte

Philadelphische Straatsbote, and the Germantowner Zeitung. Possibly, the Graffs subscribed to one of the German papers. During the summer, Jefferson purchased a German grammar.

[14]Thomas Jefferson to James Wilson, April 17, 1793 photocopy of typescript, "Furniture" folder, Curator's Office, Monticello. Charles Dorman's conjectural description of the bookcases is in INHP's Graff House archives. The Curator's Office at Monticello has adopted the policy of waiting for future evidence before attempting to reconstruct the boxes.

[15]John Adams to Abigail Adams, March 8, 1776, Abagail Adams to John Adams, March 16, 1776 as quoted in Butterfield, ed., Papers, II: 356, 359.

[16]Historians agree that Bob Hemmings (1762-1819) and his siblings were the children of John Wayles. Jefferson inherited them on the death of his wife's father. Obiviously, Jefferson placed a great deal of trust in Hemmings, showing no hesitation to bring a slave into free territory. Jefferson freed Hemmings on December 24, 1794. Hemmings left Monticello to join his wife and child in Richmond. In a letter to his wife dated August 30, 1776, John Adams wrote "my Servant came in from the Post Office, which he watches very diligently..." Butterfield, ed., Papers II: 114-115.

[17]Butterfield, ed., Papers:165.

[18]John H. Hazelton, The Declaration of Independence Its History (New York, 1906): 149-151 as quoted in Platt, 4.

[19]Helen Cripe, Thomas Jefferson and Music (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1974): 12-15.

[20]Marie Kimball, "The Furnishings of Monticello," The Magazine Antiques, 12 (November, 1927): 484. Jefferson's great granddaughter's servant accidently burnt the sheet music. According to Kimball, a few volumes that Jefferson purchased for his daughter, Martha, remain. He owned music to works by Bach, Hayden and Handel.

[21]Evidently, an additional benefit of a barber was his role as an information conduit. John Adams wrote an amusing account of his barber, Mr. Byrne, in a letter to his wife. "...I assure you I am glad to chatt[sic] with this Barber while he is shaving and combing me, to divert my self from less agreeable thoughts. He is so sprightly, and good humoured, that he contributes more than I could have imagined to my comfort in this Life." Adams to Abigail Adams, Philadelphia, April 23, 1776 in Butterfield, ed. Papers: 392. Jefferson's account indicate that he used Byrne or Burn as his barber in 1775; he does not name his barber in his 1776 records.

[22]Sarah N. Randolph, The Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia for The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, 1978) rpt. of 1871 ed. This account must be used gingerly. Randolph's portrayal of her ancestor is understandably biased. The book is a combination of expository prose and reprintings of correspondence. I have not checked the original sources against Randolph's

transcriptions to determine their accurracy. However, general conclusion about Jefferson's personal habits may be drawn from this source as in many instances, other reliable sources exist to corroborate them.

[23]Jefferson, "Observation...," notebook in Curator's Office, Monticello. Photocopy is included in Appendix.

[24]Isaac Jefferson's Memories of a Monticello Slave, as Dictated to Charles Campbell in the 1849's by Isaac, One of Thomas Jefferson's Slaves printed in James A. Baer Jr., ed., Jefferson at Monticello (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1967) in an account about Jefferson's work habits are corroborated by his grandson, Colonel Jefferson Randolph's reminescences in Sarah N. Randolph, p.338.

[25]Thomas Jefferson to William Fleming, March 20, 1764 in Boyd, ed., Papers, I: 17.

[26]Mutual Assurance Company Old Surveys, Policy No. 1345, Survey No. 505 as quoted in Platt, 19. I am indebted to Assistant Curator, Karie Diethorn for making her extended research on servitude in Philadelphia available to me. Her work is published on "Domestic Servants in Philadelphia, 1780-1830", NPS, 1986. My thinking on this issue has been further clarified by conversations with Lucia S. Goodwin of Monticello and correspondence with Linda H. Rowe, Research Associate at Colonial Williamsburg. I quote her letter of August 1, 1985 to me in part here because to succinctly summarizes current thought on the issue of servants' housing:

I do not think you should take Bob Hemings's kinship to Martha Jefferson into consideration in making your decision. I think Jefferson would have made identical arrangements for any slave accompanying him to Philadelphia. Besides, I am not sure Jefferson would have seen it as preferential treatment to accommodate Hemings within his own rooms. Favored status would more likely have taken the form of freedom of movement about Philadelphia. Neither, can it be assumed that Hemings would have preferred to "share" space with his master, a circumstance that would have deprived Hemings of a measure of privacy and pernaps of contact with other blacks.

[27]Roy Palmer Baker in (Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., Dictionary of American Biography (New York, 1931): IV, 468. Graff family geneology, TS, HSP. Pennsylvania Archives.

[28]Jacob Graff Receipt Book, 1759, 1805, Detroit Free Library (microfilm, INHP). Jacob Graff, II seems to have begun this book. Jacob Graff, III continued it after his father's death to include transactions against his father's estate, by 1780, there are entries for "widow Graff" indicating Graff, II's death. Entries also indicate other Graff relatives who lived in Philadelphia.

[29]A complete chain of title to the property at Seventh and High Streets is in the INHP card file. The Physick-Graff transaction is from Philadelphia Deed Book I-15, 89-92. Graff purchased a "Lot of ground situate on S. side of High Street and on W. side of 7th St. Containing in

breadth on High Street 32' and in length on 7th Street 124'. Bounded on E. by 7th St., S.. by 10' alley extending 104' from 7th., W. by lot of Hannah Flower, N. - High St. With use of alley, and with all and singular ways, waterways..." Notations on building materials purchased to build the house are in the Graff Receipt Book. The Dictionary of American Biography lists Frederick Graff's birth date as August 27, 1774. Since the Graffs didn't marry until September 21, 1774, the former date must be an error.

[30]Sale is recorded in Philadelphia Deed Book D-27. 317-320 as transcribed into INHP card File. Hiltzheimer recorded the purchase in his diary, "July 28 -- this afternoon I paid Jacob Graff, Jr., for the house and lot at the southwest corner of Seventh and Market Streets £1775, and received the deed for the same," Jacob Cox Parsons, Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer, of Philadelphia, 1765-1798 (Philadelphia: by the author, 1893): 34. Graff's subsequent addresses are recorded in Anthony N. B. Garvan, ed., The Mutual Assurance Company, Papers. The Architectural Surveys, 1784-1794 (Philadelphia: The Mutual Assurance Co., 1976): 209. Garvan erroneously concludes that Jacob Graff who held policy #172 was the owner of the subject of this report. That Graff was a baker. Yellow fever cite, Graff, Jr. died in 1793 (page 13). By renting the second floor of their home, the Graffs forced themselves to divide their activities between the first floor and the third floor which would have been hotter than the second during the summer. This inconvenience indicates that they were willing to sacrifice comfort for better income.

Part E. Evidence of Original Furnishings

I. Jefferson

As stated above, Thomas Jefferson's purchases in Philadelphia are well-documented. They are presented, both in the context of their enumeration in his account book (Part F) and with further documentation in section-F, Recommended Furnishings. Many objects similar to those Jefferson purchased survive at Monticello; but records there do not permit the accurate attribution of the objects to Philadelphia. In addition to what he purchased in the city, Jefferson would have brought sufficient personal belongings to carry him through the summer. Clothing, toiletries, a few books, stationery, and his violin were certainly necessities. His occupation required him to bring the paper work of projects in progress. Thoughts for the draft of the Virginia Constitution, correspondence, and work connected with the Continental Congress all stored in a carrying case or travel box must have been evident in his rooms.

For writing, Jefferson used a small, portable lap desk of his own design (Illustration 1). Benjamin Randolph executed Jefferson's design in 1775. The original desk is now in the collections of the Smithsonian Insitution.[1] The Park owns a reproduction of the original desk made in 1926. It contributes to the interpretation of Jefferson's authorship of the Declaration of Independence and of his ingenuity as a designer.

Jefferson also owned a Philadelphia writing arm windsor which he converted to a swivel seat (Illustration 4). The original chair is now in the collections of the American Philosphical Society. This chair also has a legend attached to it that Jefferson used it to write the Declaration. Perhaps he did. However, Curator, Charles Dorman believed that the alterations to the chair dated to the nineteenth century.[2]

II. Graffs

Information about the Jacob Graff III's personal possession is scanty. Graff died in the 1793 yellow fever epidemic.[3] His widow, Mary, her father, Frederick Shinkle, and her brothers-in law, John Graff and Jacob Chrysler filed letters of administration in November, 1793. No further papers on Graff's estate are listed in Orphan's Court records, however. Mary Graff died in 1806 and her son, Frederick, filed letters of administration on behalf of her estate on March 10 of that year. No further records on Mary Graff's estate were found in Orphan's Court.[4]

There are, however, surviving documents that indicate the lifestyles of Jacob and Mary Graff's families and from which inferences about their personal wealth are possible. Independence Park has the cashbook in which Jacob Graff kept records of his administration of his father's estate.[5] These records indicate that funds for clothing Graff's minor siblings were plentiful. The senior Graff purchased slaves and derived part of his income from renting their labor to men in the community. The cash book and the Graff receipt book indicate that the Graffs were not merely bricklayers. They were also contractors who built houses and rented or sold them. A surviving insurance survey notes that on January 18, 1763, members of the Contributionship surveyed "A New Brick House for Jacob Graff

situated on the South Side of High Street between Third and Fourth Streets in the Occupation of William Richards...."[6] The policy remained in Jacob Graff's name and was renewed in 1770, 1784, 1791. The latter two renewal dates, after the elder Graffs' deaths suggest that the property remained in the Graff family and was possibly held by Jacob Graff III.

In 1772, Graff's cash book notes that he made a subscription payment to John Reed "...on Account for the Plan of the City and Sub Countys of Philadelphia...."[7] Reed published his map in 1774. It was a large, three-plate engraving that measured 29 1/2 X 59 inches and featured a view of the new Pennsylvania Hospital to which Graff II also subscribed. In his 1780 estate inventory, a "map of the City and Liberties" is listed in his parlor and valued at £1.

Graff II subscribed to William Bradford's newspaper, The Pennsylvania Journal, an indication of English language literacy, and had a barber shave him daily, an indication of wealth.[8]

Graff's inventory (see Appendix) indicates a small but well appointed home. He owned such luxuries as a house organ, valued at £60 (the single most expensive item in the home), a tall case clock (£22), upholstered furniture, rugs, two dozen pictures and half a dozen silver tablespoons. The appraisement of his moveable property totalled £258.8.5.

One item of furniture documented to the Graff family has survived and is in the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum collection (Illustration 5). The stool belonged to "descendants of Jacob Graff." Since Jacob II's grandson, Frederick, left no heirs, the provenance might refer to collateral relatives who also carried the partriach's name.[9] The stool is a transitional style with an oval seat, carved, cabriole legs and claw-and-ball feet. It is mahogany. With the exception of two looking glasses, Jacob Graff II had no mahogany furniture in his inventory. His best furniture was walnut. The stool does, however, hint at a Graff family member's aspirations to upward mobility at mid century.

Mary Graff's father, Frederick Shinkle, was also a prosperous member of the German American community. Once in partnership with Jacob Graff, Shinkle owned a large house on the north side of Mulberry Street between Fourth and Fifth Streets, rental property, and several warrants amounting to £500 at the time of his death in 1810. His inventory in the Appendix describes a comfortable home, fashionably furnished. He owned a full complement of linens, mahogany furniture, ceramic mantle furniture and figurines, ingrain carpeting, silver, textiles, and pet canaries. Shinkle's possessions were valued £428/98.[10]

Further attestation to the Graffs' status as middle class citizens is the ennumeration of Charles Syng's estate (Appendix) Syng was Jacob Graff's brother-in-law and, with his wife, Margarette died in the 1793 epidemic. Syng was a customs official and possibly related to the silversmiths of Philadelphia and Lancaster. The furnishings in Syng's nine-room home, plus his personal items at the livery stable and "at the wharf" totalled £245/3/10 in value. His lifestyle could be described as quite comfortable. The Syng household had carpeting in all public rooms. Mahogany furniture,

"images" (presumably, portraits), a lot of silver and gold items for food service and for personal adornment and, books " A map of Pennsylvania" was in a bed chamber as well as three "pictors." Chair covers were used for protection of more valuable textiles and furniture. Syng kept two horses and a chair at a nearby livery stable. His total estate after settlement of business accounts amounted to $2.522/18/4. He owned two indentured servants, a male and a female for whom his estate purchased clothing paid off their time, and paid a schoolmaster to educate them as part of their indenture. Syng's estate paid a bill to William Poyntell, the wallpaper manufacturer. This suggests that the walls in his home were decorated prior to its sale.

The above three inventories provide a good indication of the manner in which Jacob and Mary Graff were accustomed to live. We must consider that in 1776, the Graffs were still newly married and would not have had the quantity of furnishings that their parents or Charles Syng owned at the times of their deaths. However, certain patterns of taste are evident in the Graff family inventories.

First, there was a proliferation of textile furnishings in the homes. Susan Schlower has cited textile furnishings as indicators of wealth.[11] In their bed chambers, members of the Graff family had covers on a dressing table, printed window curtains and a lot of pillows and bolsters on the bed, sacking bottomed bedsteads with feather beds and fancy coverlets, in addition to sheets and pillow cases. Most of the chairs had leather or horse-hair bottoms. Charles Syng stored a dozen chair covers among his linen.

Parlor furnishings were, expectedly, finer than bedchamber appointments. Although his inventory was taken in June, Frederick Shinkle had ingrain carpeting in his front parlor. There was an umbrella in the back parlor. There was a carpet in Syng's "first room" (parlor) and, although Jacob Graff's inventory is not room-by-room, there are two small and two large rugs in his home.

Second, the inventories attest to the ownership of precious metals, gold and silver. Charles Syng (who I suspect was related to the Syng family of silversmiths) owned silver flatware, jacket buttons, a watch, shoe buckels, and "A Loft of Silver Buckels," "A Lot of Plated Spurs," and a pair of gold sleeve buttons in his parlor. Frederick Shinkle owned a silver tea service as well as a silver watch. Jacob Graff II owned a half a dozen silver tablespoons. Before banking, precious metals were an investment of wealth as well as a statement of status. All three men also owned gold scales and weights which indicates that they had frequent resort to handling and exchanging hard currency.

The presence of fine arts, prints and paintings, is a third indication of the comfortable quality of the Graff families' lives. Jacob Graff II, had "2 doz. Pictures" (prints) in the public rooms of his home. Shinkle displayed "2 Landscape Pictures," in the front parlor. Charles Syng's double parlor held "3 Imeage's," presumably portraits, and "3 Pictors," presumably prints, in each of two bed chambers.

Syng and Shinkle owned an abundance of ceramics and glass. Some was used strictly for ornamental purposes such as the "5 Jars and Bicker, and 2 figure Ornam^{ts}" in Shinkle's front parlor.

All three men supplemented their fireplaces with six and ten-plate stoves. This indicates sufficient wealth to purchase and fuel these comfort devices.

The ownership of books indicated literacy. Shinkle and Graff owned German language publications (titles not listed) and Charles Syng owned "A lot of Books."

In view of the lifestyles depicted by their kinsman's inventories, we can presume that Jacob and Mary Graff would have furnished their home comfortably, if not opulently. It is fair to presume that Jefferson would have had all luxuries--textiles, ceramics and glass, fine arts decoration, furniture and books--available in his rented rooms.

Notes
Evidence of Original Furnishings

[1]Jefferson's accounts for 1775 and 1776 contain no entry for paying Randolph for the desk. Yet, when he presented the desk to his granddaughter, Ellen Randolph Colledge, he attached a paper label to it that documented his use of the desk to write the Declaration of Independence. For information on the original desk and its reproductions, see Gertrude Frances Riordan, The Little Desk of Independence (Phoenix: by the author, 1976) and Margaret W. Brown. Jefferson's Lap Desk in the United States National Museum (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Series, 1954).

[2]See Dorman's t.s. draft of this report, p.3.

[3]Graff is listed as one of the epidemic's victims in Matthew Carey,

[4]Jacob Graff, Administration 124, 1793; Mary Graff, Administration 97, 1806 both filed in Register of Wills in and for the County of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

[5]MS, Jacob Graff, Cash book kept to settle his father, Jacob Graff's estate INHP accession #3143; catalog #11397.

[6]Contributionship Board Minutes 1774 - March 1791, INHP Microfilm Reel 6, No785, Jacob Graff, February 4, 1763.

[7]Graff Receipt Book, Microfilm Reel CCCLXIII, INHP.

[8]Graff Receipt Book INHP Microfilm. "Rec^{d} of Mr. Jacob Graff Ten Shillings for one Years News Due Feb. Fst. 1764 Wm. Bradford," The receipt book is in the hands of his debtors and, while written in English is not, of itself, final proof of Graff's bilingualism. "Received December 16^{t} 1767 of Jacob Graff One Pounds Four Shillings in full me for one years Shaving L14 George Keepmle[sic]."

[9]The stool (Winterthur Museum G 56.579) is illustrated in Joseph Downs, American Furniture of the Queen Anne and Chippendale Periods In the Henry Francis Port Winterthur Museum (New York: The Mac Millon Company, 1952): 296. In correspondence, Charles Hummel to Charles Dorman, Hummel states that Mr. duPont purchased the stool in 1937 from an upholsterer in southwest Philadelphia who was representing descendants of the Graff family.

[10]Shinkle's insurance policy is published and discussed in Anthony N.B. Garvan, ed., The Mutual Assurance Company Papers: The Architectural Surveys, 1784-1794 (Philadelphia: The Mutual Assurance, Co., 1976): 208-209.

[11]Susan Prendergast Schlower, "Form, Function, and Meaning in the Use of Fabric Furnishings: A Philadelhia Case Study, 1700-1775," Winterthur Portfolio: A Journal of American Material Culture, 14 (Spring, 1979): 25-40.

Part F. Recommended Furnishings

This section is arranged room-by-room, parlor and bedchamber. Within each room, furnishings are divided by type and within those types, by furnishings the Graffs may have supplied and items Jefferson either brought with him or purchased. The Graff items are based upon family and comparable inventories; Jefferson items are drawn from his buying habits and comparable evidence.

I. Parlor

A. Textiles and Clothing.

Based upon inventory references, the standard textiles furnishings for these rooms would have been floor coverings; table and bed linens, window hangings and upholstery. Straw floor matting, and chair covers are seasonal indicators. We know that many eighteen century housekeepers covered paintings and mirrors with cheese cloth to protect them from fly specks during the summer. This procedure is recommended on an occasional basis. All textiles should be reproductions unless otherwise noted.

1. Floor covering - grass matting, woven in strips. The strips should be cut to fit the room and sewn together vertically. Reproduction matting is acceptable

2. Table cloth - Reproduction, linen.

3. Napkins (4) - Reproduction, linen.

4. Chair covers - Chintz or striped chair covers for side chairs (See Illustration 6).

5. Window treatments - Chintz window curtains in a single style of two panels ending at the sill bottom are recommended. Because of light fading problems in the rooms, window hangings should remain closed. No valence is recommended as second floor window treatments would not have been as elegant as those in a first floor parlor.

Jefferson's presence is represented by the following textiles:

Clothing and Accessories

Reproduction man's linen frock coat, draped over the back of a chair.

Umbrella, reproduction, folded and placed in a corner of a room.

Additional textiles are recommended in Jefferson's annotated shopping list. These items should be displayed in boxes or open trunks as directed in recommended Furnishings Part II.

B. Furniture

Based upon family inventories, the Graffs would have considered the following furnishings suitable for a parlor:

1 Philadelphia tall case clock
1 Looking glass c. 1770
1/2 doz. walnut Philadelphia chairs with leather seats (Savery - type chairs)
1 walnut gate-leg table opened for use as a writing surface
1 walnut tea table (set for tea)
1 walnut book shelf, hanging on a wall
1 high chest of drawers

Items to reflect Jefferson's occupancy:

1 Reproduction lap desk after Jefferson's original desk, now in the Smithsonian collections (see Illustration 1)
1 Reproduction swivel seat comb back windsor chair after the original of Jefferson's design now in the American Philosophical Society's collections (Illustration 2).

C. Metalware

4 silver teaspoons, Philadelphia - made
1 Philadelphia copper hot water kettle
1 wrought iron kettle stand
1 painted tin waiter
4 Philadelphia brass candlesticks, mid-century
1 pair Philadelphia andirons with brass finials
1 pair shovel and tongs

Items Jefferson may have supplied:

1 small set of scales and weights
tin tea caddy large enough to hold one-and-a-half pounds of tea.

D. Works on Paper and Books

1 Prints and Maps

1 dozen framed prints and maps of various sizes. Appropriate topic include:

1. Reed's Map of Philadelphia (Jacob Graff II owned a copy)
2. Map of Pennsylvania (Charles Syng owned a map)
3. "A South-East Prospect of the Pennsylvania Hospital..." by Montgomery and Winter, 1755. (Jacob Graff II was a subscriber to the hospital)
4. "East Prospect" after George Heap. Wood engraving, 1770 or subsequent years until 1776 from Heinrich Miller, Der Neueste, Verbessert und Zuverlassige Americanische Calendar Auf clas 1766ste Jahr Christi. (German Calendar engraving).

5. Any drawings or prints by Eugene DuSimitiere who worked on the drawing for the Great Seal of the United States, one of Jefferson's committees.
6. Any views of the Schuylkill which Jefferson crossed to and from Philadelphia.
7. Frederick der Grosse.

2. Books

German Bible
Heinrich Miller's Der neuste...Americanische Calender Auf das 1776ste Jahr Christi

Publications Jefferson may have brought:

Tacitus, Germanica
Repin, History of England
Hume, History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688 1st ed. (London, 1752).
Blackstone, Commentaries on the Laws of England (Oxford, 1770)
An Historical Essay on the English Constitution (London, 1771)
Trenchard and Gordon, Cato's Letters (London, 1748)
Jefferson, "A Summary View of the Rights of British North America" paper delivered in 1774 to Virginia convention.
_____"Reply to Lord North" (1775) pamphlet.
Granville Sharp, A Declaration of the People's Natural Right to a Share in the Legislature; Which is the Fundamental Principle of the British Constitution of State (London, 1774)

3. Facsimilies of M.S. or Publications:

Philadelphia English and German language newspapers
The Virginia Gazette
Jefferson's drafts of the Declaration
Jefferson's Report on Weights and Measures
Copies of the Declaration Jefferson made to send to his friends(5)
Jefferson's correspondence, written and received in Philadelphia.
Sheet music Jefferson may have brought from his music library, selections of Bach, Handel or Hayden.
One of Jefferson's drawings of his renovation to Monticello.

4. Paper supplies

sheets of paper, folded in quarters as Jefferson did when writing
ruled paper, 10 squares/inch for architectural drawing
lined paper for muscial notations

5. Writing supplies

quills and cut quills
ink
pencils
sealing wax

pounce or sand
pen knife, quill cutter
scissors
a large quantity of laid writing paper

E. Ceramics and Glass

Tea set of transfer - printed creamware. Items should include:
teapot
3 or 4 teabowls
sugar shell
waster and slop bowl
creamer
2 Agate - ware plates for Jefferson's wafers and pears.
Travelling case with a tea set in to indicate the custom of bringing one's own implements.
A set of English mantle figurenes.
decanter
2 wine glasses

F. Scientific Instruments

1. Jefferson would have brought the following measuring and drafting instruments. For examples, see Illustration 4, Jefferson's personal instruments in Monticello's collection.

2 scale rules
calipers
straight edge
straight ruler
slide rule
pocket compass

G. Musical Instruments

1. Mid-eighteenth century "kit" or small violin for travel with case, bow, rosin bag and extra strings.

H. Recreational Materials

1 eighteenth century fishing rod with tackle for fresh-water use.

1 travelling chess set and board with case similar to Jefferson's set now in Monticello collections (See Illustration 5). A game might be set up as if Jefferson was contemplating a move.

II. Bed Chamber

A. Textiles and Clothing

1. Floor Coverings - Straw matting

2. Window treatment - Panel curtains in a suitable chintz.

3. Bed hangings - green mosquitto netting over the canopy and draping all four sides of the bed.
linen valence and flounce.
linen canopy on the tester

4. Bed furnishings
Canvas sacking bottom
2 feather beds on top of the sacking bottom
2 linen sheets
2 feather pillows
2 feather bolsters
4 pillows cases for pillows and bolsters

5. Flat textiles
Towels - 6 linen towels

Bureau cloths - Linen bureau cloths for the bureau and the dressing table.

Coverlet - Woven coverlet for the bed.

Chair covers - Chintz or striped covers for side chair, easy chair, and footstool. These covers protect the upholstery from harmful summer sun.

Clothing

Jefferson brought sufficient clothing with him for a long summer stay. How much clothing was considerd sufficient by eighteenth century standards? Charles Syng's death inventory lists the contents of his wardrobe:

Suit Black Cloaths
1 D° D°
5 Pair Breeches
1 D° D° and 2 pair Trowsers
9 Jackets
8 Shirts
4 Hats
3 Pair Silk Stocking
3 D° Cotton D°
1 Umbrall [umbrella]
1 Great Coat
3 Coats
1 Pair Boots
1 Pair Leather Breeches [for riding]
1 Sword and bealt
A Lot of Jackets

Jefferson may not have brought as many clothes as Mr. Syng had in his entire wardrobe. However, I suspect that the politicians' penchant for compulsive purchaser extended to his personal attire. He probably owned more clothing than his contemporaries of similar financial means. For his summer lodgings, these garments would have been put away in

drawers or hung on pegs in his closets. It is not necessary to purchase a full complement of reproduction clothing to suggest Jefferson's attire. The following items with indications for their placement are recommended:

1 Pair man's breeches, hanging in closet
1 Pair man's breeches, laid on a chair in preparation for dressing
1 Man's shirt (see Illustration 6 for one of Jefferson's shirts) laid on a chair
3 Man's shirts folded and placed in a laundry basket near the door.
1 Jacket hanging on pegs in the closet.
1 Man's hat in closet
3 Pair man's stockings in the laundry basket
1 Pair boots (see Illustration 7 for prototype pair of Jefferson's boots)
3 Silk neck ties folded on bureau
1 Pair man's shoes on floor of closet

B. Furniture

1 High post walnut bedstead
1 Walnut case of drawers
1 Walnut dressing table
1 Walnut looking glass
4 Windsor chairs, preferably green, yellow, or red
2 Delaware Valley slat-back chairs
1 Corner chair with potty seat
1 Candlestand as improvised bedside table
2 Leather-covered travelling trunks

C. Metalware

1 Pewter chamber pot, English, fitted into the potty chair.
1 Pair brass and iron andirons
1 Pair shovel and tongs
4 Brass candlesticks

Items Jefferson may have supplied
Copper basin for foot baths
Silver shoe buckles
Iron spurs for boots

D. Works on Paper and Books

One dozen framed prints and drawings of suitable subjects grouped into arrangements.

Items that Jefferson brought (in facsimilie)

Facsimilie of Philadelphia's Newest Almanac, For the Year of Our Lord 1776, Jefferson's memoranda book printed by Aitken.

A bundle of "letters" signifying correspondence between Jefferson

and his wife, Patsy. Jefferson destroyed their correspondence after her death; no copies are available.

E. Ceramics and Glass

A set of English mantle figurenes or ornaments
1 glass tumbler
4 small ceramic pots for salves
stoneware wash bowl
one or two medicine bottles with paper labels
small, travelling medicine chest.

F. Scientific Instruments

1 late eighteenth century thermometer hanging on wall near bed.
1 late eighteenth century barometer hanging next to thermometer.
1 pocket watch in silver case suspended in wooden watch box by the bed.

G. Personal Adornment, Hygiene, Clean linens

2-3 razors and razor case (see Illustration 8)
1 tooth brush
1 comb for hair
1 brush for hair
1 shaving brush
2-3 balls of soap
3-4 rags for shoe polishing or boot blacking
1 tin of blacking with taper for warming
1 brush for shoes

Above three items should be arranged on a cloth in a corner of the room with shoes or boots to indicate one of Bob Hemmings' jobs as Jefferson's valet.

Recommended Furnishings III

Jefferson's memorandum book with annotations to purchases and recommendations for their inclusion in the Graff House.

Below is a typed ccpy of Jefferson's memoranda which he kept on the back leaves of the Pocket Almanac for 1776. Entries for purchases are explicated with a brief analysis and recommendations for their representation in the Graff House.

1776

Apr.1. pd Ursula for eggs 3.d. 3/4
pd Betty Hemings for a pullet 7d.1/2
3. pd for a pullet 7.d.1/2
sent Kindred 22 lb of beef
D. Hylton sais he let me have 129. lb steel
cost £3. sterl. perf. advance 75. pr. cent
6. pd Juno for a pullet 7.d.1'2
8. gave Rice 3/10 1/2
17. assumed to Mr. Manson for -- adcock by order of Jos. Neilson 16/6
20. charge John Beckley my order on Mr. Cox for 15. barrels corn at market price which I believe is 6/
23. gave my mother's estate credit for 6 1/2 yds Virginia cloth @ 2/6 a coffee mill. for price search Mitchell's accts a flax wheel (I pd Sumpter for it)
15 lb. hog's lard.
332. lb bacon. part smoked, part just hung.
24. assumed to Hierom Gaines for T. Potter by order of Bishop 26/ in part of 55/3
charge Hieron Gaines 18 1/2 lb iron used by him.
charge do. lb old iron from the chriot wheels @ 2.d.
charge P. Mazzei allowed Hierom Gaines in account for mending his chair 7/6
pd P. Maxxei £3 - 10
25. pd Granny Smothers fee for B. Hemings 10/
credit Anderson Bryan for a horse at Elk hill as valued by Holman & Steger £ 12.
26. sent (as we guess) 20 lb bacon 8 lb beef to Kindred.
27. drew order on H. Skipwith in favr. of Richard Bennet for £ 60.
30. pd by Mrs Jefferson to Jouett for sundries 39/

May 1. charge Thos. Potters 1. brrl. corn 6/
state of money recd for purchasing powder for the county & for the poor of Boston.

	£	s	d
from John Henderson Boston money	0	10	0
powder do	1	10	0
Bennet Henderson powder do	3	16	0
Nicholas Lewis Boston money	29	2	2 1/2
Powder do.	49	4	9 1/2
	£ 84	3	0

besides the above actually received J. Walker desires me to pay & charge to him £ 23 - 1 - 6 but qu. how much Powder money & how much Boston.

2. charge Jos. Neilson 3. galls.

3. Charles Sims. Albermarle. charge him 21/6 for an opn. in T. Mc. Daniel's case.
Thos Anderson, Buckingham. charge him 21/6 for opn in Staten's case & Thomas's case
gave T. Garth the following orders for law balances

	£	s	d
John Haden	£12	16	0
Thos Anderson	2	3	0
Thos Johnson	2	12	6
Daniel Maupin junr.	1	0	0
Daneil Maupin senr.	1	12	6
John Mc. Cue	0	19	9
James Bishop	2	2	6
Joseph Serrel	2	12	6
Philemon Snell	1	0	0
	£26	18	3

(some of the above were paid but D. Maupin junr's)

May 4. on settlement with T. Warren allowed him
postd. 19/7 for W. Beck & 7/8 due from my brother to Warren at New Kent courthouse. wch charge.
agreed with Jos. Pond to give him 10/ for what he has already done at brickmaking & £3 a month from this day as long as season continues

6. pd B. Calvert £3.
pd Phill 5/

7. left with Mrs. Jefferson £ 10.
set out for Philadelphia

8. pd Orange Ct. House. breakfast. &c 3/
pd a smith on the road 7.d. 1/2
pd at Culpepper. Ct. house. breakfast. &c 3/

9. pd at Fauqr. Ct. house. breakfast &c 3/
pd smith at do. 7.d.1/2
pd at Redhouse dinner &c 10/3

10. pd at Lacy's lodg. suppr. &c 10/3
pd at McIntires (Leesburgh) breakft &c 2/6
pd ferrge at Knowland on Patowmack 3/9
gave ferrymen 7.d.1/2
____ Maryland Currency
pd a barber in Frederick town. 1/4

11. pd at Crush's in do. dinner. lodging &c 15/6
Pennsylvania.
pd a sadler in Tawny town 4.d.
pd at Caleb's in do. breadft. &c 6/2
pd a barber in Mc.alister's town 1/

12. pd at Rhenegher's in do. lodgg. &c 11/6
pd at White's in York town breadft &c. 3/4
pd ferrge at Wright's. Susquehanna 5/
gave watermen 1/3

13. pd at Ryckhart's in Lancaster dinnr. lodgg. &c. 17/1
pd at the Bull for breakft. &c. 3/
pd at Black horse for cyder 3.d.
14. pd Mrs. Withay's in Chester, dinnr. lodgg. &c. 15/6
pd ferrge pver Schuylkill 1/
gave watermen 3.d.
got to Philadelphia.
18. pd at Smith's for punch 2/6
19. pd expences riding to fort, dining &c. 10/

Entry "pd Bartram for 6. spring locks 24/"
Analysis Jefferson's work as a gentleman architect never ceased. His home, Monticello was begun in 1769 and finished in 1782. (By 1793, after his sojourn in France, Jefferson had begun renovations on Monticello which continued until 1809). Quite possibly, this and other hardware purchases made in 1776 were for Jefferson's home.
Recommendations Six reproduction - spring locks, may be secured or a labelled box to suggest their presence might be used. South wall, parlor.

Entry "pd for paper 9.d."
Analysis One of several entries for stationery supplies.
Recommendations Reproduction laid paper on writing surfaces and tables.

Entry "pd for tooth brushes 8/6"

Recommendations Reproduction tooth brushes placed on dressing table in bed chamber.

Entry "pd Aitken 10/"
Analysis Aitken was a bookseller. Jefferson was surely one of his favorite patrons. There is no record of what Jefferson purchased.
Recommendations Books should be a noticeable presence in Jefferson's rooms. Suitable publications maybe stacked on every available surface. We cannot, for the safety of the period bindings, display a volume opened as if Jefferson was consulting it; however, bits of thin, acid-free paper might be inserted as markers in some of the texts.

Entry "recd. of Willing & Morris 300.dollas delegate money, for which credit treasury."
Entry "pd Bringhurst in full £ 60 - 4 - 5"
Entry "pd Jefferies repairing watch &c 21/"
Recommendations A pocket watch to be displayed in a period watch box on the table next to Jefferson's bed.

Date May 22, 1776
Entry "pd Roberts for sash bolts 18/6"
Recommendations Reproduction sash bolts stored in a handmade box and labelled.

Entry "Brookes for scissors and pencils £/
Analysis These items should be placed near Jefferson's writing area.
Recommdenations Pair of eighteenth century scissors and Reproduction pencils

Aitken for sundries 42/
23. took lodgings at Graaf's.
24. pd a barber 13.d.

Entry	pd Hillegas for fiddle strings 27/
Analysis	Michael Hillegas operated a music store in Philadelphia. Jefferson patronized the shop frequently during that summer.
Recommendations	A small travelling violin or kit should be prominently displayed on a table in the parlor. Reproductions of appropriate sheet music could be displayed with the instrument.

26th pd expenses for riding 2/3

Date	May 26, 1776
Entry	"pd for toys 1/7"
Analysis	No further documentation exists that describes what the toys were.
Recommendations	A selection of children's toys, wrapped and stored in boxes is recommended.

Entry	"pd Randolph for 8. days lodging 40/"
Date	May 27, 1776
Entry	"pd for Relishes at Clarke's 2/"
Analysis	It is likely that this was a ceramic serving piece. The dish would have been carefully packed for shipment. A queen's ware serving bowl is recommended.

Date	May 28, 1776
Entry	"pd for a Doll 2/"
Analysis	An eighteenth century doll in suitable costume should suggest this present, probably purchased for Martha Jefferson.
Recommendations	The doll should be displayed in a reproduction box.

Date	May 29, 1776
Entry	"pd ferrage of horses to pasture 6.d."
Analysis	Jefferson boarded his horses at Jacob Hiltzheimer's stable directly across the street from his lodgings. Either Hiltzheimer or Jefferson required the horses to graze occasionally instead of subsisting entirely on feed. I believe that many of the "ferrage" entries in Jefferson's memoranda refer to pasturing his horses on the west side of the Schuylkill River. Overseeing this practice may have been one of Bob Hemmings' duties. There is no practical way to represent this activity in the Graff house; I explain it here for the reader's interest and perhaps for an interpretor's use.

Date	May 31, 1776
Entry	"gave a tumbler 4d."
Analysis	While this entry cannot be represented in Jefferson's rooms, it illustrates the colorful street life in eighteenth century Philadelphia. In three brief words, Jefferson gives us a glimpse of daily gaity that is sometimes lost in such weighty matters as the Declaration of Independence and the American Revolution.

Date — May 31, 1776
Entry — "pd for silver cover to an ivory book 45/"
Analysis — This reference is to a reuseable memorandum book of ivory leaves with a silver clasp. There is such a book at Monticello (cat. no. 62-1-54, see Illustration 4) and it is catalogued as having been purchased in Philadelphia. The book has ten ivory leaves with a silver hinged clasp and measures 2 X 4."
Recommendations — A similar book is recommended for the bedside table of Jefferson's bed room at the Graff House.

Ivory memorandum book, INHP#/3560.

Date — June 1, 1776
Entry — "pd for paper 2/6"
Analysis — According to Munves, Jefferson habitually wrote on four-page folders which he made horizontally folding a piece of 11" X 14" paper.
Recommendations — We should display some of the reproduction laid paper in this manner.

Entry — "pd Bradford for a map 8/6"
Analysis — Sowerby provides no leads on the identification of this purchase. Jefferson may have purchased a local map or a guide. According to Martin P. Snyder, no maps of Philadelphia were published in 1776 before November of that year. An earlier, appropriate publication is recommended.
Recommendations — A facsimilie or reproduction of an earlier map of Philadelphia should be folded and placed on Jefferson's work table. The map should be lined with linen (see June 20 entry below).

Entry — pd Smith in full £4-15
Analysis — This entry refers to Robert Smith, keeper of City Tavern where Jefferson ate most or his meals.

"pd for seeing a monkey 1/"

June 2, 1776

"pd dinner &c. Smith's 6/"

"pd ferrge over Schuylkill 4.d"

Date — June 3, 1776
Entry — "pd for a comb 5/"
Analysis — Without further documentation, we will presume is to be a reference to a comb for Jefferson's personal use.
Recommendations — A tortoise comb, placed on the dressing table is recommended

"pd Graaf one week's lodging 35/"

Entry "pd for 1/2 lb tea & cannister 20/"
Analysis Jefferson probably provided himself with light refreshment in his rooms. Half a pound of tea would be a sufficient amount for personal use during the summer. The tea was sold loose and if Jefferson had not brought a container from Virginia, it would have been necessary for him to purchase one in Philadelphia.
Recommendations A tin tea caddy, placed on the mantle of the parlor.

Date June 4, 1776
Entry "Pd for wafers 4.d."
Analysis This purchase could refer to food or to small wax sealing wafers for correspondence.
Recommendations Both forms of wafers are acceptable for interpreting Jefferson's presence. Facsimilies of small wafers or cookies should be displayed on a plate in the parlor. Reproduction wax sealing wafers should be included on the table with Jefferson's writing supplies.
Entry "Pd at Duff's for punch 2/"

Date June 5, 1776
Entry "Pd at Greentree's dinner and club 7/"

Date June 6, 1776
Entry "Pd for window Shutter rings 25/2"
Analysis This was probably a purchase for Monticello.
Recommendations Several dozen reproduction window shutter rings in a burlap sack should be displayed with Jefferson's purchases.

Date June 7, 1776
Entry "Pd at Smith's dinner &c. 5/6"

Entry "Pd for shoes for Bob 8/"
Analysis Hemmings probably kept these shoes with his personal belongings. It is not recommended that shoes representing this purchase be displayed in the furnished rooms.

Date June 8, 1776
Entry "pd ferrge for horses 4.d."

Date June 9, 1776
Entry "Pd for 7 washballs 10/6"
Analysis It is difficult to determine whether a washball was a sponge, a cloth, or soap. I believe they were a form of soap, hand-molded into a round shape.
Recommendations Round balls of hand made soap, stacked on the dressing table. Available in reproduction.

Entry "pd for stockings for Bob 7/"
Entry "pd Mrs. Graaf one week's lodging 35/"

Date — June 10, 1776
Entry — "pd dinner at Smith's 6"

Date — June 11, 1776
Entry — "Pd for window shutter rings £-1-18-2"
Analysis — See June 6 entry and recommendations.

Date — June 12, 1776
Entry — "recd from Mr. Eppes by Myles Taylor 16 Dollrs."
Analysis — Jefferson purchased goods for Eppes. See entry for glass cans, August 6, 1776.

Date — June 13, 1776
Entry — "pd dinner at Smith's 6/"

Date — June 17,1776
Entry — "pd dinner at Smith's 7/6"

Date — June 18, 1776
Entry — "Pd for a nest of trunks 7'6"
Analysis — By this date, Jefferson saw the need to collect his purchases in a systematic manner. A set of three or four trunks that fit one inside the other for storage would have been an excellent solution.
Recommendations — Four trunks of graduated size should be displayed in a corner of the parlor. Two trunks might be closed to imply that they are full of packages; two might be opened displaying an assortment of packages.

Entry — "pd ferrge of horses 6.d."

"pd dinner at Smith's 6/6"

Date — June 19, 1776
Entry — "Pd King for handling six spring bolts 30/"

"pd Greentree for wine 6/"
"pd Corrie in Full 30/6"

Date — June 19, 1776
Entry — "Pd Fox for 2 knives for myself 18/ 9: for 1 do. for R. Harvie 12/6"
Recommendations — Three knives, in leather sheaths can be displayed packed in one of the open trunks.

Entry — "pd Hugh Walker for waggonage of sundries last winter to head of Elk 27/6"

Entry — "pd Aitken for lining a map 5/"
Analysis — Aitken backed one of Jefferson's maps with linen for durability. This indicates that Jefferson intended to use the map frequently.

Recommendations: The reproduction map, of Philadelphia (recommended in the June 1 entry) lined with linen and displayed partially rolled or folded on a table in the parlor would demonstrate the customary use and care of maps in the eighteenth century.

Date: June 22, 1776
Entry: "Pd dinner at Smith's 7/6"

Date: June 22, 1776
Entry: "Pd Sparhawk for pr Spurs 25/"
Analysis: Jefferson probably used these for riding.
Recommendations: A pair of brass spurs should be displayed in Jefferson's bed chamber with other boot equipment, such as boots, boot jacks, wax or saddle soap, polishing rags, and a brush. This setting would help imply Bob Hemmings' presence.

Entry: "pd ferrge over Schuylkill &c.10.d."

Date: June 23, 1776
Entry: "pd Graaf 2. weeks lodging &c.£3-10"

Date: June 24, 1776
Entry: "pd Dinner at Smith's 5/6"

Date: June 25, 1776
Entry: "pd for 2 pr. stockings for Bob 15/"

Entry: "pd dinner at Smith's 5/"

Entry: "pd for a Straw Hat 10/"
Recommendations: A reproduction man's straw hat and a hat box should be placed in one corner of the parlor, with other purchases.

Date: June 27, 1776
Entry: "Pd Byrne for 6 weeks shaving and dressing 30/"
Analysis: This entry affords the opportunity to portray the eighteenth century custom of engaging a barber to shave, coif, and dress one each morning.
Recommendations: The dressing table in the bedchamber provides a setting for a shaving bowl, razors, powder, soap, towels, comb, scissors and brushes. A hot water kettle on a stand reminds the visitor that water for grooming or drinking was transported by hand.

Date: June 28, 1776
Entry: "Pd. Mrs. Loremore washing in Full 39/9"
Analysis: During his summer in Philadelphia, Jefferson, through his slave, Bob Hemmings, sent his laundry out. This fact not only informs us about the distribution of labor but also about standards of personal cleanliness.

Recommendations A booklet containing reproduction clothing, placed in a corner of the bedchamber, and perhaps tagged, "Jefferson," is recommended.

Date June 30, 1776
Entry "pd Sparhawk for a pencil 1/6 a map 7/6"
Analysis It is possible that Jefferson purchased a map as an aide to his work on various committees. A map of Canada or of the area around Fort Pitt would be appropriate reflections of Jefferson's committee activities.
Recommendations A map of Canada or of Fort Pitt is suggested. Possible acquisitions are Lewis Evans, "A General map of the Middle British Colonies, in America," (1755); or, Jean Nicholas Bellin, "Partie Occidentale de la Nouvella France on Canada," (1775). Schwartz and Ehenbery consider the former, "one of the most important maps published in America before independence", the latter is a map of forts in French-claimed areas before the French and Indian War.[3] Ideally, this map should be displayed open on Jefferson's writing table as if it was in use. In deference to the rarity of such an artifact, it is recommended that the map be displayed framed on the northwest wall of the parlor.

On July 15, the Virginia delegates (over Jefferson's hand) made a recommendation to the Speaker of the Pennsylvania Convention for a temporary resolution to the Fort Pitt boundary dispute. It is possible that Jefferson purchased a map of the Fort Pitt area to aide the committee's discussions.

Entry "pd dinner at Smiths 8/6"

Entry "pd expences riding 2/4"

Date July 1, 1776
Entry "pd ferrge of horses 8.d."

Date July 3, 1776
Entry "pd Towne for Doctor Gilmer 7/6"
Analysis Jefferson paid a bill for his physician in Virginia"

Entry "pd do. for myself 7/6"

Date July 4, 1776
Entry "Pd for 7 pr. women's gloves 27/"
Analysis This was probably a purchase for his wife, Patsy, although no documentation substantiates this assumption. Such an unusual quantity of clothing underscores the rural resident's need to stock items that were difficult to replace.
Recommendations Seven pairs of reproduction women's gloves in a variety of materials and styles stacked inside one glove box and displayed with Jefferson's other purchases in the parlor.

The box might be labelled "Gloves" or "Gloves 7 pr" to avoid the expense of purchasing seven pairs of gloves.

Entry "gave charity 1/6"

Date July 5, 1776
Entry "Pd for a quire of paper 2/6"
Recommendations A large quantity of reproduction laid writing paper should be stacked on the floor next to Jefferson's writing area.

Date July 6, 1776
Entry "Pd. Mrs. Braxton for 4 pr. cotton cards 48/"
Anaylsis Cotton cards are two paddle-shaped devices with bent metal teeth which, when drawn against each other straighten the fibers of cotton prior to spinning. This process is known as carding.
Recommendations Four pairs of cotton cards (reproduction) stacked in a trunk in the parlor.

Entry "Pd. for pamphlets 6/"
Analysis Jefferson frequently purchased several copies of the same pamphlet and distributd them to his colleagues. Possibly, this diary entry records such a purchase. One suggested title is Josiah Tucker's "The True Interest of Britain," which Robert Bell printed and advertised for sale in the July 3 edition of the Pennsylvania Gazette. We know that a copy of Tucker, with Bell's advertisement affixed to the last leaf, is in Jefferson's library.
Recommendations Josiah Tucker, "The True Interest of Britain, Set Forth in Regard to the Colonies; and The Only Means of Living in Peace and Harmony with Them, Including Five Different Places for Effecting this Desireable Event," (Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1776). 8 vo, pp.66. INHP# 6489 Evans 15119.

Entry "pd for beer 1/"

Date July 7, 1776
Entry "pd ferrge riding 1/."

Date July 8, 1776
Entry "Pd Sparhawk for a Barometer £ 4-10"
Analysis For Jefferson's weather observation. See July 4 entry for anaylsis and recommendations.
Recommendations

"pd 2 dinners at Smith's 18/6"

Date July 15, 1776
Entry "pd Rob Morris for 12 lb. powder £3.
Analysis This entry refers to black powder, a component of gun powder. The acquisition of war material was a concern to Jefferson. His correspondence reveals difficulties in obtaining ammunition for the Canadian campaign and for the Virginia militia.

Recommendations There is no reason that Jefferson ever physically owned this item; I believe he acted strictly as an agent for payment. It should not be represented in the Graff House.

Entry "pd Smith in full 28/"

Entry "pd for a book 12/6"
Analysis There is not documentation on the title of this publication. While there is a discrepancy in the price, "The Fall of British Tyranny: Or, American Liberty Trumphant" would surely have caught Jefferson's eye.
Recommendations A copy of this publication, placed with other volumes on Jefferson's work table in the parlor.[6]

Date July 16, 1776
Entry "pd Smith in full 13/6"

Date July 17, 1776
Entry "pd for weaving 4. pr. stockings 21/."
Analysis The Germantown hosiery industry was already a flourishing manufactory in the eighteenth century. Jefferson probably availed himself of the opportunity to select from an abundant supply of knitted goods. His entry for "weaving" stockings is imprecise.
Recommendations One pair of large, knitted reproduction men's stockings laid out in Jefferson's bedchamber; three pair packed in one of the open trunks in Jefferson's bedchamber.

Date July 19, 1776
Entry "pd ferrge riding 1/9"

Date July 21, 1776
Entry "pd dinner at Frankfort 10/"

Date July 24, 1776
Entry "pd Baush for 4. reeds 41/3"
Analysis See July 13 entry.

Date July 25, 1776
Entry "pd Smith in full"

Date Jyly 26, 1776
Entry "pd for a pr of gloves 10/"
Analysis Jefferson doesn't specify it, but we will presume that he purchased these gloves for himself.
Recommendations One pair of man's gloves, reproduction, boxed and labelled should be placed with Jefferson's other purchases.

Entry "pd for a pamphlet 9.d."
Recommendations A suitable pamphlet, bound in blue papers, should be placed with other publications in the parlor.

Date July 27, 1776
Entry "pd dinner at Mark's 9/."

Entry "gave T.N.'s Barnaby 2/6"
Analysis This entry refers to Thomas Nelson's servant.

Date July 29, 1776
Entry "pd for pamphlets 4/"
Analysis On July 21, Richard Henry Lee wrote to Jefferson, "I will thank you for Dr. Price's pamphlet by next post." Lee referred to Richard Price's, "Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty" (London, 1776, reprinted, Philadelphia, 1776).[7]
Recommendations A copy of the above pamphlet should be placed on Jefferson's work table.

Date July 30, 1776
Entry "pd for a pamphlet 2/"
Recommendations A suitable pamphlet should be placed on Jefferson's bedside table.

Date July 31, 1776
Entry "pd for fruit 3.d."
Recommendations Replica of peaches and pears, should be placed in Jefferson's parlor.

Date August 2, 1776
Entry "pd Smith in full 35/"

Date August 3, 1776
Entry "pd Sparhawk for a map 30/"
Analysis None of the maps listed in Jefferson's library suggests inclusion here. An appropriate selection would be a map that illustrates Jefferson's activities in Philadelphia such as a map of Fort Pitt, or of the British Isles.

John Sparhawk advertised as a bookseller and was located and at 107 North Second Street in 1797.[8]

Entry "pd for 3. bookcase locks 7/6"
Analysis These locks were probably for the book boxes that Benjamin Randolph was constructing for Jefferson. In that case, the locks would have been delivered directly to Randolph and not have been in the Graff house.

Entry "pd dinner at Byrne's 9/."

Date August 4, 1776
Entry "gave barber to buy Castile soap for me 22/6"
Recommendations Several cakes of Castile soap should be placed near the dressing table in Jefferson's bedchamber.

Entry "pd ferrge 4.d."

Date August 5, 1776
Entry "pd for printed linen 15/"

Analysis — Jefferson neither specifies yardage nor the intended use of this purchase. Perhaps he believed that he had obtained an insufficient amount for the following day, he purchased more fabric. The linen was undoubtedly imported.

Recommendations — Three yards of reproduction printed linen folded and partially wrapped in tissue paper are placed in one of Jefferson's open trunks. An arborescent printed chintz or a floral print in brown is recommended.[9]

Date — August 6, 1776
Entry — "pd for do. (crossed out) 30/"
Analysis — See entry for August 5, 1776.

Entry — "2 butter prints 2/."
Analysis — This entry refers to carved wooden blocks used to imprint a design on butter.
Recommendations — Two carved butter prints, placed in the parlor with other purchases .

Entry — "gave T. N.'s boy 4.d."
Analysis — see July 27, 1776 entry.

Entry — "pd Fisher for sundries 32/6"
Analysis — This is a sizeable bill, but there are no clues to what was purchased.

Entry — "pd for printed linen 51/"
Analysis — See August 5, 1776
Recommendations — At least five yards of linen, possibly a different pattern than that purchased on August 5 should be wrapped and displayed in one of the trunks.

Entry — "pd for do. & 5 oz. thread 30/9"
Analysis — This purchase was probably related to the one above.
Recommendations — Three more yards of linen and matching thread wound on a small wooden spool should be displayed in the trunk with other yard goods. Samuel Wetherill advertised linen for sale in the August 21, 1776 issue of the Pennsylvania Gazette. The tone of Wetherill's ad reinforces the "buy American" stress that many patriots placed on their purchases:

PHILADELPHIA MANUFACTURE,/Such as Woollens, Linens, and Cottons, particularly/corded Demities; to be sold by Samuel Wetherill, junior,/ at his Manufactory, in South-Street between Fifth and Sixth -/streets, Market and Arch-streets, on Hudson's/Square. The subscri/ber (at a great Expence) has made an At-/tempt to improve Manufactures in America, and hopes for the/Public's Encouragement. He has also a Quantity of good Vine/gar to dispose of, either by the Barrel or smaller Measure.
Samuel Wetherill

Entry "pd for 4 glass cans for F. Eppes 10/"

Analysis On August 9, Jefferson wrote to Eppes that "as Col. Harrison was about to have some things packed, I set out upon the execution of your glass commission, and was surprised to find that the whole glass stores of the city could not make out anything like what you desired. I therefore did what I thought would be best, imagining you wanted the number you mentioned at any event, and that not being able to get that form, you would take them of any other. I therefore got 4 pint cans, 10s; 2 quart do.8s; and 6 half-pint tumblers, all of double flint."

Recommendations One dozen glasses, in the above-specified sizes should be carefully displayed in the parlor. Some of these glasses could be placed on a window sill and some could be wrapped and placed in a box beneath the sill as if packing was in progress. In accordance with retailing practices, the glass could be of English, German, or, even locally-made, Wistarbergh manufacture.[10]

Date August 7, 1776

Entry "pd Gibson for pasturage &c. of 2. horses £7-S12-d6"

Date August 8, 1776

Entry "pd Binks in full £4-5-9."

Analysis There is no further information available to expand upon this entry.

Entry "recd of Willing and Morris delegate money on acct of colony 200 Dollars=75-0."

Entry "pd Rob. Morris for Alexr Spotswood £4-2-6."

Entry "pd. for 14 yds. Lustring £7-14."

Analysis Lustring, in the 1770's was a warp-printed silk with a glazed finish. The print was often a vertical stripe or floral motif. Fashionable colors during the decade included pink, plum and lilac.[11] I suspect that Jefferson purchased dress fabric, perhaps as a gift to his wife. Lustring's light weight would have appealled to a resident of humid Virginia. When we consider the narrower width of most woven fabrics in the eighteenth century, fourteen yards is not an excessive amount for a voluminous, floor length gown.

Recommendations Fourteen yards of warp printed, glazed silk should be folded and placed with Jefferson's other purchases. To simulate the fabric at less expense, twelve yards of comparable weight muslin could be wrapped with two yards of printed silk.

Entry "pd Stille in full £3-10."

Analysis There is no further documentation about this entry.

Date	August 8, 1776
Entry	pd Dowig for mourning ring 45/45/thimble 4/6."
Analysis	Jefferson's mother, Jane Randolph Jefferson, died on March 31, 1776. Perhaps this mourning ring was purchased in her memory. There is a mourning ring in the Jefferson collections at Monticello (Illustration 9). There is no documentation on that ring.[12]
Recommendations	A similar ring and a silver thimble (probably purchased for Martha Jefferson) in their respective boxes, should be placed in the parlor with Jefferson's purchases.
Entry	"pd Barrell in full for Sundries £13-12-1"
Entry	"pd Stansbury for F. Eppes 14/"
Entry	"pd do. for myself 3/9."
Entry	"pd Fisher for Durantz and needles £3-7-6."
Analysis	Durantz, durance, durant, or duretty was a highly glazed, thin worsted wool. It was frequently favored for gentleman's clothing in America. Perhaps Jefferson was buying suiting materials for himself. Black, blue, green, white and brown were popular colors.[13]
Recommendations	A package of muslin wrapped in a few yards of thin, glazed worsted in an appropriate color could simulate this purchase. Several sewing needles, fixed to a paper may be added to the bundle. These should be displayed in the parlor with Jefferson's other purchases.
Entry	"pd Hiltzheimer in full to tomorrow £11-15-6."
Entry	"gave Bob for ferrege 4.d."
Entry	"gave Bob to pay for blackg.4/"
Analysis	Apparently, Hemmings purchased boot blacking while in Philadelphia.
Recommendations	This can be conveyed to the visitor by arranging a corner of Jefferson's bed chamber as a readying area for valet services. Rags, boot blacking, a brush and pick for mud removal and a pair of reproduction riding boots (see Illustration 7) are all spread on a cloth, as if polishing was in progress.
Date	August 10, 1776
Entry	"pd Bell in full for books £4-16-9"
Analysis	There are no further clues as to which books Jefferson purchased. I believe the statesman had been keeping an account with Bell for several weeks and this payment settled it.
Recommendations	We cannot state with certainty which books Jefferson purchased but a selection of titles that reflect Jefferson's reading interests should be in the Graff house. Political tracts known to have influenced Jefferson's

thinking include John Locke's Treatise on Government; Tacitus' Germanica; Rapin's History of England; Hume's History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688 (first edition, London, 1752-70); Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England (Oxford, 1770); An Historical Essay on the English Constitution (London, 1771); Roger Acherley's The Britannic Constitution (London, 1741); John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, Cato's Letters (London, 1748); and Granville Shay's A Declaration of the People's Natural Right to a Share in the Legislature; Which is the Fundamental Principle of the British Constitution of State (London, 1774). To the above books, we should add Jefferson's own, A Summary View of the Right of British America, the publication of a paper he deliverd to the Virginia convention in 1774 and his pamphlet, Reply to Lord North (1775). He owned and read copies of the Pennsylvania Evening Post of June 6, 1776 and the Pennsylvania Gazette of June 12, 1776 which contained George Mason's Declaration of Rights for Virginia in which Mason wrote "that all men are born equally free and independent and have certain inherent natural rights..." Copies of the above publications and facsimiles of the newspapers, placed in the parlor trace the development of Jefferson's whiggish political stance.[14]

Date	August 11, 1776
Entry	"pd breakfast at Rising sun 3/6"
Entry	"pd ferrge 8.d."
Date	August 12, 1776
Entry	"pd ferrge of horses 10d."
Date	August 13, 1776
Entry	"pd Colo F. Fee for 2. pr. cotton cords 5/"
Analysis	See July 6 entry.
Recommendations	Two pair of reproduction cotton cords should be placed with the four others that Jefferson purchased in July.
Entry	"pd Smith in full £ 2-7-6"
Date	August 16, 1776
Entry	"pd for pr of clasps 7/10"
Analysis	While this entry refers to hardware, it is insufficient to determine what Jefferson purchased. Possibly, these clasps were intended for his book boxes.
Date	August 16, 1776
Entry	"pd for fruit 3.d."
Analysis	This entry reinforces the recommendation that facsimilies of fruit should be kept in Jefferson's parlor.

Date — August 19, 1776
Entry — "gave Bob. 3.d."

Date — August 20, 1776
Entry — "pd Todd for mendg. chair £-1-19-6."
Analysis — This entry probably refers to Jefferson's riding chair.

Entry — "pd Starr for 6.pr. shoes £ 3-16"
Recommendations — Six pairs of men's shoes (reproductions) should be wrapped for travel and stored in Jefferson's bedchamber.

Date — August 22, 1776
Entry — "lent revd Mr. Madison £12."

Date — August 23, 1776
Entry — "pd for fishing tackle 20/6"
Recommendations — This entry is unclear as to whether Jefferson purchased an entire fishing rig or merely portions of one. Fishing was an enjoyable passtime for many members of Congress. A freshwater fishing line and appropriate tackel is recommended for Jefferson's parlor.

Date — August 24, 1776
Entry — "pd Bell for books 22/6"
Analysis — Robert Bell, "next door to St. Paul's Church in Third Street" advertised his publication of the second edition of Benjamin Franklin's "Plain Truth" with "Defence of the Liberty of the Press" subjoined to it in the Pennsylvania Gazette on May 8, 1776. Sowerby lists this pamphlet in Jefferson's library. Bell also advertised "Observations on the Reconciliation of Great Britain and the Colonies," a pamphlet listed in Jefferson's library.

On August 21, 1776, Bell advertised in the Gazette that he offered "The Interest and Glory of Great Britain; containing Ar-/guments which prove that not only Taxation, but in/Trade, Manufactures, and Government, the Colonies are enti/tled to an entire Independencey as the British Legislature; and it can only be by a formal Declaration of these Rights, and forming thereupon a friendly League with them, that the true/and lasting Welfare of both Countries can be promoted."[15] This pamphlet is not listed in Jefferson's library, but how could he have resisted purchasing it?

Jefferson was justifiably proud of his declaration of independence and anxious to receive criticism of it. After Congress had edited his original draft, printer Edward Dunlap altered Jefferson's spelling and punctuation for the broadside printing. Irritated by the bastardization of his prose, Jefferson laboriously wrote five copies of his original version and sent them to Richard Henry Lee, Edmund Pendleton, George Wythe, Philip Mazzei and John Page respectively.

Recommendations The above referenced pamphlets along with other suitabale publications should be stacked in Jefferson's parlor and bedchamber. In addition to a broadside printing of the Declaration of Independence, five facsimilies of Jefferson's hand-written copies of his original draft, should be stacked on a table in the parlor. Mailing wrappers bearing the names of his favored colleagues can be spread on the table with sealing wax as if Jefferson was readying them for the post.

Entry "pd dinner at falls of Schuylkill 10/"

Date August 25, 1776
Entry "pd ferrge of horses 7.d."

Entry "pd Gibson's servt. pasturage of horses in full 30/."

Entry "charge F. Eppes a heckle bot of Bringhurst for which I am charged in acct £9.2 boxes for do.5/"
Analysis A heckle is a comb-like tool for retting flax.
Recommendations A heckle and two cover boxes should be displayed in Jefferson's parlor with his other purchases.[16]

Date August 26, 1776
Entry "recd of Willing & Morris to be credited in the acct. of my delegate's wages 300D.

Entry "pd Smith for 3. butthinges 22/6"
Recommendations Three reproduction butthinges should be among Jefferson's purchases. These were presumably for architectural purposes and should be rather large.

Entry "pd Aitken for a book 7/6"
Analysis Printer and bookseller, Robert Aitken noted a charge in his waste book for "Saturday 3 Aug.^{t}. /M^{r}. Tho^{s} Jefferson D^{r}/ To German Grammar 2/6." The price discrepancy could be a mis-transcription. Sowerby lists John James Bachman's A Complete German Grammar, in Two Parts, third edition (London, Printed: Phila:, Reprinted and sold by Henry Miller in Race Street. MDCCLXXII). This was octavo, 160 leaves in Gothic and Roman type (Evans, 12315).[17] Perhaps, after two months in their home, the Graffs' primary language intrigued Jefferson and he was determined to master it.
Recommendations The above publication should be placed in Jefferson's bedchamber within reach of his easy chair.

Date August 27, 1776
Entry "pd mrs Nelson for sundries bot for mrs Jefferson £18-13-3 1/2.
There is no further documentation of these items.

Entry "pd 6 crooked combs 9/"
Analysis Presumably, these were hair combs with a slight bend or curve to their shape.
Recommendations Six tortoise or ivory hair combs should be packed with Jefferson's purchases.

Entry "pd Binks for a whip 5/"
Analysis This was probably a driving whip for a carriage. While its purchase is noted here, the whip would have been kept at the stable with Jefferson's other tack.

Date August 28, 1776
Entry "pd Simpson 6 pr. women's shoes £4."
Recommendations Six pairs of reproduction women's shoes, of varying colors and styles, should be wrapped and displayed with Jefferson's other purchases.

Entry "pd Smith in full 37/2"

Date August 29, 1776
Entry "pd Dieterich Biking for Colo Harrison 10/"

Entry "pd mrs Graaf in full to this day £6-5."

Date August 30, 1776
"pd Nicholson for a double gun lock £5-5."
Entry The May 15 issue of the Pennsylvania Gazette advertised a gun lock factory in Cherry Alley.
Recommendations A double gun lock should be wrapped and displayed with Jefferson's other purchases.

Date August 31, 1776
Entry "pd Heron for waggonage of a box of Culpepper C.H. 18/"
Analysis As he prepared to leave Philadelphia, Jefferson sent many of his purchases home ahead. We wish to display the complexities of Jefferson's life in Philadelphia through his purchases and will portray his quarters as they must have appeared just prior to this entry.

Entry "pd Aitkin in full 7/6"

Entry "pd Bell 7/6"

Entry "pd Hillegas for guitar strings £3-14."
Recommendations A set of guitar strings should be displayed in Jefferson's trunk.

Date September 1, 1776
pd for punch at Indian King 1/

Date September 2, 1776
pd mrs Lorrimore for washing in full £3-15
pd John Hancock esq. the money I recd May. 1.st. for the

poor of Boston 98 2/3 Dollars = £29 - 12 Virga.
pd Parish for a hat for myself 50/
pd do. for a do. for Colo T. M. Randolph 50/

Recommendations — Two man's hats with hat boxes should be displayed in Jefferson's rooms.

pd Smith in full £2 - 8 - 4
recd of Willing and Morris to be credited in my acct with the public as a delegate 300.D.
pd B. Randolph's workmen for 3 boxes 9/
pd Sparhawk £3.

Date — September 3, 1776

pd for card 2/6
pd Heiltzheimer in full £ 5 - 7 -6
pd barber 39/
pd Fox the smith for house shoes 29/
pd Binks the sadler 9/
pd Smith dinner 7/6
gave Heiltzheimer's horseler 5/
pd mrs Graaf in full 25/
left Philadelphia
pd ferrge Schuylkill 1/3

[1]Munves, 2.

[2]Martin P. Snyder, City of Independence: Views of Philadelphia Before 1800 (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975).

[3]Seymour I. Schwartz and Ralph E. Ehrenberg, The Mapping of America (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc.; 1979): 165, plates 97 and 98.

[4]Papers, pp.465-66.

[5]Sowerby III, p.262 [item 3108]. Following is Bell's advertisement:
Just printed and now selling, by/Robert Bell,/Next Door to St. Paul's Church in Third-street/ (Price Two Shillings)/ THE TRUE INTEREST of BRITAIN, SET FORTH in REGARD TO THE COLONIES; and/the only Means of living in PEACE and HARMONY with/ THEM.
Including Five different Plans for effecting this desirable Event. By JOS. TUCKER, D.D. DEAN of/GLOUCESTER, Author of the Essay on the Advantages and/Disadvantages which respectively attend France and Great-/Britain, with regard to Trade. To which is added by the Printer, /A few more Words on the Freedom of the Press in America./
N.B. At said BELL's may be had DOCTOR JONES or/Wounds and Fractures.

[6]"NOW PUBLISHED (Price Two Shillings) with large Allowance to those who buy per the Dozen, THE FALL of BRITISH TRYANNY: Or, AMERICAN LIBERTY TRIUMPHANT. The first Campaign. A TRAGI-COMEDY of 5 Acts, containing 26 Scenes, ...The whole comprised in 73 Pages Octavo, and a new and beautiful Type, Enquire of the PRINTERS." Pennsylvania Gazette, June 26, 1776. This title does not appear in Evans. However, that omission does not preclude its existence.

[7]Boyd Papers, 1:471.

[8]Prime-check on Sparhawk.

[9]For some suitable examples of prints see Florence M. Montgomery, Printed Textiles: English and American Cotton and Linens, 1700-1850 (New York: A Winterthur Book, Viking Press, 1970).

[10]For a discussion of glass manufacture, importation and retailing in Philadephia, see Arlene Palmer, "Glass Production in Eighteenth Century America: The Wistarburgh Enterprise," Winterthur Portfolio 11 (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1976):75-102. Illustrations of Wistarburgh etched tumblers are included in this article; however, they are quite rare today and the acquisition of English or German glass seems a more practicable solution.

[11]Florence M. Montgomery, Textiles in America (New York: W.W. Norton Company, A Winterthur/Barra Book, 1989): 283-285.

[12]The mourning ring is engraved, "N.T.", presumably for Nicholas Tryst. According to Lucia Goodwin, editor of the Jefferson memoranda books, Tryst often placed his own initials on Jefferson memorabilia.

[13]Montgomery, Textiles in America: 229-230.

[14]Information on Jefferson's political reading is taken from Munves: 14 and from H. Trevor Colburn; Thomas Jefferson's Use of the Past." William and Mary Quarterly (January, 1958): 56-70. An Historical Essay on the English Constitution (1771) was unattributed at the time of Colburn's article. I have not checked subsequent scholarship to determine whether an author has been named.

[15]Sowerby, III, p.264, item 3113; item 3114. Jefferson's "Plain Truth" is Octavo, 20 leaves in fours. "Observations is listed in Evans, nubmer 14791. On Jefferson's creation of copies of his draft, see Munves, 124.

[16]Jefferson to Eppes, August 9, 1776: "Your heckle is not yet come. It seems the man who had promised to sell it to the gentleman I employed to get it, now raises some difficulites either to get off others which he calls the set, or to enhance the price. However, the gentleman still expects it, and I am after him everyday for it," Boyd, Papers, I:487.

[17]Typescript, Park notecard file of m.s., Waste book of Robert Aitken, in Library Company of Philadelphia.

Illustrations

1. Jefferson's lap desk.
2. Jefferson's writing arm windsor.
3. Mahogany stool porportedly by Jacob Graff, Jr.
4. Compass, drawing implements, and ivory notebook that belonged to Thomas Jefferson.
5. Jefferson's chess set.
6. Jefferson's shirt.
7. Jefferson's boots.
8. Jefferson's razors.
9. Mourning ring.

Illustration 1

Jefferson's lap desk. Courtesy, Museum of History and Technology, Smithsonion Institution. Jefferson designed this desk and had it executed in Philadelphia by cabinet maker, Benjamin Randolph. The label, in Jefferson's hand attests that he used it when he wrote the Declaration of Independence. A 1926 reproduction of the desk is used in the Graff House.

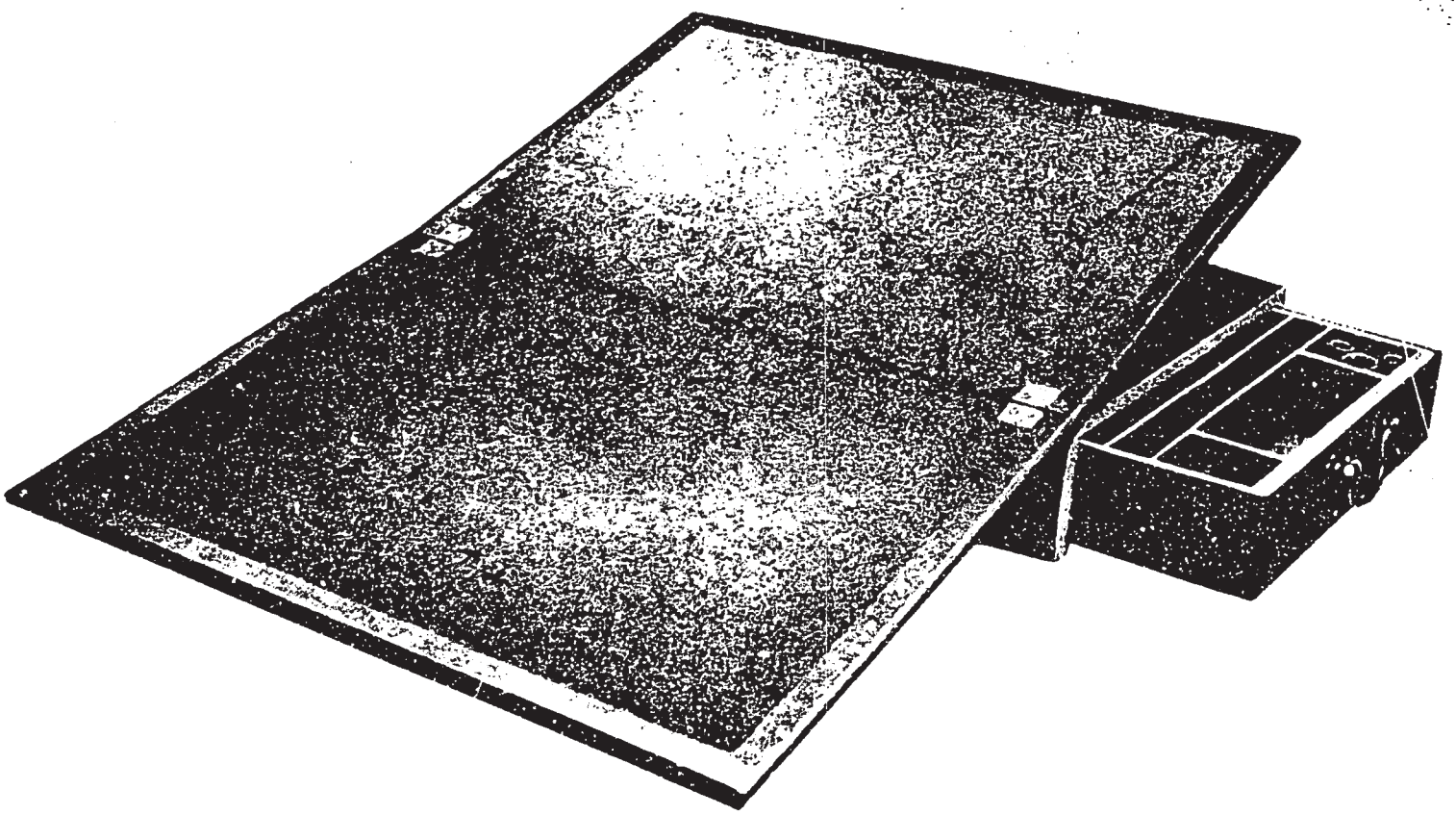


Illustration 2

Jefferson's writing arm windsor. Courtesy, American Philosophical Society.

This is a Philadelphia Windsor chair with a swivel mechanism believed to have been added in the nineteeth century. A reproduction of the chair is in the Graff House.



Illustration 3

Mahogany stool, Philadelphia, 1759-75. Courtesy, the Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum.

This stool has a history of descent in the Graff family and, by tradition, belonged to Jacob Graff, III.



Illustration 4

Compass, drawing implements, and ivory notebook, that belonged to Thomas Jefferson. Courtesy, Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation.

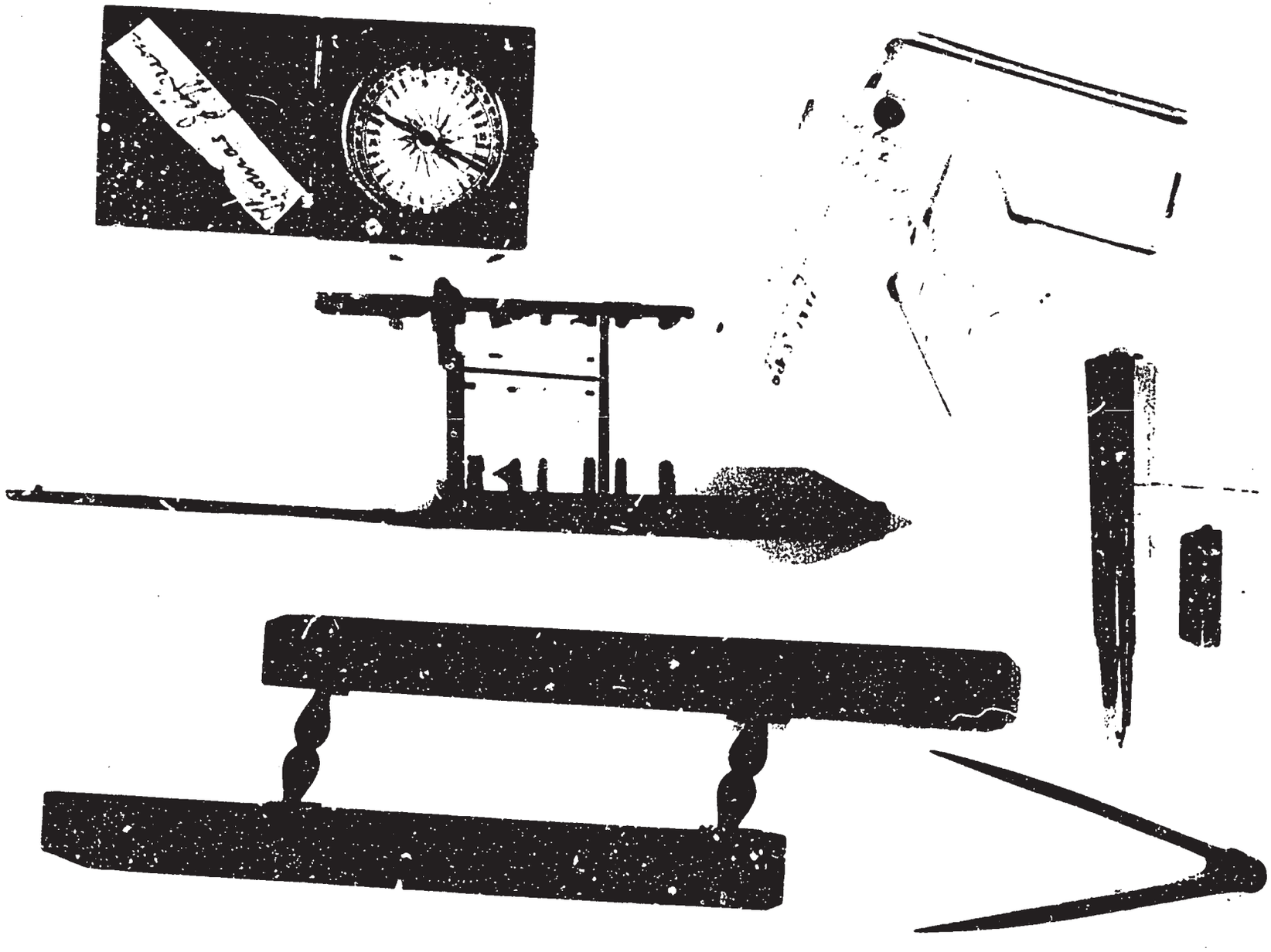


Illustration 5

Jefferson's chess set. Courtesy, Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation.

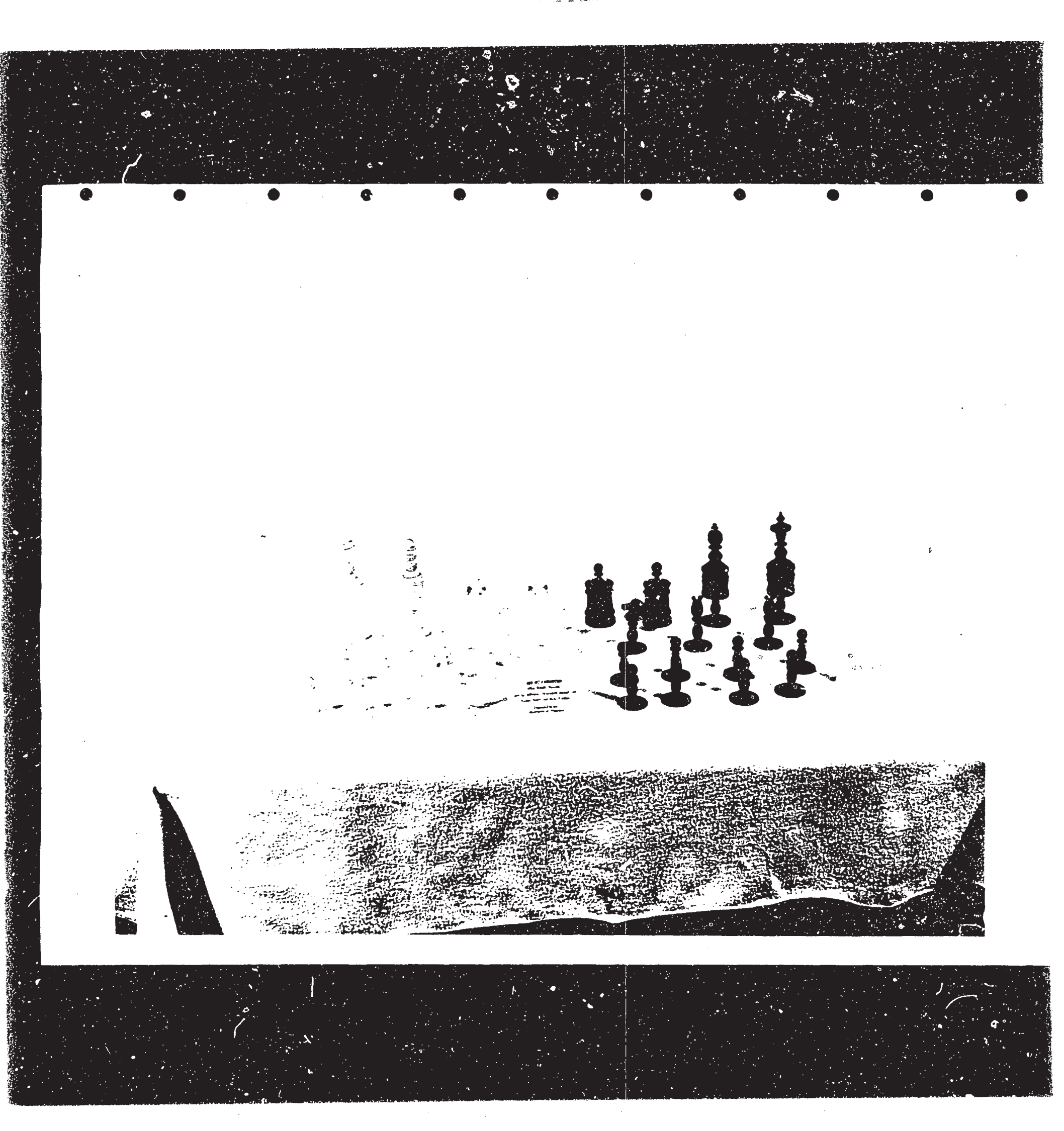


Illustration 6

Linen shirt that belonged to Thomas Jefferson. Courtesy, Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation.

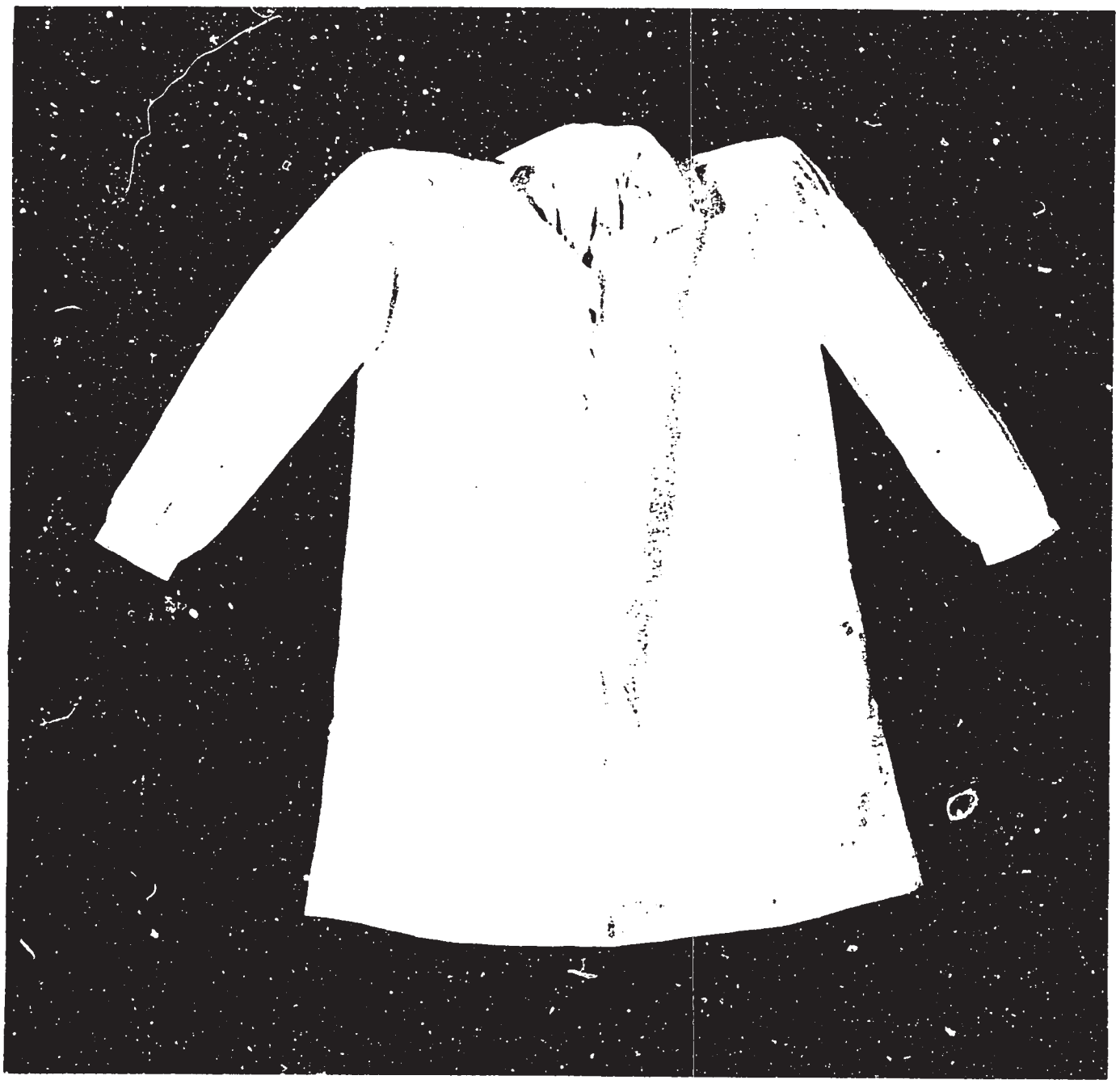


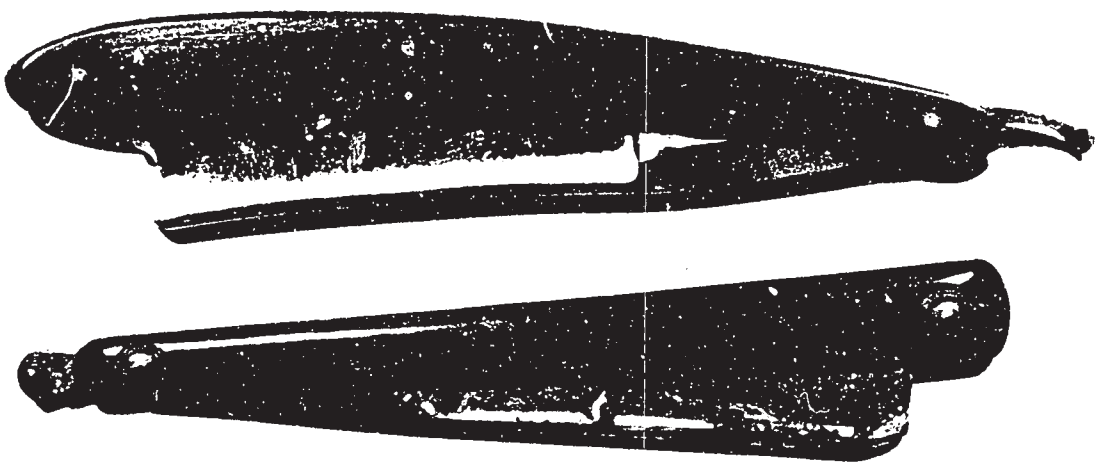
Illustration 7

Jefferson's leather boots. Courtesy, Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation.



Illustration 8

Jefferson's razors in wooden and tortoise shafts. Courtesy, Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation.



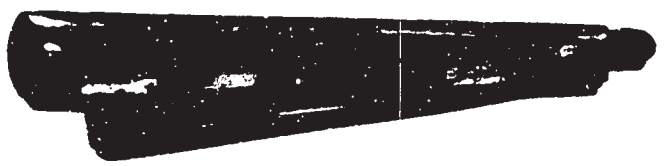


Illustration 9

Gold Mourning ring in the Monticello collections with "TJ" engraved on the band. Records are unspecific about the memento's origins. Jefferson purchased a ring such as this, presumably to memorialize his mother, while he was in Philadelphia. Courtesy, Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation.



Appraisement of the Goods belonging to the Estate of Charles/Syng Late of Philad[a] Deceas'd taken by

First Room	1 Mahogany Dining table	1	15	0
	1 Walnut Tea D[o]	0	15	0
	9 Fanback chairs	6	15	0
	2 Waiters	1	5	0
	1 Looking glass	5	0	0
	1 Carpet	2	0	0
	1 Six plate Stove and pipes	2	12	6
	1 Pair And Irons shovel and tongs	1	10	0
	A lot of China and glasses	2	0	0
	6 Silver Table Spoons 1 Soup Spoon 10 Tea Spoons and 1 Sugar Tongs	10	8	0
	1 Mahogny Deask	3	0	0
	A Lot of Silver Buckels	0	15	0
	1 Pair Silver Shoe D[o]	1	10	0
	1 Silver Watch	2	5	0
	16 d[o] Jacket Buttons	0	7	6
	1 Pair Gold Sleave Buttons	1	2	6
	Gold Scales and Weights	0	7	6
	1 pair Pistols	0	17	6
	A lot of Plated Spurs	1	0	0
	5 yards Cassimer	1	5	0
	4 Table Cloaths	1	5	0
	1 Pair Shoes	0	7	6
	A Lot of Books	1	0	0
	3 Imeage's	0	3	0
Second D[o]	1 Walnut Table	0	5	0
	1 Pine D[o]	0	2	6
	6 Green Chairs	0	15	0
	1 Looking Glass	1	17	6
	1 Corner Cobert	1	17	6
	1 Ten Plate Stove and pipes	5	0	0
	1 Pair and Irons and Tongs	0	7	6
	A Lot of Crockery	0	7	6
	½ Dozen Knife and Forks	0	7	6
	½ D[o] plated D[o]	0	12	6
3 Room	3 Arm Chairs	0	7	6
	1 Bed Pan	0	10	0
	1 Bedstead and second bottom	0	7	6
	L	62	3	6

(Continued Forward)

	Amount brought forward L	62	3	6
3d Room Cond	2 Feather Beds	1	15	0
	1 Cover Led and 2 sheets	0	12	6
4th Room	1 Small Table	0	2	6
	2 Chairs	0	6	0
	2 Feather Beds	4	0	0
	4 Cover Leds	3	0	0
	2 Blankets	0	17	6
	2 Pillows and 1 Bolster	0	15	0
	2 Sheets	0	10	0
	1 Bedstead and Second Bottom	1	2	6
	3 Pictors	0	7	6
5th Room	6 Walnut Chairs	4	5	0
	1 Mahogany Tea Table	2	0	0
	1 Walnut Do Do	0	7	6
	1 Arm Chair	0	17	6
	1 Bedstead and Second Bottom	1	5	0
	5 Feather Pillows and 1 Bolster	1	2	6
	A Map of Pensyla	0	7	6
	1 Mahogany Chester Drawers	12	0	0
	1 Do Bereau	1	10	0
	1 Quarter Cash Teneriff Wine 29 Gallon 6/ten Gallon	8	14	0
	1 Do Ollege Do Sherry Do 20 Gallons 10/ Do Do	10	0	0
	2 Window Curtains	2	0	0
	3 Do Do	0	6	0
	6 Chair covers	1	2	6
	6 Do Do	0	6	0
	1 Bed cover	1	2	6
	6 Pillow Cases	0	15	0
	4 Towels	0	4	0
	2 Sheets	0	12	6
	1 Looking Glass	0	15	0
	3 Pictors	0	7	6
	Suit Black Cloaths	4	0	0
	1 Do . - Do	1	10	0
	5 Pair Briches	1	5	0
	2 Do Do and 2 pair Trowsers	0	7	6
	9 Jackets	0	5	0
	8 Shirts	4	0	0
	4 Hats	0	10	0
	3 Pair Silk Stocking	1	10	0
	3 Do Cotton Do	0	15	0
	1 Umbrall	1	6	3
	1 Great Coat	0	10	3
	(continued forward) L	14z	16	0

	Amount brought forward L	143	16	0
	3 Coats	0	11	3
	1 Pair Boots	0	7	6
	1 Pair Leather Britches	0	5	0
	1 Sword and bealt	0	15	0
	A Lot of Jackets	0	15	0
Back Gerriet	2 Chairs	0	3	0
	1 Bedstead and Second bottom	0	7	6
	1 Bed and bedding	1	0	0
	1 D° D°	1	10	0
Front Gerriet	1 Dozen Pewter Plates	1	10	0
	8 Dishes D°		0	0
	1 Sauce Pan	0	5	0
	2 Pair Sadle Bags	0	3	9
	1 Iron Morter	0	0	0
	A Lot of Sundrys	6	0	0
	A Lot of Bottles	0	5	0
	1 Chair Collar and Pistol Holsters	0	7	6
	1 Sadle and bridle	0	2	6
	A Lot of bottles	0	2	6
	Bridle Buckles	0	1	0
Wash House	4fIron Potts and Oven	1	0	0
	2 Coffee Mills	0	5	0
	3 Ladles 1 Pot Hook and flesh fork	0	5	0
	6 Candle Sticks	0	10	0
	1 Pair Bellow's	0	2	6
	1 Iron and 1 Copper Tea kittle	0	7	6
	3 flat Irons	0	3	0
	1 Coffee Pott	0	10	0
	1 Frying Pan	0	3	9
	3 Tubs and 3 buckers	0	3	9
	2 Fier D°	0	7	6
	A Lot of Sundrys	0	7	6
Yards	1 Tin Plate Stove and pipes	2	5	0
	A Lot of Sundrys	0	7	6
Cellar	1 Brass Wash Kittle	0	15	0
	Empty Casks	0	15	0
	A Lot of Sundrys	0	5	0
At Livery	1 Roan Horse	11	15	0
	1 Sorrel Mare	9	0	0
	1 Riding Chair and jeers [sp]	9	0	0
At the Wharf	Scales and Weights	40	0	0
	A Lot of D°	0	15	0
	1B lbs Coffee 208 lb a 7d per lb	6	1	4
	L	245	3	10

N. B. Taken 1793. Adm. 158 - Bond of Administration and Inventory
City of Philadelphia, Resister of Wills

Inventory of the Goods of the Late Jacob Graff deceased taken/the 27TH October 1780 by John Phile and Nicholas Rash Appraisors

1 Eight day Clock	L 22.0.0	2 Large Pewter Dishes	L 0.15.-
1 Walnut Book Case	11."-"-	3 Less dto	.10.-
1 Looking Glass	3."-"-	4 Basons	.10.6
1/2 doz. Walnut Leather Bottom Chairs	5 "-"-	2 Iron Potts	.8.-
1 pair And Irons	1 "-"-	2 dto and Hooks	.8.-
1 Map of City and Liberties	1 "-"-	1 Small Brass Kettle	.10.-
1 Old Walnut Table	1 "-"-	1 Tea Kettle	.7.6
1/2 doz. Walnut Leather Bottom Chairs	4 -"-	1 Pr. Old Walnut Drawers	7.6
1 Bedstead and Sacken Bottom	2 "-"-	1 Small Copper Coffee Pott	-.5.-
1 Walnut Arm Chair	3 "-"-	1 dto pan 3/g one funnell 1/	.4.-
1 dto Dressing Table	1 "-"-	1 Pr. large stillyards	.17.6
8 dto Walnut Chairs hair bottom	13.6.8	1 Pr. Less ditto	.5.-
1 Mahogany framed Looking Glass	3.7.6	4 Flatt Irons	.9.-
1 Walnut Dining Table	4"-"-	1 Box Iron and heater	.4.6
1 dto High Chest of Drawers	1 6"-"-	5 Brass Candlesticks and Snuffer	.8.-
1/2 doz leather bottom Walnut Chairs	5 "-"-	1 puding pan and Grater	.2.-
1 Round Walnut Table	1 "-"-	1 pr. Shuffell and Tongs	.10.-
1 Brass And Irons	1.10.-	2 Dripping pans	.7.6
1 house Organ	60.-.-	1 Large Iron pott	1.-.-
1 Bed Bedstead and Saking Bottom	10.-.-	1 Collander	.1.6
1 Couch	4.-.-	2 Iron And Irons	.5.-
2 Small Rugs	-.15.-	1 Grid Iron	.2.6
1 Woolen Coverlid	2.-.-	1 Shuffell and 2 tongs	.2.6
1 Cotton dto	1.5.-	1 frying pan	.3.9
2 Large Rugs	1.-.-	1 Bake Iron	.5.-
1 Couch Bed	2.-.-	1 Iron pott	.4.-
1 Chest	-.5.-	1 pr. large And Irons	.10.-
2 Beds Bedstead and Sacking Bottom	20.-.-	1 High Cedar Tub	.10.-
1 Mahogany Framed Looking Glass	2.14.-	1 Lott of Tools	1.-.-
1 Chair	"7"6	1 dto Old Iron	.10.-
1 Bellows	- 5 -	1 Large Brass Kettle	1.-.-
2 doz. Pictures	3.-.-	1 Lott old Tin	.2.6
2 fire Bucketts Bag and Basket	2.10.	18 pr Brick Moulds	1.-.-
3 Arm Chairs	1.-.-	1 Wheel Barrow	.7.6
3 Windsor dto	1.-.-	2 Axes	-.7.6
1 large 10 plate Stove and pipes	9.-.-	1 Maul	-.2.6
1 less dto and dto	7.-.-	8 Cedar Tubs	1.-.-
1 Round dto dto	3.-.-	1 German Bible	2.10.-
1 dto Tin - dto	2.-.-	Laws of Pennsylvania	.10.-
2 doz.old Pewter plates	-.12.-	1 pr Gold Scails and Weights	.7.6
		1/2 doz Silver Table Spoons	4.-.-
		1 Cow	3.-.-
		a number of Certificates	

N.B. FIGURING ON REVERSE NOT TRANSCRIBED

the whole L 258.8.5

Inventory and Appraisement of furniture &c belonging to the Estate of Frederick Shenkle decd viz+

Front Parlour	
1 eight day clock	$40
1 Gilt framed looking Glass	5
2 Landscape Pictures	4
1 Mahoghany Book Case and Desk	25
5 Jars (?) & Bickers (?) + 2 Figure Ornamts	5
1 Mahogany mixing Table	6
[obliterated entry	]
2 Large & 3 small Waiters & Bread basket	3.50
2 Covered Arm Chairs	2
8 Windsor Arm do	8
1 Ingrain Carpet	5
1 Teapot. 1 Sugar Tongs. 1 Sugar dish. 1 Cream Jug. 1 Doz. Teaspoons 5 Tablespoons of Silver wd at 1..12/2/100 pr oz	62.49
1 Tea Set of China	4
[obliterated entry	]
Lots of bottles	3
1 Demyohn Jug. Coffee Mill. 2 bottles & Cannisters	1.50
Lot of Crockery Ware Tin Cutter Kettle. Basket Boxes & c	1.25
3 Folio (?) Books (German)	4
A lot of Books	.50
A lot of Gold Scales &c in Desk	.50
A Silver Watch	5
Lot of Tools &c in Desk drawers	2
1 Umbrella	.25
[obliterated entry	]
Kitchen	
A Circular Stove pipe & Drum	20
1 Sopha & Cover	5
Andirons Shovel & Tongs	4.50
1 Circular Walnut Table	1.50
1 Mahngany breakfast table	3
A lot of Pewter 14 Plates 10 Dishes & basons	8
2 Copper coffee Pots 1 Tea Kettle of copper & 1 Iron do	5
Carried up	$254.49

bro+ up	$254.49
Crockery Tin Ware & brass	1
1 bell Mettle Kettle	2
4 Knife box Knives & Forks Scimmers	
Fermenter(1?)	1
3 Iron Pots 3 Skillets Salt box & Coffee Mill	3
Cages & 3 Canary birds	2
1 Mahogany framed lookg Glass	2
6 Windsor & 1 leather bottom Chair	2.50
1 pr of bellows dough trough & sundries	.50
8 pieces rag Carpet & some small pieces	6
1 Griddle frying Pan Gridiron 2 benches	2
2 Cabbage Cutters Cleaver Hatchet & rat trap	1
In Cellar	
1 hand saw 1 Hack back do	3
[obliterated entry	]
A lot of Fire Wood & Empty barrels	2
1 Grindstone Wood saw & Horse	3
1 brass Kettle	2.50
A lot of barrels Vinegar &c	2.50
5 Tubs & 2 buckets	3
1 Pine Closet & lot of old jars	1
A lot of Empty bottles	1
1 Cloaths Horse	.25
alot of old backs(?) & jambs	1
Back Room over Kitchen	
1 Dressing Table & Cover	2.50
[obliterated entry	]
[obliterated entry	]
1 Walnut Chest of Drawers	2.50
6 Walnut leather bottom Chairs & 1 Arm do	7
1 field green Bedstead & sacking bottom	2
2 thin feather beds bolster & Pillows	8
4 Mantle Ornaments	.25
3 Calico blue figure Window Curtains	3
Front Room Up Stairs	
1 high Chest Mahogany Drawers	15
6 Mahogany Chairs Chintz Covers	9
Carried over	$355.99

Amount brought over	355.99		
8 Damask Napkins	4	Rights & Credits belonging	
14 Tow Towells	2	Estate of Fred[k] Shenkle dec[d]	
4 Huckaback d°	1	Bond & Warrant prJ. Kinnard	$ 35
3 d° Table Cloths	1	Bond of German Reformed Congretation	6(?)
3 Damask d°	4.50		
6 Two Sheets	6		
9 Home spun Sheets	15	" pr B. Smith. Henry K.	
8 Pillow Cases	2	Helmuth & J.H.C. Helmuth	100
3 Fancy Coverlets	9	" & Warrant of Philip Shenkle	80
3 Patchwork d°	3		
[obliterated entry	]	[obliterated entry	]
[obliterated entry	]	[obliterated entry	]
pillow bolster & Bedstead	6	for L 200	
4 old Chairs looking glass & a		" " of d° " 300	
lot of old rubbish	3	L 500	13
Back Garret			$ 85-.—
1 Walnut Couch & Chaff bed	2		
1 Chaff bed & bolster for cot	1		
alot of old Cages(?)	.50	(signed) Charles Graff	
1 Popular bedstead & sacking bottom	2		
1 Single Feather bed	3		
1 Cot d° & 2 Pillows ——			
[obliterated entry	]		
[obliterated entry	]		
3 old spinning wheels 7 a reel	1.50		
1 Ink stand Knife &[c]	1		
Decanters, Tumblers & wineglasses	2		
	$428.99		

(signed) John Rees
(signed) W[m] Wigglesworth

W[m] Wigglesworth one of the above Appraisers sworn the 12th June 1810 Before
(signed) Sam Bryan, Register

Appraisement of the following Inventory taken Appraised by the subscribers this 16th Day of December 1793 being the personal Estate of George Reinhart

	£	S	d
1 Ten plate stove complete	5	10	-
1 Twenty four Hour House Clock	7	10	-
1 Desk Walnut	2	12	6
1 dining Table do	1	5	-
1 Breakfast dº Mahogany	1	-	-
1 small Tea Table dº	-	15	-
1 small mahogany stand	-	15	-
1 pair Brass Andirons, Tongs & Bellows	1	17	-6
1 doz Green Windsor Chairs	1	4	-
1 Looking Glass	1	2	-6
4 Setts Window Curtains	1	10	-
4 Japann'd Servers	-	5	-
12 Pictures with Glasses	-	9	-
1 six Plate Stove	2	10	-
4 Arm Chairs	-	15	-
1 Bureau	1	10	-
1 Looking Glass	-	10	-
1 Bedstead, Bedding & Curtains complete	15	-	-
1 pair Brass knob Andirons	-	12	6
1 old & Small Stand	-	10	-
1 old Carpet	-	15	-
4 Brass Candlesticks	-	15	-
1 Field Bedstead & Bedding	5	12	6
1 Lowpost dº & dº	3	-	-
1 Low pair Chest Drawers	1	-	-
1 broken Looking Glass	-	5	-
1 low post Bedstead & Bedding	4	-	-
1 dº dº dº	1	-	-
3 spinning Wheels @ 7/6	1	2	6
1 Awning	1	2	6
3 Gin Cases & Tea Cannister	-	15	-
1 Trunk	-	3	9
1 Warming Pan	-	3	9
China, Wine Glasses & Bottles & Sundry Crockery	2	5	-
2 pair Sad Irons, 1 pair Kitchen Andirons, Bellows, Shovels & Tongs	-	15	-
2 Closets of Queens Ware China & Tin Ware for Kitchen also	1	2	6
4 Copper Tea Kettles	1	10	-
3 Iron Pots	-	9	-
1 large Brass Kettle	-	15	-
2 Sauce Pans	-	5	-
3 Frying dº	1	-	-
2 Iron Skilletts	-	3	-

1 Dripping Pan 1 Gridiron & 3 Pewter Ware	?	- 5	-
		-14	-
2 Kitchen Tables	-	2	6
2 Andirons with Brass knobs	1	-	-
1 square Walnut Dining Table	-	15	-
1 Writing Desk	-	7	6
1 Looking Glass	?	5	-
3 Walnut Chairs	-	11	3
1 Map of Pennsylvania	1	-	-
Cedar Ware with Rain Water Tubs	1	5	-
1 Horse (Bay)	7	10	-
1 Bay Mare	10	-	-
1 Horse (grey)	7	10	-
1 do (black sd to be 14 Years old	10	-	-
1 Cow	4	10	-
2 Riding Saddles	2	-	-
1 Sulkey with Harness	6	-	-
1 New Chair (Green) with Top & Harness	15	-	-
1 Secondhand do do do	15	-	-
1 do	7	10	-
1 do	10	-	-
1 do	7	10	-
1 Sleigh	1	-	-
	£186	17	9

Leonard Keser)
(sworn
Sam[l] Mechlin)

May 6, 1794

Jacob Graff, Miller, Northern Liberties

Inventory of Goods Appraised by the Subscribers the Property of Jacob Graaf Deceased. Agreeable to the Order of Administration this 22d day of April 1793

Viz

Coat, Jackett & Breeches	£ 4.10. 0
1 old Great Coat Jackett & Coat	1.15. 0
a Lot of Sundry old Cloths (sic)	1.10. 0
4 old Shirts & 1 old Jacket) & Breeches, Hankercheef & Hat)	1.18. 0
old hat, old stockings & old shirt	. 5. 0
11 Old Pictures & Looking Glass	. 7. 6
Feather Bed & Bedstead	5. 0. 0
1 Buro	3. 0. 0
1 Small Dining & Tea Table	2.10. 0
6 Windsor Chairs	.17. 6
1 Large pair Andirong & 1 small ditto	2.10. 0
2 old Window Curtains & Umbrella	. 7. 6
1 Blue Coverlid New	1. 0. 0
12 yards Linnen	1.10. 0
2 Chists old 3/9	7. 6
1 Small Childrens Bed & Bedsted	2. 0. 0
23 lb Feathers @ 2/	2. 5. 0
Lott of Sundries old	15.
1 Bread Hamper & Churn	12. 6
1 Old Bed, Bedstead & Table	1. 5. 0
1 Large 6 plated Stove	3.10. 0
1 small 6 plated Stove	2. 5. 0
a Lot of old Crockery Ware) & 2 Decanters & pewter tea pot)	1. 0. 0
1 Silver Watch old	3.10. 0
2 pair Silver Shoe & Knee Buckles	1.10. 0
6 Silver tea Spoons old	1.10. 0
	£ 47.10. 6

10 Watch seals & Chain	£ 0.18. 0
1 Broach & 1 Knee Buckle	-. 7. -
Cash	17.18. 4
Clock	2.10. -
a Lot of old Books	1. -. -
Walnut Dining Table	1.17. 6
an old Walnut Desk	3. -. -
A Bread Closet	-.15. -
1 old Table	-. 4. -
Cradle	-.10. -
an open Glass & 5 Pictures	-. 5. 6
a Bread Basket	-. 1. 6
1 pound Spun Yarn & Curtain	-. 2. 6
Scales & Weights	2.10. -
2 Barrels Iron Bound	-.10. -

13 old Barrels	-. -. 6
2 Barrels superfine Flour	4.12. -
1 ditto ditto	2. 6. -
1 Hundred [lbs.] Rye Meal	-.12. -
4 old Barrels	. 3. 4
All the old Kitchen Furniture	4.10. -
4 Iron Potts & Skillet	1.10. -
1 Small Brass Wash Kettle & Grid Iron	-.15. -
5 Flat Irons & Coffee Mill & 2 Lamps	-.17. 6
1 Barrel Sour Cyder	-. 6. 6
a Lot of old Bucketts	-. 3. 2
1 1/2 hundred Rye Meal	-.18. -
4 Empty barrels	-. 3. 9
2 Dough Troffs) 1 pair Scales & Wts & 3 Scrapers) 1 Dough spadle) 1 Flour sieve) 8 Tins) 4 Peals) 1 Saw old)	1.10. 0
	£ 50.17. 8
1 Cow	£ 3.10. -
1 Hogshead	2. -
71 Dozen & 5 Beer Bottles	15.19. 6
2 1/2 Blls Cyder at 22/6	2.16. 3
1 1/2 Bll Porter @ 67/6	3 7. 6
1/2 a Wheel Barrow	8.
A Rum Hogshead	5. -
1/2 the Celler Furniture	7.11
1 Bottle Rack	2. -
1 Slate	-. -. 3
House Bake & Bake oven & Lot	572. -. -
	£ 598.18. 4
Book Debts	£ 110.11. 3
Brot forward	47.10. 5
	50.17. 8
	£ 807.17. 9
Serves(?) on the Partition (Scores?)	6. 9. 1
	£ 814. 6.10
Partnership Acct due from	
F. A. Muhlenberg	1. 5. 9
Jn Barton	?. 4. 2
Geo Esterley	1.15.10
John Taylor	3.15. 0

May 1793

Inventory and appraisement of the Goods and Chattles of Michael Lapp Deceased December 6th 1793

		£		
6 Windsor Chairs	@ 2/6		- 15	-
1 Breakfast Tabl			- 15	-
2 Dining Tables			2 10	-
1 Desk			3 0	0
6 Pewder Plates			- 6	-
1 Coffee Mill			- 2	6
2 Looking Glasses			? 10	-
1 Lott Cups & Sawswrs &c			- 5	-
1 Eight Day Clock			15 -	-
3 Beds			9 15	-
2 Bedsted &c			2 -	-
1 Close Chair			- 12	6
6 Walnut Chairs	@ 10/		3 -	-
1 Walnut Tea Table			- 15	-
6 Chinia Plates			- 7	6
6 Cups & Sawsers China			- 7	6
1 Bag Coffee 30 lb. (?)			3 -	-
1 Sute of Winder Curtins			- 10	-
1 Sute Bed Curtins			3 -	-
1/2 Barrel Sugar			1 17	6
2 pr andirons			- 17	6
1 pr Shovel & Tongs			7	6
1 Ten Plate Stove & Pipes			6 -	-
1 Six dº dº dº			3 -	-
1 Tin Stove			- 11	3
6 Pictors			- 6	-
1 Beaurow			2 -	-
1 Trunk with Sundry Cloathing			6 -	-
1 Chest			- 2	6
1 Lott Earthen ware			- 3	9
12 Cords fire wood	26/		15 12	-
8 Barrell Flour			? -	-
30 Empty Barrell			- 15	-
2 Pcs Irish Linnin	50 yards		4 -	-
1 Frying Pann			- 4	6
1 Gun			- 15	-
1 wood axe & saw			- 7	6
40 Bread Baskets			- 15	-
2 Bake Troughts			- 15	-
Tin Plates & Ginger Bread Moulds			- 7	6
1 Silver watch			2 10	-
2 Iron Potts			- 6	-
1 auning			- 7	6
2 Fire Buckets			- 15	-
1 Brass Kettle			1 2	6

2	Tea Kettles	- 15	-
1	Blue & White Coverlid	1 10	-
1	Calico Counter Pin	1 -	-
3	fine Shirts	1 10	-
2	Rose Blankets	1 10	-
2	Common do	- 15	-
11	Silver Tea Spoons	1 5	-
1	Black Silk Gownd		
1	Changeable Silk do		
5	Chintz Gowns	3 15	-
1	White Marsaler Peticot	2 -	-
2	old Linsay do	- 10	-
2	Small flat Irons	- 3	9
5	Towells	- 7	6
1	Lott old Sheets & Polster Cases	7	6
2	pair Silver Shoe Buckels	2 "	"
1	pair Knee Buckell	" 7	6
1	Safe	" 10	-
1	Sign Board	" 10	-
		£ 140. 6	9

Inventory and Appraisement of the Goods & Chattles of John A. Kehr, late of the City of Philadelphia; Taylor dec^{d} taken & made by us the Subscribers on the 16th December 1793

Cash			7.10. -
His wearing Apparrel			5. -. -
5 great Coats	@ 18/9		4.13. 9
4 Surt cuts	26/3		5. 5.
9 Bea Jackets	25/		11. 5. -
17 Coatees	22/6		19. 2. 6
40 round about Jackets	15/		30. -. -
47 Waist coats	9/4 1/2		22. -. 7 1/2
6 Velvet do	11/3		3. 7. 0
13 pair Breeches	15/		9/15/ -
9 Flannel Trawers	3/9		1.13. 9
21 pair large Trowsers	9/4 1/2		9.16.10 1/2
15 do small do	5/		3.15. -
15 Check Shirts	7/		5. 5. -
45 Ducklingburg Trowsers	5/7 1/2		12.13. 1 1/2
13 Linen Froks	6/		3.18. -
6 small Check Shirts	5/		1.10. -
7 Striped Waistcoats	6/		2. 2. -
1 Nankeen Coat			1. 2. 6
7 yrds Hunters Cloth	2/10		10.10. -
10 1/2 do Elastic do	7/6		3.18. 9
10 do green Baize	3/		1.10. -
37 do Flannel	1/6		2.15. 6
22 do Thocsets (?)	3/		3. 6. -
4 Waistcoat Patterns	5/6		1. 2. -
9 yds Fustain	1/		- 9 -
7 do Cordurcy	6/		2. 2. -
12 1/2 do black Sattinet	4/		2.10. -
12 do Brown Linen	1/		-.12. -
5 do Callemingo	1/6		7. 6
A Lott Buckram			1. -. -
6 Windsor Chairs	3/9		1. 2. 6
1 pine Table			-. 5. -
a Silver Watch			3.15. -
a Bedstead Bottom & Beding			5.10. -
" Looking Glass			-. 3. 9
" Walnut Chest of Drawers			3. -. -
" pair Silver Shoe & Knee Buckels			1. 2. 6
" Cloth Coat			1.10. -
" Bedstead, Cattail Bed & Blankets			3. -. -
2 Iron Potts			7. 6
1 pair Andirons Shovel & Tongs			18. 9
a Copper Tea Kettle			-. 5. -
2 wash Tubs & 1 Bocket			7. 6

a Brass Candle Stick, Snuffers & a Lamp	-. 5. -
a Lott China & Queens Ware	-.15. -
a pair Taylors Sheers & goose	-.17. 6
a Trunk & Chest	-.12. 6
	£ 20[illegible].10. 8 1/2

Peter Kraft) Appraisers Sworn
Andrew Hertzog) the 2nd of
January 1794

Before Isaac Wampole Reg.r

An Inventory taking by the Subscribers William V. Thule and Henry Epple the 10th day of December 1793, of the goods & Chattels of Jacob Udree Deceased.

1 Eight day Clock	£ 7.10. 0
1 Large looking glass	3. 0. 0
1 Wallnut dining Table	2. 0. 0
1 ditto Tea Stand	17. 6
1 d° Ovel Table	1.15. 0
6 Vindsor Cheirs & 1 Small ditto	1. 4. 0
6 Picturs - 7/6 - 5 delf plates & 1 Dish 6/	13. 6
3 Tumbiers & 3 wine glasses	3. 0
2 queen ware pints	1.10
2 delf Bowls	1. 6
1 pair Silver Buckels 7/6 & 1/2 doz Cups & Saucers 3/9	11. 3
2 Tea pots 3/ - 2 Servers & Small looking glass 1/3	4. 3
1 Spoon Mould 7/6 - 6 Large & Small bottels 3/	10. 6
3 Jares with some Sugar 4/6 - 11 Towels & 1 Shirt pair Stockings 10/	14. 6
1 Small Tea Chest with Canestors	7. 6
1 pair and Irons Shovel & Tongs	7. 6
1 Large Garman Bible	1. 0. 0
12 Books 9/1 - 1 Tabel Carpet 3/9	12. 9
1 Ten plated Stove with pipes	6. 0. 0
2 pine Tables 5/ - 3 old wooden bottoms Chairs 1/6	£. 6. 6
7 Pewter plates & 3 dishes 10/ - 1 bell Mettal Kittel 25/	1.15. 0
2 Copper Tea Kittels 10/ 1 brass wash Kittel 25/	1.15. 0
1 Large tea Kittel & Vofel Iron	10. 0
2 pair Tongs & grid Iron	12. 0
1 Large & 1 Small Frying pan	7. 6
5 Iron potts & 2 Skillets	1. 0. 0
4 Flat Irons	7. 6
3 Brass & 4 Iron Candel Sticks	10. 0
1 lot of ware with plates & Jares	15. 0
1 Small Brass wash Kittel	1. 0. 0
200 lb Feathers with Saterts (?)	37.10. 0
1 Cross Cutt & hand Saw	3. 9
11 Whiet queensware half pint mugs @ .2	1.10
Hickory & Bak(?)wood	6. 0. 0
2 Bushels & Seader tubs	5. 0
1 pair Silver nee buckels	5. 0
1 looking glass	1.10. 0
1 Server 7/6 wallnut dining Table & Carpet 30/	1.17. 6
1 Wash bol - 1 Silver Cream Jug 15/	3.15. 0
1/2 doz Silver Tea Spoons	1. 4. 0
1 Bad Stad & Second bottom	1.10. 0
1/2 doz leather bottom Wallnut Chairs	2. 5. 0

1	Wallnut Close Stule			12. 6
1	Case with wax work			10. 0
1	Coubert with tea cups & glasses			1. 5. 0
1	pair Fire dogs with brass tops			10. 0
21	Shirts 67/6 waring aparrel 35/			5. 2. 6
1/2	doz Vinsor Cheers 30/ - 2 Arm Cheers 7/6			1.17. 6
1	Wallnut Dressing Table 18/9 - 1 looking glass 30/			2. 8. 9
1	ditto Dining Table with Carpet			1.15. 0
1	Burow box - 3 Coverletts 2 blankets & bed stad 50/			5.10. 0
8	piller Cases & 4 Sheets 1 Check bead Case			3. 0. 0
1	Six plated Stove with pipes			3. 0. 0
12	pewter plates & 2 dishes			18. 9
1	Warming pan			7. 6
1/2	doz Pictures			6. 0
1	Conner Cover [sic!] with ware			1.15. 0
1/2	doz delf Sup plates & glasses			15. 0
1	Wallnut Tea Table 30/ 1 Chusnut drawrs			2. 2. 6
1	Small looking glass			2. 6
10	Sheets & 1 piece Tow linnen			3.10. 0
5	Table Cloths & 6 Napkings			3. 0. 0
1	Cotton Bead tick			1.10. 0
1	Chest & Barsket			.10.
1	Copper Tea Kittel			9. 0
1	Beadstead & Chars with Curtin			1. 4. 0
15	Whiet queensware pint mugs	@ .3		3. 9
12	blue & Whiet pint dº	@ .6		6. 0
16	Sugar Dishes	@ 6		8. 0
8				
13	Blue & Whiet ditto Teapotts	@ 11		11.11
13	ditto dº dº	@ 9		9. 9
19	Black dº dº	@ 9		14. 3
10	Whiet dº dº	@ 8		6. 8
8	Blue & Whiet dº	@ 11		7. 4
13	Lead & Whiet dº	@ 11		11.11
13	Whiet dº	@ 8		8. 8
10	Ditto dº	@ 8		6. 8
13	Lead & Whiet dº	@ 10		10.10
6	Mugs dº	@ 4		2. 0
4	quart Decanters	@ 1/10 1/2		7. 6
7	pint dº	@ 1/3		8. 9
10	Creem Jugs	@ 1		0.10
52	Plates	@ .3		13. 0
46	Whiet Ditto	@ 3 1/2		13. 5
27	Creem Jugs	@ 1		2. 3
7	Pepper Boxes	@ 2		1. 2
3	Muster potts	@ 1		0. 3
18	Salt Sellers	@ 1		1. 6
5	glass salt ditto	@ 3		1. 3
4	Jill Wine Glasses	@ 5		1. 8

5	Glass Flowered Mugs	@ 6	2. 6
8	Glass pint ditto	@ 6	4. 0
18	Jill glasses	@ 3	3. 3
37	half pint Tumblers	@ 3	9. 3
19	ditto pint dº plain	@ 4	6. 4
27	Wine glasses	@ 3	6. 9
34	half pint Tumblers	@ 5	14. 2
7	glass pint Flowered Tumblers	@ 5	2.11
2	Vinigar Cruets	@ 9	1. 6
22	pint Tumblers	@ 6	10. 0
14	half pint dº	@ 9	10. 6
5	Whiet Creem Jugs	@ 3	1. 3
20	Pocket bottels	@ 3	5. 0
15	quart Decanters	@ 1/	15. 0
4	Queensware tea pots	@ 6	2. 0
			£ 148. 5. 5

An Inventory of the Goods & Chattels of the late Wm Hassall decd
Taken this 10 day of Novr 1793

1 open stove	£ 4.10. 0
1 large pine Table	1. 2. 6
1 Small Walnut dining Table	1.10. 0
1 Square walnut Table	.15. 0
1 round Do do	.15. 0
2 Common Small pine Tables	.10. 0
1 Small walnut stand	7. 6
8 Old Mahogany Chairs	1.10. 0
8 Windsor Chairs	1.10. 0
1 Feather Bed & Bolster (in Hair press Bedstead)	3. 0. 0
1 large pine Table	1. 2. 6
2 small common pine Tables	10. 0
9 Mahogany Chairs	5. 8. 0
2 small Venetian Blaids	10. 0
1 Back Gammon Table	1. 2. 6
Fixtures in the Tap room	3.15. 0
1 large Ten plate stove with shovel & tongs	7.17. 6
1 small Ten plate stove in the entry	3.15. 0
1 walnut dining Table	1.10. 0
1 high walnut Chest of drawers	3. 0. 0
1 looking Glass	1.10. 0
1 Dressing Glass	7. 6
1 Feather Bed Bolster & Pillow	5. 0. 0
1 Set Blue and white Bed Curtains	4.10. 0
1 pair red and white Window Curtains	0. 5. 0
1 white Cotton Counterpane	15. 0
1 Matrass	15. 0
1 old Blanket	5. 0
1 home made Coverlid & Cotton	1. 2. 6
1 piece of Bed Ticken	11. 3
6 Pictures (Generals)	1.10. 0
1 Bedstead and Bottom	1. 2. 6
3 Scripture pictures	7. 6
1 English Bible	2. 5. 0
1 Doway Do	1.17. 6
1 old corner Cup board	0. 0. 6
1 Feather Bed Bolster & pillow	3. 0. 0
1 Cat tail bed & Feather Bolster	.10. 0
7 Blankets	2. 2. 0
2 plaid Coverlids	0.10. 0
1 old home made Coverlid	5. 0
4 old sheets	10. 0
2 Old Bedsteads and Bottoms	15. 0
2 Small window Curtains	7. 6
3 pictures	7. 6
1 Broken looking Glass	7. 6

1 large hall Lanthorn	.15. 0
1 Arm easy Chair	. 5. 0
Johnson's Dictionary & 27 other Book	0.15. 0
1 Small pine Table	. 1. 0
1 Mahogany Bracket	. 1. 0
1 Small field Mahogany Bedstead	1. 2. 6
1 Set Curtains for Dº	1.10. 0
1 Coths Tray (?)	. 5.
1 Corded Bedstead	. 7. 6
2 Old Bedstead bottoms	0. 3. 9
1 walnut Cradle	.10. 0
1 old Bedstead	. . 6
2 Mohogany Drawers & Bracket	. 2. 0
6 Silver Table Spoons	4.10. 0
6 Dº Tea Spoons	1. 6. 3
1 Silver soup ladle	1.15. 0
2 large Soup Dishes	15. 0
4 Small Queens ware dishes	8. 0
8 Red & white China plates	8. -
9 Blue & white Dº	16. 9
15 white plates & 1 dish	4. 0
5 Scallops	7. 6
2 Sauce Tureens & 2 sauce boats	. 3. 0
2 fruit Baskets & 7 pieces	7. 6
1 lot Queen ware	. 7. 6
1 large Tureen & water Bottle	. 3. 9
1 pair Salts and Some Glass Candlesticks &c	. 3. 9
2 Castors	.10. 0
3 Japanned Waiters	1. 2. 6
1 Mahogany Dº 7 Tea Caddy	0. 7. 6
1 Tap Borer	0. 1. 0
1 Bird Cage	. 2.
2 Guns	4.10. 0
9 pewter Quarts	1.13. 9
5 dº Pints	. 9. 4
2 Quart Decanters 1 pint Dº & 2 half pint Dº	.10. 0
1 large China Bowl	.17. 6
3 Small Dº 1 of them Queensware	.10. 0
1 Handsaw	. 7. 6
1 Hammer	. 2. 6
1 Covered Demijohn	. 3. 9
4 Kegs	4. 0
1 Sugar Cannister, lime squeezer, skimmer, looking glass shot pouch funnel, & Cork screw	. 7. 6
1 Tub, form & slate	. 3. 0
3 empty Casks and one Brass cock	. 6. 0
a horse	. 2. 0
1 large Stew pan	1.15. 0
1 large Copper wash kettle	3.15. 0

1 small Brass Dº	2. 5. 0
1 Brass Skillet	.15. 0
1 warming pan	.10. 0
1 Copper Tea Kettle	. 7. 6
1 Very large Dº	. 7. 6
1 Iron Kettle	0. 7. 6
1 Frying pan good	4. 6
1 Dutch bake oven	3. 9
3 metal pots and Skillet	13. 9
1 Very large Oyster Grid Iron	1.10. 0
1 Smaller Dº	0.15. 0
4 pewter Dishes	0.15. 0
18 new pewter plates	1. 7. 0
6 old Dº Dº and one Bason	. 7. 0
6 Choppers	. 2. 6
1 Small bake Iron	. 3. 9
3 Flat Irons	. 3. 9
2 pair large Brass Candlesticks	1.10. 0
1 pair low Dº	. 7. 6
11 Candlesticks differend kings & 3 pairs of snuffers	.15. 0
1 Copper Coffee pot and Sauce pan	.15. 0
1 pair Small brass andirons	1. 2. 6
1 pair brass top Iron Dº	1.10. 0
1 pair small Iron Andirons	. 7. 6
1 pair brass top Shovel and Tongs	.11. 3
1 Iron ash Buckit	. 7. 6
1 lot of tin sconces (15)	. 3. 9
1 Knife box with knives forks & oyster knives	.11. 3
1 post Coffee mill	. 5. 0
4 Kitchen Tables	. 8. 0
1 Small roasting Spitt	. 1.10
Kitchen Andirons, Tongs Crane & Chains	1. 2. 6
4 Windsor Chairs	. 0. 0
1 large frying pan, flesh forks, ladle, 2 old Grid Irons, Scewers & hooks	. 5. 0
1 Tin Grater	. 1. 6
3 Washing Tubs	. 7. 6
4 oyster Tubs	. 6. 0
2 Buckets & a Cleever	. 5. 0
1 Small washing Tub & Bucket	. 2. 0
1 Spade, handsaw and hand Coffee Mill	.10. 0
1 pair of Bellows, small Tub & axe	. 7. 6
Pitch fork & handsaw	. 2. 6
7 old Casks and Barrels	. 3. 6
2 Scythes & a market Basket	. 7. 6
2 pair Coits	. 3. 9
1 Grind Stone	. 4. 6
a Summer house with a parcel of old seats	3. 0. 0
Sign and Sign post	1.10. 0

a pewter pot for the easy chair	. 2. 0
a bell hung in the Back room below stairs	. 7. 6
a Cane Silver mounted	. 7. 6

At the request of Doyle_____? and Selby Hickman Admr to the Estate of Wm Hassall decd the subscribers viewed the articles mentioned in the foregoing Inventory and have valued or appraised at the several prices affixed to each amounting in the whole to one hundred forty pounds eleven shillings & two pence. Given under their hands this 16th day of Novr 1793.

John O'Hara
Abrahm Morrow

A Bill of praisment of Goods the property of G. Chasse Kruimel Deceas'd. Taking december 18th 1793

1	Card table	1.15.
	a Balance due from the bank of N.A. at January 1793	6.15. 6
1	Spy Glass	. 2. 6
	Cash in Copers	. 3. 9
9	Pictures	1.13. 9
1	Looking glass	.17. 6
8	chairs	2. -. -
1	Segar Table	1. 6
1	Tarmitter (?)	7. 6
1	Kace & Bottles	12. 6
1	watch Kace	. 1.
10	Books	.12.
5	Quart decanters	.17. 6
6	Cups and Tasses & Sugar bool	. 2.
5	Glass Bottles	. 4.
3	Wine Glass	. . 9
3	Winters	.10.
1	Box of Segars	. 2.
2	German fluts	.15.
1	Box and tea cannister	. 5.
1	Tea Cannister and Lot of tea	7. 6
1	Cloth Brush	2. 6
2	Puter Spoons	. 2.
1	Pair of andirons and Shovel and Tongs	.10.
2	Window Skreens	4 ?
1	Garden Racke and a lot of Brushes	. . 9
1	Trunk with Segars	3. .
2	Buckits and two stools	. 4.
1	Iron tea Khittle	. 5.
1	Pair of Scales and Wait	. 2.
7	Puter Spoons & 2 Ladles	. 1. 6
2	Lot of Queen ware	. 5.
3	Glass tumblers	. 1. 6

A List and Appraisment of the Goods and Chattels of Christian (alias Christopher) Sulger late of the Northern Liberties, Baker, deceased

(List of clothing precedes furniture)

1 pair of Flat Irons 1 coffee mill and sundry Kitchen Furniture &c	1. 3. 3
15 Cords of Oak Wood	15. 0. 0
2 Chairs and One frying pan	. 8. 9
1 Brass Kettle and old Copper Tea Kettle	1. 0. 0
1 Pot Skillet and Grid Iron	0. 7. 6
1 Pair Boots and shoes Brushes Hammer &c	1. 6. 3
	£81. 1. 6

Philadelphia September 4, 1793
Appraised by us -
Chrs. Hausman
Ernest L. Baisch

By Amount brought forward	£46. 1.11
1 Cradle, 1 Chast, two bedsteads &c	17. 6
1 Walnut Nest of Draws	3. -. -
1 Walnut Table	1.10. 0
1 Eight Day Clock and Case	7.10. 0
1 Tablr spread and 2 Pictures	-.10. -
1 pair brass Topt handirons	.12. 6
1 Copper tea Cettle, six silver tea spoons and a Lot of China and Earthen Ware &c	2. 6. 0
6 Windsor Chairs	1. 2. 6
1 Bread Chest and Basket and Curtain	.10. 0
12 Casks of Flour	22.10. -
4 Tubs and 3 Bushels	0.10. 0
2 Pewter Dishes 1 Bason 6 Plates 1 Can and One Tea Pot &c	1. 3. -
1 Small Pine Table, two sieves, 1 Looking Glass, shovel and Tongs	0.14. 6
1 Case of Rasons	0. 5. 0
1 1 ten plated stove with pipe	5. 0. 0
1 six plated d° d°	3. 0. 0
1 Bedstead and Bed	0.10. 0
14 Plates of Sheet Iron	0.15. 0
1 Bushel of Salt	0. 6. 0
[obliterated	
[Torn & obliterated	
14 Hand Towels	0.15. 0
2 Caps and 2 pairs of Gloves	0.15. 0
2 Table Cloths	1. 0. 0
2 Small d°	0. 5. 0

3 Silk Handkerchiefs	0.10. 0
6 New Shirts @ 5/	1.16. 0
3 Old d°	0. 6. 0
6 New Blankets	2.15. 0
1 Cotton Coverlid	-. 8. 6
3 Sheets	0.11. 3
1 Feather Bed and cases 7 Pillow cases 1 Bolster and four pillows	4.15. 0
41 Yards of Curtain Stuff	4. 0. 0
3 Brass Candle Sticks	0.15. 0
1 Velvet Cloke	2.15. 0
1 Gin Case with 6 Bottles	0. 2. 6
1 Walnut Desk	4. 0. 0
1 Walnut Buroe	2. 0. 0
1 Bedstead and Cacking Bottom	1.10. 0
1 Arm Chair, Table, Glasses, and a small Hair Trunk, a Bag and Slate	1. 2. 6
Amount brought forward	£ 46.16.11

Inventory of the Real & Personal Estate Michael Wartman, deceased
Viz: Dwelling house situate in, &c out houses Barns &c &c

	£		
	£	900.	0. 0
Sundries of Hats (?) in the Seller		1.	2. 5
Whole Lots of Chiers 40/ 1 Pine Table 5/		2.	5. -
a Four feet Walnut Table 10/ Iron Stove 60/		3.	10. 0
Handirons Spitt & etc 15/ Sundries of Crockery 30/		2.	5. -
Sundries of Kitchen furniture		1.	10. -
		910.	12. 3
Sundries of Stuff in Room No° I Viz 1 Eight day Clock		12.	.
1 four feet Mahogany Table		1.	10. -
1 round stand ditto 18/1 Franklin stove 30/		2.	8. -
1 Pair of Brass handirons		1.	.
1 small Looking Glass & Picture		1.	.
Room N° 2 New Bed Sted		1.	10.
Room N° 3 1 Bed, Bedstead & elf Chist		2.	1
		21.	8. -
Room N° 4 1 Desk		2.	10.
Sundries of Waring Apparel		7.	10.
1 Chest 20/ a 4 feet Table 25		2.	5.
Sundries of Beding 60/ a Small trunk 10/		3.	10. -
Room N° 5 & 6 Sundries		3.	.
		18.	15. -
Horses Prised with their Geer° belonging to them			
1 Bay horse called old Dick		3.	.
1 Gray Horse 30. 1 Black with white feet 30.		60.	0. -
1 Sorrel Horse £7.10 1 Bay ? ? £20.		27.	10. -
1 old blind white 2.9. 1 Bay call[d] Jery £15.		18.	.
1 Brown Mare £7.10. 1 Black Mare £30.		37.	10. -
	£	1106.	15. 6

Owner of a Stage line;
other horses and equipment -
complete estate totals in all:
£ 1924.10. 8

George Lesser 26 Nov[r] 1793
William Hicks Isaac Wampole, Reg.

£1924
4125
$9620 in 1910 purchasing power

5
31
$48,100 in 1793 purchasing power

Inventory & Appraisment of the Personal Estate of Henry Speel Deceased taken this Day October the 30th 1793 by Michael Speel, John Speel and George Knorr Administrators. Appraised by Robert Bayne & John Amos.

In Cash	48.15. 9
1 Mahogany Desk	12. 0. 0
1 do High Drawers	25. 0. 0
1 do Dining Table	3. 7. 6
1 do Breakfast do	2.12. 6
1 do Tea do	4.10. 0
1 do Stand	2.12. 6
6 do Chairs at 45/ each	13.10. 0
1 do Arms do	3. 0. 0
1 do Cradle	1.15. 0
1 Eight Day Clock with Mahogany Case	25. 0. 0
1 Silver Watch	6. 0. 0
1 Walnut Dinning Table & Cover	2. 0. 0
1 d° d° d°	1. 0. 0
1 d° Card d°	1.10. 0
1 d° Tea d°	1. 5. 0
1 d° Stand	0. 7. 6
6 Silver Table spoons)	
2 d° pap d°)	7.10. 0
	£ 162. 5. 9

Brought Forward	162. 5. 9
12 Silver Tea Spoons	3. 7. 6
1 pair Silver Sugar Tongs	0.15. 0
1 Set of Castors	1. 7. 0
1 pair gold Scales & weights	0. 8. 4
1 Looking glass Mahogany Frame	4. 0. 0
1 d° - - -	2.12. 6
6 Fanback Windsor Chairs @ 7.6 each	2. 5. 0
6 Windsor d° @ 6/ d°	1.16. 0
6 Arm d° d° @ 11/3 d°	3. 7. 6
2 Small d° d° @ 6/ d°	0.12. 0
1 Large Server	1.10. 0
5 Small d°	1. 4. 0
6 Knifes 13 forks	0. 8. 4
1 Set of China Bowls plates &c	13. 0. 0
Lot of Books	1.17. 6
2 Silk Umbrellas	2. 8. 9
1 Saw & plain	0. 5. 0
2 Fire Bukets Bag & Basket	1.12. 6
1 pair Tongs & Shovel	0. 7. 6
1 d° d° d°	9. 7. 6
1 Open stove	4.10. 0
1 Six plate stove	4.10. 0
1 d° d°	4. 2. 6
1 d° d°	4. 2. 6

1 Writing Desk	0.12. 6
4 pair Brass Candlesticks	2. 2. 0
1 Copper Tea Kettle	1. 0. 0
1 Iron do	0. 6. 6
1 Copper Sauce pan	0.12. 6
	£228. 6. 1

Carried Forward

Brought Forward	£228. 6. 1
1 Copper coffee pot	0.15. 0
6 pewter plates	1. 2. 6
1 do Tankard Sugar dish &c	0.15. 0
- do Large plates & a Bason	1. 5. 0
3 Large jugs	0. 9. 0
Lot of Files	0. 2. 0
1 pair Large Brass Andirons	6. 0. 0
1 pair Brass top do	0.15. 0
1 High post bedstead & bottom	3. 0. 0
1 Low post do do	1. 2. 6
1 do do do	0.17. 6
1 do do do	0.12. 6
1 suit of Bed Curtains	4.10. 0
3 Window Curtains	3. 7. 6
2 Sets of Chair covers	2. 0. 0
1 do do	1.10. 0
6 Pictures with Gilt Frames	4.10. 0
2 Tea Chests	1. 7. 6
2 pair of Shoe buckles & 1 pair Knee buckles Silver	4.10. 0
1 Silver pincushion Chair & hoop	0.15. 0
1 pair Blankets	1.15. 0
1 do do	1. 0. 0
1 Feather Bed 43 lbs. @ 2/4 per lb.	5. 0. 0
1 do 40 lbs @ 2/ do	4. 0. 0
1 do 20 lbs @ 1/ do	1. 0. 0
1 Suit of Cloaths	4. 0. 0
1 do do	3.10. 0
1 do do	0.17. 6
1 do do	1. 0. 0
Carried Forward	£ 289.14.11
Brought Forward	£ 289.14.11
1 Great Coat	1. 5. 0
2 Pair Breeches 1 Coat	0.15. 0
3 Pair Trowsers	0.12. 0
3 Waistcoats 1 Coatee	1. 5. 0
1 Silk Long Gown	2. 0. 0
1 do do	1.15. 0
1 do do	2. 0. 0
1 do do	2. 5. 0
1 Silk Quilt	2. 5. 0
1 Sattin Cloak	3. 0. 0

1	Chintz long Gown	1. 5. 0
1	dº dº	1. 0. 0
1	dº dº	1. 0. 0
1	dº dº	1. 0. 0
6	Aprons	2. 5. 0
3	Petticoats	2. 7. 6
1	Pair Stays 2 short gowns	1.15. 0
1	Cotton Coverlid	1.17. 6
1	dº dº	1.10. 0
1	Green Rug	2. 5. 0
1	dº dº	0.10. 0
1	Coverlid & Chafbag	0. 5. 9
6	pair Sheets @ 25/ per pair	7.10. 0
3	Pillow Cases	0. 7. 6
4	Table Cloaths	1.15. 0
13	Shirts @ 12/6 each	8. 2. 6
12	Hankerchiefs	0. 3. 0
3	pair Stokings	1. 2. 6
	Brought Forward	343.13. 5
3	pair Gloves	0. 1. 6
1	Carpet	1.10. 0
1	dº	1.10. 0
	Cloaths Brush & Sealing wax log	0. 7. 6
2	Coats	1.10. 0
2	pair Breeches Hat & Sundries	1. 0. 0
2	Hats	1. 0. 0
1	Bonnet	0. 5. 0
1	pair Boots	1. 5. 0
3	dº shoes	0.15. 0
2	Shoulder baskets @ 15/ each	1.10. 0
1	Brass Kettle	3. 0. 0
1	dº dº	2. 5. 0
1	Warming pan	0. 7. 6
1	Coffee Mill	0. 3. 9
1	Iron pot	0. 5. 6
3	Flat irons at 2/ each	0. 6. 0
2	Iron skillets	0. 8. 9
1	Grid Iron	0.11. 3
2	Ironing Frames	0.10. 0
2	Skimmers flesh fork & Ladle	0.12. 0
19	Iron Tins	1. 5. 0
1	pair Scales & weights Slice & 2 scrapers	0.15. 0
1	Saw & Ax	0. 8. 4
1	Sive	0. 5. 0
1	Barrel half full salt	0.10. 0
2	Drou [illegible] at 17/6 each	1.15. 0
	Lot of Boards	0.10. 0
	Lot of Peels	0. 6. 0
	Carried Forward	£ 369. 1. 6

	Brought Forward	£ 369. 1. 6
4	Ceader Tubs @ 9/6 each	1.10. 0
4	Iron Bound Buckets @ 4/ each	0.16. 8
1	Rain Hogshead	0.10. 0
2	Barrels with hops &c	0.10. 0
1	Chest	0. 7. 6
	Barrel & Sundries	0. 1.10 1/2
1	Keg of Potash	0. 9. 6
1	Shovel	0. 6. 0
1	Large Flower Chest	1. 0. 0
1	Large Scale beam & a 28 lb weight	1.17. 6
1	Wheelbarrow & hoop poles	0.13. 6
	Rope & Takel Fall	0. 7. 6
11	Cords of Wood @ 17/6 per cord	9.12. 6
10	Barrells Superfine flour @ 49/ per Val	24.10. 0
1	dº midlings	1.12. 6
4	dº Rye meal @ 27/6 per Barll	5.10. 0
1	do Containing 108 lbs superfine flour	1. 8. 0
13	Empty Barrells @ 1/ each	0.13. 0
	The Whole amount	£ 421. 5.10 1/2

We do Certify that the foregoing is a just & true Inventory & Appraisment of the Personal Estate of Henry Speel Deceased

the 24 of January 1794

We the Subscribers do declare that the within under Mentioned appraizment of the Goods, Wares, Merchandize & Furniture belonging to the Estate of Paul Sturmfelts Deceas'd is as we believe to be Just and True to the best of our knoledge - October 31, 1793.

6 Walnut Chairs at 18/	£ 3. 9. 0
1 Windsor Settee	1. 2. 6
1 Tea Table	2. 0. 0
1 Walnut dining Table	1. 0. 0
1 large looking glass	1.10. 0
1 Dº Dutch Bible	1. 0. 0
3 Needles Works in frames	1. 2. 6
1 Lot of China & a server	1. 0. 0
1 Shell work	0. 7. 6
1 Writing desk	0. 3. 0
1 Slate	0. 1.10 1/2
Shovel & Tongs	0. 3. 0
1 pair of small andirons	0. 5. 0
6 windsor & 1 arm Chair at 2/6 each	0.17. 6
5 Rush Bottom Chairs at 1/	0. 5. 0
1 Walnut Breakfast Table	0.12. 6
1 Trunk with sundries	0.10. 0
6 Blankets at 5/ piece	1.10. 0
1 Set of Blue Bed Curtains & 2 window Dº	1.10. 0
1 Dº of Bed Dº for high post & 2 window Dº	3. 0. 0
1 Bed Spread Quilted	0.18. 0
1 Patch work bed spread	1.10. 0
one pair of Boots, 1 pair of new shoes	£ 20.19.10
2 small Iron Potts, 1 small Tea Kettle with fire tongs & shovel	0. 7. 6
Cash in Hand, Spanish dollars oz 349 dwt 1/6) French coins 32 oz. 11 dwt)	144. 3.11
One driping pann	0. 3. 0
One pair of scales with weights	0. 3. 0
One Seive 3/ 2 brushes One Hat, Whyte Wash brush & Great Coat	0. 1. 1 1/2
3 Windsor Chairs at 3/	0. 9. 0
1 rush Bottom Chair	0. 0. 6
One small table one Bucket & sweeping brush	0. 2. 6
one small lot of Wooll	0. 9. 0
One Lot of sundries in a bag	0. 3. 0
One Lot of firewood Charges Barney Shomo	1.15. 0
2 Razors 2 old knives	0. 0. 6
A Lot of old Crockery & a Chest	0. 3. 0

An Inventory of the Goods & Chattels late the property of William Gesshine deceas'd of the Northern Liberties of Philadelphia County.

Wearing Apparel	£	2. 5. 0
1 Feather Bed, Bedding & Bedstead		6. 0. 0
1 do do & Bedstead		2.15. 0
Sundry Bedding		3. 3. 9
do China, Glass, Queensware &c		1.17. 6
1 Teakettle 15/ 1 frying pan & 2 Ironpots 15/		1.10. 0
2 pint tables 6/3 1 pine chest 7/6		13. 9
1 Wheelbarrow 5/1 2 Tubs & 2 Buckets 10/		15. 0
1 Grindstone 15/ 1 old Sieveoops 2/6		17. 6
Sundry Boards & Scantling 12/ a lot of Shingles 7/6		1. 0. 0
2 Setts clamps & lathe 7/6 1 pair Sleigh runners 3/9		11. - ?
Sundry Carpenters Tools		5. 5. 0
1 Book of Architecture 15/ 2 work benches 20/		1.15. 0
2 red cedar Posts 10/ 1 clothe horse 5/		15. 0
Knife box, knives & forks 7/6 2 fire buckets 22/6		1.10. 0
1 Bureau 60/ Shovel, Tongs & Andirons 15/		3.15. 0
1 dining Table 37/6 1 breakfast do 22/6		3. 0. 0
1 Mahogany Desk		6. 0. 0
1 small looking glass 6/1 1 Ivory headed Cane 20/		0.16. 0
1 Umbrella 15/ 1 Iron Crane 22/6		1.17. 6
Sundry old Casks 7/6 1 large Bible 17/6		1. 5. 0
1/2 Dozen silver Teaspoons		1. 5. 0
Lot of Sundries		15. 0
	£	49. 4. 9

Joshua Mitchell
David Preel

An Inventory and Appraisment of the Goods of Jacob Esler Deceased

A ten plate stove	6. 0. 0
a tin stove	1. 2. 6
Bedstead, bed and bedding	6. 0. 0
6 Winsor Chairs	0.18. 9
	£ 55 83

A Walnut Beaurow	1.15. 0
a Winsor chair, 2 Chaff, Bags and a Coverlid	0.15. 0
1 Chest Containing 3 Coverlids and 2 Blankets	3. 0. 0
a Lott of feed Bags	4.10. 0
2 Second Bottoms and 1 Bedstead	0.15. 0
A Lott of Pewter	1.15. 0
A Lott of tin Ladles and Skimmers	0. 7. 6
3 Copper tea kettles	1. 2. 6
a Wash Kettle	1.10. 0
3 Iron pots and a Skellet	0.10. 0
Flatt Irons and Candlesticks, a Lott	0.11. 3
Shovel and Tongs, table and clothes horse and 4 Chairs	0.15. 0
a small looking Glass	0. 7. 6
4 pair of traces and 4 pair of harnes Ironed a Lott	2. 0. 0
A Lott of ax and shovel handles and Cong Shells	0.10. 0
5 pair of hinges, 2 Gridirons and 1 piece of stove pipe	1. 0. 0
12 axes	2.10. 0
a Lott of Spikes & Nails	3.15. 0
a Lott of Small Iron pots	4. 5. 0
a triangle Scales and Weights to	3. 0. 0
2 pair of strap scales & Weignts	1. 5. 0
2 Loaves of Sugar	3.15. 0
a Lott of Coffee and tea	0.15. 0
a Lott of Pepper	1.15. 0
a Lott of Lumber	0. 7. 6
a Lott of Salt	2.12. 6
a flour Bing With the flour in it	1.10. 0
a Lott of Coal	3.15. 0
a tub and 2 Caskes and a Wheelbarrow	0.15. 0
	£ 117.11.10

We the Subscribers Do Certify that this is a true Copy. Witness our hands this 21 Day of November 1793

John Weskner (?)
Joseph Skenit

Oct 31 the (sic) 1793

Invintory of Moveble Goods of the Etate off George Wible, Deceas[d].

1 Mahogne Desk	5. 0. 0
1 D° Burow	3. 0. 0
1 D° Brackfast Table	1.15. -
1 D° Card Table	1.17. 6
1 Half Dozen D° Chaires	7.10. 0
1 D° Close Stul	2. 5. 0
1 D° Tea table	1. 5. 0
1 Walnut Dyning table	1/10/ 0
1 Half Dozen Quinser Chairs	0.18. 6
1 Large D°	0.10. 0
1 Beadstead	1.10. 0
1 Trunk	0. 7. 6
1 Large lookin glass	3. 0. 0
1 smawl D°	0.15. 0
1 Large paire Brass handirons	1.10. 0
1 Smawl D°	1. 2. 6
2 Paire of Shovel & tongs	1. 0. 0
1 Paire of Brass Candle sticks	0. 7. 6
1 Tea Keettle	0. 7. 6
1 Tea Canester	0. 1. 0
1 Doffe pot	0. 1. 0
1 Tin Candle mold 1 grater 1 sass panne 1 pint 1 funel	0. 2. 6
1 Half Dozen Chaine plates	0. 5. 0
1 Half Dozen D° Cups & Saucers	0. 7. 6
1 Sugar 1 Cream pot D°	0. 3. 9
2 D° Smawl Bowls	0. 4. 0
	£ 38.45. 9
2 Set of window Curtains	1.10. 0
3 Pedicoats	1. 2. 6
1 paire of Stays	0. 7. 6
1 Bonet box & Bonet	0. 7. 6
2 Iron Pots & Scilet	0.15. 0
2 pare of scales & Wights	0. 7. 6
4 Barrels flower	7.10. -(?)
2 Six plate stoves	3.15. 0
1 five 3 flat irons	0.10. 0
1 Safe 1 table 1 Beadsteed	0. 7. 6
6 Courds of wood	8. 5. 0
A Bead & Beading	4.10. 0
old iron	0. 2. 6
2 Fire buckets	1. 0. 0
3 Tubs 3 Baskets	0. 3. 9
1 water pot	0. 2. 6
19 Bread Baskets 3 tins	0. 5. 0

1 Silver wach	3. 0. 0
2 paires of silver shoo Buckels	1.10. 0
1 Dº nee 1 Dº sleave buttons	0. 5. 0
6 Tea spoons silver	0.18. 0
1 Paire tea tongs	0. 2. 6
5 sheets 4 towels 2 table cloths	2. 5. 0
1 Brass wash kittl	0.12. 6
	31.10. 0

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Cash	£ 90. 9. 4
grand total	£ 122. -. 4

1794

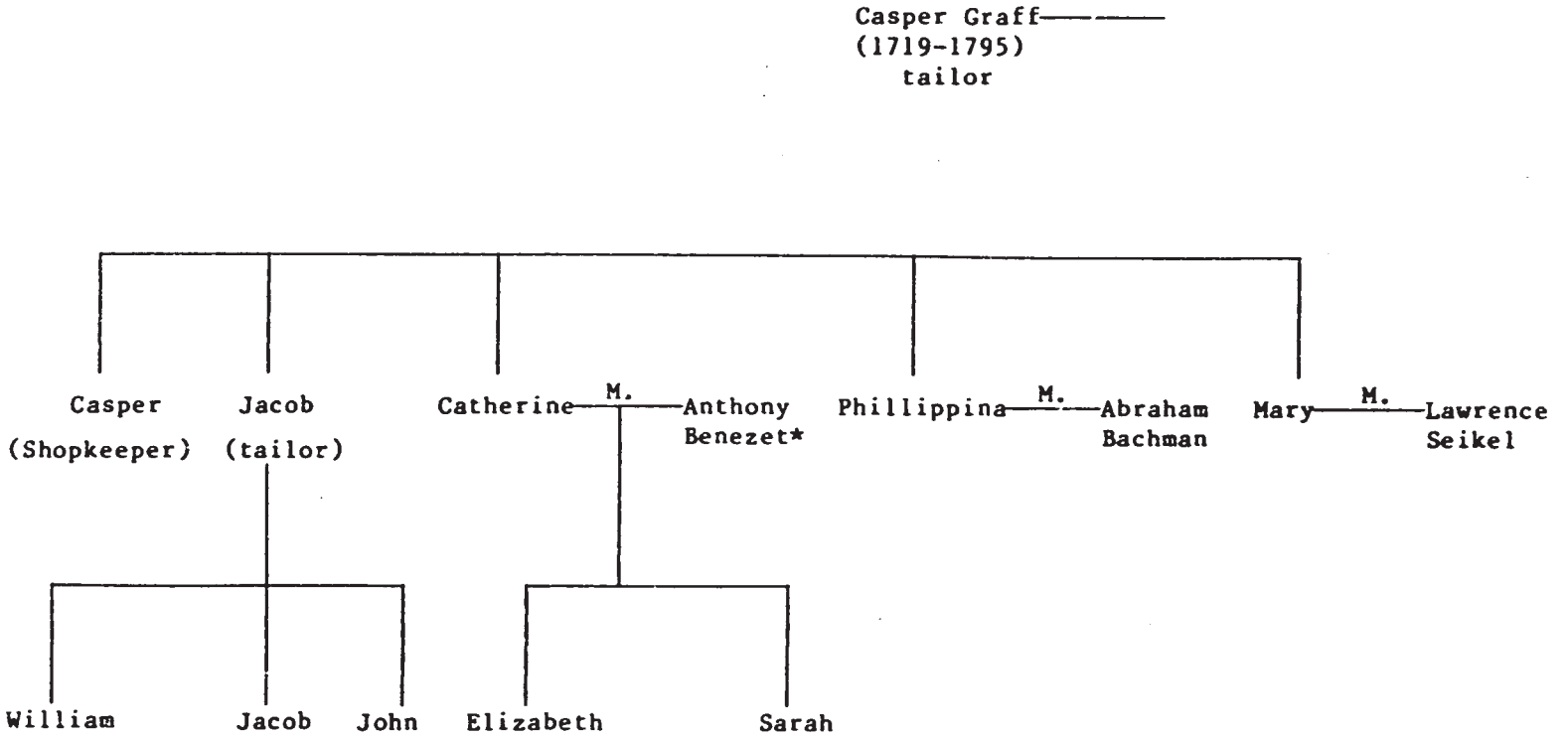
ABBREVIATED GENEAOLOGY OF THE GRAFF FAMILY

Johan Jacob Graff (c.1691-c.1772) — M. (1718) — Maria Philippina Stormer (1693-1764)

— emigrated to America, 1741

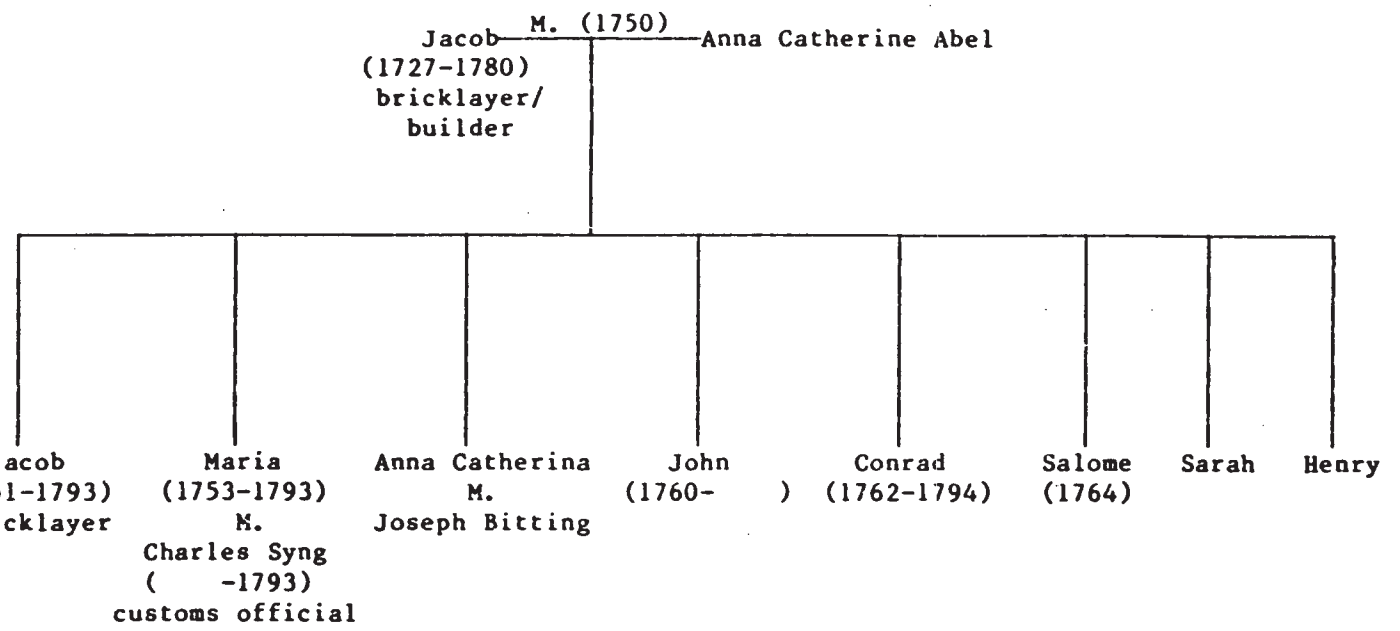
- **Casper** (1719-1795), tailor — see p. 2
- **Johannes** — M. (1749) — Maria Fuchs; distiller
  - **Jacob** (1757-)
- **Jacob** (1727-1780), bricklayer — M. (1750) — Anna Catherine Abel — see p. 101
- **Philippina** — Jacob Christler
- **Matthias** (-1775) — M. (1752) — Barbara Taylor
- **George**

Abbreviated Geneaology of the Graff Family



* Possibly the son of Anthony Benezet, the Quaker Abolitionist.

Abbreviated Geneaology of the Graff Family



Abbreviated Geneaology of the Graff Family

