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THE ROLE OF THE BLACK ARTISAN IN THE BUILDING TRADES AND THE DECORATIVE ARTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA'S CHARLESTON DISTRICT, 1760-1800

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Mary Allison Carll

December 1982

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believing in me. The text reflects many of his suggestions and criticisms and was greatly improved by his input and willingness to share in the rigors of the project with me.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was to determine and place in an appropriate context the role of blacks (free and slave) as artisans in the building trades and decorative arts, 1760-1800, in the Charleston District of South Carolina, an area selected for study because of its large black population. These craftsmen assisted in the production of artifacts for a white society; stylistic trends in architecture and the decorative arts were dictated for the most part by prevailing European fashion.

Among the primary sources examined were South Carolina newspapers, manuscripts, wills, inventories, and other legal documents. The traditional method of historical research was employed although the computer was used for elementary statistical analysis. Descriptive information concerning numbers of blacks, types of trades, apprenticeship or job time, age, racial composition, owner occupation, and inventory valuation rates was obtained for the sample. The black artistic contribution was analyzed in relation to patterns of demand due to the Revolutionary War and to each of four Charleston fires.

The total number of notations to slave artisans who met the criteria set forth by the study was 3324. Building construction accounted for the major contributions of the slaves; 83 percent of the sample was comprised of those working as carpenters, sawyers, and bricklayers and makers. Other handicraftsmen included textile

workers, blacksmiths, painters and glaziers, cabinetmakers, tallow chandlers, silversmiths, and upholsterers. Those slaves working on the plantation were more diversified in their skills; city life offered increased opportunities for specialization of labor.

Because only a small number of free blacks who worked in home-related trades could be identified (N=13), analysis was limited. The majority of these free craftsmen had been trained as carpenters.

After examining the specific contributions of each group of artisans, it was determined that blacks played a significant role in the development and perpetuation of Southern home life. Although it is difficult to judge what level of proficiency was attained by these craftsmen, in the final analysis they appear to have exhibited varying levels of skill in the performance of their trades.

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INTRODUCTION

Many aspects of black culture and history have been explored; yet focus on the black as an artisan in the building trades and decorative arts in early America has been overlooked. Thus the purpose of this research was to determine and place in an appropriate context the role of blacks (free and slave) as artisans in the building trades and decorative arts, 1760-1800, in the Charleston District of South Carolina, an area selected for study because of its large black population. Those artisans in the building trades were involved in the process of fabricating a structure, including the preparation of materials, the construction, and the application of finishes. For the purposes of this study, tradesmen encompassed by this definition were sawyers, carpenters, bricklayers and makers, painters and glaziers, and blacksmiths. Those working in the decorative arts were instrumental in the creation of functional and ornamental artifacts of a variety of materials which were used to enhance interior spaces. Artisans in this category include cabinetmakers, upholsterers, silversmiths, tallow chandlers, and textile workers. Many of these craftsmen were extremely versatile and could perform a variety of skills. Yet the exact nature of their role has never been analyzed, thereby creating a gap in our understanding of artistic evolution in the South.

Most social and economic histories dealing with slavery make references to the black as an artisan. In the body of secondary literature, however, the role of the black artisan is treated in a cursory manner or occupies only a small segment of a broader treatment

of the subject of slavery. Although historian Leonard P. Stavisky dealt with the artisan as a Southern economic issue, he discussed black labor in relation to industrial expansion, citing regional variations for the period 1800-1860. He drew examples from a variety of occupations or trades with no attempt to focus on the decorative arts or building trades.[1]

Contrary to other cultural historians of the early twentieth century, DuBois and Dill believed that the mechanical skills learned by blacks, as African natives, made them capable of working as artisans in this country. Various tribes were adept at making utensils, earthenware, hardware, and farm implements, and skillful in such textile arts as spinning, dyeing, and weaving.[2] Findings in recent years have tended to reconfirm this belief in a strong African cultural base.[3]

More recent explorations of the black arts have tended to center on twentieth-century developments with only limited references to the traditional roots of the decorative arts. John Michael Vlach, on the other hand, placed emphasis on the artifact with reference to

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[1]Leonard P. Stavisky, "The Negro Artisan in the South Atlantic States, 1800-1860: A Study of Status and Economic Opportunity with Special Reference to Charleston" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1958).

[2]W. E. B. DuBois and Augustus G. Dill, eds., The Negro American Artisan (Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1912), pp. 24-25.

[3]Eugene D. Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made (New York: Vintage Books, 1976), pp. 394-98; Jacqueline Delange, The Art and Peoples of Black Africa (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1974).

broad historical and cultural issues. In his survey he analyzed the object for elements derived from an African heritage and for elements which were a response to the American experience; this is the syncretic process "by which a group of people renders the chaos of merging cultures into an intelligible pattern."[4] Contrary to the approach used by Vlach, this research focused on the artisan within the context of specific aspects of the socio-cultural environment of South Carolina.

The black presence in South Carolina was a vital part of the colony's economy. It was the scarcity of white labor, both on the plantation and in the city, which mandated the use of the slave as an artisan. When the indentured servant had fulfilled his term of service, he often gave up the trade to become a farmer himself.[5] Moreover, a large supply of slaves was available due to importation and births; and by training them in appropriate skills or by capitalizing on those previously learned, many plantations could become self-sufficient units.

There were other factors which led to an increased emphasis on home-related industries. Economically, less dependence on England became desirable because of high importation taxes; and the low price of many exported products did not balance the higher prices of imported goods.[6] In addition, increasing population led to a shortage

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[4]John Michael Vlach, The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1978), p. 3.

[5]Marcus W. Jernegan, Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America, 1607-1783 (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1960), p. 9.

[6]Ibid., pp. 3-4.

of manufactured goods from abroad. Thus, South Carolina's plantation owners began to transform their resources into "goods of greater value."[7] After 1720, a rapid diversification of occupations was apparent throughout the South.[8] By the time of the American Revolution, black artisans were working in almost all of the known colonial trades on both the plantation and in the city.

Travelers commented on this invaluable source of labor. A German physician touring America in 1783 wrote:

> The gentlemen in the country have among their negroes, as the Russian nobility among their serfs, the most necessary handicraftsmen, cobblers, tailors, carpenters, smiths, and the like, whose work they command at the smallest possible price, or for nothing almost. There is hardly any trade or craft which has not been learned and is not carried on by negroes.[9]

Credit must be given to these black Americans for much of the success of early South Carolina. Primary source materials reveal that they were trained in such skills as cabinetmaking, silversmithing, textile production, and the building trades--all necessary to the establishment and perpetuation of Southern home life. Yet because black artisans often were denied recognition for their creative achievements, it is difficult in many cases to determine exactly what part they played in American artistic evolution.[10] Margaret Just

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[7]Ibid., p. 10.

[8]Ibid., p. 8.

[9]Johann D. Schoepf, Travels in the Confederation, 1783-1784, trans. and ed. Alfred J. Morrison, 2 vols. (1911; rpt. New York: Bergman, 1968), 2: 221.

[10]James A. Porter, "Four Problems in the History of Negro Art," Journal of Negro History 27 (January 1942): 10.

Butcher has written that "the first negro artists in America can never be known by name, but only by their craft work."[11] Indeed, research reveals just the opposite to be true. The names and numbers of many black artisans working in the Charleston District can be ascertained, but the fruits of their labor are for the most part lost to history.

What can be said with certainty is that from the earliest manufacture of plantation goods for home consumption through the production of goods for distribution and sale, the role of the black artisan was vital. As revealed in the search for information in secondary sources, a detailed analysis of the contributions of the black artisan has been ignored too long; in particular, only passing reference is made of this role in literature relating to Southern decorative arts.[12] Thus it is hoped that this research will add to an increased understanding of the development of the Southern home and its furnishings.

South Carolina was selected for this study because of its extensive slaveholdings; the preponderance of the black population was in the low country. Present at its founding, blacks first outnumbered whites around 1708;[13] but by 1720, the number of slaves in South

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[11]Margaret Just Butcher, The Negro in American Culture (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), p. 214.

[12]See, for example, E. Milby Burton, South Carolina Silversmiths, 1690-1860 (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle, 1968); Burton, Charleston Furniture, 1700-1825 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1970).

[13]Peter H. Wood, Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 Through the Stono Rebellion (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974), p. 143.

Carolina's parishes constituted 65 percent of the total population.[14] By 1760, the total slave population had risen significantly, with 78 percent of the colony's slaves either living in or belonging to masters residing in the Charleston District. Of the small free black population, 75 percent lived in the district.[15]

By the last decade of the eighteenth century, the population had spread throughout the state instead of residing primarily in the coastal areas. Despite this fact, almost one-half of the total slave population of South Carolina was living in the Charleston District; the number of free blacks was determined to be 53 percent of the total free black population of the state.[16]

Not only did the Charleston District have a sizeable slave population, but the selection of this area also made it possible to analyze the role of the black artisan within the context of both city and plantation life. Charleston was, of course, the seat of government during the years under consideration and was accessible from the outlying parishes within the district (see Figure 1). Since newspapers and government documents comprised a large portion of the primary

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[14]Ibid., p. 147.

[15]South Carolina, Office of the Public Treasury, General Tax Receipts and Payments, 1761-1769, p. 39, SCDAH. A list of all abbreviations used throughout the text is contained in Appendix A. Population figures for the Charleston District will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter I.

[16]U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790, South Carolina (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908).

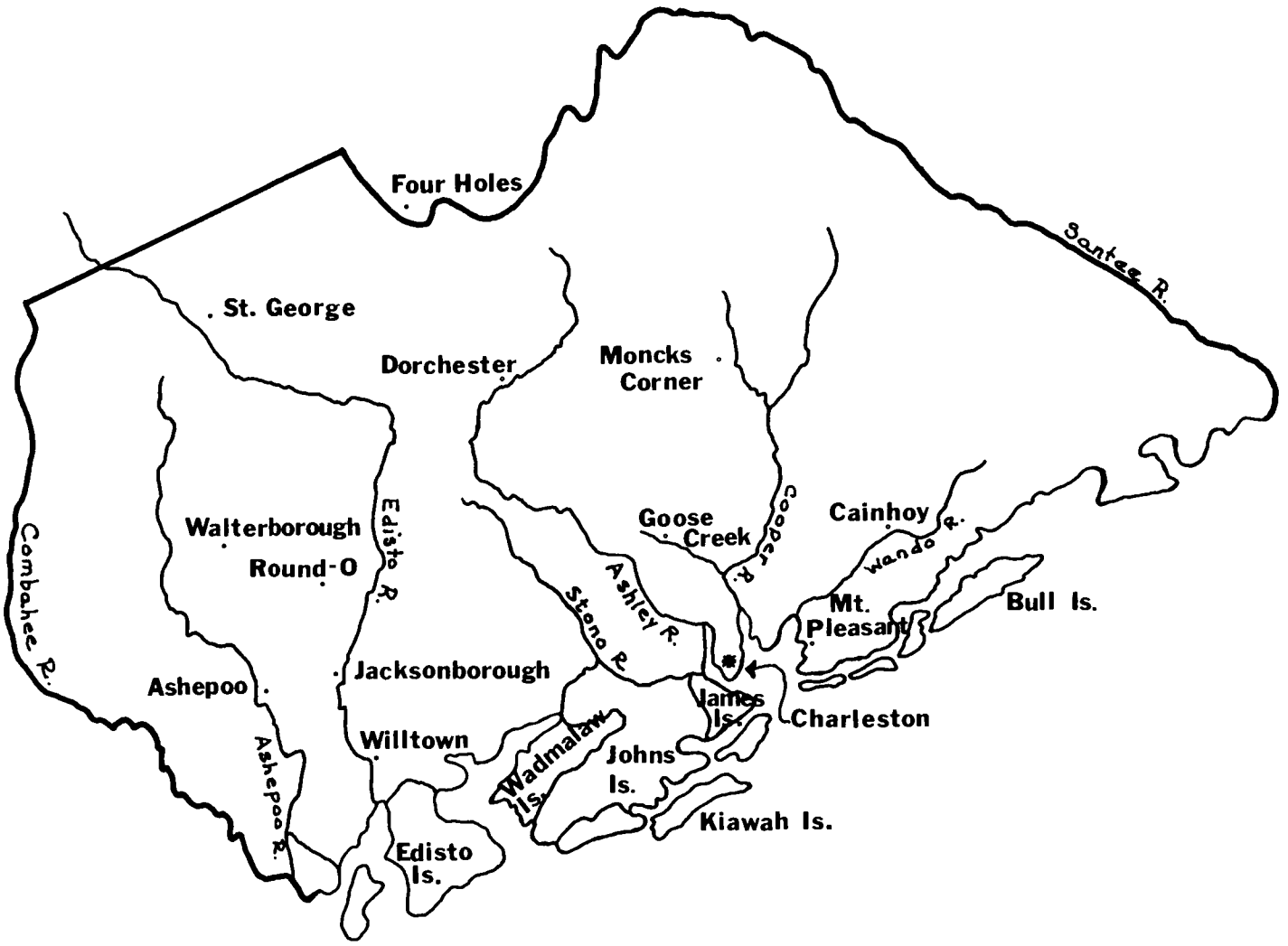


Figure 1. The Charleston District.

source materials, information was found to be most readily available for individuals living within these thirteen parishes.

The parishes under consideration were: St. James' Santee, St. Stephen's, St. Bartholomew's, St. George Dorchester, St. Paul's, St. John's Colleton, St. Andrew's, Christ Church, St. James' Goose Creek, St. John's Berkley, St. Thomas and St. Dennis, and St. Philip's and St. Michael's, which together made up the city of Charleston. During the early years of the province, virtually all government was centralized in Charlston. However, by an act of the General Assembly in 1769, the colony was divided into seven judicial districts, of which the Charleston District was one.[17] Geographically, the area included in the district lies between the Santee and Combahee Rivers. Charleston, of course, remained the seat of government for this area (see Figure 2).

The forty-year period from 1760 to 1800, which can be divided into three distinct segments, encompasses the most significant era in the history of eighteenth-century South Carolina. The early years reflect not only a period of dependence on England but also a rising discontent with English policies. The importation of all types of home-related goods was sizeable, and London continued to dictate stylistic trends. It was during this period that the Stamp Act and Townshend Act were passed; it was this increased taxation by the mother

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[17]For the complete text of the Circuit Court Act of 1769, see Richard Maxwell Brown, The South Carolina Regulators (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1963), pp. 148-58.

Legend:

1. St. Stephen's
2. St. James' Santee
3. St. John's Berkley
4. St. Thomas & St. Dennis
5. St. James' Goose Creek
6. Christ Church
7. St. George Dorchester
8. St. Andrew's
9. St. Bartholomew's
10. St. Paul's
11. St. John's Colleton
12. St. Philip's, St. Michael's

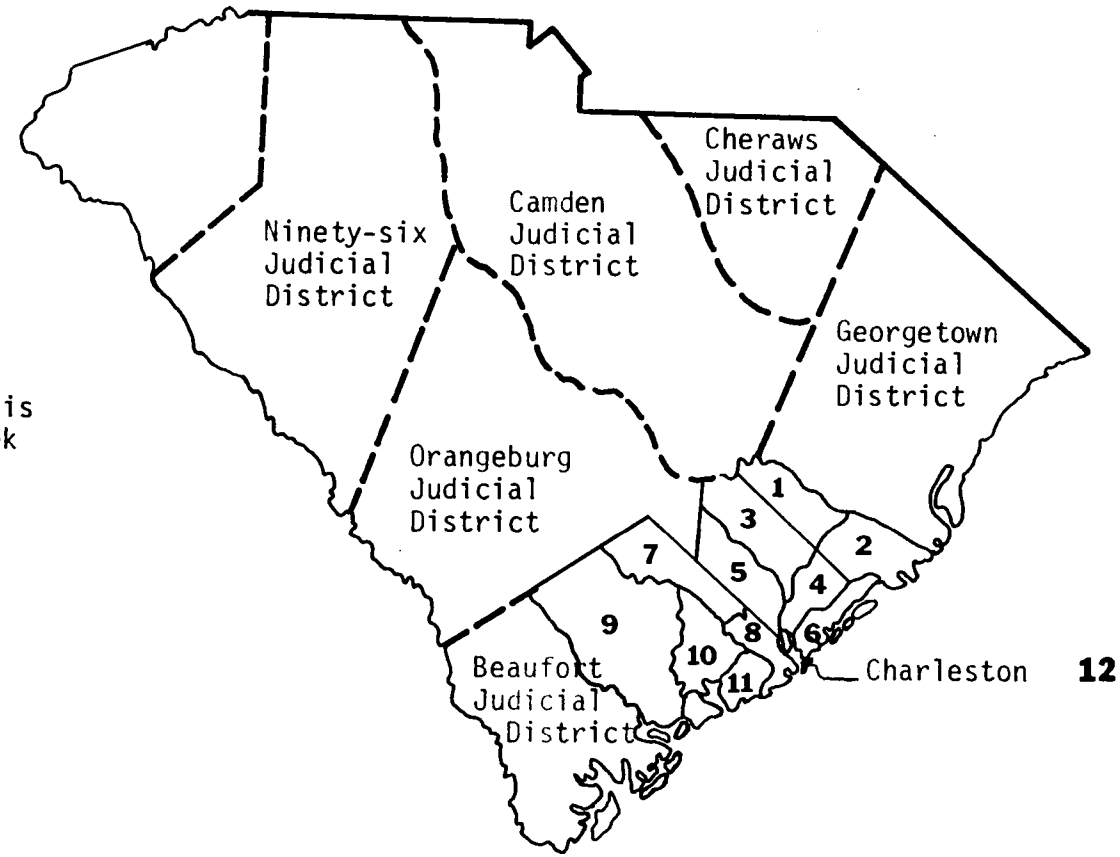


Figure 2. Parishes in the Charleston Judicial District. Source: Adapted from David Duncan Wallace, South Carolina: A Short History, 1520-1948 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1961), p. 166.

country which prompted the colonists to pursue home manufactures. The middle years from 1775 to 1785, which were dominated by the Revolutionary War, constitute the second major period. Opposition to British rule increased, and the resulting war had a distinct effect on home manufactures and many of the craftsmen who produced them. The final segment, from 1786 through the end of the century, forms the post-Revolutionary period. Data were examined to determine possible relationships among the numbers of slaves trained in home-related trades, the war, and the degree of dependence on British goods. The use of slave labor had become firmly established in South Carolina by 1760 and, for the next forty years, black workers continued to be a dominant factor in the low country's labor force. The extent of this dominance was the primary focus of the study.

To determine what role the black artisan played in the decorative arts and building trades during the years 1760 to 1800, the traditional method of historic research was employed. Among the primary sources examined were South Carolina newspapers, manuscripts, wills, inventories, and other legal documents. Although there was an abundance of primary material dealing with blacks, most of the information was found in documents written by and pertaining to white inhabitants of the low country. Estate inventories and newspaper advertisements, for example, were useful in determining the types of trades in which slaves labored and the numbers working during the period under study; proceedings from the Court of Common Pleas provided valuable information concerning the payment of slaves for

tasks performed. The majority of the research was conducted at four South Carolina repositories: the Department of Archives and History and the South Caroliniana Library, both in Columbia; the South Carolina Historical Society, located in Charleston; and the Charleston Library Society.

Each reference to a black working in a home-related trade was recorded as one notation. In some instances, the source referred to more than one tradesman although the exact number was not indicated. For statistical purposes, each citation of this type was tabulated as only one notation because the researcher was unable to determine the precise number of slaves involved. In the case of newspaper advertisements, duplicate notations to the same slave within the same year were treated as only one entry.[18] However, for the slave notation to be included in the sample, the owner had to be identified as either residing or owning some property in one of the thirteen parishes within the Charleston District; free black artisans also had to own property or reside in this geographical area.[19]

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[18]This was necessary because some advertisements ran for three months or more. Although every attempt was made to eliminate duplication, it is possible that the same slave was counted more than once due to a lack of descriptive information in the primary source materials.

[19]In compiling information on the individual's place of residence, the following sources were consulted: will books, newspapers, jury lists, deeds, inventories, Letters of Administration from the Probate Court, and various listings published in the South Carolina Historical Magazine. Since black craftsmen were among the most mobile of all slave groups, it is probable that many moved among the various plantations of their owner to perform their duties. However, every effort was made to pinpoint the activities of both the slave and free black to the geographical areas under consideration.

When the sample had been defined, elementary statistical analysis was conducted with the use of the computer; due to the variable nature of the data, a statistical consultant was employed in this endeavor. Descriptive information concerning numbers of blacks, types of trades, length of apprenticeship or job time, age, racial composition, owner occupation, and inventory valuation rates, was obtained for the sample. In addition, the source materials were analyzed within the context of scholarly secondary histories dealing with socio-cultural, economic, industrial, and political aspects of the South and the low country of South Carolina in particular.

Despite the large number of references in primary sources to black artisans working in the building trades and decorative arts, the figures are believed to be conservative at best. For a variety of reasons, some slaves working in relevant trades might not appear in any of the source materials during the forty-year period under study. Unless a slave was advertised for sale, hire, or as a runaway, he generally would not be listed in a newspaper. Further, publication of colonial newspapers was often sporadic, particularly during the Revolutionary War years. References to slaves appear in the public records only if their masters became involved in some type of legal transaction. In some cases, evidence strongly suggested that a number of slaves were employed in home-related tasks; yet because of the lack of absolute documentation, these were not included in the sample. Despite such limitations, the number of blacks working in the building trades and decorative arts was found to be sizeable, and their contributions are worthy of further consideration.

CHAPTER I

"NO OTHER LABOURERS BUT SLAVES"

A large number of slaves being imported into the colonies first set foot on American soil at the port of Charleston.[1] Upon arrival, some were sent to Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, and elsewhere, but many remained in South Carolina to work on the plantations and in Charleston. These Africans brought with them a variety of skills including a sound knowledge of wood and metal work, the textile arts, basketry, and the making of earthenware. As the black scholar W. E. B. DuBois has noted, strong evidence "of that ability which makes for artisanship" can be found in the African way of life.[2] Thus from the time of their arrival on Carolina shores, blacks have made significant contributions to the cultural evolution of the colony, not only in their performance of menial labor but "in trades which required a high degree of skill and artistic ability."[3]

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[1]This number may be more than 40 percent. Wood, Black Majority, p. xiv. For a discussion of the slave trade in South Carolina, see W. Robert Higgins, "The Geographical Origins of Negro Slaves in Colonial South Carolina," South Atlantic Quarterly 70 (Winter 1971): 34-47. See also Philip D. Curtin, The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

[2]W. E. B. DuBois, "The African Artisan," in The Other Slaves: Mechanics, Artisans and Craftsmen, ed. James E. Newton and Ronald L. Lewis (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1978), p. 171.

[3]Judith Wragg Chase, Afro-American Art and Craft (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1971), p. 69.

Just how many slaves actually were imported into South Carolina is still a matter of debate. The South Carolina Gazette reported that 3740 slaves arrived in Charleston in 1760; 7184 in 1765; 4612 in 1769; and 4865 in 1772. Fewer were imported during the other years between 1760 and 1772.[4] No advertisements for slave sales appeared in the Gazette for a three-year period from 1766 to 1768 because a legislative act was passed which imposed a heavy duty on the purchaser in order to limit the number of slaves entering the province. Further, a self-imposed non-importation agreement was initiated in 1770 to protest the passage of the Townshend Acts; these acts resulted in the imposition of a tax on goods not readily available in the colonies. Sizeable numbers of slaves were imported between 1771 and 1774, but the importation into South Carolina once again ceased during the Revolutionary War years.[5] The slave trade was reopened briefly during the latter part of 1783 and continued until 1786. From 1787 until after the turn of the century, all importations once again were halted.[6]

Although many of these slaves were reexported to other colonies, the number who remained in South Carolina was sufficient to cause alarm

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[4]SCG, 14 June 1773. For a more comparative set of importation figures during these years, see Elizabeth Donnan, comp., Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America, vol. 4: The Border Colonies and the Southern Colonies (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1935).

[5]SCG, 6 July 1769. In Donnan, Documents, 4:453-54, the compiler notes that in 1773, for example, 6,639 slaves were imported into South Carolina.

[6]For legislation prohibiting importation, see Statutes, 5: 36-38, 88-92, 284; 7: 431-35.

among the colony's white inhabitants. As early as 1703, the legislature imposed a duty on all slaves being imported into the province.[7] Duties continued to be levied in varying amounts, yet the flow of slaves into the colony remained steady. The preamble of a legislative act passed in August 1764 noted:

> An importation of negroes equal in number to what have been imported of late years, may prove of the most dangerous consequence in many respects to this Province, and the best way to obviate such danger, will be by imposing such an additional duty upon them as may totally prevent the evils.[8]

Thus an additional duty of £100 to be paid by the first purchaser was levied against every Negro brought into the province after 1765. Residents of South Carolina were exempted from the duty unless the slaves were sold within twelve months after their arrival.[9] This excessive duty of £100 per head expired at the end of 1768, and slave importations continued.

In another legislative act passed in March 1784, a duty of £3 sterling was levied on African slaves who came directly or who had resided in no other region longer than three months; seasoned slaves were liable to a tax of £5 sterling. Tax exemption was given for slaves who were brought for personal use and who had resided in the

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[7]Ibid., 2: 201.

[8]Ibid., 4: 187-88.

[9]Ibid. Unless otherwise noted, all monetary figures are given in current money of the province. From the 1750s through the middle of the 1770s, the exchange rate remained rather consistently at £7 Carolina currency to £1 British sterling. John J. McCusker, Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600-1775: A Handbook (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), p. 224.

United States for at least six months. Finally, all slaves sold within the state were subject to a duty of £5 per head.[10]

By the time slave importations into South Carolina had been banned in 1787, the institution of slavery had become firmly entrenched as a way of life. In a letter dated December 8, 1799, to his parents in England, Charles Caleb Cotton wrote:

> You need not be informed that, unhappily Carolina knows no other labourers but slaves. The price of Negroes at present is enormous. They average 100 pounds a head by the Gang, i.e., men and women included. Prime Negro fellows are often sold at auction as high as 120 pounds and stout wenches will fetch 70 pounds or 80 pounds frequently even higher prices. This circumstance contributes greatly to make the settling of a Plantation come very expensive.[11]

Duke De La Rochefoucault Liancourt, a Frenchman who was traveling throughout the United States at about this same time, described one of the slave sales:

> The negroes are sold in the market in Charleston like bullocks and horses; the day of the intended auction being previously advertised in the newspapers. They are exposed to sale on a sort of stage, turned about, and exhibited, from all sides, by the common cryer, put up and adjudged to the highest bidder. This spectacle, which is offered four or five times a week, renders the spectators callous.[12]

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[10]Statutes, 4: 608. Suckling children were exempted from any duties levied by the legislature. In accordance with this act, Adam Tunno and Charles Johnson of Charleston paid £380 sterling to the Commissioners of the Treasury to cover the duty on seventy-six seasoned Negroes imported from Jamaica. South Carolina, Commissioners of the Treasury, 10 February 1786-30 October 1791, SCL.

[11]"The Letters of Charles Caleb Cotton, 1798-1802," SCHM 52 (January 1951): 18.

[12]Duke Francois De La Rochefoucault Liancourt, Travels Through the United States of North America, . . . in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797, 2 vols. (London: R. Phillips, 1799), mfm., 1: 575. In August 1783, the city of Charlestown was incorporated and the name changed to Charleston. Statutes, 7: 97-101.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the value of slave labor had been established. Whether working as field hands, artisans, or domestic servants, blacks had contributed greatly to the growth and perpetuation of the province. Despite high prices and efforts by the legislature to prohibit slave importations and sales, the number of blacks inhabiting the province of South Carolina continued to increase steadily throughout the century.

Both importation and the rate of natural increase contributed significantly to the growth in the Negro population. By 1720, the slave population in South Carolina has been estimated at 11,868.[13] This figure increased to 57,862 slaves by the year 1760 (see Table 1). Of this number, 45,116 belonged to masters living in the Charleston District. In addition, forty free blacks were reported to be residents of the district in this same year.[14]

With an average annual growth rate of 5.1 percent, the total number of slaves living in South Carolina increased to 81,728 by 1768; 71 percent were owned by masters in the Charleston District. Although the total number of free blacks in the state rose to 159, those living in this area totalled only 42.[15] Free blacks may have found it easier

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[13]Wood, Black Majority, p. 146. The author's calculation of the number of slaves in South Carolina in 1720 differs slightly from Wood's (see Column C). For a complete discussion of early demography in the province, see Ibid., pp. 131-66.

[14]South Carolina, Office of the Public Treasury, General Tax Receipts and Payments, 1761-1769, p. 39, SCDAH.

[15]Ibid., p. 164.

Table 1. Black population figures within the Charleston District.

Parish	1760 Population		1768 Population		1790 Population	
	Slaves	Free Blacks	Slaves	Free Blacks	Slaves	Free Blacks
St. Philip's and St. Michael's	4451	23	6276	24	7684	586
St. John's Berkley	3454	8	2680	7	5170	60
St. John's Colleton	3516	4	3321	10	4705	22
St. George's	2235		2880	1	3022	25
Christ Church	1445		2076		2377	11
St. Andrew's	3369	1	2640		2546	31
St. Bartholomew's	4120		4742		10,338	135
St. James' Goose Creek	2415		1492		2333	15
St. James' Santee	1096		2543		3345	15
St. Paul's	4431		4919		3202	15
St. Stephen's	1702	4	1988		2506	1
St. Thomas	1938		2082		3405	34
Charlestown in the country	10,944		20,419			
Totals	45,116	40	58,058	42	50,633	950
Totals for S.C. as a whole	57,862	53	81,728	159	107,094	1,801

Sources: South Carolina, Office of the Public Treasury, General Tax Receipts and Payments, 1761-1769, pp. 39, 164, SCDAH; U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790, South Carolina (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908).

to own land or make a living in the back country, or perhaps the method for collecting this information simply had become more accurate and complete by 1768.

By the time of the 1790 census, the population as a whole had spread throughout the state. According to census figures, 107,094 slaves were now inhabitants of the state; of these, almost half, or 47 percent, lived in the Charleston District. The number of free persons was placed at 1,801 with 950 of them living within the district. Over one-half of this latter group resided in the city of Charleston.[16]

Using 1790 census data, Philip Greven calculated the average family size for the thirteen parishes within the Charleston District. Residents of St. Stephen's were found to own the largest number of slaves per family. The average family size, considering free persons only, was 3.98; with the addition of slaves, the average number per family rose to 47.95. Not surprisingly, the lowest number of slaves per family was found in the city of Charleston. Combining the figures for St. Michael's and St. Philip's Parishes, the average number of free persons per family was 4.29; with the slaves the average was 8.46.[17]

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[16]U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790, South Carolina (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908).

[17]Philip J. Greven, Jr., "The Average Size of Families and Households in the Province of Massachusetts in 1764 and in the United States in 1790: An Overview," in Household and Family in Past Time, ed. Peter Laslett (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 558. The ranking order of the other parishes from the highest to the lowest

Although whites recognized that blacks were valuable contributors to the colony's labor force, they were threatened sufficiently by the population figures to pass restrictive slave codes. As Alexander Hewatt observed, "Many negroes discover great capacities, and an amazing aptness for learning trades, where dangerous tools are used, and many owners from motives of profit and advantage, breed them to be coopers, carpenters, bricklayers, smiths, and other trades."[18] Early legislation for the "Better Ordering and Governing of Negroes and Slaves" emphasized the importance of black labor when it stated in the preamble that "the plantations and estates of this Province cannot be well and sufficiently managed and brought into use, without the labor and service of negroes and other slaves." This act, ratified in June 1712, provided for the continued use for slaves of the ticket or badge system which had been established in 1690. Thereafter, no slave was to leave the plantation without a ticket which stated name, place to which sent, and date of return. The act also stipulated that no slave was to be hired out unless under the direct supervision of a white person; further, the master was to receive the total amount of the slave's earnings.[19]

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average number per family including slaves was: St. Paul's (45.17); St. Thomas (31.19); St. James' Santee (31.12); St. John's Berkley (30.37); St. John's Colleton (27.10); St. Andrew's (25.85); St. James' Goose Creek (23.62); St. Bartholomew's (23.34); Christ Church (19.56); and St. George's (17.69). The largest number of free persons per family was for St. George's at 5.26; the lowest was St. Paul's, with 3.04 persons.

[18]Alexander Hewatt, An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia, 2 vols. (1779; rpt. Spartanburg, S.C.: Reprint Co., 1971), 2: 97.

[19]Statutes, 7: 343-47, 352-65.

Legislation ratified in February 1722 and March 1735 simply provided a restatement of the basic law.[20] The slave code of 1740 is significant, however, in that for the first time slaves were defined officially as personal chattels. As such, slaves were listed in probate inventories, but freehold property was not.[21] In addition, this act imposed a fine of £10 current money on any master who let his slave work without a ticket; of this sum £5 would be used for the relief of the poor in the parish, and the other half was to be paid to the person who informed authorities. Any person employing a slave without a ticket must also pay the informant £5 for each day of illegal employment.[22]

In an attempt to lessen the competition for white craftsmen, legislation, passed in July 1750 and printed in the South Carolina Gazette, provided that slaves who lived outside the city limits could not be hired in Charleston. Furthermore, slaveowners who lived in Charleston were not permitted "to keep more than two male slaves to work out for hire, as porters, labourers, fishermen or handicrafts-men, in town, on pain of forfeiting five pounds for every day such slave shall be kept on hire." Yet this act did not prohibit craftsmen from teaching a trade to their own Negroes provided that one white apprentice or journeyman was employed for every two Negroes.

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[20]See Statutes, 7: 371-97.

[21]For a discussion of early slave legislation, see M. Eugene Sirmans, "The Legal Status of the Slave in South Carolina, 1670-1740," Journal of Southern History 28 (November 1962): 462-73.

[22]Statutes, 7: 397-417.

However, slaves could not engage in a handicraft in a shop unless a white person was present, and any master who bound out his slave to learn a trade from another slave in Charleston was subject to a fine of £100.[23]

The basic tenets of the 1750 code were repeated in legislation ratified in 1764. As before, no master was permitted to hire out more than two slaves, no Negro could carry on a handicraft trade in a shop without a white person present, and no slave could be apprenticed to another slave to learn a trade. Furthermore, a slave could not work out for hire until his owner had purchased a license for the annual sum of twenty shillings. Those who hired a slave without a license also would be fined.[24]

The laws governing the activities of black artisans remained essentially the same for the period, 1760-1800. An ordinance published in 1783 contained provisions identical to those of earlier years. The purchase price of a badge for the hiring out of a slave remained at twenty shillings for a majority of the trades. Included in this group were carpenters, bricklayers, blacksmiths, cabinetmakers, painters and glaziers, and gold- or silversmiths. For a tinman, the cost of a license was fifteen shillings; the price dropped to ten shillings for turners and for those involved in all other

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[23]SCG, 9 July 1750. Publication of this act was repeated in SCG, 13 May 1751; SCG, 8 May 1755.

[24]Statutes, 9: 704-705.

handicrafts.[25] The fact that a number of masters failed to purchase badges to hire out their slaves was noted in an August 4, 1786 edition of the Charleston Morning Post. The number of cases brought before the Court of Common Pleas involving the illegal hiring of slaves without the proper credentials or the permission of the owner further confirms the ineffectiveness of the law when there was a less expensive labor source available and profit to be gained.[26]

Thus despite efforts by the government to limit the activities of black artisans, these workers continued to find ready employment. As Josiah Smith, a Charleston merchant, observed in 1774:

> The great Number of Negroes sold here in Course of last Year, will occasion bad Payments I fear to the Dry-Good Merchants till the Black Scores are pretty well wip'd off. I should be heartily glad that an everlasting Stop was put, to the future Importation of such into any part of America, and then many a poor white Person could have Room to get Employment, which is not the Case at present in Carolina.[27]

Some of these unemployed white workers undoubtedly migrated northward, but numerous others remained in Charleston and a handful were quite

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[25]SCWG, 28 November 1783. The ordinance further stated that all free blacks or mulattoes living in Charleston must register family members and place of residence with the Office of the County Clerk. In addition, all free blacks and mulattoes must wear a badge exposed to public view.

[26]See, for example, CCP, JR, Box 134A, 1787, #170A. See also CCP, JR, CTD, 1798, #656A. All judgment rolls are located in the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

[27]Josiah Smith, Jr., to James Poyas, 24 January 1774, Lettercopy Book, SHC.

prosperous.[28] Many of these white craftsmen owned slaves whom they hired out to work in various trades. As a further anomaly, many craftsmen continued to apprentice and sell black artisans to planters and townsfolk while at the same time they demanded additional legislation.

Although formal requests for a stricter ordinance were presented to the government by organized groups of white tradesmen, it was many years before the legislature took action. In 1783, the house carpenters and bricklayers of Charleston submitted a petition to the General Assembly in which they noted that they

> have laboured under very great Inconveniencies in their respective Occupations ever since the Commencement of the present War, having scarce had sufficient Employment to support their Families, owing they apprehend, in a great Measure, to a Number of Jobbing Negroe Tradesmen, who undervalue Work by undertaking it for very little more than the Materials would cost, by which it is evident the Stuff they work with cannot be honestly acquired. Your Honourable House will be sensible that this Practice must be prejudicial not only to the Proprietors, who are thereby deprived of the means of gaining a Livelihood by their Industry.

The petition, which was signed by thirty-six carpenters and bricklayers, requested legislation prohibiting blacks from working on their own.[29]

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[28]Evidence of this statement may be found in the land holdings and inventories of various white artisans. See, for example, descriptions of the estates of several Charleston cabinetmakers in Burton, Charleston Furniture, notably that of Jacob Sass, pp. 118-19; Stephen Townsend, pp. 123-24; and Thomas Elfe, pp. 84-89.

[29]South Carolina, General Assembly Legislative Petitions, 1783-258-01, 1783-159-01, SCDAH. For the committee report in response to this petition, see entry for 8 March 1783 in South Carolina, General Assembly, Journals of the House of Representatives, 1783-1784, ed. Theodora J. Thompson (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1977), p. 237.

Ten years later, the Society of Master Coopers of Charleston presented a similar grievance to the House and Senate.[30] In that same year, the painters, glaziers, and paperhangers noted that slave artisans were interfering with their business; these white craftsmen offered a reward of £3 sterling for the conviction of any person who broke those city ordinances established to protect white craftsmen.[31]

A governmental response to these pleas finally was ratified in August 1796, but even then it was little more than a repetition of earlier legislation. A fine of $1.00 per day was to be levied against any slave carrying on a handicraft trade "of themselves" in any shop within the city limits; the penalty for one slave teaching another a trade within the city was $85.00. As before, white artisans who apprenticed their own or other slaves to a trade were exempt; the legislature did specify that one white apprentice or journeyman must be employed for every four Negroes working in the shop. Further, the owner could hire out a black tradesman to any free person as he wished; in fact, the owner could employ slaves in whatever manner deemed appropriate.[32] Thus little was done to satisfy the demands of the white craftsmen.

Four years later another ordinance to regulate slave craftsmen was ratified. The requirement was restated that each slave who was

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[30]South Carolina, General Assembly Legislative Petitions, 1793-63-01, 1793-64-01, SCDAH.

[31]CH, 26 November 1793. See also South Carolina General Assembly, Grand Jury Presentments, Nos. 5,11 (1795), SCDAH.

[32]Alexander Edwards, comp., Ordinances of the City Council of Charleston (Charleston: W. P. Young, 1802), p. 164.

hired must wear a badge; the cost of a badge for tradesmen was set at $3.00 per year. If any person had more than six slaves to be hired out, a "threefold proportion" had to be paid to obtain a badge for each. In addition, no slaves belonging to persons residing outside of Charleston were permitted to work in the city, with the exception of those slaves belonging to orphans.[33]

Throughout much of the eighteenth century, therefore, the problem of slave labor was one which continued to plague white craftsmen. On the one hand, by apprenticing slaves in a trade, the white craftsman could supplement his income and at the same time have the use of much-needed labor in his shop. On the other hand, the proliferation of these black tradesmen who could find ready employment threatened the livelihood of those same white artisans who, in many cases, had taught them their skills. Johann Martin Bolzius, a minister of the gospel, wrote in 1751 that "since the Negroes learn all kinds of common and useful crafts, the poor [white] craftsmen cannot succeed."[34] Although Bolzius' pronouncement can be considered extreme, the number of black artisans working in the trades was sizeable. Yet in the building trades and decorative arts, there is evidence not only of competition but also of cooperation between black and white craftsmen during the last four decades of the eighteenth century.

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[33]Ibid., pp. 193-95.

[34]"Johann Martin Bolzius Answers a Questionnaire on Carolina and Georgia," trans. Klaus G. Loewald, Beverly Starika, and Paul S. Taylor, William and Mary Quarterly, 3d series, 14 (April 1957): 242.

CHAPTER II

THOSE WHO WORKED WITH THEIR HANDS: AN OVERVIEW

> The blacksmith, cabinet-maker, carpenter, builder, wheelwright,--all have one or more slaves laboring at their trades. The Negro is a third arm to every working man, who can possibly save money enough to purchase one.[1]

Although written in the nineteenth century, J. H. Ingraham's observation while touring the South applies equally well to the situation in the Charleston District during the years 1760-1800. Despite the protestations of many white craftsmen, a number employed blacks to aid them in their work, and others actually owned slaves who were apprenticed to work in their own or in a complementary trade. As revealed by estate inventories and wills, black artisans were equally vital to the plantation economy.

Eighteenth-century dictionaries provide an interesting insight into the contemporary view of or attitude toward the craftsman. In Thomas Sheridan's 1790 edition of A Complete Dictionary, an "artisan" is defined as "an artist; professor of an art; manufacturer;" or "low tradesman." Similarly, a "mechanick" is a "manufacturer" or "a low workman."[2] Another contemporary dictionary describes an "artificer"

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[1]J. H. Ingraham, The South-west by a Yankee (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1835), p. 249.

[2]Thomas Sheridan, A Complete Dictionary of the English Language, 3d ed. (London: Charles Dilly, 1790), s.v. "artisan"; s.v. "mechanick."

as an "artist, a manufacturer."[3] However, the definition adopted by present-day historian Robert E. Perdue in his study of skilled laborers in early America seems most appropriate. Perdue characterizes the artisan as "one who worked with his hands with a degree of skill exceeding that normally demanded of manual labor."[4] With this definition in mind, the researcher examined a variety of primary source materials, such as wills, inventories, newspaper advertisements, and manuscripts, to determine the number and types of artisans working in the Charleston District during the last four decades of the eighteenth century.

Description of the Sample

The total number of notations or references to slaves who worked skillfully with their hands was 3324. Of this number, 86 percent of the references (N=2854) cited a specific number laboring in the trades, while 14 percent (N=470) noted several slaves.[5] Because the exact number of slaves indicated in these multiple notations could not be determined precisely, each of the 470 multiple references was counted as one slave for the statistical purposes of this study.

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[3]William Perry, Royal Standard English Dictionary, 3d Worcester ed. (Worcester, Mass.: Leonard Worcester, 1794), s.v. "artificer."

[4]Robert E. Perdue, Black Laborers and Black Professionals in Early America, 1750-1830 (New York: Vantage Press, 1975), p. 41.

[5]These notations were compiled from a review of primary source materials including newspapers, wills, inventories, legal documents, and manuscripts. Multiple notations occurred most frequently in newspaper advertisements offering slaves for sale, i.e., carpenters, bricklayers, painters, and so forth. Although the specific number of slaves was not indicated, each reference citing a relevant slave trade was recorded.

Further, an effort was made to pair newspaper advertisements with estate inventories to determine or confirm exact numbers of slave artisans. In some cases, this endeavor produced limited results. For example, in the inventory of Joseph Porcher, a planter from St. Bartholomew's Parish, only one artisan, a carpenter, was specifically noted among the seventy-six slaves whom he had owned. Yet an advertised sale of slaves from the estate of the deceased offered both sawyers and "good" jobbing carpenters, suggesting that Porcher had several slaves employed in home-related trades.[6] In another instance, the estate inventory listed only one carpenter among the nine slaves owned by Lionel Chalmers of Charleston, but in the corresponding advertisements several carpenters were listed for sale.[7] Since many inventoried estates were to be divided among the heirs of the deceased, it may have been that the appraisers simply were lax in their listing of slave skills. In other cases, trades were not given in the long lists, though it is possible that some skilled slaves were among those owned. While it is probable that more slaves were working as skilled artisans than were revealed in estate inventories, executors of the estate may have made generalizations in the advertisements in an effort to attract buyers; specific trade information may have been given only at the time of the sale. Thus in the forty-year period between 1760 and 1800, 3324 specific references to slaves

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[6]Charleston Inventory Book Y, 1769-71, p. 232; CJ, 8 January 1771.

[7]Charleston Inventory Book BB, 1776-84, p. 77; GSSC, 7 July 1777.

working in the building trades and decorative arts were noted, although the potential certainly exists for an even larger number of slaves to be involved in relevant crafts.[8]

A search for blacks working in trades related to building construction and the decorative arts revealed the following major occupations: carpenters, blacksmiths, bricklayers and makers, cabinetmakers, textile workers, painters and glaziers, sawyers, tallow chandlers, silversmiths, and upholsterers. Building construction accounted for the major contributions of slaves; of the notations, 48 percent were carpenters, 24 percent were sawyers, and 11 percent were bricklayers and brickmakers. Among those contributing to the fabrication of the decorative arts were textile workers (8 percent), blacksmiths (4 percent), painters and glaziers (2 percent), and cabinetmakers (1 percent). Silversmiths, tallow chandlers, and upholsterers each comprised less than 1 percent of the sample.[9]

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[8]Although duplicate references were eliminated, a slave may have been counted more than once if a different notation occurred. Thus the same slave may have been sold several times by different owners in different years with each sale counting as one notation, or the same slave may have been offered for sale in one notation and listed as a runaway in another. Since the data available does not enable the researcher to trace successions in ownership for most slaves, the elimination of all duplication is impossible.

[9]Of the remaining 1 percent, sixty-two notations referred specifically to slaves working in two or more relevant trades such as carpenter and painter or cabinetmaker and sawyer. In addition, there were several single notations to a slave working in a particular trade. For a complete listing of all relevant occupations and combinations of trades and the number of slaves laboring in each, see Appendix B.

Despite the fact that there was some duplication in the notation system, it is believed that the percentage breakdown of those working in the major trade groups fairly reflects the overall distribution of slaves trained in each of the building trades and the decorative arts.[10]

Unfortunately, the age of the slave was not indicated in 91 percent of all notations. Since the exact age was unknown, age ranges were used in tabulating the data. When an age was given for the slave, a majority was under forty years old (see Table 2). The number of slaves between twenty and twenty-nine years of age and those under twenty years of age or identified as "boys" or "lads" suggests that black artisans began practicing their trade at a young age.[11] When the age of a slave was noted in a newspaper advertisement,

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[10]With the exception of sawyers, similar numerical patterns were noted for those white craftsmen employed in each area of the building trades. Almost one-half of all notations for white artisans referred to carpenters. Smaller but comparable percentages of whites were bricklayers and blacksmiths; those working as painters comprised the smallest group of both whites and blacks in this category. Patterns for whites in the decorative arts were less consistent. Sizeable numbers worked as cabinetmakers and silversmiths, while in contrast, only a small percentage of whites were employed in the textile industries. The percentages of whites and blacks trained as upholsterers or tallow chandlers were similar. For a compilation of white artisans and artists working in relevant trades in the Charleston District at some time between the years 1760 and 1800, see Appendix C.

[11]These findings differ from those of Fogel and Engerman who suggest that it is the exception rather than the rule for young slaves to be apprenticed as artisans; nor does the source material support their contention that entry into skilled occupations was a "prize" awarded to young field hands who competed for this award. See Robert Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery, 2 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1974), 1: 150.

Table 2. Age distribution of slaves working in the building trades and decorative arts (N=3324).

Age	Number of Notations	Percent
Age unknown	3009	90.54
Under 20	42	1.26
Boy, Lad	47	1.41
20-29	146	4.39
30-39	42	1.26
40-49	16	.48
50-59	7	.21
60-69	1	.03
Old, Elderly	14	.42

it may have been used as a selling point; in some instances it simply assisted in identifying a runaway.

Despite the claim by some that mulattoes were chosen more frequently than other slaves to be trained as artisans because they were believed to have greater intelligence,[12] only 2.3 percent (N=79) of the sample was specifically described as being "mulatto" or as "yellow" or "mustee." The sizeable remaining percentage, therefore, was either black or race was not indicated. If it was indeed the widespread belief of South Carolinians that mulattoes made superior craftsmen, then it seems logical that this fact would have been noted more frequently as a selling point in newspaper advertisements. On the other hand, mulatto craftsmen may have been more highly prized, so they were offered for sale less often. In some cases, the mulatto slave may have received preferential treatment, particularly if he or she was an offspring of the white master; because of this personal relationship, the slave may have been less inclined to run away or perhaps fewer such slaves were put on the auction block.

An occupation or social status could be identified for almost three-fourths of the total number of slaveowners (N=1018). In many

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[12]On his journey into the lower South in the mid-nineteenth century, Olmsted found contemporary evidence of the belief in the superior intelligence of mulattoes. Frederick Law Olmsted, A Journey in the Back Country (New York: Mason Brothers, 1860), pp. 90-92. Some early twentieth-century writers continue to support this claim. See Joseph Alexander Tillinghast, The Negro in Africa and America (New York: Macmillan Co., 1902), pp. 118-21; Jernegan, Laboring and Dependent Classes, p. 9. A "mulatto" is defined as the off-spring of mixed Caucasian and Negro parentage; a "mustee" is the mixture of American Indian and black ancestry.

cases where the owner's name was not given in a newspaper advertisement, it was suggested that interested persons should "apply to the printer" or an address was given without a corresponding owner's name. In other instances, the name of the seller was listed and not that of the owner for slaves to be sold at vendue. Of those whose occupations could be determined, 22 percent were planters and 16 percent were described either as gentlemen or esquires; two of this latter group were baronets.[13] Of the owners who were identified as white artisans, 14 percent worked in the building trades or decorative arts; 2 percent were craftsmen such as wheelwrights, tailors, coopers, and shoemakers. Merchants and women, primarily widows or spinsters, each accounted for 7 percent, with 2 percent trained as physicians. Small tradesmen such as butchers, tavern keepers or brewers, government officials, clergy, two school masters, an editor, and a farmer each made up less than 1 percent of the total. Thus, as one might expect, planters, merchants, those of position or rank, and white artisans with related occupations owned the greatest number of slaves working in the building trades and decorative arts.

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[13]In compiling information on the owners' occupations, the following sources were consulted: will books, South Carolina newspapers, jury lists, deeds, inventories, Letters of Administration from the Probate Court, and the South Carolina Historical Magazine. In some cases, although a name was given, no information could be found regarding occupation. It is suspected that many of these "unknowns" were working as planters, farmers, or merchants. At times, the name of a vendue master was listed as the seller in place of the actual owner of the slave; it was the job of the vendue master to conduct public sales and auctions. Sheridan's 1790 dictionary defines a "gentleman" as a "man raised above the vulgar by his character or post"; the term "esquire" referred to a "title of dignity."

These owners generally permitted their slave craftsmen greater freedom than other types of slaves. The hiring-out process enabled many to move freely from plantation to plantation or within the city of Charleston. A slave might also move among the owner's plantations to perform a variety of tasks on each. If there was no work to be done on the plantation, some were allowed the freedom to seek out their own employment and return the wages to their masters; thus a number of these artisans had the ability to control their own work pace, which undoubtedly led to a greater feeling of self-esteem.[14] The "independence" which these black tradesmen enjoyed manifested itself in a variety of ways. In 1797, for example, Mrs. Mary Fowke of Charleston advertising for her runaway slave Andrew, a carpenter well-known in town, warned that "Every Person is particularly cautioned to avoid hiring said Fellow, although he may produce a ticket to hire himself, . . . as that ticket was not intended to pass him so long a time as he already has made use of it." In another instance, the executors of the estate of Alexander Fraser warned all persons against hiring Negro carpenter Jemmy without a ticket and added that he was "in the habit of imposing on people by passing as a Free Man."[15] Perhaps the most troublesome was a seventeen-year-old carver and chair maker owned by cabinetmaker John Fisher:

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[14]Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll, pp. 393-94. As long as a slave could show the proper credentials, his freedom of movement apparently was not restricted. The demand for black labor and a desire for profits by slaveowners led many to "wink" at strict enforcement of the slave codes.

[15]CGDA, 22 June 1797, 19 April 1797.

> RUN away a young negro fellow named QUAMINA, well known in and about Charlestown by his impudent behaviour; he has told me to my face, "he can go when he pleases, and I can do nothing to him, nor shall I ever get a copper for him."[16]

Despite these irritations, white South Carolinians continued to use slave artisans to perform a variety of tasks on both the plantation and in the city since ownership of a tradesman generally produced a margin of profit for his master. Hugh Jones noted in 1724: "A good Negro" was "sometimes worth three (nay four) Score Pounds Sterling, if he be a Tradesman. . . . And though for the most Part they be none of the aptest or nicest, yet they are by nature cut out for hard Labor and Fatigue, and will perform tolerably well."[17]

Historian Leonard P. Stavisky has suggested, however, that there were differences in the level of skills attained by urban slave artisans as opposed to those laboring on the plantation. A difference in quality may have been evidenced in goods made simply for home consumption versus those made for sale to the general public. Urban-crafted goods also may have been more decorative, while rural crafts were more functional in their design. Further, on the plantation, with only a small number of skilled workers, each craftsman may have been performing a greater variety of tasks; in the city there were increased opportunities for specialization of labor.[18]

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[16]SCAGG, 21 February 1781.

[17]Quoted in Jernegan, Laboring and Dependent Classes, pp. 11-12.

[18]Stavisky, "The Negro Artisan," pp. 255-56. In Roll, Jordan, Roll, p. 390, Genovese suggests that only about 5 percent of all rural slaves achieved a notable level of skill.

While all of this may be true, it could hardly be considered surprising that there may have been some differences in quality and style between goods produced for home consumption and those to be offered for sale in the marketplace. Yet there is nothing in the literature to suggest that plantation owners demanded less of their slaves when working in the country than they did in the city. In fact, many slaves worked at both the urban and rural homes of their owners. The most commonly observed prerequisites in advertisements seeking slaves to perform a variety of tasks were that the slave should be a good worker and have a thorough understanding of his trade. Thus when Capt. St. Pierre of Amen Corner in Charleston sought to hire two black carpenters, he stipulated that they "understand their business well." Another advertiser solicited a Negro blacksmith "who is a master of his trade and who can be recommended for his sobriety and honesty," and Charleston carpenter John Bull simply wished to hire six "good" Negro carpenters.[19]

Slaves acquired the skills of their trades in one of several ways. Many white craftsmen had sufficient income to purchase slaves and apprentice them to serve in their business; in other cases, a slaveowner would bind out his slave for apprenticeship to a white artisan. Because some white craftsmen were in need of workmen to assist them and others benefited from the income derived from the apprenticeship system, numerous advertisements for black apprentices

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[19]SCG, 15 August 1768; CGDA, 28 July 1798; SCG, 23 August 1770.

appeared in Charleston newspapers. Bricklayers Laurance Tragay and William Graham sought two Negro apprentices to be "carefully instructed in the Bricklaying, Plaistering, Slating and Tiling Business," while a Charleston carpenter in search of two white and two Negro apprentices added that "he will constantly work with them himself, no Pains will be spared to instruct them well in the Trade; and to make the Time pleasant, during their Stay with him."[20] Another advertisement for "TWO SMART BLACK BOYS" between twelve and fourteen years old to be apprenticed in house, ship, or cabinet carving suggested that "when free their profits will be great to their owners."[21]

Those white artisans who instructed a slave in a trade were paid a fee for their services and, in addition, had the use of the slave to accomplish their own work. Martha Chub was promised £100 per year current money in 1776 by Capt. James Akin, a planter of St. Thomas' Parish, to teach eight girls to spin and weave; the apprenticeship was for a term of four years.[22] In 1769, Daniel Slade summoned William Coachman to court for failure to pay him £35 current money for instructing Coachman's slave Matthias in the trade of house carpentry;[23] and in 1772 John Fullerton of Charleston was paid £100 by John Cordes of St. John's Berkley for teaching "Boy Dick" the

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[20]CH, 13 May 1795; GSSC, 26 May 1777.

[21]TDA, 1 May 1799.

[22]CCP, JR, Box 110B, 1784, #2A.

[23]CCP, JR, Box 82A, 1769, #66A.

carpenter's trade.[24] Undoubtedly these fees were a beneficial source of income for many white craftsmen to supplement the money earned from their own labors.

Perhaps most informative is an apprenticeship agreement dated October 1, 1804, between Thomas Farr, Sr., a planter of St. Paul's Parish, and Philip Miller, a carpenter of Wadmelaw. Although the contract was signed several years after the period under study, the terms undoubtedly were similar to those of earlier agreements. Farr's Negro boy Ellick was to be bound out as an apprentice to Miller for a three-year period,

> that he the said Philip Miller shall teach instruct and inform; or cause to be taught, instructed and informed in the best manner he can, or may, the said Negro Boy Ellick the craft, mystery & occupation of a Carpenter as much as thereunto belongeth, . . .

During that time Miller was to provide "sufficient victuals and Cloths." In return for the fee which he was to receive, Miller pledged himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators to a penalty of £50 sterling "if he donot make the said Boy Ellick a compleat Carpenter in the aforesaid term of three years."[25]

In only ten notations was a specific length of apprenticeship time stated. Of these ten, three slaves had served four years; two had been bound out for five-year terms. Of the remaining five, one each

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[24]Memorandum, 17 May 1772, in Account Book from Estate of John Cordes (1764-98), TS, College of Charleston, from original in the possession of Philip G. Porcher, Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina.

[25]Apprenticeship Agreement, 1 October 1804, Jeanne Gadsden Family Papers (1703-1950), SCHS.

had served an apprenticeship of one, two, three, seven, and eight years. Therefore, for the ten cases in which a specific length of apprenticeship time was indicated, the mean was 4.3 years of service. Although the sample is too small to draw any definite conclusions, it does appear that the apprenticeship time for black artisans was shorter in duration than for those being instructed in a trade under the European guild system.[26] In addition, there were thirty-seven notations stating that the slave had served an apprenticeship, but the term of service was not given.

The data further indicate that slaves generally were apprenticed at a fairly young age. Carpenter John Oxindine of Christ Church Parish stated in his will that his Negro boy Billy was to be bound out to a trade at the age of sixteen; the apprenticeship was to last five years.[27] White artisans seeking apprentices most commonly specified "boys" or "lads" in their advertisements.[28] Thus the relationship between the age of the slave and the stated length of apprenticeship was of particular interest.

Of those slaves under twenty years of age, one had served an apprenticeship of two years, and another a three-year term; in three

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[26]Peter C. Marzio, "Carpentry in the Southern Colonies During the Eighteenth Century with Emphasis on Maryland and Virginia," in Winterthur Portfolio 7, ed. Ian M. G. Quimby (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1972), p. 240. Under the guild system in England, apprenticeship lasted for seven years.

[27]Char. Co., Will Book, 1793-1800, pp. 394-95.

[28]See, for example, the advertisement seeking cabinetmakers in CJ, 10 March 1772; also that for house carpenters in CGDA, 22 June 1797.

additional instances the notation stated merely that the youth had served an apprenticeship. Two slaves labeled as "boys" or "lads" also had served an apprenticeship of unknown duration and two had been bound out for less than a year and were probably still serving. One slave who had been bound out for four years and another who had served a five-year term were between twenty and twenty-nine years of age. Five slaves in the twenty to twenty-nine age group served an apprenticeship of unknown length, as did two slaves in the thirty to thirty-nine year age range. No apprenticeship time was indicated for any slave in the age range of forty years or older. Unfortunately, for the other slaves for whom a specific length of apprenticeship time was given, no age was noted; this is also true of the twenty-seven remaining slaves who served an apprenticeship of undetermined length.

In some cases a white craftsman was employed on the plantation to teach the slaves a trade. An advertisement placed in the South Carolina Gazette and General Advertiser on March 27, 1784, was for "A PERSON who is a good CARPENTER himself and will undertake to superintend a number of Negro Carpenters in the country." In turn, a white craftsman seeking just this type of employment placed the following advertisement in 1766:

> ANY GENTLEMAN THAT SHALL THINK PROPER to have a Number of Slaves taught the clothing manufactury, both Woolen and Linen, in all its Branches, most suitable for this Country, viz. narrow Broad-cloth, Serge, Sail Duck, Negro Cloth, Bed Rugs, Bed Ticking, Baging, Coverlets for Beds, . . . Oznaburgs, and fine Linen. He likewise will teach the Raising of Hemp and Flax, and the Spinning of both; he will take the Cotton, Flax and Hemp from the Seed; and the Wool from the Sheeps Back and compleat the whole. Any Gentleman that thinks proper to encourage the above Branches of Business, may hear of a Person

> capable of performing them, by enquiring of the Printer, and fee the Scheme, and the Benefits arising therefrom. The above Person has Credentials from Pennsylvania and Virginia, where he has taught two Factories of this Kind since the Year 1749.[29]

In addition to a more formal apprenticeship, a slave might learn a skill by working alongside another Negro tradesman. Young Andrew was apprenticed to Carpenter Abel on the plantation of esquire William Hopton.[30] Another example of this relationship appears in a Charleston newspaper in 1777:

> To be Sold (for no Fault)
> A Stout Negro Carpenter, inferior to none of his Colour in this state of that Business. Apply to the Printer hereof. --N.B. He would be very valuable to any Gentleman who had young Negroes to put under him.[31]

Those slaves who learned their trade under the tutelage of a black artisan may have been described in the source material as having been "some time learning the trade" or as having "worked in the trade" for a certain number of years.[32] An advertisement placed by Laurence Campbell of Charleston for the sale of his eighteen-year-old slave

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[29] CJ, Supplement, 20 May 1766.

[30] CTD, Inventory Book A, 1783-87, p. 485.

[31] GSSC, Supplement, 14 July 1777.

[32] It was Philip D. Morgan in "The Development of Slave Culture in Eighteenth Century Plantation America" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University College, London, 1977), p. 113, who first suggested this interpretation of the terms. Morgan theorizes that phrases such as "served a regular apprenticeship" and "bred from his youth to that business" connote the same meaning. Care must be taken in interpreting these phrases too broadly however. When silversmith John Paul Grimke advertised the sale of two Negro boys, he noted that they had been "brought up to the jeweller's trade." In this case, the slaves undoubtedly were apprenticed by Grimke himself. SCG, 13 July 1764.

notes that "he has been about three years at the House Carpenters' Business, and can do common work tolerable well," thus suggesting the absence of a "formal" apprenticeship. In another, a country-born Negro, between seventeen and eighteen years of age, "who has been near four Years at the Bricklayers Trade" was offered for sale.[33]

In addition to apprenticeship time, the source material was examined for a stated number of years during which the slave had been working at his trade. In seventy-two cases, a specific length of job time was noted. Of this group, twenty had spent three years at their trade. Thirteen had been working for two years; seven for only a year. Of those working for longer times, eleven had labored for four years; four each for both five and six years; and eight slaves had been at their trade for seven years. Of the remaining five, three had served in their craft for eight years, one had worked in the carpenter's trade for ten years, and another in that same trade for thirteen years.[34] Thus in the cases in which a specific length of job time was indicated, the mean was 3.94 years spent laboring at a trade.

Other indications were given that some slaves had been working for quite some time at their craft. In ten notations, the slave had been "brought up to the business"; three more had been "some time learning the trade." The most sizeable group in this category (N=25) had either been employed in their trade for "some time" or had worked

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[33]CGDA, 19 June 1799; CJ, 28 October 1766.

[34]See SCWG, 21 June 1783; CGDA, 13 June 1789.

for "many years." Finally, six slaves had worked for several years and three had been employed for under a year.

When a comparison was made between length of time on the job and the age of the slave, the data again support the fact that slaves began working at their trade at a fairly young age (see Table 3).

An examination of the number of slaves involved in home-related trades between the years 1760 and 1800, as well as the ways in which they learned their craft makes it clear that black artisans played a significant role in the building trades and decorative arts in the Charleston District. The newspapers of that period are filled with advertisements seeking black apprentices or others to be hired or sold to assist in a variety of tasks. White artisans, in particular, often sought blacks to labor with them in their work. Charleston cabinetmaker John Nutt requested a "handy Negro Fellow" who could work at the cabinetmaker's business to be employed by the month or year while carpenters John Wyatt and Bernard Richardson advertised for the hire of from one to six pairs of sawyers to assist them in their trade.[35] Goldsmith and jeweller Charles Harris wanted to purchase a slave "who has been brought up to the trade," and Richard Woodcock, a tallow chandler on Meeting Street, advertised for either a white or black assistant "who understands the dipping and finishing of candles." Others, such as painter Benjamin Hawes, simply stated that they had black workmen to assist them in their trade.[36]

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[35]SCAGG, 9 March 1770; CGDA, 5 November 1794.

[36]SCAGG, 24 December 1778; CGDA, 14 December 1790; SCG, 19 November 1764.

Table 3. Comparison of length of job time in relation to age of the slave.

Age	Length of Job Time															
	Under a year	1 yr.	2 yrs.	3 yrs.	4 yrs.	5 yrs.	6 yrs.	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	13 yrs.	Several years	Some time learning trade	Many years	Brought up to business
Under 20 yrs.	2	2	2	4	2	1		2					1		1	
Boy, Lad		2	5	6	1								2	1	1	
20-29			2	1	2	1			2				1	1	5	5
30-39															2	
40-49																
50-59																
60-69																
Age not given	1	3	4	9	6	2	4	6	1		1	1	2	1	16	5
Total number of notations	3	7	13	20	11	4	4	8	3	0	1	1	6	3	25	10

Those white craftsmen who could afford to do so purchased slaves and apprenticed them to their business. Of the six slaves owned by George Carpenter of Charleston, three--Lake, Prince, and Bob--worked in his trade; upon Carpenter's death in 1767, Lake was sold to cabinetmaker Thomas Elfe for £401.[37] Blacksmith David Thomson owned eight slaves, five of whom labored with him, and the sole slave noted in the inventory of Jonathan Hood had worked with him for one year in the carpenter's business.[38] Slaves who worked in complementary trades also were purchased by white craftsmen. The fourteen slaves owned by painter and glazier Mark Morris included painters Liberty and Prince, as well as bricklayer Isaac, carpenter John, and David, who was both a carpenter and boatman.[39] Thus with the aid of numerous slave craftsmen, a white tradesman could perform a variety of tasks to fulfill the needs of his clientele.[40]

As to the degree of skill possessed by these black tradesmen, painter John Allwood of Charleston spoke confidently of his Negro painters whom he offered for sale in 1773: "As to their Abilities, he thinks them evident, they having transacted the Whole of his Business,

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[37]Charleston Inventory Book W, 1763-67, pp. 369-70.

[38]Ibid., Book Y, 1769-71, p. 420; Ibid., Book Z, 1771-74, p. 478. Not surprisingly, when a correlation was made between white artisans and those slaves which they owned or with whom they had contact, the greatest number of notations referred to slaves working in the same occupation as the white artisan.

[39]CTD, Inventory Book A, 1783-87, p. 107.

[40]For all notations pertaining to black artisans who were either owned or employed by white tradesmen, see Appendix D.

without any hired Assistance; and he has taken no little Pains in initiating them in the true Principles of their Profession."[41] Another who commented on the degree of white dependence on slave artisans was esquire Timothy Ford, who came to Charleston from New York in 1785:

> I have seen tradesmen go through the city followed by a negro carrying their tools--Barbers who are supported in idleness & ease by their negroes who do the business; & in fact many of the mechaniks bear nothing more of their trade than the name.[42]

Planters and others owning property in the country were equally dependent on slave craftsmen to assist them in their work. George Parker, a merchant in St. James' Parish, advertised that he desired to hire by the month one or two pairs of sawyers for his plantation at Goose Creek; another Carolinian sought two or three blacks to work in a tile yard on the Cooper River, about sixteen miles from Charleston.[43] Noting specific skills, a third advertiser requested a Negro carpenter who was "capable of building a neat Stable, Overseer's House, or any other Out-Building requisite on a plantation" and added that "for such, a generous price will be given."[44]

When a correlation was made between those identified as white planters in the Charleston District (N=224) and slave artisans with

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[41]SCG, 8 March 1773. Allwood's slaves were being sold because he intended to leave the province. In SCAGG, 3 July 1777, Edward Oats again offered for sale painter Sampson, who had been "brought up by Mr. Allwood."

[42]"Diary of Timothy Ford, 1785-1786," SCHM 13 (July 1912): 142.

[43]CJ, 11 October 1774; CGDA, 14 August 1799.

[44]CGDA, 9 December 1800.

whom they had contact, the most frequent references were to carpenters and sawyers. Planters apparently had great need for slave carpenters since there were 257 references to this group in the forty-year period between 1760 and 1800; 7 of these blacks were noted specifically as being house carpenters, and 41 were jobbing carpenters. Likewise, there were 203 notations regarding sawyers, with 11 of this group working as both sawyers and squarers.[45] Bricklayers and makers represented the third largest group with whom planters had contact. There were 35 references to bricklayers and 5 brickmakers who either worked for or were owned by planters. Other types of skills desired by planters, as revealed by the number of notations for slave artisans, were: 31 for seamstresses, 22 for spinners, 5 for weavers, 9 for spinners and weavers, 7 for indigo makers and dyers, and 1 for a seamstress, spinner, and weaver.

In view of the diversity of skills required to operate a plantation, it was not unusual for a black artisan to work in several trades. There were eight references to slaves who worked as sawyers and coopers, nine who were sawyers and field slaves, an additional nine to those who were carpenters and coopers, and four who were carpenters and wheelwrights; several trade combinations were observed. One of the most versatile of all plantation slaves was a twenty-five-year-old fellow belonging to James Witter of James Island. Witter

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[45]It was the job of the sawyer simply to cut the wood; the squarer then shaped the log into a square or rectangular form suitable for use in the building trades or in furniture construction.

advertised his slave as being a "master in several branches of the mechanical business, a compleat cabinet-maker, house-carpenter, wheelwright, and boat-mender, also an extraordinary water-man."[46]

If there was only a limited need for a certain skill, a plantation owner might hire a free laborer or a black artisan rather than train one of his own slaves. Slaves also were exchanged among plantations to perform various services for which the laborers of that particular plantation were not trained. In this way, many plantations were made to operate at a high level of self-sufficiency. Accordingly, there were very few references to slave blacksmiths (N=11) and painters (N=2) owned by planters. These tasks may not have had a high frequency of demand on the plantation, and either black or white tradesmen may have been hired as needed.[47] In addition, only several

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[46]GA, 20 March 1784. In CH, 2 June 1785, George Holmes advertised that Simon, a carpenter and cabinetmaker and formerly the property of a John Witter, had run away from his plantation on James Island.

[47]When an examination was made of the occupations of those slaves belonging to or employed by whites described as esquires and gentlemen (N=165), many of whom also owned plantations, these numbers increased considerably. In each case, however, the largest number of notations refer to slaves working as carpenters. Considering only those men identified as esquires, there were 283 references to ownership or employment of slave carpenters of all types. The second largest group of references was for slaves who worked as sawyers, some in combination with other occupations such as field slave or cooper. There were 44 notations for bricklayers and makers and 45 notations for slaves involved in some branch of the textile arts. Interestingly, the number of references to slaves working as blacksmiths (N=22) and painters and glaziers (N=8) increased considerably. Two additional slaves were listed as cabinetmakers, one as a joiner, and one worked as a tallow chandler. These figures, when combined for those of the planter class, perhaps more accurately reflect plantation activity between master and slave.

references were noted for slaves skilled in the joinery trades; three worked as joiners or turners, and one, slave Jack, labored as a cabinetmaker on George Inglis' Stono plantation.[48] For the most part, however, slaves were trained in those trades most closely associated with plantation labor.

When inventoried slaveholdings were examined for those owning property in the Charleston District, planters, esquires, and gentlemen proved to be among those who owned the largest number of slaves. Arthur Middleton, noted as an esquire on his estate inventory taken in February and March 1793, owned a total of 737 slaves who labored on his various plantations and in Charleston. Of this number, only fourteen were listed specifically in home-related trades: four as carpenters; seven as seamstresses, including two who also served as house wenches; two as bricklayers; and one as a blacksmith. Bricklayer John Baptist and carpenter Caesar were described as being "old," and bricklayer John in Charleston, as "very fine."[49] Planter Thomas

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[48]CTD, Inventory Book A, 1783-87, p. 460. In Charleston Furniture, p. 20, Burton claims that no mention of a slave working as a cabinetmaker has appeared yet in the estate inventory of any planter. Inglis owned a total of 190 slaves who worked on his plantations at Stono and Saltcatchers and in Georgia and Charleston. Although it is logical to assume that a large number of slaves did not work as cabinetmakers on the plantation, some did labor to satisfy plantation needs.

[49]CTD, Inventory Book B, 1787-93, pp. 503-6. It should be noted that data based on probate records such as inventories may be somewhat biased. First of all, not all estates were inventoried, and secondly, the advanced age of many of the decedents may suggest greater opportunities for the accumulation of wealth and possessions. For a discussion of these potential sources of bias, see Gloria L. Main, "Probate Records as a Source for Early American History," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d series, 32 (January 1975): 89-99.

Elliott, Sr., of St. Paul's Parish, owned a total of 480 slaves. In his estate inventory dated March 28, 1761, only two were listed as working in the building trades--both as bricklayers.[50] Despite this notation, it is suspected that a larger number of Elliott's slaves actually were working in home-related industries because others would be needed to run a plantation of this size.

Thus, the estate inventories for all those who owned one or more slaves working in the decorative arts and building trades were examined and the total number of slaveholdings for each owner was recorded.[51] For purposes of analysis, slaveowners were divided into three categories: those who possessed fifty-one or more slaves were labelled as "large" slaveowners; twenty-one to fifty blacks as "medium-sized"; one to twenty slaves as "small." Almost one-half (47.2 percent) of all slaveowners whose inventories were examined were categorized as "large"; 24.3 percent were considered to be "medium-sized" slaveholders; and 28.4 percent were "small."

The data from inventories were further analyzed to determine what percentage of slaves were working in the building trades and decorative arts in relation to the total number of slaves owned. The percentage of slaves identified as working in a home-related trade by category according to the size of slaveholdings was 2.65 for "large," 5.3 for "medium," and 17 for "small." Among the group classed as

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[50]Charleston Inventory Book T, 1758-61, pp. 554-55.

[51]This total figure included field slaves, house servants, other types of artisans, and all additional slaves of unknown occupation. To be included in the sample, at least one slave working in a home-related trade had to be cited in the inventory.

"large," 49.7 percent of the slave artisans were identified by a single designation of skills as carpenters, 17.2 percent as sawyers, 6.5 percent as bricklayers, 4.8 percent as textile workers, and 2.9 percent as blacksmiths; those listed with multiple skills were: 6.5 percent as sawyers and field slaves, 6.2 percent as carpenters and caulkers.

Carpenters comprised just over one-half (55.4 percent) of all slave artisans owned by medium-sized slaveholders; an additional 3.2 percent were listed as carpenters and coopers. In this category, notations for bricklayers and makers made up the second most important group (16.2 percent), with sawyers and sawyers and coopers each constituting 6.5 percent of the total. As before, textile workers (5.4 percent) and blacksmiths (2.1 percent) were among those handicraftsmen contributing to the work force.

Not surprisingly, white artisans were among those who owned only a small number of slaves. For this group, references to carpenters constituted 54.3 percent of the holdings for slave craftsmen. Bricklayers ranked second in importance (14.8 percent), with sawyers (7.9 percent) and blacksmiths (6.9 percent) following. For this group of owners, painters made up 5.9 percent of the total, followed by textile workers who comprised only 1.9 percent of the number of notations. In all cases, the remaining number of slaves included those who labored as cabinetmakers, upholsterers, silversmiths, nail makers, and in other trades or combinations of trades.

Slaves Offered for Sale

Considering the number of blacks engaged in handicrafts who were owned by those residing in the Charleston District, it is not surprising that a variety of relationships would emerge between master and slave. When the total number of slave notations was categorized by type, more than one-half of all references (55.4 percent) involved the sale of one or more slaves.[52] Once again, the majority of these slaves were offered for sale by owners whose names were not published or by those whose occupations could not be determined. Factors, vendue masters, and merchants were among those most frequently handling a slave sale for another often unidentified party, although in some instances, the transaction appeared to be for a slave whom the merchant or factor owned (N=124). In the case of estate sales, both the executors and the decedent generally were noted. For those whose occupation or status could be determined, the most frequent sales transactions involved planters (N=312); slave sales by those labelled as gentlemen or esquires ranked next in importance (N=266). Significantly, in 188 cases one or more slave artisans were offered for sale by a white artisan working in the building trades or decorative arts; in 79 instances the notation for a sale involved a woman, primarily a widow or spinster. References regarding slave sales were noted for numerous other groups of whites

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[52]It is important to note that the same slave may have been sold several times during this forty-year period. The figures refer to the number of different sales transactions recorded during that period and not to the actual number of different slaves being offered for sale.

including physicians (N=34); other artisans (N=23); government officials (N=21); small tradesmen (N=15); clergy (N=10); and one farmer.

Slaves working in every aspect of the building trades and decorative arts were offered for sale at some time during the years under study. Of the total of 1842 notations involving slave sales, 733 were for blacks working as carpenters. Included in this category were slaves who had been trained as house or jobbing carpenters as well as those who practiced more than one trade, such as carpenters and wheelwrights, coopers, or caulkers. The second largest number of sales transactions involved slaves working as sawyers or sawyers and squarers (N=576). In addition, there were 186 notations which listed slaves who were textile workers; 146 for bricklayers and makers; 76 for blacksmiths; and 34 for painters. For those slaves working in the more exclusive areas of the decorative arts, 10 notations cited the sale of a cabinetmaker or joiner, 9 referred to tallow chandlers, and there were 6 notations each for upholsterers and silversmiths. The remaining references involved one or two slaves each working in such trades as nail or shinglemaking or those laboring in two or more trades directly related to home industries. In a majority of cases, those slaves being offered for sale were either black or race was not indicated; in only thirty-one instances was a slave specifically labelled as a "mulatto" or "mustee." This may suggest that factors other than race proved stronger selling points at the marketplace.[53]

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[53]In contrast, Joel Williamson, New People: Miscegenation and Mulattoes in the United States (New York: Free Press, 1980), p. 20,

One of these sales factors may have been the age of the slave. In those cases where age was indicated (N=177), the majority (N=150) were under thirty years of age.[54] In only two instances were slaves noted as being between fifty and fifty-nine years of age, one slave was over sixty years old, and two were described as "old" or "elderly."

Another factor of consequence may have been the slave's skill, as determined by length of apprenticeship or number of years spent working at the trade. In newspaper advertisements, those offered for sale often were described as "good" or "complete." The executors of the estate of esquire William Coachman, for example, advertised an "extraordinary good" carpenter, adding that he was "remarkably diligent and sober."[55] Another offered two men "brought up" to the painter's and glazier's business, noting that they were "very perfect therein."[56] In twenty-five advertisements, the sellers stated that their slaves had served a formal apprenticeship although the length of their term was not indicated. Yet others, such as Mary Meyer, not only cited the length of their slave's apprenticeship but also with whom they had served. Meyer's twenty-five-year-old Negro carpenter had

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claims that mulatto slaves were favored over others. For a discussion of the status of the mulatto in colonial society, see Ibid., New People, pp. 5-59.

[54]Of this group, 95 notations referred to slaves between the ages of twenty and twenty-nine, 33 were less than twenty years of age, and in 22 cases the slave was described as a "boy" or "lad."

[55]SCAGG, 29 May 1777. See also the advertisement for slaves sold from the estate of esquire John Ward in SCWG, 23 January 1784.

[56]GA, 3 July 1784.

completed a four-year apprenticeship with carpenter Benjamin Baker of Charleston and had been "employed since under several capital workmen."[57] More frequently, however, the fact that a slave had spent a certain number of years working at his trade was indicated (N=100). A total of thirty-one notations suggested job time without specifying a length of service. The remainder cited a set number of years spent working in the trade, with a three-year term of service being most common (N=20). Other terms ranged from under a year in length to more than ten years.

After reading a sizeable number of advertisements in which all of the positive qualities of the slaves being offered for sale were detailed, the obvious use of a variety of sales techniques becomes apparent. However, an analysis of sales notations does yield a number of reasons why the slave was being offered for sale (see Table 4).

Of particular interest was the number of times in which the wishes of the slave were considered. Warham Woodward, for example, advertised the sale of a young fellow "who has a particular desire to learn the carpenter's trade," and Daniel Hart offered a fourteen-year-old mulatto boy "for no fault, only his dislike to continue at his trade, which is the painting business."[58] A sawyer and his wife were

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[57]Char. Morn. Post, 20 March 1786. A specific length of apprenticeship time was indicated in only nine advertisements for the sale of a slave.

[58]CGDA, 26 July 1799, 18 November 1799. The term "no fault" was used frequently in sales advertisements. No doubt the seller was seeking to reassure a potential buyer that the slave did not possess a significant character flaw.

Table 4. Reasons for the sale of a slave artisan.

Reasons	Number of Notations	Percentage
No reason given	780	42.3
Sold with estate	740	40.0
Taken on Execution, Sold to pay debt	110	6.0
Owner leaving Province	57	3.0
Sold for no fault	53	2.9
Owner has no use for	34	1.8
Owner leaving business	20	1.0
Either owner or slave in bad health	15	.8
Owner cannot control	14	.7
Slave doesn't like living in country	9	.5
Slave doesn't like living with owner	7	.3
Slave doesn't like living in city	3	.2

advertised for sale by Francis Robertson of 7 Elliott Street because they did not like residing in town.[59] On the other hand, Fenwicke Bull may have been attempting to disguise a troublesome slave when he stated that his Negro painter would, "upon no Account, be sold to any one living in or nearer Charlestown, than thirty Miles." In another advertisement, the seller suggested that a boy who had worked for three years at the carpenter's trade would "make a valuable workman in the country, removed from his connections in the city." Merchant Joseph Dill, Jr., was perhaps a bit more forthright when he announced that he was selling a "compleat" carpenter because he was too fond of liquor but added that he would be valuable "if taken from the city."[60] A yen for "creature comfort" was also suggested as the reason for sale of a tallow chandler in 1783. The sellers observed that the present owners did not have sufficient employment for their slave "which he has taken so much to heart, as to occasion, at times, his taking too large a portion of the GOOD CREATURE."[61]

Other slaves were offered for sale for a variety of reasons. A jobbing carpenter and basket maker was being sold because he had a sore leg which presumably interfered with his duties. Vendue master William Porter advertised a house carpenter "whose only fault is a propensity to raising his hand too often to his head," and a fellow

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[59] TMDA, 15 March 1796.

[60] SCAGG, 19 August 1771; TDA, 8 September 1798; CGDA, 5 October 1792.

[61] GA, 6 September 1783.

who had worked as a carpenter for ten years was being sold because it was inconvenient for his owner to supervise him in his trade.[62] A number of additional advertisements further confirm the independence of the slave artisan. Twenty-year-old mulatto carpenter Jack was offered for sale due to his "ingratitude to his present master," and a twenty-four-year-old carpenter was listed because he did not punctually pay his wages to his mistress.[63] In another sales advertisement, a carpenter was prone "to trifle with his mistress" and a widow suggested that she had similar problems with her young carpenter, waiting man, and groom: he was "saucy" to her.[64]

Runaway Slaves

Although some slaves undoubtedly desired to be sold, for others this meant separation from family and friends. A number of slave artisans who ran away from their masters did so after being placed on the auction block. On October 20, 1790, carpenter Hector was sold for £80 sterling by James Kennedy to Francis Bonneau, a house carpenter in Charleston. The following May, Bonneau advertised that Hector, who also went by the name of Jones, had run away. Although captured, Hector was not to be deterred for in October Bonneau entered a notice in the newspaper that his slave had run away again. Whether or not

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[62]CGDA, 15 February 1791, 16 September 1800; SCWG, 21 June 1783.

[63]PA, 26 November 1785; TMDA, 18 September 1797.

[64]TDA, 12 November 1798, 23 April 1798.

Hector was returned to his master is not known.[65] A slave purchased by Rawlins Lowndes decamped even before meeting his new owner. On August 26, 1766, Lowndes placed the following advertisement in the South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal:

> A Negro Fellow, named TOM, a Bricklayer by Trade, formerly belonging to Dr. Martin, and since to Mr. Jacob Devaux, of whom I lately purchased him, having absconded and secreted himself from me without so much as giving me an Opportunity of speaking to him since he became my Property. . . . And whereas the said Negro Fellow has heretofore been employed, and has undertaken Jobs in the Way of his Business, without Comptroll, I do hereby give Notice, that I will never allow him such Liberties, and that every Person who may hereafter employ him, unless with a written Licence under my Hand, will be prosecuted with the utmost Severity of the Law.

On the other hand, resigned to the fact that his carpenter fellow Tom did not wish to live in the country, planter Isaac McPherson at Stono offered the slave, who had absented himself since his purchase, an opportunity to look for a new master; he added that "no notice will be taken of his past conduct, provided he returns within a month."[66]

In some advertisements, masters indicated that the possible destination of their runaway slaves was their place of former residence. William Morgan of St. George's Parish theorized that his carpenter Primus probably had returned to Ponpon where he had worked for many

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[65]Misc. Rec., Book YY, 1787-91, p. 360. See also CGDA, 21 May 1791, 5 October 1791.

[66]SCAGG, 30 July 1778. Daniel E. Meaders, "South Carolina Fugitives as Viewed Through Local Colonial Newspapers With Emphasis on Runaway Notices, 1732-1801," Journal of Negro History 60 (January 1975): 298, documents the fact that at least 70 percent of all runaways had two or more owners before they fled. In an article entitled "Country Life" in DeBow's Review, 34 vols. (1860; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1967), 29: 615, the author notes that "Negroes are the most social of all human beings, and after having hired in town, refuse to live again in the country."

years. Charleston merchant R. Lithgow alerted residents of Dorchester and Ashley Ferry to be on the lookout for Bob, a "yellow" carpenter fellow, because he was well-known there.[67] In some cases, masters indicated specifically that their runaway might be returning to see a family member from whom the slave had been separated. Benjamin Singellton, for example, advertised that one possible destination of his slave carpenter was Hobcaw where he had a brother; and Gracia Rivers of James Island suggested that his fifty-two-year-old carpenter Quamanu was probably headed for Charleston to see his wife.[68]

No doubt relatives and friends provided a safe place of refuge, and free blacks also played a role in aiding fugitive slaves. Advertiser James Troup on Tradd Street noted that his mulatto carpenter Harry had recently been seen on King Street and added that "it is probable [he] may be harbored by some free carpenters as he is intimate with numbers of them."[69] Despite the statement by a number of masters that their slaves were well-known in Charleston, some runaways sought the degree of anonymity provided by city life.[70] By running with

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[67]SCAGG, 9 September 1774; CGDA, 28 May 1795, 19 January 1790.

[68]CJ, 2 June 1772; CH, 8 August 1785.

[69]CGDA, 26 November 1799.

[70]See, for example, SCAGG, 6 April 1772; CJ, 18 February 1772. John Frierson of St. John's Parish claimed that his carpenter Scipio had been seen several times "jobbing about" in Charleston and had "told it was with my permission." Scipio previously had been employed for some time by John Bull, a Charleston carpenter. It must be noted that it was these fugitive tradesmen, many of whom hired themselves out for smaller wages to maintain their existence, who undercut the profit margin of white artisans, thus causing the whites to demand legislation.

their tools, changing their names, and hiring themselves out for wages, some, such as mulatto carpenter Jack, attempted to pass themselves off as free men.[71] The following advertisement, which appeared in the South Carolina and American General Gazette on November 21, 1776, illustrates the ploy of a name change:

MULATTO BOB

> RUN away from the subscriber, about ten months ago a stout Mulatto Fellow, named BOB LINDSAY; he is very artful, and sometimes changes his name; is well known in Charlestown, where he served his time to the carpenter's trade. . . . has been seen working in Charlestown and about Georgetown since he ran away.

Still others attempted to escape from the province completely or at least to the more sparsely populated areas of the back country. Robert Johnston of St. Thomas' Parish, who called his runaway mulatto Bob "remarkable, artful and ingenious," further suggested that his slave would attempt to pass for a free man and "endeavour to leave the Province, or get to the Back Parts and follow the Business of a Tanner, Shoemaker, Sadler, Carpenter, or Wheelwright."[72] Charleston cabinetmaker John Marshall wrote of his twenty-two-year-old slave Joe,

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[71] CGDA, 7 November 1794, 11 March 1797. Three years after Jack first was advertised as a runaway, his master, Thomas Wigfall, stated that his slave had been seen in Beaufort working at his trade. Lionel Chalmers of Charleston advertised that his runaway bricklayer Abraham attempted to pass for a free man by the name of Charles and that he had been employed by several persons in Toogodoo. CJ, 16 April 1771. Abraham evidently was captured and returned to his owner, because in 1775 and 1781, planter William Maxwell of Edisto Island, announced that his bricklayer Abraham, purchased from Lionel Chalmers, had run away. In 1781, the fugitive was sighted in Charleston. SCAGG, 8 December 1775; RG, 19 May 1781.

[72] SCG, 18 April 1774; SCAGG, 25 November 1774.

who worked in the same trade: "He will probably try to get to Savannah or Sunbury in Georgia, where a certain person lives, who has been trying to enviegle him away."[73]

In all, a total of 230 notations were recorded for runaway slaves laboring in some phase of the building trades or decorative arts during the forty-year period under study. This figure must be viewed with some caution, however, since the number of fugitives undoubtedly was greater than what was revealed by newspaper advertisements.[74] The decision to advertise for a runaway slave was influenced by a number of factors; these included cost of the advertisement, amount of the reward, goal and delivery fees, and the economic and psychological value of the slave to the master.[75] In some cases, the fugitive returned of his own accord or was captured before an advertisement had been posted.

Of the 230 notations for runaways which were documented, over one-half (N=129) were in reference to slaves who worked solely as

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[73]CGDA, 10 August 1799. For an overview of South Carolina runaways, including a discussion of their physical traits, reasons for running, possible destinations, and their potential threat to whites, see Meaders, "South Carolina Fugitives," pp. 288-319.

[74]According to Ibid., only 10 percent of all advertisers listed the occupation of their runaway slaves.

[75]Lathan Algerna Windley, "A Profile of Runaway Slaves in Virginia and South Carolina From 1730 Through 1787" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Iowa, 1974), p. 243; Morgan, "Development of Slave Culture," p. 338. It also must be noted that publication of colonial South Carolina newspapers was at times sporadic, particularly during the Revolutionary War years. Furthermore, there are gaps in the chronology of many of the extant colonial papers. These newspapers were, in fact, a primary source for information regarding runaway slaves.

carpenters or who combined this skill with some trade not being examined directly in the study. The second largest group for fugitives was for bricklayers and makers (N=36), followed closely by slaves who were sawyers (N=28). There were eleven references for runaways trained in furniture construction including cabinetmakers, joiners and turners, upholsterers, and carvers, and ten for painters and glaziers. The remainder were for blacksmiths (N=5), silversmiths (N=2), or those working in the textile arts or two or more relevant trades.

In addition to describing physical characteristics and clothing worn by the runaways, an age was provided for purposes of identification in 40 percent of the notations. The majority of runaways were under thirty years of age; there were twenty-one references for fugitives between thirty and thirty-nine years of age, eleven for slaves in the forty to forty-nine year range, and four for slaves over fifty years of age. These findings are consistent with the theory that younger slaves were more capable physically of withstanding hardships of flight in addition to having fewer family ties. On the other hand, masters may have advertised for older slaves less frequently due to their lower market value.[76]

The number of years a fugitive had spent working in the trade or in a formal apprenticeship appears to be of little importance. In only two instances was a specific length of job time indicated.

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[76]Windley, "Profile of Runaway Slaves," pp. 80-82. See also Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll, p. 648.

One slave had practiced his trade for two years, the other for four; that the slave had spent some years working at a trade was noted in thirteen advertisements. Eleven references suggested that the slave had completed a formal apprenticeship, but in no case was the term of service given. Perhaps advertisers believed that the less said of a slave's capabilities, the greater his chances of being returned.

Of the total number of fugitive notations, the slave was listed as mulatto or mustee in thirty. Seemingly, the mulatto would have a greater chance of being assimilated into a "free" society. Yet regardless of race, the nature of the tasks performed by black tradesmen offered increased opportunities for contact with whites, and this, in turn, provided a role model for the slave to follow in passing for a free person.

In addition to the above information, some masters included descriptive comments to aid in the identification of their slaves. House carpenter Francis Bonneau noted that his carpenter Ben might stammer when asked a question and that he had run off with a mulatto boy who could write and "has been known to draw orders on stores, and give passes." Andrew Kerr described bricklayer Jack as being "very cunning"; and William Calder of Edisto Island cautioned that carpenter Jonathan was "remarkably artful in framing a plausible story," as well as being fond of liquor.[77] Of particular interest was an advertisement posted by silversmith John Paul Grimke for the return of his fifteen-year-old boy Joe, who followed the same trade. The latter,

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[77]TMDA, 17 October 1796; CGDA, 22 August 1796, 25 January 1796.

described as a "very sensible arch boy" even though he had run away with his wages, had been seen with a white man first in Dorchester and then near Port Royal, "where having robbed a plantation, he was pursued and shot in the woods." Grimke added, however, that this information "might only be given out as a blind, that it might not for certain be known where he is harbored." Three months later, Grimke was still seeking his slave; he requested that anyone with information concerning Joe's shooting should contact him. Finally, an advertisement was placed by a Charleston resident for the return of his carpenter, also named Joe, who had formerly been free. Information about Joe included the following: he was well-known in town; he would be known "from his bad and deceitful behaviour"; and he was "the greatest liar and most artful negro in this province."[78] These advertisements provide a marked contrast to those offering many of the same slaves for sale.

The masters who placed these advertisements represented a variety of occupations and social positions. More than one-half (53 percent) were planters, gentlemen, esquires, or white artisans working in a home-related industry; the number in each group were almost equally divided. The occupations of 26 percent of the sample could not be determined; other occupations, noted in descending order of the frequency with which they were cited, included merchants, women, physicians, other artisans, government officials, clergy, and small

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[78]SCG, 26 September 1771; SCAGG, 31 December 1771; RG, 14 July 1781.

businessmen. It was the liberty granted by many of these masters to the slave to pursue his trade which encouraged him to seek a more permanent type of freedom. As historian Lathan Windley was to note in a profile of runaway slaves in Virginia and South Carolina, "the slaveholder's economic goals led to a lessening of his control over his slaves in that they gained freedom of movement and contact with the free society away from the rigid controls of the plantation."[79] The same can be said for the owners of slaves residing primarily in Charleston.

Slaves for Hire

Much of this freedom was acquired through the hiring-out of tradesmen to perform a variety of tasks on both the plantation and in the city. The fact that slave craftsmen provided a good source of income is evidenced by frequent references in cabinetmaker Thomas Elfe's Account Book. In 1768, for example, Elfe earned an income of £632.16.2 solely from the hire of his tradesmen; the following year he recorded a gain of £405.19.0. For work done by his painter Liverpool, Elfe was paid £144 in January 1775, and the hire of carpenter Lake netted £62.13 in that same month.[80] Charleston house painter Mark Morris purchased a Negro turner named Jerry from the estate of John Prue in 1773; he immediately announced that Jerry was available to

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[79]Windley, "Profile of Runaway Slaves," p. 239.

[80]Richard Walsh, Charleston's Sons of Liberty: A Study of the Artisans, 1763-1789 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1959), p. 24; "The Thomas Elfe Account Book," SCHM 41 (January 1940): 27-28.

receive work.[81] Planters also used skilled slaves to supplement their income by hiring them out when no work was available. This hiring-out process had the advantage of allowing the slave to continuously practice his trade as well as to keep him out of trouble.

Further, a number of slaveowners directed in their wills that their artisans were to be hired out to provide an income for heirs. Patrick Simpson of John's Island directed that his wife should have the use of a number of slaves, including Carpenter Smart, during her lifetime, but added that upon her decease, Smart was to be sold. Likewise, bricklayer Anthony Toomer gave his wife Ann the use of Bricklayer Will providing that she remained unmarried, in which case the slave was among those bequeathed to his children. Ann Hawes announced in the City Gazette and Daily Advertiser that she was carrying on the painting and glazing business of her late husband and that she would hire out her Negro painters by the day.[82] Among others who supported themselves by the profits of their slave tradesmen were spinsters and orphans.[83]

Historian Leonard P. Stavisky has concluded that factors directly affecting the hiring costs of slave artisans included age, sex, health, disposition, skill, and available supply. On the other hand, historian

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[81]SCG, 1 March 1773, 19 April 1773.

[82]Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, pp. 615-17; Char. Co., Will Book, 1793-1800, pp. 507-10; CGDA, 23 April 1789.

[83]For example, a Charleston ordinance to regulate slaves, ratified in July 1800, directed that blacks owned by persons residing outside of Charleston would not be permitted to work there for hire, with the exception of slaves belonging to orphans. See Edwards, Ordinances, pp. 193-95.

Kenneth Stampp attributes the rate variations to existing economic conditions, danger of the occupation, and the slave's level of skill. Stampp further notes that the annual rate for the hire of a black artisan was determined as a percentage of the slave's market value plus maintenance costs.[84] In 1797 the yearly fee for hiring carpenter Cato, belonging to esquire Roger Parker Saunders of Charleston, was listed at £50. The annual rate for Caesar, a carpenter boy, was £30 while blacksmith Jemmy was hired for a sum of £25. In that same year, William Skirving of St. Bartholomew's Parish had hired his carpenter fellow Huckey to millwright Thomas Brown at the cost of £18 per year; Skirving's carpenter Quaccoo earned him £5 per month.[85]

Although age, length of apprenticeship, and level of skill were cited among the factors affecting hiring costs, the sources reveal only limited information in this regard. Of the total of 332 notations to the hiring of slaves laboring in the building trades and decorative arts between the years 1760 and 1800, only one listed a specific age range, that being for a slave less than twenty years old; two others labelled the slaves for hire as "boys" or "lads." Race also was not an issue with only one slave, a mulatto house carpenter, noted by color,[86] and there was a single reference to the completion of a formal

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[84]Stavisky, "The Negro Artisan," p. 93; Kenneth M. Stampp, The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South (New York: Vintage Books, 1956), p. 414.

[85]CCP, JR, CTD, 1798, #186A, #1027A. The daily and monthly rates charged for the hiring of slave craftsmen will be discussed in greater detail below.

[86]TDA, 19 July 1799; CGDA, 19 September 1796.

apprenticeship. Thomas Buckle, offering to hire his young fellow by the month or year, remarked that his slave had served four years to a house carpenter. Another advertiser listed a boy who had been working for two years at the tallow chandler's business, and the young fellow who was noted above as being less than twenty years old had been a house carpenter for five years. The third reference to a length of job time was posted by Fenwicke Bull for the hire of a bricklayer who had been working at his trade for six years.[87]

Although a formal statement of apprenticeship or job time generally was not indicated for those slaves to be hired out, the abilities of these slaves were publicized in a variety of ways. William Wayne boasted that his four black painters to be hired by the day were "capable of finishing a Piece of Work in any Manner their Employers may think proper to have it." Of the two blacksmiths offered by Mary Mintzing of King Street, one was "as skillful as perhaps any of his colour in the city"; but another advertiser listed the four carpenters whom he sought to hire out as only "pretty good workmen."[88]

Exactly one-half of all notations listing slaves for hire were for carpenters. The second largest group consisted of bricklayers and makers (N=60), followed by sawyers (N=46). Those working in some branch of the textile arts, particularly indigo makers and dyers, appeared in twenty-eight instances; there were fourteen references to

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[87]SCAGG, 9 December 1774; CGDA, 30 July 1792; SCG, 2 February 1765.

[88]SCG, 7 January 1773; CGDA, 1 June 1797, 22 August 1796.

the hire of painters and glaziers. Other specific notations consisted of cabinetmakers (N=8), blacksmiths (N=6), those working as both carpenters and sawyers (N=3), and one for a tallow chandler.

Despite attempts to legislate the hiring of these tradesmen, slave owners were plagued continually by South Carolinians who chose to ignore governmental regulations. Some, such as the executors of the estate of carpenter Joseph Dill, included warnings in their advertisements not to employ their slaves without first obtaining permission "under the most rigid Prosecution of the law." A Charleston esquire posted the following advertisement in 1772:

> DAVID RHIND forewarns all Persons in general, but in particular Cabinet-Makers, House-Carpenters, and Joiners, not to employ, at any Time, without his Knowledge, and Consent first obtained, his NEGRO-MAN, named YORK: Otherwise, they may be assured of being prosecuted as far as Law and Justice will support him.[89]

In addition, some slave craftsmen tested their independence by hiring themselves out without their master's permission. John Moncrieff requested that all those hiring painter and glazier Simon should pay his wages directly to the subscriber; he added that Simon was "working out without leave, supposed in the neighborhood of Charleston." Jonathan Scott cautioned that all those caught employing his bricklayer Jack and house carpenters Cato and Cuffee without his permission would

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[89]CGDA, 3 October 1796; SCG, 30 July 1772. Those slaves in question belonging to the estate of Joseph Dill were employed as carpenters. Rhind's Negro York may have been one of the fifteen slaves seized by the British in a raid on some fishing canoes in 1777. See GSSC, 2 June 1777.

be made "liable for all Deficiencies of Wages already due from them" as well as face prosecution under the law.[90]

Although the law directed that the master should receive all of the slave's earnings, some tradesmen were permitted to "hire their own time." In doing so, the slave was responsible for finding his own employment and would return a portion of his wages to his owner. Maintenance costs generally were paid by the employer.[91] Charleston gentleman George Seaman specified in his will that his carpenter Jamey was to work out for hire; he could apply his earnings to his own use "if his behavior merits." With hiring practices such as these, a number of slave artisans gained some degree of economic independence as well as a feeling of self-esteem which, for some, no doubt increased the desire for a more permanent type of freedom.[92]

Provisions for Slaves in a Will

Just as George Seaman had provided for carpenter Jamey, other inhabitants of the Charleston District dictated in their own wills their wishes for favored slaves. Henry Slade of Charleston specified that John, son of his old Negro wench Hagar, was to be bound out to the trade of house carpenter at the age of thirteen. John, who was willed

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[90]CGDA, 15 November 1800; CJ, 19 May 1772.

[91]Statutes, 7:363. The text of slave legislation ratified in 1712 suggests that the practice of letting a slave hire himself out was common at that time. In Black Laborers and Black Professionals, p. 151, Perdue notes that these slaves generally paid more than 60 percent of their earnings to their masters.

[92]Char. Co., Will Book, 1767-71, pp. 287-93; Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll, pp. 390-92.

to Slade's wife and upon her death to his son Charles, was to serve an apprenticeship of five years and no longer. Ann Evans of St. Paul's Parish bequeathed Negro boys Archy and Duke to her two sons; she further directed that Archy and Duke should be put to the carpenter's trade "as soon as they are fit to learn." In addition, executors were to purchase a Negro boy to be apprenticed as a carpenter for Evans' son Thomas when he reached the age of ten years old. Two black girls for daughters Susanna and Martha were to be purchased from the estate and bound out to a mistress to learn needle work. George Dick, a mariner of Charleston, directed that his son Alexander was to be apprenticed to a "good" carpenter at the age of fourteen. Alexander's mother, Jenny, was a Negro who had been freed by Dick.[93]

Some masters not only provided an apprenticeship for their slaves but also stipulated that they were to be freed after learning their trade. For example, planter John Paul Cordes specified in his will that his mulatto boy Joe was to be schooled at the expense of the estate until he was fourteen years old. At that time, Joe was to be bound out to the carpenter's trade for six years and then manumitted at the age of twenty-one. Cordes further instructed his executors to purchase another Negro boy of the same size and age to be apprenticed with Joe to the same carpenter. When Joe was freed this second slave

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[93]Char. Co., Will Book, 1780-83, pp. 28-30; Char. Co., Will Book, 1793-1800, pp. 572-74; Char. Co., Will Book, 1771-74, pp. 462-64. In those instances where a master directed his executors to bind out a slave to a home-related industry, the profession specified was always some branch of carpentry. Female slaves were to be trained in the needle arts. Whether or not masters viewed these as optimal trades for slave craftsmen remains a question.

was to become his property. Planter William Williamson of St. Paul's made similar provisions for his mulatto boy Charles, although Charles was to be manumitted first and then apprenticed until he reached the age of twenty. According to the will left by Samuel Kilpatrick of St. Bartholomew's Parish, his Negro girl Haggar was to be given her freedom at the age of sixteen; between the ages of six and ten she was to be apprenticed to a seamstress. Haggar also was to inherit all of Kilpatrick's estate.[94] All of these masters, as well as others who made similar provisions, were careful to ensure that their slaves could earn a livelihood before being freed.

Yet the preface to legislation dealing with the manumission of slaves suggested that this was not always the case:

> It hath been a practice for many years past in this state, for persons to emancipate or set free their slaves, in cases where such slaves have been of bad or depraved character, or, from age or infirmity, incapable of gaining their livelihood by honest means.[95]

From the early years of the province, the South Carolina legislature had set forth strict provisions for manumission. An act ratified in February 1722 directed that slaves who had been freed had to leave the colony within a year or they would be returned to servitude. A later act shortened the slave's departure time to six

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[94]Char. Co., Will Book, 1776-84, pp. 183-86; Char. Co., Will Book, 1783-86, pp. 597-99; Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, pp. 102-3.

[95]Statutes, 7: 442. In a will proved in 1802, factor William Miller of Charleston not only emancipated his carpenter Old York as a reward for faithful service to Miller's deceased mother but also provided that Old York receive £5 per annum for life. See Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, pp. 281-83.

months and stipulated that the slave could not return to the province for a period of seven years if he wished to maintain his freedom.[96] Legislation ratified in December 1800 placed further restrictions on masters who wished to emancipate their slaves. Thereafter, the slaveholder had to signify his intent to a group of five local freeholders, to establish proof of the slave's character, and to attest to the ability of the slave to gain his livelihood "in an honest way." The slave then was awarded a certificate to show that he was capable of self-support. The last part of this act was particularly significant, however, since it stated that no part of the document should be interpreted "to effect or invalidate any disposition by will of persons now deceased."[97]

During the period from 1760 to 1800, several masters specified in their wills that one of their slave craftsmen should be freed. In four notations, the manumission directly involved a slave laboring in the building trades. In August 1763, slave Andrew was promised his freedom provided he would complete the carpenter's work on a storehouse within the next three months. The manumission was carried out by John

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[96]Statutes, 7: 384, 396. Those slaves whose manumission had been approved by both Houses of the Assembly did not have to depart from the province. The second act was ratified in March 1735.

[97]Statutes, 7: 442-43. One explanation for the tightening of the manumission laws may have been the St. Domingo slave uprisings which had begun earlier in the decade. Due to close ties with the West Indies, South Carolinians no doubt were particularly fearful of a black rebellion. See Winthrop D. Jordan, White over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812 (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968), pp. 375-86, 399.

Burne, acting upon the wishes of Andrew's deceased master, Charleston merchant Charles Mayne. Another Charleston merchant, Othniel Beale, directed that his slave Robin, a bricklayer, was to have his freedom and a new suit of clothes two months after his master's decease. Beale specified that if Robin did not desire to be free, he could choose to live with either William Bull or Beale's son John and added, "I desire that he may be kindly used." In a later will, Beale not only provided for Robin's freedom but also bequeathed to him a house and lot.[98] In another instance, planter Thomas Mell of St. Andrew's Parish manumitted his carpenter Isaac, directing his executors to "Warrant and Defend his Freedom to him for ever."[99]

Perhaps the most revealing of all manumission documents is a letter from Henry Laurens to esquire David Ramsay, whom Laurens appointed to be guardian for his carpenter George. Laurens, who specified that his slave was to be called thereafter George Laurens, wrote:

> George The Son of Mr. Beekman's Neptune & Old Lucy belonging to me, Aged the 5th of September 1789. Twenty Six Years, now working for me at the Carpenter's trade, might have had his full freedom some Years since but he would not accept it.
>
> Now I do hereby absolutely Will & Order that at my Death, he shall be manumited & be made a free Man, & that the Executors of my last Will & Testament or Administrators of my Estate do pay to him out of my Estate the Sum of One hundred & twenty Silver Dollars or the full value thereof in the Current Money of this State one half in one Month after my decease the other half in three Months for purchasing Tools & Cloths for himself,

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[98]Misc. Rec., Book MM, 1763-67, pp. 245-46; Char. Co., Will Book, 1771-74, pp. 428-36.

[99]Char. Co., Will Book, 1793-1800, pp. 172-73. Mell's will was proved on December 22, 1794, and the manumission was carried out one year later. See Misc. Rec., Book FFF, 1795-96, p. 309.

> & that he be permited to take away with him such Tools as he may be working with at the time of my decease. Solemnly given under my hand & Seal at Mepkin in the State of South Carolina the 7th July 1790.[100]

Although not all masters chose to manumit their slaves, others expressed their compassion for their tradesmen in a variety of ways. In a will dated October 12, 1803, John Huger of Charleston bequeathed to his wife Ann a number of slaves, including carpenter Ned. Huger requested his heirs "to regard my Negroes as humble friends, and their own fellow Creatures, and to treat them with all the humanity and compassion, and to give them all the indulgence which existing circumstances can admit of." Several masters, such as John Harleston and Dr. James Carson, directed that their slaves, including carpenters, were to be sold in families and not separated.[101] In other cases, concern for the slave seemed to transcend all economic considerations, and although this affection was expressed more privately, it was just as heartfelt. In a diary entry dated May 30, 1799, Charles Drayton simply noted, "My worthy bricklayer Exeter died in the evening."[102] To prepare her husband Ralph for the death of a tradesman, Mrs. Alice Izard wrote from "The Elms" in 1795:

> I have a very disagreable piece of news to send you from Round Savanna. We have lost Davy the Carpenter there, & I would not mention it if I did not think it were better you should know it before you arrive. I am assured that he was taken good care of. Mr. Prior wrote to me that he was very ill; & that he had employed a Physician for him, & Davy sent to desire I would send him a bottle of wine, & some

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[100]Henry Laurens to David Ramsay, 7 July 1790, SCL.

[101]Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, pp. 431-36; Char. Co., Will Book, 1793-1800, pp. 103-14; TMDA, 20 January 1797.

[102]Entry for 30 May 1799, Charles Drayton Diaries, TS, Drayton Hall, Charleston, South Carolina.

> sugar, which I immediately did, & requested that every attention might be paid to him. He died about four days ago. His loss is a severe one.[103]

Although some slave craftsmen were a source of irritation to their owners, others were regarded for more than their economic value. In addition to being a proven source of labor, a number of slaveowners relied on their tradesmen for the performance of any number of tasks, often without white supervision. After examining the numerical data, it becomes evident that the slave artisan was indeed as J. H. Ingraham had observed, "a third arm to every working man."

Free Negroes

There was one additional group comprised of free black craftsmen whose presence or impact on the labor force cannot be overlooked. Population figures for the year 1760 listed only forty free blacks residing in the Charleston District. By 1790, the number had increased to 950; 61.6 percent of these persons lived in the city of Charleston.[104] The free black population in the district further increased by 22 percent in the ten-year period between 1790 and 1800; by the end of the century, a total of 951 were living in Charleston alone.[105] Despite these population figures, only thirteen free blacks

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[103]Mrs. Alice Izard to Ralph Izard, 16 February 1795, Ralph Izard Papers (1765-1955), SCL.

[104]South Carolina, Office of the Public Treasury, General Tax Receipts and Payments, 1761-69, p. 39, SCDAH; U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790, South Carolina (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908).

[105]Marina Wikramanayake, A World in Shadow: The Free Blacks in Antebellum South Carolina (Columbia: University of South Carolina

could be linked directly to the building trades or decorative arts; however, it is suspected that a much larger number actually labored in one of the home-related industries. Unlike whites, free Negroes generally were identified as such in the literature and not by their trades. Unless they advertised in the newspaper or had some type of legal dealings, most remained in the background of colonial society.[106]

Of the thirteen free blacks for whom trades could be ascertained, seven were noted as carpenters, two as house carpenters, two more as carpenters and joiners, and one was a bricklayer; one mulatto worked as a cabinetmaker. In addition, one reference was to mulatto carpenter John Thompson, who lived in Charleston just prior to the period under study; a second reference identified mulatto jobbing carpenter James Stewart as an indentured servant who had run away from his master in 1796.[107] In no case was an age range indicated for any of these free blacks; however, of the thirteen tradesmen, ten were

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Press, 1973), p. 22. For an overview of Charleston's free black population, see E. Horace Fitchett, "The Traditions of the Free Negro in Charleston, South Carolina," Journal of Negro History 25 (April 1940): 139-52.

[106]On November 1, 1790, however, a social and status group called the Brown Fellowship Society was formed by those of mixed Caucasian, Negro, and Indian blood. Unfortunately the membership roster does not list occupations. Among the goals of the group was education for children, assistance to orphans and widows, and the provision of burial grounds. In later years, the name was changed to the Century Fellowship Society. Brown Fellowship Society (1790-1911), SCL. See also Fitchett, "Traditions of the Free Negro," p. 144.

[107]Misc. Rec., Book LL, 1758-63, p. 177; TMDA, 27 October 1796. On June 5, 1759, John Thompson manumitted his slave Tony, of unknown occupation.

identified as Negroes and the remaining three as mulattoes. Furthermore, only two of these free tradesmen lived outside of the city of Charleston. Carpenter Alexander Gowen resided in St. Bartholomew's Parish; William Johnson, who followed the same trade, lived in St. James' Goose Creek.[108]

Just how successful these free blacks were remains a question worthy of further study. In his will dated June 27, 1791, black house carpenter Richard Peronneau indicated that he owned land in both St. James' Santee and on Harleston Green.[109] Free mulatto house carpenter and joiner John Williams advertised that he owned two lots on Ellery Street as well as 400 acres on the Santee River, with a warrant for an adjoining 200 acres; he added that he had recently met with some discouragements and was intending to depart from the province.[110] On the other hand, black carpenter Andrew Johnston, who was "well known about Charlestown," was detained in the gaol for a debt which he owed. Likewise, carpenter Robert Baldwin was summoned to court by Thomas Bennett for failure to pay for lumber which he had

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[108]SCAGG, 9 September 1774; Misc. Rec., Book QQ, 1773-89, p. 290. The advertisement in which Alexander Gowen is mentioned states that Gowen had sold his slave Primus to Mrs. Elizabeth Wise. It is likely that Gowen was the tradesman under whom Primus had served his apprenticeship.

[109]Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, p. 587. Peronneau's will was proved on July 11, 1791. See also Deeds, Vol. E-5, 1781-82, pp. 129-32. In SCG, 3 October 1771, Peronneau announced that his wife had eloped.

[110]SCG, 13 August 1763.

purchased.[111] Emanuel Abrahams of King Street posted a public notice to warn persons not to purchase land and tenements on Guignard Street from free mulatto John Gough, a cabinetmaker, because they were under lease to the subscriber.[112] Another "free man of colour," bricklayer Thomas Cole, was summoned to court for his financial difficulties in 1788.[113] Thus although the majority of free artisans who were identified were involved in some type of financial difficulties or legal proceedings, others undoubtedly carried on their trade and supported themselves without drawing public attention.

The dearth of information concerning free blacks leaves many questions unanswered. For the small number who were identified, a majority worked as carpenters; one fellow had been trained as a bricklayer and another as a cabinetmaker. When compared with both the

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[111] SCG, 8 December 1766; CTD, CCP, Petitions and Decrees, 1800, #44A. In another case, however, free Negro carpenter and joiner Peter Johnson of Charleston took free mulatto John Gorden to court for failure to pay for carpenter's work done in 1768. The occupation of Gorden has not been determined. CCP, JR, Box 83A, 1769, #126A.

[112] SCWG, 1 March 1783. This may be the same John Gough who was freed by spinster Elizabeth Akin of Charleston in a will proved September 23, 1763. Gough was to remain in servitude until he had paid the executors of the estate £250, at which time £50 was to be returned to him "to Enable him to purchase Tools that he may get his Livelyhood by his Trade." This trade was never noted specifically. Char. Co., Will Book, 1767-71, pp. 67-69. A John Gough was also admitted to the Brown Fellowship Society in 1790. See Brown Fellowship Society (1790-1911), SCL.

[113] It is believed, however, that Cole did own some property. See Deeds, Vol. S-5, 1785, pp. 347-50; PA, 2 August 1785. On January 7, 1791, he presented a petition to the South Carolina Senate that free blacks be given equal rights, including trial by jury and proportionate property taxes; six days later his request was denied. South Carolina, General Assembly Legislative Petition, 1791-181-01, SCDAH.

numbers of slaves and whites laboring in identical trades, the demand for these skills in the low country appears to have been sufficient to ensure the free black a means of earning his livelihood. Since the work of most of these men will remain anonymous, their exact contribution probably can never be measured. Yet these free tradesmen were among those, both black and white, who labored to build the Charleston District, and the environment which they created is worthy of further study.

CHAPTER III

"THE MODES OF LIVING"

> It is of all the Southern Provinces the most considerable, on account of the Number of Inhabitants, the quantity and the variety of its productions and Exports, and the good condition of its Inhabitants. There seems in general to be but two Classes of people--the planters who are the proprietors, and the merchants who purchase and ship the produce.[1]
>
> Lord Adam Gordon, December 8, 1764

Numerous travelers throughout the eighteenth century pictured South Carolina as the most flourishing colony in the South. Charleston, in particular, was noted for its gay social life, its balls, theater, and concerts. Londoners were drawn by its fine reputation,[2] as were colonists from many other European countries. Included among these settlers were Scots, French, Irish, and Germans; others came from the West Indies. Yet the majority came in search of opportunity, and by combining their nationalistic elements with those produced by local conditions, these people helped to create a truly cosmopolitan society.

In describing the classes of people who inhabited South Carolina, Lord Gordon overlooked one large and significant group. This was, of course, the slave population. His oversight is not surprising, however, since slaves were viewed as chattels and not as

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[1]Quoted in Newton D. Mereness, ed., Travels in the American Colonies (New York: Macmillan Co., 1916), p. 397.

[2]Frederick P. Bowes, The Culture of Early Charleston (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942), p. 8.

contributing members of society. Yet it was slave labor which enabled many to achieve the quality of life they so desired. Slaves who were imported directly from Africa brought with them a high degree of skill and creativity. Once in this country, those bound out for apprenticeship or otherwise taught a trade assimilated many European production techniques and ideas. Thus despite a large black population in South Carolina, few Africanisms were exhibited in the articles made for a white society.[3] In turn, the stylistic trends in architecture and the decorative arts for this society were dictated for the most part by prevailing European fashion. To understand more fully the black experience, therefore, it is necessary to examine the environment in which they worked.

The earliest settlers faced numerous obstacles, including hostile Indians, the weather, and disease. With survival of upmost importance, Charleston during the seventeenth century had no pretensions of becoming the most noted city in the South. However, early in the eighteenth century, that image of the frontier town began to disappear. The successful cultivation of rice led to the rise of a planter aristocracy; and with the development of a healthy volume of trade with England, the Charleston merchants became an equally wealthy and influential group. Many merchants were involved not only

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[3]A greater degree of African expression can be found in the items which blacks made for their own personal use. For an excellent overview of this subject, see Vlach, Afro-American Tradition. See also Chase, Afro-American Art and Craft, pp. 14-16.

in the importation of material goods but also in the lucrative slave trade.[4]

John Drayton wrote of this upper-class society in his history of South Carolina published in 1802:

> Among the richer part of the community of this state, the modes of living are similar to those of the same rank in European nations. Like them, they enter into the change of fashions; perhaps directed by many of their whims, and influenced by many of their follies. Their equipages are costly and numerous, their servants many; and hospitality, throughout the state, is known to be a national virtue.[5]

Yet despite Drayton's remarks, it is important to note that a sizeable percentage of the aristocracy of early Carolina had middle-class origins.

Many of the settlers carried with them the ideal of the English country gentleman which, in turn, set a precedent for large estates. Land ownership was a symbol of the upper class in England, and land was relatively easy to obtain in the colonies. Practices which had their origin in medieval influences also led to the acquisition of large estates. The colonists' concept of feudal society transmitted with it the idea of class distinction.[6] Thus land ownership brought

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[4]Maurice A. Crouse, "Gabriel Manigault: Charleston Merchant," SCHM 68 (October 1967): 220-31; W. Robert Higgins, "Charles Town Merchants and Factors Dealing in the External Negro Trade, 1735-1775," SCHM 65 (October 1964): 205-17; George C. Rogers, Jr., Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969).

[5]John Drayton, A View of South Carolina, As Respects Her Natural and Civil Concerns (1802; rpt. Spartanburg, S.C.: Reprint Co., 1972), p. 221.

[6]Leila Sellers, Charleston Business on the Eve of the American Revolution (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934), p. 87.

with it a feeling of status; an accompanying feeling of power was heightened by the procurement of slaves. Historian Rosser H. Taylor suggests that the "four pillars of the social order in South Carolina were ancestors, possessions, occupations and education." Of these, education, land, and Negroes were the most influential in elevating one's social status.[7] It was classical literature, in particular, which provided a set of ideals regarding the character and conduct of the gentry.[8]

South Carolina was unique in that many of its citizens enjoyed an urban as well as a rural environment. The province was unlike its northern neighbor Virginia in that one city, Charleston, was the center for both agrarian and mercantile interests.[9] The unhealthy climate in the country during the summer months further elevated the importance of Charleston since planters and their families moved to their city homes to avoid sickness and heat. Thus a considerable number of South Carolinians owned two or more homes. To furnish and maintain these homes, it was only natural that a large volume of direct trade would develop between the colonists and Great Britain. Staple crops were exported from the province in return for all manner of

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[7]Rosser H. Taylor, Ante-Bellum South Carolina: A Social and Cultural History (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942), p. 7.

[8]See W. Lee Ustick, "Changing Ideals of Aristocratic Character and Conduct in Seventeenth-Century England," Modern Philology 30 (1932-33): 147-66.

[9]See Thomas J. Wertenbaker, The Old South: The Founding of American Civilization (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1963), p. 14.

goods from Europe. Commenting on Carolina society as a whole in the year 1779, Alexander Hewatt wrote:

> Their intercourse and communication with Britain being easy and frequent, all novelties in fashion, dress and ornament are quickly introduced; and even the spirit of luxury and extravagance, too common in England, was beginning to creep into Carolina.[10]

Several years later another traveler, Johann Schoepf, made a similar observation: "Luxury in Carolina has made the greatest advance, and their manner of life, dress, equipages, furniture, everything denotes a higher degree of taste and love of show, and less frugality than in the northern provinces."[11]

In addition to trade, religion and the practice of acquiring an education abroad further strengthened the union between Charleston and England. Historian Frederick P. Bowes has theorized that "The establishing by law of the Church of England in 1706, though motivated by political reasons, gave a certain impetus to the intellectual life of the community and opened a channel for the transmission of English culture to the province."[12] Charleston did, in fact, seek to emulate London society in every possible way. Even the Revolutionary War could not break the city of the habit of relying on England for guidance in cultural matters. Whether in furnishings, architecture, or the decorative arts, the imprint of England can be seen.

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[10]Hewatt, An Historical Account, 2: 293-94.

[11]Schoepf, Travels in the Confederation, 2: 168.

[12]Bowes, Culture of Early Charleston, p. 5.

To aid the colonists in achieving the latest style, a number of design books were imported from England. An advertisement in the South Carolina and American General Gazette in 1766, for example, offered for sale Chippendale's Gentleman and Cabinet-maker's Director and The Universal System of Household Furniture by William Ince and John Mayhew.[13] Stylistic characteristics of early Georgian architecture were adopted by the colonists from books such as those written by Batty Langley and Abraham Swan. Swan's Designs in Architecture was advertised for sale by stationer Robert Wells in 1769 along with the Modern Builder by Roger Morris and John Crunden's Convenient and Ornamental Architecture, first published in England in 1768. One of the most extensive listings of architectural and design books offered for sale at Robert Wells' Stationery and Book Store appeared in 1772. Included in the advertisement were Palladio's Elements of Architecture; the "very scarce" VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS or the British Architect; William Pain's The Builder's Companion, and Workman's General Assistant; The Carpenter's Complete Instructor and The British Architect, both by Abraham Swan; Matthew Darly's The Ornamental Architect; Decker's Chinese Architecture; and the books by Thomas Chippendale and Ince and Mayhew.[14]

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[13]SCAGG, 18 July 1766. The Chippendale style was popular in America ca. 1755-90. The third edition of Chippendale's Director was published in 1762; Ince and Mayhew's publication, considered more of a trade catalog, was issued between 1759 and 1763. See also CJ, 23 June 1767.

[14]SCAGG, 24 July 1769, 30 March 1772. For a discussion of the way these design sources may have influenced Charleston architecture, see Caroline Wyche Dixon, "The Miles Brewton House: Ezra Waite's Architectural Books and Other Possible Design Sources," SCHM 82 (April 1981): 118-42.

With inspiration from design sources such as these, the Charleston of the 1760s was decidedly Georgian in character. A "Correspondent who is well acquainted with that Part of the World" published a "new" description in 1762:

> The bay or front of Charles-Town exhibits a much finer prospect than any of his Majesty's colonies in America. It presents to the view 80 or 90 large and mostly brick houses (which is a great number for one street in an infant colony) built in a strait line, and as even in height as possible, (considering they were built at different times) being two stories high, and in the modern taste, with handsome Chinese balconies. Nor is this the only beauty of the city, for it is laid down on an excellent plan, the streets being wide and beautiful, and every way consistent with its elegant prospect.
>
> It contains upwards of 2000 houses, chiefly brick, (the building of wooden houses being prevented by act of assembly) which are finished in an elegant, handsome, and commodious manner, having plenty of yard-room, and good gardens, with kitchens and offices built separately from them.[15]

A similar view was provided almost twenty years later, ca. 1780, by a Hessian officer serving in the British army:

> The city itself (including the burnt buildings) consists of 1,020 houses, which are built along broad unpaved streets intersecting one another at right angles, each house having a garden and standing twenty to one hundred paces from any other. The warm climate makes the open spaces necessary. They permit the cool breezes to play through the city. . . . Broad Street is the most beautiful street. It is 100 feet wide . . . and extends from the Cooper to the Ashley, dividing the city into two parts. . . . No other American city can compare with Charleston in the beauty of its houses and the splendour and taste displayed therein. The rapid ascendancy of families which in less than ten years have risen from the lowest rank, have acquired upward of £100,000, and have moreover, gained this wealth in a simple and easy manner, probably contributed a good deal toward the grandiose display of splendour, debauchery, Luxury, and extravagance in so short a time.[16]

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[15]The Universal Museum 1 (August 1762): 435.

[16]Quoted in Harriet P. Simons and Albert Simons, "The William Burrows House of Charleston," Winterthur Portfolio 3, ed. Milo M. Naeve (Winterthur, Del.: Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum, 1967), p. 178.

The captain of a man of war, penning "A Description of Charles Town in 1769," offers a skeptical viewpoint:

Black & white all mix'd together,
Inconstant, strange, unhealthful Weather
Burning heat & chilling cold
Dangerous both to young & old
Boisterous winds & heavy rains
Fevers & rhumatic pains
Agues plenty without doubt
Sores, Boils, the Prickly Heat & Gout
Musquitos on the Skin make blotches
Centipedes & large Cock-roaches
Frightful creatures in the Waters
Porpoises, sharks & aligators
Houses built on barren Land
No Lamps or Lights, but streets of sand
Pleasant Walks, if you can find 'em
Scandalous Tongues, if any mind 'em
The Markets dear & Little money
Large Potatoes, sweet as honey
Water bad, & past all drinking
Men & Women without thinking
Every thing at a high price
But Rum, Hominy & Rice
Many a Widow not unwilling
Many a Beau not worth a shilling
Many a Bargain, if you strike it,
This is Charles-town, how do you Like it.[17]

Despite an architectural style that was predominantly English, the dwellings were further influenced by climate, building materials, available labor, and the lifestyle of the inhabitants. In the early years, frame construction predominated since it was cooler than brick and more readily available; however a series of fires in 1698, 1699, 1700, 1731, and 1740 led to legislation requiring all houses to be constructed of brick.[18] The fire in 1731 destroyed most of the town,

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[17]Capt. Martin, "A Description of Charles Town in 1769," SCL.

[18]Alice R. Smith and D. E. Smith, The Dwelling Houses of Charleston, South Carolina (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1917), p. 32; SCG, 25 December 1740.

and 334 dwellings were lost in 1740. In addition, hurricanes proved a constant threat.[19] As a result of these disasters, Charlestonians were forced to rebuild their city continually, and they could do so in the latest architectural style.

After around 1760, the houses were generally of larger dimensions and increased attention was given to detail. From the West Indians, the Charlestonians had learned to adapt their homes to the climate. The first level of the house was raised above grade due to a desire for coolness and in an attempt to prevent flooding from storm tides. To catch prevailing breezes, the drawing room was placed on the second floor, and piazzas were used to shade the house from the afternoon sun.[20] Duke De La Rochefoucault Liancourt commented on these architectural adaptations to the climate when touring Charleston in 1796:

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[19]Carl Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1742 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), pp. 371-72. See also David M. Ludlum, Early American Hurricanes, 1492-1870 (Boston: American Meteorological Society, 1963), pp. 41-52.

[20]Taylor, Ante-Bellum South Carolina, p. 35; Albert Simons and Samuel Lapham, Jr., eds., The Early Architecture of Charleston, 2nd ed. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1970), p. 22. See also Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952). In "African Contributions to the New World," Landscape 21 (Autumn 1976): 12, Carl Anthony traces the origin of the piazza back to forms used in the Caribbean islands. He further claims that the veranda is indigenous to the West African rain forest and suggests that the concept could have been brought by slaves imported to the West Indies. On the other hand, historian Gene Waddell argues that piazzas were introduced into Charleston architecture too late to have been a West Indian or European concept. Gene Waddell, "The Charleston Single House: An Architectural Survey," Preservation Progress 22 (March 1977): 5.

> Many of the houses which they [the British during the Revolution] destroyed were of wood; and, instead of those, brick houses have been since erected. Still, however, some of the more opulent inhabitants prefer wooden houses, which they believe to be a good deal cooler than those which are of brick. Every thing peculiar to the buildings of this place is formed to moderate the excessive heats; the windows are open, the doors pass through both sides of the houses. . . . Large galleries are formed to shelter the upper part of the house from the force of the sun's rays; and only the cooling north-east wind is admitted to blow through the rooms. In Charlestown persons vie with one another, not who shall have the finest, but who the coolest house.[21]

The majority of the dwellings were generally one of two types--the single house or the double house. The single house consisted of two or more stories but was only one room wide. A central stair hall separated the two rooms on each floor. In most single houses, the gable end faced the street, with a piazza running the length of the house and the entrance opening directly into the hall. In contrast, the double house was entered directly from the street.[22]

Further descriptions of low-country dwellings are provided by eighteenth-century Charleston newspapers. In 1770, for example, coach-maker Richard Hart advertised "A Neat finished house, and lot in Queen-street,"

> the house is about twenty-four feet in front, and thirty-six feet in depth, with a good dry cellar under it, has six good rooms in it, and several closets and buffets neatly finished; four of the rooms is papered and wainscoted the height of a chair; the chimney piece is tiled with copper plate printed tiles: There is also a good kitchen, chairhouse, and stable,

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[21]La Rochefoucault Liancourt, Travels, 1: 556.

[22]Examples of both of these types of houses were built up until the Civil War. Simons and Lapham, Early Architecture, p. 22; Waddell, "Charleston Single House," pp. 4-8.

> all in good repair, and a good well with excellent water, which has been finished about fifteen months.[23]

Although English Georgian architecture predominated before the war, the Adam style became prevalent after the Revolution. Emphasis was now on grace and lightness, moldings were reduced in scale, and classical motifs assumed a new importance. Both the exteriors and interiors of many Charleston homes reflect this post-war style.

For those living on plantations, the marketing of crops and purchase of goods as well as the climate in most cases necessitated Charleston connections. Yet life was undoubtedly lonely due not only to the geographical isolation but also to the fact that many plantations developed some degree of self-sufficiency. Once again, newspaper advertisements provide some insight. James Keith advertised the sale of the following plantation due to his poor state of health:

> On WAMPEE are a good dwelling-house, kitchen, and wash-house, dairy and store-house, chair house, stable, corn-house, fowl-house, smith's shop, carpenter's shop, all built within these seven years: also a barn sixty eight feet by forty-six, four years old, with a pounding machine that has, and will now, beat 3400 lb. of Rice a day, one year old; a cart-house thirty feet by twenty, one year old: Likewise two straw houses, and negro houses sufficient to accommodate seventy slaves; a very good garden poled in, in the best manner. The buildings are all of the best stuff, and were erected without any prospect of ever selling them.[24]

One of the primary ways to break the monotony was to entertain or to visit friends. Some of these sojourns might last from several

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[23]CJ, 30 January 1770.

[24]SCAGG, 23 September 1768. For another example, see SCG, 31 October 1774.

weeks or even months.[25] For this reason it would seem logical that the plantation house would take on increased importance as a social environment. Data extracted from a number of sources, including inventories, wills, and advertisements, indicate a high level of living, with life in the country assuming the same degree of comfort and style as that in the city.[26]

Aside from what is revealed in estate inventories, it is difficult to determine the manner in which the less affluent lived outside of Charleston. Many of these smaller farmers were forced out of necessity to become the proverbial "jack of all trades" or to hire an itinerant craftsman to construct their dwellings and furnishings. Planter Charles Fauchereaud of St. James' Goose Creek provides one clue to this vernacular style of architecture in his will. Dated October 22, 1765, this document manumitted his mulatto girl Sally and provided that she be paid annually the sum of £80 current money during her natural life and given ten acres. Fauchereaud further directed his executor to "build thereon a good House upon Sils with Two Bed Chambers and a Hall a Brick Chimney at each end of same to be lathed and plastered and Sufficient Locks Hinges and hooks be put to the Doors

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[25]Julia C. Spruill, Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938), p. 105. For one description of plantation life see John Christie Dann, "Low-Country Planter Society in Colonial South Carolina" (M.A. Thesis, College of William and Mary, 1970).

[26]See, for example, the inventory of esquire James Parsons in Charleston Inventory Book BB, 1776-84, pp. 190-201. See also Samuel Gaillard Stoney, The Plantations of the Carolina Low-Country, eds. Albert Simons and Samuel Lapham (Charleston: Carolina Art Association, 1955).

and Windows." Finally, the planter bequeathed to Sally a feather bed, mattress, two pairs of sheets, and two pairs of duffle blankets.[27]

A list of the household effects of Ann Burt, a "sole trader" and wife of William Burt, provided a marked contrast. An inventory, taken January 9, 1792, exemplifies the types of items which might be found in a Carolina household:

Linens

diaper table cloths
damask napkins
12 huckabeck towels
12 oznaburg towels
1 large carpet
3 bed side carpets
1 doz. pair sheets and pillow cases
5 pavillions
1 suit bed curtains
1 pair large rose blankets
8 small rose blankets
2 odd window curtains
2 white counterpains
2 chintz counterpains

Metals

1 fire grate, fender, tongs
1 brass dog
1 pair small brass dogs
13 silver table spoons
11 silver tea spoons
2 silver milk pots
1 doz. ivory handle knives & forks
brass candle sticks
pots, pans
kitchen utensils

Furniture

2 looking glasses
2 dressing glasses
2 dining tables
1 side board
1 pair card tables
1 table with mahogany top
1 doz. green chairs
6 green arm chairs
1 easy chair
1 corner chair
2 straw bottomed chairs
one chamber chair with stuff'd back
1 double chest of drawers
1 single chest of drawers
2 large mahogany bedsteads
2 camp bed steads
2 large mattresses; 2 small

China

2 doz. china plates
nankeen tea set
1 doz. wine glasses
1 pr. glass candle sticks
1 set Queen's ware including 5 doz. plates
1 lot yellow ware[28]

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[27]Char. Co., Will Book, 1767-71, pp. 136-38. Fauchereaud's will was proved on May 30, 1766.

[28]Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, pp. 645-77. This will was proved on April 13, 1792. "Sole traders" were persons authorized to

Just how many of these items were made by Charleston craftsmen with the help of slave artisans is, of course, unknown. However, in their quest to emulate London society, members of the aristocracy undoubtedly imported some of their household goods from Europe. The continental origin of the furnishings belonging to Sir Egerton Leigh, Attorney General and President of His Majesty's Council in the Province of South Carolina, is unquestionable. Because he was leaving the province, these goods were offered for sale in June 1774:

> All his valuable Furniture, Books, Plate, Pictures, China and other Effects.--The Furniture consists of elegant white and Gold Cabriole Sophas and Chairs, covered with blue and white Silk, Window Curtains to match; one other Set of Sophas and Chairs, covered with black and yellow Figures of Nuns work in Silk, inlaid Commodes, Card Tables, Several Suits of handsome Chintz Cotton Window Curtains lined and ornamented with Silk Fringe and Tassels, a complete Set of Chintz Cotton Bed Curtains, a curious and superbe India Cabinet, a Rose Wood Desk and Book Case with Chinese Paintings on Glass very masterly executed, Carpets, Beds, Bedsteads, Toutenag Grates, & c.
>
> ALSO,
>
> An elegant large Six-stop ORGAN, with Ten Barrels, containing near Four Score of the most approved Tunes, . . . a fine musical clock, by Ellicott, mounted in Or Molu. . . .
>
> The Paintings are by some of the first Masters, viz. Paul Veronese, Carladelsci, Jordano, Ghisoli, Corregio, and Guido: There are also several excellent Miniatures Pictures, particularly one of Queen Elizabeth, done in the year 1574, besides many other curious and ornamental Pieces.[29]

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conduct business on their own; most were women who acted independently of their husbands. In his reply to whether household goods could be found in Carolina, Johann Martin Bolzius wrote in 1751: "The fewer such space-requiring and breakable household goods one takes across the sea, the better it is. Everything is to be found here for reasonable money." Bolzius did note that paintings, rare china and glass dishes should be brought from Europe and that "large mirrors are better bought in London." "Bolzius Questionnaire," 14: 247.

[29]SCG, 6 June 1774. According to Burton, Charleston Furniture, p. 15, the French influence in furnishings was strongest at the end of

The accumulation of wealth brought about by a plantation society and the resultant high volume of trade with Great Britain did much to stifle the development of industry on the local level. On his list of items imported into the colony from England in 1761, Governor James Glen noted among other things, all types of cloth, laces, clothing, china, watches, household utensils, books, furniture, gunpowder, and medicines.[30] Pelatiah Webster, who journeyed to Charleston in 1765, commented in his journal on May 27: "They . . . have very few mechanic arts of any sort, & very great quantities of mechanic utensils are imported from England & the North^{d} Colonies."[31]

Two other contemporaries confirmed the observations of Glen and Webster a number of years later. Timothy Ford wrote:

> As might naturally be supposed arts & manufactures have but little cultivation & of course no great existance here. . . . Tney import from the northern states what might as well be produced in their own country if they would only use the necessary industry and application.[32]

Another South Carolinian, John Drayton, recollected that "so far as relates to manufactures in general, the inhabitants of this

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the eighteenth century. For a letter discussing the importation of French furniture, see Mary Pinckney to Mrs. Manigault, 28 May 1798, Manigault Family Papers (1750-1900), SCL.

[30]Chapman J. Milling, ed., Colonial South Carolina: Two Contemporary Descriptions (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1951), pp. 53-55.

[31]T. P. Harrison, ed., Journal of a Voyage to Charlestown in South Carolina By Pelatiah Webster in 1765 (Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 1898), p. 5.

[32]"Diary of Timothy Ford," pp. 132-47.

state find it more convenient to import them from foreign countries, than to produce them by their own labour."[33]

In response to the demand for European goods, the legislature placed duties on all items imported into South Carolina. In 1782, for example, a duty of 5 percent, ad valorem, was levied on all foreign goods with the exception of arms, ammunition, clothing, and salt. "For the encouragement and protection of manufactures," duties were raised in 1790 to 12-1/2 percent, ad valorem, on all chinaware, looking glasses and window glass, and 10 percent on earthenware, clocks, marble, slate, brick, and tiles. Cabinet wares, paper hangings, silver and plated ware, tin, pewter, and carpets were taxed at 7-1/2 percent, ad valorem. However, the household furniture brought by people coming to reside in the United States was not subject to tax.[34]

Throughout the period from 1760 to 1800, candles, wrought copper and brass, pewter, tin, glass, and earthenware were among the principal exports from England, as well as all types of textiles including cottons, woolens, carpets, rugs, and coverlets.[35] Fabrics

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[33]Drayton, View of South Carolina, pp. 149-50.

[34]Statutes, 4: 512; CGDA, 18 June 1789; Jacob Milligan, The Charleston Directory and Revenue System of the United States (Charleston: T. B. Bowen, 1790). For an interesting list of household goods shipped to Thomas Hutchinson by Joseph Lewis of London in 1783, see CCP, JR, CTD, 1793, #253A.

[35]T. S. Ashton, Foreword to English Overseas Trade Statistics, 1697-1808, by Elizabeth B. Schumpeter (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960), pp. 12, 22, 35-39.

mentioned in Charleston inventories include damask, India chintz, calico, linen, and copperplate prints. The 1764 inventory of the estate of esquire John Guerard indicates that he owned six red silk damask covers for chairs; a suit of red and white copperplate curtains and a chair cover were listed among the possessions of esquire Isaac Mazyck.[36] Wilton, Scotch, and turkey carpets as well as painted floor cloths also appear to be low-country favorites. Newspaper advertisements supply information as to the types of goods being imported. In 1792, for example, George Wagner advertised the following for sale at his store at No. 85, Broad Street: a variety of copperplate cottons and callicoes from 1s. 6d. to 4s. / yd.; furniture cotton and chintz, 4-4, 5-4, 6-4; bed tick, dowlas, brown holland, and clouting diaper at 3-4, 6-4, 8-4; damask table cloths, 4-4, 10-4, 12-4; and cotton counterpanes.[37] Most of these imports were purchased by the city consumer and the planter; those of lesser economic means were dependent on home manufactures.

Even when goods were crafted in South Carolina, it was not uncommon to see them advertised as being in the "latest or newest style," that of England or the continent. One such example was published in the South Carolina and American General Gazette on February 27, 1767:

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[36]Charleston Inventory Book W, 1763-67, p. 110; Charleston Inventory Book A, 1783-87, p. 383.

[37]CGDA, 9 November 1792. Dowlas was a coarse, half-bleached linen fabric used for both household and apparel purposes. Isabel B. Wingate, ed., Fairchild's Dictionary of Textiles (New York: Fairchild, 1974), p. 193.

> THOMAS FLERE AND CHARLES HARRIS, (Just arrived from London) Have opened a shop in Broad-street, next door to Mr. Gottier's, where they make Silver waiters, candle-sticks, bottle stands, dish stands, new fashioned salts, pepper castors, ink stands, spoons, & c., or any work in Gold or Silver in the newest London fashion, as good and cheaper than can be imported from any part of Great-Britain.

Despite the low country's dependence on British trade, there were a number of factors which stimulated increased home manufactures. The high cost of imported goods necessitated the local manufacture of items which could be afforded by local citizens. These articles would be crafted in the latest London style in an effort to attract buyers from all economic levels.[38] Bounties offered by the colonial legislature were another factor which stimulated the increase of home production. In March 1737, for example, an act was passed to encourage the manufacture of silk. John Lewis Poyas was brought from London to instruct the inhabitants of the province in production methods; no more than six Negroes were to be employed in the work. A bounty to stimulate the manufacture of linen and thread was passed in 1770; repealed eight years later, it was no longer necessary due to "the great increase and flourishing condition of the manufactures of this state."[39]

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[38]The Day Book of cabinetmaker Thomas Elfe, for example, reveals that he sold a variety of furnishings to a broad cross-section of Charleston society. For an analysis of his customers, see John Christian Kolbe, "Thomas Elfe, Eighteenth Century Charleston Cabinetmaker" (M. A. Thesis, University of South Carolina, 1980), pp. 45-57.

[39]Statutes, 6: 622-25; 4: 315-17, 428. Many of these bounties were promoted because the end product would be useful to British manufacturers.

One of the most significant factors encouraging home manufactures was the political atmosphere prior to the American Revolution. South Carolinians, as well as other colonists, viewed the passage of both the Stamp Act and the Townshend Act with great alarm. With the enactment of the Stamp Act in 1765, Parliament for the first time was attempting to impose a direct internal tax; American reaction was both swift and effective. Although the Stamp Act was later repealed, in part due to a boycott against the importation of British goods, the passage of the Townshend Revenue Act soon followed in July 1767. The latter was of particular concern to colonial craftsmen such as painters, glaziers, cabinetmakers, and carpenters because it included an external tax on painters' colors, white lead, and all types of glass. Once again, the colonies responded by placing a ban on British imports. In South Carolina, this boycott took effect in July 1769, with the importation of Negroes prohibited after January 1, 1770. John Drayton took note of these events in a letter dated July 3, 1769: "All ranks of People are now forming themselves into an association & agreement by subscription not to Import or purchase any British commodities excepting a very few articles which are indispensably necessary for our trade."[40] It is significant that Charleston's artisans were instrumental in the passage of this piece of legislation for two reasons. First, they hoped that

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[40]John Drayton to John Glen, 3 July 1769, John Glen Papers (1738-1777), SCL. Among items not included in the boycott were plantation and workmen's tools, nails, wool cards, and printed books.

the lack of competition from English goods would stimulate their own business; secondly, the prohibition on slave imports would help lessen the ever-present competition from slave labor.[41]

As the craftsmen had hoped, the boycott served as a stimulus for some home manufactures such as textiles. A letter dated November 1768 from Charleston which appeared in the Boston Chronicle on December 12, 1768, reported: "We are informed, the quantity of Hemp made last year is nearly double this; that the inhabitants now manufacture most of their linens (such as cost in England from 12 to 18d. a yard) Linsey-Woolsey, and even coarse cloths." In the same issue of the South Carolina Gazette in which the boycott was announced, chair-maker Joshua Eden advertised that he was now in the business of making spinning wheels, "an instrument absolutely necessary for all families who intend to manufacture for themselves or for others." Eden added that since "it is the first Proposal of this kind in THIS province, [he] hopes to meet with suitable encouragement."[42]

On the other hand, a number of craftsmen were hurt by the passage of this legislation. Because of the high rate of taxation and the decrease in paper money which was due partly to an overextension of credit in the slave trade by planters, many were not paid for their services. Some were forced to accept produce in return for their goods and services; others, including painter Benjamin Hawes, were declared

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[41]SCG, 6 July 1769; Walsh, Sons of Liberty, pp. 49-51.

[42]Quoted in Rolla Milton Tryon, Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640-1860 (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1966), pp. 109-10; SCG, 6 July 1769.

insolvent.[43] Money troubles continued to plague some craftsmen, for in 1774, cabinetmaker Richard Magrath advertised that he was declining business "owing to the Scarcity of Cash, which renders him incapable of carrying on his Business with that Spirit he would wish to do"; among the items he offered for sale was a young fellow brought up to the business. Even this move must have proven difficult, for the following year Magrath was forced to advertise that he was continuing in business "as the Times do not admit of his settling his affairs."[44] Despite all efforts to stimulate home manufactures, British goods once again flooded the market after the repeal of the Townshend Act in December 1770.

As with any war, the Revolutionary years which followed imposed particular hardships on all segments of the low-country population. Between 1779 and 1782, South Carolina was virtually under British control; many plantations were plundered and reduced to a state of ruin. In a letter from Thomas Pinckney to Eliza Lucas Pinckney dated May 17, 1779, the writer tells of the destruction of the plantation at Ashepoo:

> They took with them 19 Negroes among whom were Betty Prince & Chance & all the handy Boys but left the women with Child or young Children & about 5 Fellows, who are now perfectly free & live upon the best produce of the Plantation. They took with them all the Horses they could find, burnt the dwelling House & books destroyed all the Furniture China & c. killed the sheep & Poultry and drank the Liquors.[45]

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[43]Walsh, Sons of Liberty, pp. 41-42; CJ, 25 March 1766; SCAGG, 11 July 1770. The Walsh reference also details the financial problems of blacksmith Tunis Tebout.

[44]SCG, 17 October 1774, 13 March 1775.

[45]Thomas Pinckney to Eliza Lucas Pinckney, 17 May 1779, Pinckney Family Papers (1708-1878), SCHS.

In another account of the losses sustained by William Gibbes when General Prevost set up quarters at Gibbes' John's Island plantation in June 1779, the following items were noted:

linens, table and tea china	
18 Negroes @ 40/pr. head	£720.0.0
household and kitchen furn. (in town)	100.0.0
Hannah a young Mulatto woman a very fine Seamptress, & her Daughter Amey about 5 years old	150.0.0
For damage done to house and stores to repair . . . at least	200.0.0[46]

The British took a large number of slaves from the state during their occupation of Charleston--perhaps as many as 25,000. Many made themselves available to the British in the hopes of gaining their freedom; and since slaves were in demand in the West Indies, the British, in turn, viewed this as a money-making scheme. John Ball, for one, lost forty-five slaves from his Kensington Plantation when they ran off with the British army in 1780.[47] Bricklayer Titus was among the slave craftsmen who deserted their owners. Yet despite his attempt at freedom, Titus was returned to his master, Alexander Garden of Charleston, by order of General Henry Clinton in 1780.[48]

Despite the war, other slaves remained remarkably loyal to their owners. In advertising the sale of a house carpenter in 1781, Edward Oats remarked that the slave had "never absented himself from his

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[46]William Gibbes, 18 November 1782, Charleston Library Society, Charleston, South Carolina.

[47]Alexander R. Stoesen, "The British Occupation of Charleston, 1780-1782," SCHM 63 (April 1962): 80; John Ball, Sr., Account Book (1780-84), Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

[48]Rev. Mr. Jenkins, Memorandum Book (1773-82), SCHS.

owner at a time when most negroes quitted theirs." Anthony Bonneau and Peter and Hugh Horry suggested that the sawyers, carpenters, and spinners they offered for sale were "remarkably prime and orderly, having never deferred to the British." The slaves belonging to Sarah Coachman, including several sawyers and a seamstress, spinner, and knitter, had "proved faithful in the most trying times."[49]

The British occupation of the province affected not only the planters but also the mechanics. Currency was scarce and those who were paid had to cope with a high rate of inflation.[50] The harbor blockade forced craftsmen such as cabinetmakers Richard Magrath and Martin Pfeninger to decline business for "want of materials," and in 1781, those who refused to take an oath of loyalty to the Crown were prohibited from carrying on their trade or business. As historian Richard Walsh has documented, many artisans were forced to become "loyal" to ward off starvation.[51] All in all, the war years were not a prosperous time for many of South Carolina's craftsmen.

In addition to their other troubles, artisans had to compete with the importation of foreign goods during the British occupation from 1780 to 1782. Although the number of imports declined during the second year, English goods once again flooded the Charleston market

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[49]RG, 7 March 1781; SCWG, 22 February 1783, 26 December 1783.

[50]For a discussion of the British occupation, see George Smith McCowen, Jr., "The British Occupation of Charles Town, 1780-1782" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Emory University, 1967).

[51]GSSC, 21 July 1777; SCAGG, 30 October 1777; RG, 28 March 1781; Walsh, Sons of Liberty, pp. 97-98. The petition to prohibit trade was presented by Loyalist house carpenters James Cook and Gilbert Chalmers.

when the war was over.[52] Yet despite this chain of events, some citizens continued to promote American manufactures. On August 15, 1785, Dr. John Budd wrote in the Charleston Evening Gazette:

> An opinion was held by some that the American manufactures were inferior, but how did this appear? In many articles there was a decided superiority, hats for instance, of American manufacture, had confessedly a superiority; those made here stood much higher in point of reputation than any that had been imported. Such articles in the joinery line as were made here ought not to be placed on a level with those imported. Leather was made much cheaper and better than in Europe.[53]

It seems, however, that the quest for English goods in the "latest style" was not diminished even in the aftermath of war.

The Revolutionary War was not the only major event to influence the production rate of South Carolina's artisans during the years from 1760 to 1800. Two major fires and several smaller ones occurred in Charleston during this period, the outcome of which was to provide a positive boost to local manufactures and, in particular, the building trades.

Since its founding, Charleston had been plagued by a series of fires, the most famous of which was the fire of 1740. As a result, a number of petitions of grievance were issued against certain trades in an effort to improve safety within the town. In September 1772, for example, a warning was posted by the fire-masters:

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[52]McCowen, "British Occupation," p. 115, notes that thirty vessels delivered British goods to the port of Charleston during the first year of the occupation; during the second year the number was reduced to seventeen.

[53]Quoted in Walsh, Sons of Liberty, pp. 129-30.

> Joiners, House-Carpenters, Cabinetmakers, and others who work in Wood, are hereby cautioned to clear their Shop of Shavings every Evening, and not to allow any Person to work either by Fire or Candle-light after Dark: for this Town has been often endangered by these Means, and almost one Half of it was consumed even in the Day, within our own Memory, by making a Fire too near Shaveings and other combustible Materials.[54]

Another occupation causing comment was that of candlemaking. Not only did this trade produce a foul odor within the city, but it was also one of the most dangerous in terms of fire risk. In 1774, a formal grievance against the manufacture of candles and soap in Charleston was presented to the Court of General Sessions. The petition contained seventeen signatures, including that of cabinetmaker Thomas Elfe, and stated their concern that "the management of such Business is generally left to Negroes by Night as well as by Day."[55] Despite these precautions, a fire broke out on Sunday evening, February 25, 1776, at the house of a free Negro named Lamput on Meeting Street. Nineteen houses and a number of outbuildings were completely destroyed.[56]

A second fire, this of much greater proportions, broke out at about five o'clock in the morning on January 15, 1778. According to the South Carolina and American General Gazette,

> The number of dwelling houses destroyed, exclusive of stores and out-houses, is upwards of 250. The quantity of merchandize and furniture lost is very considerable. The whole loss, by the most moderate computation, exceeds three millions of dollars: Many are of [the] opinion it exceeds

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[54]SCG, 20 November 1740; SCAGG, 28 September 1772.

[55]SCG, 31 October 1774.

[56]SCAGG, 8 March 1776. Lamput's occupation has not yet been discovered.

> a million sterling. The number of lives lost is not so great as was at first apprehended: We have not heard of more than 6, some of whom were Negroes.[57]

Commenting in his diary, Oliver Hart observed that one-fourth of the town had been reduced to ashes; the part in which trade was carried on was particularly hard hit.[58] Gabriel Manigault provided further insight into the difficulties surrounding the fire in a letter dated February 24, 1778: "Buildings will be very difficult to have Built, as many of the principal materials are not to be had, and workmen on Ship[s] as well as everything else excessively dear."[59]

Indeed, with the British blockade of the harbor and the subsequent events in Charleston, much of the rebuilding from the fire of 1778 was not begun until the British evacuation of the city four years later. This damage combined with that of war destruction led to a boom in the building trades. However, some tradesmen were accused of using the situation to make excessive profits. In a letter to the editor signed by "Another Patriot," the writer complained that South Carolina's carpenters demanded for one day's employment what a European carpenter would charge for four days. Carpenters' wages were noted at $2.00 or 9s. 4d. sterling per day. The writer concluded by

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[57]SCAGG, 29 January 1778.

[58]Entry for 15 January 1778, Oliver Hart Diary (1741-80), TS, SCL. According to Joseph Manigault, the fire began on Queen Street near the bay and burnt all of Union Street and most of Chalmer's Alley. Also destroyed was the south side of Broad Street as far as Church Street and Stoll's Alley. Letter from Joseph Manigault to Gabriel Manigault, 28 February 1778, Manigault Family Papers (1750-1900), SCL.

[59]"The Great Fire of 1778 Seen Through Contemporary Letters," SCHM 64 (January 1963): 24-25.

suggesting that wage standards be established for the various trades "agreeable to the present cheap mode of living." A follow-up letter by "Another Patriot" added that some house carpenters demanded as much as $3.00 per day. Of particular interest, however, is the mechanics' response to these charges. In a letter dated November 4, 1783, the writer suggested that the planter "made it a practice to build his house, and furnish it, and even to cloathe himself, on credit with the tradesman, and leave his account unpaid for years, and thereby disable the master workman from procuring hands."[60] With many planters suffering from the loss of their labor force, plantations, and goods, and many craftsmen trying to recoup their financial losses from the war years, this was clearly a difficult time for all.

Unfortunately, another fire soon followed. On June 15, 1786, a fire broke out at a soap-boiler's shop on Gadsden's Alley which destroyed much of Broad Street. Commenting on the damage, Charleston merchant Robert Stewart wrote that "the fire burnt with great force & distroyed a most Immence property the Loss is Computed at 70 or 80,000 pounds Stlg."[61]

Ten years later an enormous fire hit Charleston, this one burning for more than twelve hours. The newspaper account of the

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[60]GA, 18 October 1783, 23 November 1783, 4 November 1783. To prevent price gouging following the fire of 1740, wage ceilings had been established by the government; included were wage limitations for black as well as white workers. SCG, Postscript, 25 December 1740.

[61]Char. Morn. Post, 17 June 1786; Robert Stewart to Alexander Nesbitt, 22 June 1786, Thomas Morris Papers (1783-96), SCL.

tragedy reported that buildings on at least 253 lots were destroyed; as many as 300 families were burnt out. In his assessment of the damage, John Drayton wrote:

> Every house, in Queen-street, from the bay to the corner of Church-street, with only three exceptions, were destroyed. All Union-street, continued; two-thirds of Union-street, Kinloch's court, Church-street, from Broad-street, to St. Philip's church, with only five exceptions; Chalmer's and Berresford's Alleys; the north side of Broad-street, from the beef market to four doors below Church-street; and five houses on the bay from Queen-street, were burnt to the ground.
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> Five hundred chimnies were counted, from which the houses had been burnt.

Drayton also noted that a large amount of furniture and other goods had perished in the blaze.[62]

Undoubtedly, in a fire of these proportions, some craftsmen were among those who lost their goods and property. Cabinetmaker William Baylis advertised that he had lost two cabinetmaker's benches, two brass-backed saws, one dining table, two breakfast tables, and one shell of a bureau. He offered a reward to the person who returned these articles to his home opposite the Scotch Meeting.[63] Yet while these catastrophes brought personal tragedy to some tradesmen, others no doubt benefited from this series of crises in that the opportunities for employment for both whites and blacks were increased.

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[62]CH, 16 June 1796; Drayton, View of South Carolina, pp. 204-5. For his role in extinguishing the fire which threatened to destroy St. Philip's Church, slave Will, the property of Major Charles Lining, was emancipated. The occupation of Will, who took the name Will Philip Lining, has not as yet been discovered. Misc. Rec., Book III, 1796-99, pp. 334-36.

[63]CGDA, 2 July 1796. Cabinetmaker Charles Watts was another craftsman burnt out by the fire of 1796. See CGDA, 22 August 1796.

Thus, between the years 1760 to 1800, the talents of both black and white craftsmen were combined to create an environment which was dominated by English artistic style. Their rate of production was stimulated by a number of factors; the most significant were British policy leading to the Revolutionary War and the series of fires which destroyed large portions of Charleston. Since white contributions to the building trades and decorative arts have previously been documented, it is the results of black labor which now deserve further exploration.

CHAPTER IV

BLACK CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE BUILDING TRADES

In her recollections of life on Comingtee Plantation in South Carolina, turn-of-the-century writer Anne Simons Deas observed:

> There were always skilled mechanics of various kinds on the plantation. Besides the barrels for the pounding-mill, the cooper's shop furnished cypress or cedar tubs, buckets, pails, and piggins, of every size and sort; so that a "bought bucket" was rare. These were not only strong and serviceable, but some were beautifully finished. The carpenters could not only construct the flood-gates and rice-field trunks, and build the negro houses, but make the plantation wagons and carts, and do work, requiring great neatness of finish. Very creditable pieces of furniture were sometimes made by them. The wooden addition to the dwelling-house was built and completed, inside and out, by these plantation carpenters;--even as I have heard, to the window-sashes. The blacksmiths made and mended what ever of wrought iron was used on the place; and could do finer work on occasion; I have been told that some of the iron-wire nursery fenders in the house were of their making.[1]

Undoubtedly on numerous other plantations and in the city, blacks were performing these and a variety of additional tasks which furthered the development and perpetuation of Southern home life. Although blacks have been recognized in historical literature as contributing members of the labor force, the extent of their involvement and the types of skills undertaken have never been analyzed extensively. It is the purpose of this chapter, therefore, to examine those contributions

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[1]Anne Simons Deas, Recollections of the Ball Family of South Carolina and the Comingtee Plantation (1909; rpt. Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 1978), pp. 160-61.

of Charleston District slaves to the building trades between the years 1760 and 1800.

Sawyers

Of all tradesmen, sawyers could be considered perhaps the least skilled. Blacks could be trained quickly to master the craft, and in no case did the study reveal a stated length of apprenticeship for any slave laboring as a sawyer. The types of tasks performed by these tradesmen were relatively simple. After the tree had been cut down with a felling axe, sawyers generally worked in pairs using pit or whip saws. In this type of operation, the timber would be set over a pit which was dug into the ground. The sawyer on top would pull the saw up and guide its direction, while the pitman would pull the saw down again to make the cutting stroke.

Numerous listings of tools essential to the trade appear in Charleston District inventories; in other instances these inventories supply clues as to the types of products produced. A broad axe was used to square the timber, and clapboards and shingles were split with a froe.[2] Among the possessions of planter Thomas Elliott of St. Paul's Parish were a broad axe, four whip saws, four cross-cut saws, and 17,000 shingles. Interestingly, none of Elliott's 480 slaves were identified as sawyers, although some undoubtedly were laboring at this

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[2]Edwin Tunis, Colonial Craftsmen and the Beginnings of American Industry (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1965), p. 26; Paul B. Kebabian, American Woodworking Tools (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1978), pp. 101, 105, 109-10.

trade. Sawyers John and Lancaster were among the eight slaves owned by brewer and distiller Edmund Egan of Charleston. Also listed in his estate inventory were 7225 shingles, 2464 feet of two-inch plank, 3309 feet of one-inch plank, 46 cedar posts, and 6 pine logs, totalling 300 feet.[3]

As a surveyor for the Southern District of North America during the years 1751 through 1771, William Gerard DeBrahm made the following observations regarding the expected output of sawyers:

> The weekly task of a pair of sawyers is 600 foot if pine, or 780 foot if cypres, cedar, redbay, or poblar boards, provided the trees are cut, squared, and pitted to their hands; or else, if they must cut, square, and pit, their taske is 500 foot pine, and 650 of other trees. A slave splits 100 rails a day.[4]

An advertiser on East Bay in Charleston indicated that the two slaves he offered for sale could saw, square, and cut a cord of wood or split one hundred rails per day. Each of the four sawyers listed by Job Colcock also was capable of cutting a cord of wood per day.[5] However, Ehrick and Reynolds boasted that the twenty-five-year-old fellow which they offered for sale could cut two cords per day.[6] In addition,

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[3]Charleston Inventory Book T, 1758-61, pp. 554-68; CTD, Inventory Book B, 1787-93, pp. 44-45. The executors of Egan's estate later offered his two sawyers for sale. St. Gaz. of S. C., 23 July 1787. See also Ibid., 12 February 1789. The cross-cut saw was used to cut across the grain of the wood.

[4]William Gerard DeBrahm, "Philosophico-Historico Hydrogeography of South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida," in Documents Connected with the History of South Carolina, ed. Plowden Charles Jennett Weston (London: Chiswick Press, 1856), pp. 198-99.

[5]CGDA, 23 November 1793, 15 October 1792.

[6]CGDA, 7 March 1793. See also Ibid., 6 August 1793.

Mackenzie and Moncrieffe advertised that their two sawyers understood "how to sharp and set the saw, likewise to line out the timber to any dimensions.[7] Another commentator was Charles Drayton; on June 8, 1789, he noted in his diary that he had "Sent Quash, Toby, Ben George, Abraham, & Cimon to Mr. Elliott's swamp with leave to get shingles." Several weeks later, Drayton wrote:

> Quashes account of Shingles after the blocks are sawed, each fellow should split & draw 500--each day there are 2 saws going by Kit & Joe--& Abraham & Cimon. They got the first week near 7,000--the 2--11,400. George not able to finish more than 400 pr. day.[8]

In all, a total of 796 notations to sawyers were recorded for the forty-year period under study; 36 of these slaves were cited as being both sawyers and squarers. For those practicing two or more significant trades, most were carpenters and sawyers (N=33); one sawyer also labored as a bricklayer, one as a brickmaker, and one was trained as a sawyer and cabinetmaker. Further, a number of sawyers worked in non-related trades. Although the largest number were field slaves (N=44), other trade combinations included sawyers who also were coopers (N=18), boatmen (N=18), and shipwrights (N=2). Only one notation each was given for sawyers who also practiced the following trades: wheelwright, saddler and cooper, caulker, gardener, or a tailor. Three additional slaves worked solely as shinglemakers.

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[7]SCAGG, 5 May 1775. See also Ibid., 18 June 1778, for another slave having these same capabilities.

[8]Entries for 8 June 1789, 21 June 1789, Charles Drayton Diaries, TS, Drayton Hall.

Although much of the work of these sawyers can be closely tied to rice production, some did contribute to the building trades and decorative arts. In advertising for runaway Joe, John Stevenson stated that his slave was "well known in Charleston as a sawyer of mahogany," a wood commonly associated in South Carolina with building and furniture production. Likewise, Laurence Campbell announced that the slave he was offering for sale had been at the business of sawing mahogany for the past three years.[9]

Despite their involvement in home-related crafts, only a small number of sawyers were owned by or worked with white artisans in corresponding trades. Of this group, most black tradesmen were employed either by carpenters or cabinetmakers. In 1791, however, Thomas Bennett advertised for the hire or purchase of six pair of "good" sawyers to work at his lumberyard at Cumming's Point; two years later he again requested three or four pairs of pit sawyers. Thomas Martin also sought six to eight sawyers to be hired by the week at his saw mills on Charleston Neck.[10]

The largest number of notations for sawyers (35 percent) was in reference to those who worked for or belonged to owners of unknown occupations. The second largest group was for slaves who belonged to planters (28 percent), followed closely by those who worked for esquires and gentlemen (20 percent). Presumably, the labors of these

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[9]CGDA, 27 January 1795, 10 July 1798.

[10]CGDA, 21 January 1791; CH, 16 November 1793; CGDA, 3 July 1798.

plantation slaves were directed primarily toward crop production with a lesser amount of time spent working in the building trades. In addition, the number of references for sawyers belonging to merchants (N=46), women (N=25), and physicians (N=24) was greater than those for white handicraftsmen in a similar trade (N=17).

A further analysis of the notations for slaves working as sawyers reveals little descriptive information. A specific length of job time was indicated only once, that being for the fellow who had sawed mahogany for three years. In the thirty-nine cases in which an age range was cited, the majority of slaves (N=26) were under thirty years of age. Of the remaining slaves, six were between thirty and thirty-nine years of age, six between forty and forty-nine, and one slave was in his fifties. All of the slaves were black, or race was not noted specifically.

There are few extant records which list the fees paid to sawyers for the performance of their tasks, and the number was not sufficient to calculate an average daily wage. However between 1781 and 1784, slave Fortune, belonging to William Lourimore of the Georgetown District, was paid 16s. 3d sterling per day for squaring lumber.[11] In 1785, John Palmer received a sum of 9s. 4d. per day for the hire of six of his sawyers. Another pair brought Palmer three shillings per day in 1793; the following year his Negro sawyer was paid two shillings per day to split rails for Dr. John Witherspoon. An entry in Palmer's ledger for 1795 notes that a pair of sawyers was paid 3s. 6d per day

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[11]CCP, JR, Box 131A, 1786, #518A.

for services rendered.[12] In 1798, Thomas Martin, Jean Bourgneuf, and Pierre Deporte paid hired slaves $8.00 each per month to work at their saw mill on the Cooper River near Charleston.[13] No doubt these wage scales were affected by variations in the currency exchange rates as well as the level of skill and task being performed by the slave. Without the availability of this information, comparisons are difficult.

An attempt was made to calculate the mean values of slaves working in the building trades who were listed in Charleston District estate inventories (see Table 5). Although in some cases the data available were not sufficient to allow for significant comparisons, sawyers, for the most part, appear to have been worth less than other types of tradesmen. Yet when sawyers became proficient in a second skill, such as those who labored as sawyers and coopers, their value increased considerably.[14] Overall, those slaves having the greatest

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[12]Entries for 18 March 1785, June 1793, 1794, 1795, Palmer Family Ledger (1777-1811), TS, SCL, from original in possession of Mrs. Edmund Palmer near Eutawville, South Carolina. In the discussion of wages, all amounts cited after 1780 are in sterling rather than current money.

[13]CCP, JR, CTD, 1799, #523A.

[14]Because of fluctuations in the exchange rate after ca. 1775 due to the Revolutionary War, no calculations were made after that date. See McCusker, Money and Exchange, pp. 220, 224. Inventory valuation rates were affected by such factors as age, health, and skill of the slave. In 1774, for example, a thirty-five-year-old carpenter belonging to esquire George Austin was valued at £800; Old Epsom, Austin's sixty-year-old carpenter, was worth only £100. Charleston Inventory Book AA, 1774-85, pp. 43-46. A bricklayer belonging to William Raven was valued at only £50 in 1765 because he was "sick." Charleston Inventory Book Y, 1769-71, pp. 21-22. In comparison, between 1760 and 1765 the appraised values for three other bricklayers ranged from £330 to £600. Many valuation rates for tradesmen could not be used because they included additional family members.

Table 5. Mean values of slaves working in the building trades listed in inventories, Charleston District.

Occupation	1760-65		1766-70		1771-75	
	N	Value	N	Value	N	Value
Sawyer	7	£294	5	£350	18	£442
Sawyer & Cooper	8	413			3	667
Sawyer & Field Slave			1	400	4	350
Sawyer & Boatman					2	425
Carpenter	17	497	23	495	37	758
Carpenter & Cooper					1	700
Jobbing Carpenter			1	350	5	456
Jobbing Carpenter & Boatman					1	400
House Carpenter					3	437
Bricklayer	4	358	3	533	6	467
Painter	1	300			2	550
Blacksmith	1	600	6	350	2	260

Note: Monetary values have been rounded to the nearest pound, local currency.

Source: Charleston Inventory Books T-AA, 1760-1775, SCDAH.

monetary worth were trained as carpenters; it was this group which constituted the largest segment of the skilled slave population in the Charleston District between the years 1760 and 1800.

Carpenters

Many advertisements in South Carolina newspapers were entered by those seeking carpenters to perform a wide variety of tasks. On July 7, 1772, one such entry appeared in the South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal:

> WANTED, In the Country immediately, on HIRE by the Month, Year, or Job, TWO NEGRO CARPENTERS, that can frame a Barn of any Dimensions, or Plantation Out-Buildings upon Sills; if they are free Negroes it would not be disagreeable. The Owners of such, or free Negroes, properly recommended for their Workmanship and good Qualities, will meet with profitable Wages.

In 1791, David Ramsay on Broad Street advertised for "Any person of good character, willing to contract for building the wooden part of a house of square logs, about 35 feet by 40, about 30 miles from Charleston"; he further noted that the respondent would have the assistance of four or six black carpenters.[15] As historian Robert E. Perdue has suggested, "due largely to prosperity, expansion and population growth after 1763, carpentry eventually surpassed cooperage as the most commonly practiced trade among black artisans."[16]

To achieve greater insight into the types of buildings constructed by colonial carpenters--both black and white--primary

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[15]CGDA, 3 March 1791. See also the advertisement by Thomas Doughty in Ibid., 18 February 1787.

[16]Perdue, Black Laborers and Black Professionals, p. 57.

source materials were examined for clues pertaining to construction as well as finishing techniques and types of building materials. In a will dated March 20, 1785, Nathaniel Adams of Edisto Island directed that lumber which had been sawed was to be used immediately in the construction of a two-story house, thirty-two feet in length and twenty feet wide; it was to be laid on a brick foundation. Stipulations were that the house was to have one piazza, an open staircase, and "Pannel Doors & Windows, without Sashing or Glazeing, with Commodious Chimney Facings[,] the Chimneys to be built of double Stacks."[17] Also of interest was a contract made between Abraham Knight, a Charleston carpenter, and Guillam Aertsen for a house to be built on Sullivan's Island:

> The Frame to be Twenty Six feet in Length by sixteen feet in Width, in the clear, with a Piaza in front the full Length of the House and Eight feet wide. The House to be not less than Twelve feet hight in the Clear and to have a Story & a half. The lower Floor or Story to be divided into a Hall of Sixteen feet square & a chamber of ten feet by Sixteen Feet: The Hall to have One door and one Window in Front & the same in the back Part and two Windows in the End, the frame being so constructed as to admit the building of a Chimney between them. A Partition to be between the Hall and Chamber with one Door; and the Chamber to have a door opening to the Piaza and a Window in the End & one on the back part. The Floor of the Hall and Chamber to be tongued and grooved. A substantial plain Stair Case from the lower Story to the Loft.--The Loft or half Story to be divided by a plain Board Partition with one door And each division to have one dormant and one End Window, And the Floor to be tongued and grooved. The Inner doors of the said House to have proper Latches and the Windows substantial Bolts. The outer or Piaza door to have a strong and sufficient Lock & Key, & a Latch. The weather Boarding of the said House to be well plained on the outside only.--The Floor of the Piaza

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[17]Char. Co., Will Book, 1783-86, pp. 581-83.

> to be well plained and nailed. The whole of the Materials of said Building to be of a good & durable Quality.[18]

In colonial building construction, the carpenter generally cut all of the timbers to size, jointed the pieces to provide a secure fit, and then assembled the frame flat on the ground before lifting it into place on top of the sills. In some cases, carpenters advertised the sale of preconstructed house frames which were transported to the building site and raised. In 1793, for example, carpenter Thomas Doughty listed "the frame of a house 47 by 17 feet, one story high, with a piazza on each side, 10 feet wide, quite compleat and of the best materials, . . . having a large hall and two chambers"; Doughty further commented that the house would be appropriate on Sullivan's Island.[19] A portion of a house frame was among the items listed in the estate inventory of James Toussiger, a house carpenter on Water Street; this suggests that he followed similar building practices.[20] Another inventory, that of esquire James Heyward, provides information as to the types of materials used in building construction. Among the items listed at Heyward's unfinished dwelling on Meeting Street were 180,000 bricks; 1904 feet of studded partitions; 3400 feet of the best roofing, framed with king posts and bracings; 29 pairs of mahogany window

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[18]CCP, JR, CTD, 1797, #384A. As yet, no record of slaves working for Knight has been found.

[19]Marzio, "Carpentry in the Southern Colonies," p. 235; Tunis, Colonial Craftsmen, p. 25; CGDA, 4 April 1793.

[20]CTD, Inventory Book B, 1787-93, pp. 314-15. Toussiger's inventory was dated February 4, 1791.

sashes; lead work; three floors of joists with sounding boards; 29 box window frames; iron bars on eight windows; and 43 marble window stools. The executors of the estate further noted the superior quality of the workmanship on the sashes, window frames, and marble stools.[21] In addition to mahogany, it appears that cypress and northern pine were woods commonly used in South Carolina building construction.[22]

The amount of technical knowledge possessed by many of these colonial carpenters is still a matter of some debate.[23] Charleston resident Ezra Waite referred to himself as a "civil architect and house builder" in an advertisement posted in 1769. Among the books listed in Waite's estate inventory taken in that same year were Abraham Swan's A Collection of Designs in Architecture, which contained plans and elevations of houses for general use; Chippendale's Gentleman and Cabinet-maker's Director; Garret's Designs and Estimates for Farm Houses; The Practical Measurer; and The Builder's Bench Mate by Batty Langley. These all suggest a high level of technical knowledge and design awareness.[24] In a 1765 newspaper advertisement, house carpenter

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[21]CTD, Inventory Book C, 1784-1800, pp. 256-57.

[22]See, for example, the inventory of house carpenter James Gordon in Charleston Inventory Book Y, 1769-71, pp. 455-56.

[23]See, for example, Marzio, "Carpentry in the Southern Colonies," pp. 229-47.

[24]SCAGG, 23 August 1769; Charleston Inventory Book Y, 1769-71, pp. 180-82. Also included in Waite's inventory were a carved chimney piece in the Gothic style, two Corinthian pilaster caps, four Ionic pilasters, two paper portfolios containing "sundry" patterns, and all types of carpenter's tools. Of the five slaves listed, only one, a bricklayer, was noted as working in a home-related trade. See also SCAGG, 30 March 1772.

Robert Kirkwood noted that he drew plans, elevations, and sections, and James Hoban announced that he would teach architecture at 43 Trott Street in 1791.[25] It is not known what formal training carpenter Nathan Cleave of St. Thomas' Parish had received, but among the items detailed in his estate inventory was a book on architecture by Langley.[26] Undoubtedly, a number of Southern carpenters were self-taught. Yet it must be noted that these were generally the men, with their varying degrees of formal education, who passed their knowledge along to the black carpenters of the Charleston District.

The tools used by these carpenters included axes, hammers, augers, adzes, saws, compasses, and a variety of planes. Among the tools listed in the inventory of house carpenter James Tousiger were a number of planes including bench and moulding planes, hollows and rounds, rabbet, ogee, and cornice planes, as well as drawing knives, broad axes, framing chisels, a small vise, a glue pot, and some nails.[27] Esquire George Austin's inventory included similar types of carpenter's tools at his plantations at Ashepoo and Peedee. The fillister, rabbet, bead, and ogee planes listed at the Ashepoo plantation, in particular, suggest that some type of house carpentry or joinery work was being undertaken, probably by one or more of the

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[25]SCG, 9 February 1765; CGDA, 17 April 1790. Hoban later was commissioned to design the White House in Washington.

[26]Charleston Inventory Book W, 1763-67, pp. 147-49.

[27]CTD, Inventory Book B, 1787-93, pp. 314-15. The large assortment of moulding planes in Toussiger's inventory were used to shape a variety of decorative surfaces, thus suggesting a degree of complexity in his work.

four carpenters listed among Austin's slaves.[28] In addition, the nature of the tools listed in the estate inventories of others in the Charleston District who were not craftsmen indicate the implementation of certain tasks in the carpentry and joinery fields even though no occupations were cited for any of the slaves.[29]

As with the sawyers, much of the work of slave carpenters can be closely tied to aspects of crop production, and it is probable that many of the tradesmen revealed in the study were laboring in these types of endeavors. This would be particularly true of those slaves working in more than one trade, such as carpenter and cooper (N=26), carpenter and driver (N=7), or carpenter and field slave (N=6). In 1784, John Harleston offered for hire an "exceeding good" carpenter "capable of . . . executing any piece of work in the neatest manner, and has built pounding machines." Brian Cape was seeking to hire out a black house carpenter and machine builder, "very complete in both professions"; and Colcock and Gibbons advertised the sale of a twenty-six-year-old carpenter who was "capable of making indigo vats or a pannel door."[30] Thus it appears that a number of slaves could work in a variety of capacities.

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[28]Charleston Inventory Book AA, 1774-85, pp. 42-51. For the uses of these various types of carpenter's tools, see Kebabian, American Woodworking Tools, pp. 40-101.

[29]See, for example, the estate inventory of planter William Chicken of St. James' Santee, in Charleston Inventory Book CC, 1776-78, pp. 412-13. The occupations of Chicken's twenty-three slaves are not indicated.

[30]GSSC, 4 March 1784; CGDA, 17 March 1795; PA, 16 June 1784.

Of the carpenters working in the Charleston District during the forty-year period under study, only 158 house carpenters were noted among the slaves; two additional slaves worked as both house and ship carpenters. The source material suggests that those slaves noted simply as carpenters did assist in building construction. Planter Charles Skirving of St. Bartholomew's Parish directed in his will dated June 2, 1787,

> that the House my Carpenters are now building shall be compleated and finished as the one I now reside in & that the Carpenters and Sawyers now at work and employed about my Buildings shall continue repairing and rebuilding the Houses on my Plantations until the first day of January next at the Expence of my Estate.[31]

Skirving's estate inventory lists three of his ninety-two slaves as carpenters, two as sawyers, and one as a sawyer and field hand.[32] One Negro carpenter, belonging to an unknown owner, was identified as a "complete tradesman," who understood all inside work and could frame and finish a house of one or more floors without any instruction.[33] Other carpenters worked in such combination trades as carpenter and blacksmith (N=2), carpenter and joiner (N=2), carpenter and bricklayer (N=2), and carpenter and basketmaker (N=1); this suggests that all of these were engaged in home-related tasks.

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[31]Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, pp. 104-6. Skirving's will was proved on July 5, 1787.

[32]CTD, Inventory Book B, 1787-93, pp. 91-93. These carpenters and sawyers were offered for sale from the estate in TMDA, 20 March 1794.

[33]CGDA, 27 April 1792.

Those labelled as jobbing carpenters performed a multiplicity of tasks about the plantation and in the city. A jobbing carpenter who had belonged to planter Nathaniel Adams of Edisto Island could "make a set of indigo vats, or build any out-house necessary on a plantation."[34] Jobs carried out by others included building plantation machinery, boats, tools, or fences. A total of 165 notations to jobbing carpenters were revealed in the study; seven of this group also worked as boatmen, and one each as a groom, a butcher and market man, a wheelwright and driver, and a cooper and wheelwright.

In addition to performing tasks to benefit their white employers, many of these carpenters were responsible for the building of Negro houses. Charles Drayton noted in his diary on March 14, 1792: "Yesterday evening Cimon & his son, & Ben carpenters arrived at Savannah to erect some Negroe houses."[35] These dwellings oftentimes were crudely built and scantily furnished. In response to the question of slave housing, Johann Martin Bolzius wrote in 1751:

> They live in huts, each family or two persons in one hut. . . . The huts of the Negroes are arrayed around the barn, at a little distance from one another so that if fire breaks out in one hut the others are more easily saved. The costs of such a Negro hut are very minor. One buys only a few nails for them.[36]

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[34]PA, 21 December 1785. For a listing of all combination trades involving carpenters, see Appendix B.

[35]Entry for 14 March 1792, Charles Drayton Diaries, TS, Drayton Hall. The reference to Savannah is believed to mean Drayton's plantation, Bob Savannah, located in St. Paul's Parish. A later newspaper advertisement indicates that there were Negro houses on the premises. See TMDA, 12 January 1796.

[36]"Bolzius Questionnaire," 14: 257.

Indeed, in advertising the sale of his plantation at Goose Creek, Benjamin Paul Williams noted the presence of dwellings to house one hundred slaves, "most of which with brick chimnies." A more complete description of slave cabins appeared in the South Carolina Gazette in 1772 in which the advertisers sought someone to build:

> A NEGRO HOUSE, twenty Feet long and ten Feet wide, with Posts in the Ground, six Feet Story, a Division in the Middle, a Door to each Tenement, and a good Pad-lock to each Door.-- The Shingles for each Building to be Cypress.[37]

No doubt the materials provided as well as the caliber of the work differed from the higher quality expected for the personal use of the white owners.

In an effort to hire out or sell their tradesmen, advertisers used a variety of methods to indicate the types of tasks their slave carpenters could perform and the level of skill which they had attained. One Carolinian was very forthright in explaining that he was hiring out his jobbing carpenter because he "wishes him to be improved in the business"; the owner added that his slave would be hired at a low rate to a carpenter living in the city. Another commented that the two jobbing carpenters he was offering for sale were capable of putting up the "rough buildings necessary on a plantation"; an eighteen-year-old slave who had worked for three years as a house carpenter was said to do "common work tolerable well." An advertiser who offered a Negro carpenter for sale in 1784 noted that he was "allowed by all the trade

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[37]CGDA, 8 July 1794; SCG, 11 June 1772. The center partition suggests that two families were to be housed in this one dwelling, which generally was known as a "double house."

who have employed him to be the best workman of his colour in this State."[38]

The total number of notations to slaves working as carpenters in the Charleston District between the years 1760 and 1800 was 1569.[39] In only eight instances, however, was a specific length of apprenticeship time indicated. The shortest term for a carpenter lasted only a year; the longest was eight years. In twenty-three additional notations it was indicated that the slave had served an apprenticeship, but the length of service was not given.

The specific length of job time for a slave carpenter was cited in only forty-two references. The average amount of time on the job for these slaves was four years. Two additional slaves had worked less than a year; three had been in the business for several years; and three had been "some time" learning the trade. In three notations the slave had been "brought up to the business," and in fifteen cases, the tradesman had been at work for "many" years.

In addition to job skills, the data were examined for information regarding age and racial makeup of the sample. An age range was specified in only 11 percent of all notations to slave carpenters. Of those for whom an age range was indicated, the majority (N=128) were under thirty. Twenty-seven were between thirty and thirty-nine; ten were between forty and fifty-nine; one slave was over sixty years old;

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[38]TDA, 15 August 1798; GSSC, 20 January 1779; CGDA, 19 June 1799; PA, 10 March 1784.

[39]This figure does not include the fifty-two notations to carpenters who were working in two or more significant trades.

and nine were noted simply as "old." Of the total sample of 1569 references to carpenters, only 54 specified slaves who were mulatto or mustee; the remainder were either black or race was not indicated.

As with the sawyers, the largest single group of notations for slave carpenters (N=483) was for those who were owned or employed by whites of unknown occupations. White artisans working in home-related trades were cited in 212 of the references (14 percent); 277 notations involved planters (18 percent); and in 333 instances (21 percent) the slave carpenters were owned or employed by gentlemen or esquires. One additional group of owners deserves special mention due to the sizeable number of notations for slave carpenters associated with them. For the 76 women in the study, primarily widows and spinsters, there were 89 references to the ownership of black carpenters. Many inherited these tradesmen and used the income from hiring them to insure their livelihood; the source material suggests that this practice was profitable.

When an assessment was made of the types of carpenters working for each of these groups for whom an occupation was known, it became apparent that a large number of jobbing carpenters were owned or employed by planters, gentlemen, and esquires; this apparently reflects the greater need for diversity of skills on the plantation. White artisans in related trades, on the other hand, owned or employed a large number of slaves working as house carpenters. For the 65 white carpenters included in the sample, there were 186 notations to the ownership or employment of slave carpenters. Of this number, only

five slaves were proficient in more than one trade: one was a carpenter and cooper; one was a carpenter, cooper, and sawyer, and another, a carpenter, cooper, and indigo maker; one was a carpenter and wheelwright; and one worked as a carpenter, sawyer, and butcher.

The data pertaining to wage scales for slave carpenters is somewhat sketchy, particularly for the early years of the period under study. In 1761, carpenter Samuel Cardy of Charleston took the executors of the estate of esquire Charles Cattell of St. Andrew's Parish to court to obtain money due for work carried out in 1757. The complaint states that the white carpenter was to be paid thirty shillings per day for his services; the Negro carpenter, seventeen shillings and sixpence per day; and a Negro boy carpenter, ten shillings a day.[40] In 1766, Henry Laurens declared that he had paid £14 per month for the hire of a black carpenter belonging to William Hopton. Slave Abraham, who assisted carpenter John Hughes of Charleston in building a still house in 1775, was paid a daily wage of £1, while slave Toba earned £1 5s. per day in the same job.[41]

Between 1783 and 1789, the existence of a more uniform wage scale for carpenters becomes evident. During those years, a slave generally was paid a daily rate of 4s. 8d.; the average wage for a

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[40]CCP, JR, Box 52A, 1761, #33A. As a whole, cases presented to the Court of Common Pleas provide the most complete evidence for wage scales paid to both black and white tradesmen.

[41]Henry Laurens, entry for November 1766, Broton Island Plantation, Ledger (1766-73), College of Charleston; CCP, JR, Box 108A, 1778, #197A. For comparison, see the daily wage scales presented in Walsh, Sons of Liberty, pp. 143-45.

white was 9s. 4d. per day. House carpenter Thomas Harrison and Negroes Ishmael and Ned were paid these standard wages in 1783, although two additional slaves each earned only two shillings per day for their services. It is probable that these two slaves were working as laborers rather than as skilled craftsmen.[42] A slave working for carpenters John Wyatt and Bernard Richardson was paid 4s. 8d. per day in 1785 for building a kitchen. However, for cutting away for a chimney at Robert Vardell's house on the green, a black carpenter earned a daily sum of five shillings.[43] This data suggests that the type of service performed may have been one factor affecting the standard wage scale. In 1789, a Negro carpenter working for Wyatt and Richardson was paid four shillings per day; a black laborer earned only two shillings and sixpence.[44]

During the last decade of the eighteenth century, the standard wages for carpenters became a bit more variable. For the most part, however, slaves were paid between 3s. 6d. and 4s. 8d. per day for their services. Black carpenters working for Retier Whittemore of Charleston were paid 4s. 8d. each per day in 1794 and 1795; Whittemore

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[42]CCP, JR, Box 119A, 1785, #318A. See also CCP, JR, Box 114A, 1784, #270A; CCP, JR, CTD, 1791, #267A. Philadelphia carpenters established a standard set of prices to cover the various types of jobs performed. This was done so that workmen would be paid the "net worth of their labor." See Articles of the Carpenter's Company of Philadelphia (Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1786), mfm., Evan's Index #44867.

[43]CCP, JR, CTD, 1799, #1010A. For another example of wage variations, see CCP, JR, Box 154A, 1789, #1057A.

[44]CCP, JR, CTD, 1799, #1029A.

received a daily wage of ten shillings during these years, and his journeymen earned a fee of eight shillings each per day. Frederick Fraser paid an identical rate of 4s. 8d. for the hire of black carpenter Lymus in 1794.[45] Information from a 1797 advertisement for the sale of a twenty-two-year-old carpenter specified that the slave paid his master a wage of 3s. 6d. per day for hiring his own time. A thirty-five-year-old carpenter brought his master a daily wage of four shillings in 1798; the following year a Negro carpenter was offered for hire at the rate of 3s. 8d. per day.[46] Despite these wage variations, the hiring out of a slave carpenter produced a margin of profit for his owner, thus making him a desirable commodity.

Carpenters were by far the largest group of black artisans working in the building trades, and the source materials revealed that they were also the most versatile. The wide variety of tasks which could be performed by this tradesgroup made them a valuable resource on both the plantation and in the city.

Bricklayers and Makers

The third largest group of notations for slaves working in the building trades in the Charleston District was for bricklayers and makers (N=356). Of this number, 301 references were for slaves who

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[45]CCP, JR, CTD, 1797, #369A; Frederick Fraser, entry dated 13 June 1794, Receipt Book (1792-1816), SCHS. See also entry by Peter Palmer, 25 March 1796, Palmer Family Papers (1720-1938), O. S. Box 1, SCL.

[46]CGDA, 6 February 1797; TDA, 19 September 1798; CGDA, 8 February 1799. See also CCP, JR, CTD, 1799, #1038A, in which black carpenters were paid a daily wage of 3s. 6d. in 1792 and 1793.

labored as bricklayers; three of this group were also trained in a non-related skill--one as a field slave, one as a fisherman, and one as a shoemaker. The data further revealed that four slaves worked in two or more significant trades. In addition to bricklaying, one fellow served as a sawyer, one as a painter, one had been taught the trade of carpentry, and the fourth had learned both carpentry and shoemaking. Two additional slaves had been trained as both bricklayers and stonecutters.

There were 53 references to brickmakers; one slave also served as a bricklayer and boatman. Two additional fellows worked in more than one home-related trade. One was both a brickmaker and sawyer; the other a brickmaker, sawyer, and driver. Yet brickmaking appears to be a trade which was not exclusive to male slaves, for in 1788, James Kennedy offered for sale "wenches" accustomed to working in a brick yard.[47] The types of tasks which they performed are not known.

In making bricks, the clay was mixed with water in a pugmill; this equipment was comprised of a large wooden box in which pegs on a central spindle were rotated to form the clay into a stiff paste. This paste was put into a mold which was partitioned to yield from six to eight bricks. After the clay had been packed into the molds, the bricks were allowed to dry on racks for several weeks; they were then baked in a kiln for ten days. John Dupont of Goose Creek noted that his brickmaker could mold 5,000 bricks per day, while a

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[47]CH, 7 July 1788.

fellow offered by James Kennedy supposedly could produce between 5,000 and 6,000.[48]

After the molding, the responsibilities for completing the task of building construction passed to the bricklayers. Some indication of the tools required of a bricklayer can be ascertained from the inventory of John James: 12 trowels, 7 lathing hammers, 1 stone hammer, 3 pickaxes, a sieve, 3 brushes, a claw hammer, 1 broad axe, a cross-cut saw, a hand saw, 9 spades, 3 hoes, a "parcel" of scaffolding boards, and 2 wheelbarrows. James' inventory also included a "parcel" of hearth tiles, 14,000 bricks, and a builder's dictionary.[49] Bricklayer Thomas Gordon owned similar types of tools but, in addition, he had a water level, sun dials, whitewash tubs, mortar, a quantity of English bricks, and a "parcel" of sand. Of the eight slaves listed in Gordon's inventory, at least five worked with him at his trade.[50]

White artisans of related skill were cited most frequently (27 percent) as owners or employers of these slaves; whites of unknown occupations occurred next in frequency (26 percent). Among the white artisans the largest number of slaves (N=76) were owned by white

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[48]Tunis, Colonial Craftsmen, pp. 86-87; CGDA, 18 March 1791; CH, 7 July 1788. The Char. Morn. Post, 11 February 1786, reported that a manufactory established at Goose Creek made tiles comparable to those purchased in Europe. It is possible that black labor was involved in this endeavor.

[49]Charleston Inventory Book BB, 1776-84, pp. 1-4. Although occupations were not indicated for any of James' sixteen slaves, the number of tools in his inventory suggests that some labored with him at his trade.

[50]Charleston Inventory Book W, 1763-67, pp. 296-97; SCG, 30 June 1766.

bricklayers (N=23). Only one white brickmaker was discovered and he owned five slaves who followed his business. Although white artisans in each of the other major building trades owned bricklayers, the number was extremely small.

In a 1770 letter from esquire Peter Manigault to Daniel Blake, Manigault reveals that he also owned slaves involved in building construction.

> The new House in Mulatto Alley is just raised, & will be finished as soon as possible. I did not employ Young about the Brick Work, because he & Gordon never agree, But I have imployed my own Negro Bricklayers, by which It will come much cheaper to you.[51]

Esquires and gentlemen were mentioned as owners or employers in only 14 percent of the notations involving bricklayers and makers; an even smaller percentage of the notations (11 percent) involved planters. When an analysis was made of those planters who owned slave bricklayers, as revealed by estate inventories, it was found that most were classified as "large" slaveholders. According to the criteria set forth in the study, masters in this category owned fifty or more Negroes.[52] This finding suggests a greater degree of self-sufficiency

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[51]Peter Manigault to Daniel Blake, 6 March 1770, Peter Manigault Letterbook (1763-73), SCHS. The Young referred to in the letter may have been bricklayer Thomas Young of Charleston; house carpenter James Gordon may have been responsible for the dwelling construction. Manigault's estate inventory, dated 1774, lists only one bricklayer among the 285 slaves which he owned. Other bricklayers previously may have been sold or their occupation simply was not noted. Charleston Inventory Book &, 1772-76, pp. 405-410.

[52]The inventory of planter Jehu Elliott, for example, listed a total of 165 slaves, two of whom were bricklayers, at his Stono plantation. Elliott's inventory also includes a "parcel" of

on larger plantations. Planter Zachariah Villepontoux had a number of brick kilns on his Goose Creek plantation from which he supplied bricks to Carolinians such as Henry Laurens and for buildings such as St. Michael's Church in Charleston. Among the slaves offered for sale by Villepontoux in 1777 were some brick moulders.[53]

Information regarding the length of apprenticeship or job time for the slave was provided in only a small number of cases. In the single instance in which a specific length of apprenticeship was indicated, the bricklayer had served a term of four years. Ten notations documented that the slave had served an apprenticeship, but the term of service was not given; however, in nineteen cases a specific length of job time was noted. The shortest length of service was less than a year, while two slaves had been employed as bricklayers for as long as seven years. The average length of time spent working at the job was 3.6 years. Six additional slaves had worked at the trade for many years, four had been brought up to the business, and one slave had been employed for "several years."

Again the data were analyzed for information pertaining to the age and racial composition of the sample. As with the other trades, the majority of bricklayers and makers for whom an age was indicated

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bricklayer's tools. Charleston Inventory Book V, 1761-63, pp. 180-84. One exception to this statement is planter William Holliday, whose inventory lists only 23 slaves. Charleston Inventory Book BB, 1776-84, pp. 225-26. In RG, 25 August 1781, Holliday's bricklayer was offered for sale from his estate.

[53]George C. Rogers, ed., The Papers of Henry Laurens, vol. 4: 1 September 1763-31 August 1765 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1974), p. 278; SCAGG, 17 April 1777.

(N=41) were under thirty. Of this group, nineteen slaves were between twenty and twenty-nine, and fourteen were either younger than twenty or "boys." Five slaves were in their thirties, and three were listed as "old." Only 2 percent of all bricklayers and makers were specified as being mulatto or mustee.

Extant data for the early years of the study provide little information regarding a standard wage scale for black bricklayers. In 1759, bricklayer Jacob Axson, Jr. hired out his slave Jack at the rate of £15 per month. The following year, Axson's bricklayer Sam was hired for a monthly fee of £11; bricklayers Andrew and Syrus earned the same wage between September 1767 and November 1768.[54] A bricklayer belonging to Cato Ash was paid a daily sum of £1 5s. in 1770 and again in 1773 for the task of whitewashing. However in 1772, Henry Laurens had hired bricklayers Maumby and Soebacher from John Horlbeck at the rate of only ten shillings each per day.[55]

Between 1783 and 1789, the daily wages paid slave bricklayers appear to be comparable to those earned by carpenters, yet variations did occur according to the skill of the slave and the type of task performed. In 1783 and 1784, bricklayers belonging to Daniel Singelton were paid a sum of 3s. 2d. each per day, but the type of tasks being performed is not known. In 1787, a slave belonging to

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[54]CCP, JR, Box 49B, 1760, #7A; CCP, JR, Box 81B, 1769, #7A.

[55]CCP, JR, CTD, 1792, #42A; Henry Laurens, entry for December 1772, Ledger (1766-73), College of Charleston. Between 1769 and 1775, white laborers working for Cato Ash were paid at the rate of twenty shillings per day. CCP, JR, CTD, 1792, #10A.

John Palmer earned four shillings per day for building a kitchen chimney, and two years later, a Negro bricklayer received a more comparable wage of 4s. 8d. for laying a kitchen hearth.[56]

During the last decade of the century, wages continue to reflect these variations. For building a chimney, underpinning a house, plastering, building a necessary house, laying a hearth, and building steps up to the back door, Charleston bricklayer Laurence Treagy and his white workers were each paid a daily fee of six shillings in 1794; a slave was paid at the rate of 4s. 8d. or 4s. 6d. per day, while a laborer earned only 2s. 6d. or two shillings according to the task. In 1796, slaves belonging to Anthony Toomer earned from three shillings to five shillings per day, the wage again being determined by the task.[57] In 1796, three fellows earned two shillings each per day for making bricks, and two boys were paid one shilling each for the same task; two mortarmakers received a total of eight shillings for one day's work the following year.[58]

Because of the large number of fires which had consumed portions of Charleston and the resultant legislation which required buildings to be constructed of brick, the bricklayers and makers of the Charleston District no doubt were kept busy at their trade.

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[56]CCP, JR, Box 130A, 1786, #457A; James Sinkler to John Palmer, September 1787, Palmer Family Ledger (1777-1811), TS, SCL; CCP, JR, CTD, 1799, #1029A.

[57]CCP, JR, CTD, 1795, #438A; CCP, JR, CTD, 1799, #409A. A bricklayer who had worked at the trade for only nine months was reported to bring in a wage of fifty shillings per month in 1797. See CGDA, 2 March 1797.

[58]CCP, JR, CTD, 1798, #45A, #1022A.

Present-day visitors to the area can attest to the skill and beauty of the brickwork revealed in extant eighteenth-century architecture. Unfortunately, it is impossible to ascertain which of these tasks was carried out by black handicraftsmen.

Painters and Glaziers

The number of blacks working as painters and glaziers in the Charleston District (N=73) was relatively small in comparison to those in other building trades. One reason may be that the tasks which painters performed had less frequency of demand. This group of black craftsmen was also the least diversified; one slave had the multiple skills of painting and cooking. Three additional blacks worked in two significant trades; one was a painter and bricklayer and two were painters and carpenters.

Despite this lack of diversity, the painter and glazier performed a variety of tasks within his own profession. A daybook, attributed to Charleston painter, glazier, and paper hanger Alexander Crawford, revealed that he painted the interiors and exteriors of dwellings, pieces of furniture, doors, and shutters. In December 1790, Crawford painted and glazed a cupboard for Mr. Quinby, a carpenter, for a fee of fourteen shillings. Other tasks included replacing glass in windows, papering walls, gilding and glazing picture frames, and painting coffins, coffin plates, signs, and boats.[59] In 1790, another

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[59]Daybook attributed to Alexander Crawford (1786-95), SCHS. The carpenter referred to could be Henry Quinby who lived at 78 Meeting Street.

Charleston painter, William Coghlan of 22 Union Street, published the following price schedule for his services:

> The subscriber finding materials,--stone colour, twice done, 8d. per square yard; red or chocolate do. 6d. do. mahogany do. 1s. do. blue do. 1s. 3d. do. green do. 1s. 3d. do hanging paper 1s. 6d. per piece; glazing, 9 by 7, 6d. per pane; 10 by 8, 8d. 11 by 9, 10d. 12 by 10, 1s. 4d. 14 by 12, 2s. 6d. Materials found him, two pence per yard, each coat, for all plain work.
> N. B. Work done in the country at the same prices.[60]

The types of equipment and materials used by these tradesmen is likewise detailed in estate inventories. Painter and glazier John Ruger of Charleston owned a total of 54 brushes, a box of glazing tools, a lot of paint pots, a pair of scales, 3 rules, 2 glazier's diamonds, 2 ladders, and one-third part of a box of glass. In addition, Ruger possessed 3 kegs of white lead, 1 paper Prussian blue, 1 paper Vermillion, 2-1/3 casks lamp black, 1 box dry red lead, 1 book gold leaf, 5 casks dry yellow ochre, 1/2 keg Spanish brown, and 1 box of assorted colors; this provides an overview of the colors being used in the low country during the late eighteenth century.[61]

While a visitor to Charleston commented on the seeming lack of upkeep on the dwellings, advertisers praised the skills of their slaves. According to Duke De La Rochefoucault Liancourt,

> Houses otherwise commodious and well furnished, make often but a poor appearance outwardly. They are indifferently painted, or perhaps not at all. The doors and railings are in

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[60] CGDA, 6 May 1790.

[61] CTD, Inventory Book A, 1783-87, p. 444. Ruger's inventory lists one slave of unknown occupation.

> a very bad state. The air being so thick and so saline, soon destroys the colouring.[62]

Nevertheless, a slave between twenty and thirty years old, advertised for sale in 1771, was said to be "without Exception, the best Negro Painter in the Province." Four slaves to be hired out by painter William Wayne of Charleston were "capable of finishing a Piece of Work in any Manner their Employers may think proper to have it." John Allwood readily praised the work of his painters whom he offered for sale because he was leaving the province.[63]

The greatest number of notations for these painters (N=31) was for slaves who were owned or employed by white artisans in related trades. For twelve white painters and glaziers, there were twenty-five references to slaves who followed the same occupation; those remaining were owned by carpenters (N=4) or cabinetmakers (N=2). Other owners included planters and esquires (N=10), widows (N=9), and those with unknown occupations (N=17).[64]

Although the data were analyzed for information concerning level of skill, age, and racial composition, few conclusions can be drawn. No specific length of apprenticeship was given for any of the black painters revealed in the study. In three cases, an apprenticeship of

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[62]La Rochefoucault Liancourt, Travels, 1: 556.

[63]SCAGG, 19 August 1771; SCG, 7 January 1773; SCG, 8 March 1773.

[64]Specifically, there were only two notations to planters as the owners of black painters and eight references for esquires. Due to the infrequency of the task, these groups may have hired painters as the need arose.

unspecified duration had been served. Likewise, no information was provided regarding job time and little concerning ages. In only eight instances was an age range cited. Five of these slaves were less than thirty; one was between thirty and thirty-nine; one was in his fifties; and the last was simply "old." Only 5.5 percent of the sample was mulatto or mustee, with the remainder of the painters being black, or race not indicated.

The data regarding wages for black painters and glaziers were sparse. Based on limited information, the wages earned appear to be comparable to other trades; only sawyers were paid a lower fee. In 1765, Charleston painter and glazier Benjamin Hawes hired slaves from Sarah Perkins at the rate of £15 per month. By 1767, black painters working for William Wayne earned £1 5s. per day.[65] One receipt was found for the 1780s; painter and glazier Alexander Crawford hired a slave assistant for the sum of eighteen shillings sterling per week.[66] Painter John Pierce hired slave Jack from Rawlins Lowndes at the daily rate of two shillings in 1794, but by 1796, slave painters working for Jeremiah Wilcox were being paid five shillings per day. Some wages apparently had increased significantly by 1800 for a slave painter was advertised as having the ability to earn eight shillings per day.[67] However, before accurate comparisons can be made more data is needed.

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[65]CCP, JR, Box 66A, 1766, #135A; Receipt dated 22 February 1768, Baker-Grimké Papers (1735-1900), Box 11-535, SCHS.

[66]CCP, JR, Box 136A, 1788, #95A.

[67]CCP, JR, CTD, 1795, #334A; CCP, JR, CTD, 1797, #650A; CGDA, 16 May 1800.

That there were fewer painters and glaziers than those in the other building trades is indeed surprising, particularly in view of the decorative trends of the eighteenth century. Interior finishes would have required the skills of these craftsmen; papered walls were in vogue prior to the Revolution, and the trend was for plain painted walls after the war. Yet early Charleston legislation required all houses to be built of brick to reduce the danger of fire, which, in turn, lessened the demand for skilled painters and glaziers. Even so, only 2 percent of the black artisans examined were trained in this trade; the percentage of whites is equally small. As yet, further evidence to explain the scarcity of painters and glaziers in the low country has not been unearthed.

Blacksmiths

Although the blacksmith contributed significantly to the building trades, he also was responsible for the creation of a variety of items related to furnishings and interior decoration. In addition to producing tools, nails, and architectural hardware such as locks and hinges, many of these tradesmen crafted fireplace equipment, kitchen utensils, and pots and pans. The versatility of the blacksmith is illustrated by an advertisement published in 1797: Archibald Duncan, of 92 Church Street, indicated that among the items which he fabricated were window sash pulleys; shutter bolts and fastenings; bed and desk hinges; brass furniture for commodes, secretaries, and bookcases--"all in the newest fashion"; curtain rings; brass handles for drawers;

card table hinges; brass knockers; and brass rods and eyes for stair carpeting.[68]

From an analysis of inventories such as that of blacksmith Edward Tash of Charleston, it can be deduced that typical tools of the trade were 3 anvils, 2 pair of bellows, wheel and cutter's tools, 4 vises, 3 sledge hammers, materials for gun work, and a set of small tools. Items detailed in the inventory, which Tash may have hand-crafted, were a lot of hinges, fire dogs, trammels, plows, 3 trivets, a lot of curtain rods, 43 axes, and 806 hooks and thimbles.[69] In addition to the aforementioned tools, the inventories of Andrew Muckenfuss and John Ernst reveal that these blacksmiths had tools for shoeing horses.[70]

An analysis of the tools listed in the estate inventories of numerous Charleston District plantation owners suggests that there were probably more slaves with the skill of blacksmithing than would seem to be indicated by the number of times they were specifically mentioned in the primary literature. Although none of the 107 slaves owned by Benjamin Cattle of St. Andrew's parish were identified by trade, a smith's bellows and anvil were noted among his possessions. The inventory of esquire George Inglis indicates that he had a

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[68]CGDA, 17 April 1797.

[69]CTD, Inventory Book C, 1784-1800, pp. 353-54. The inventory, dated 14 November 1798, lists two slaves of unknown occupations. Tash also owned a Franklin stove.

[70]CTD, Inventory Book A, 1783-87, p. 179; Charleston Inventory Book BB, 1776-84, p. 241. Muckenfuss owned three slaves, including blacksmith Peter.

blacksmith's shop on one of his plantations; included among the tools were a pair of bellows, two vises, an anvil, a beak iron, and a hand hammer and sledge. One blacksmith was noted as working on Inglis' Stono plantation, another at his plantation at Saltcatchers. In another instance, a blacksmith and field slave offered for sale in 1797 was said to be able to "perform much of the usual common Blacksmith's Work necessary on a plantation."[71] Most of these plantation blacksmiths no doubt were involved primarily with requirements for crop production and transportation; meeting basic household needs was a secondary task and one that would have less frequency of demand.

There were no iron works operating in the Charleston District during the period under study. However, the owners of the Aera Furnace, which was incorporated March 3, 1778 in York County, did attempt to attract slave labor for the industry from Charleston and its surrounds. One hundred Negroes were solicited to work at the furnace through a 1779 advertisement which appeared in the South Carolina and American General Gazette; those interested were to apply to owners William Hill "on the spot" or to Isaac Hayne in Charleston. Among items to be manufactured were kitchen utensils, andirons, skillets and pots, Dutch ovens, stoves, and nails.[72] The furnace was destroyed by the British in 1780, however, it reopened after the war and continued to operate

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[71]Charleston Inventory Book T, 1758-61, pp. 524-28; CTD, Inventory Book A, 1783-87, pp. 451-61; CGDA, 9 May 1797.

[72]SCAGG, 3 December 1779; Charlestown Gaz., 11 January 1780. See also Char. Morn. Post, 1 July 1786. York County, which was in the Camden Judicial District, is located in the northern part of the state.

into the nineteenth century. In all, about ninety blacks labored at the iron works.[73]

Between the years 1760 and 1800, a total of 119 notations to slave blacksmiths laboring in the Charleston District were revealed in the study. Of this number, four slaves worked as blacksmiths and oarsmen and two were blacksmiths and field slaves. One additional slave had been trained in the dual trades of carpentry and blacksmithing; another was noted solely as a nail maker.

Only limited information was provided concerning the amount of time the slave had spent learning or working in his trade. One fellow had been apprenticed for seven years; another had served a term of unspecified length. In the six instances in which job time was noted, one slave had been at the trade for a year, two others for three years, and three had been employed as blacksmiths for seven years each. Additional notations indicated that two slaves had labored at the trade for a long time, one had been "brought up" to the business, and two had been practicing for only several years.

There was even less information pertaining to age and racial makeup of this tradesgroup. All but one of the workers was black or race was not indicated. Furthermore, in the few instances in which an age range was noted (N=10), the majority (N=8) were under thirty

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[73]Dick Langford, Jr., Preface, 26 August 1969, Record of the Hill-Hayne Aera-Aetna Iron Works, 1798-1802, in York County, Sheriff's Receipt Book (1809-15), SCDAH; Ernest M. Lander, Jr., "The Iron Industry in Ante-Bellum South Carolina," Journal of Southern History 20 (August 1954): 337-55. During the Revolution, the furnace provided shot to the Patriots.

years of age. One slave was in his thirties, the other between forty and forty-nine years of age.

The greatest number of owners or employers of these slaves were white artisans working in related skills. Specifically, in all but one notation (N=41), the slave was employed by a white blacksmith (N=14). Charleston craftsman David Thomson, for example, owned five fellows who worked with him in his business.[74] The second largest group of notations (N=29) was for whites of unknown occupations. Planters were mentioned as owners or employers in eleven instances; esquires were cited in twenty-two references.

The payment which these owners received for the hiring out of their slaves is unknown for the most part due to the dearth of information revealed in primary sources. Esquire James Michie hired out his blacksmith at the rate of £129 a year according to an advertisement which appeared in April 1764.[75] In 1765 James Lingard of Charleston was summoned to court by Charles Ogilvie for failure to pay an annual sum of £125 for the hire of blacksmith Jemmy. Other references to blacksmiths' wages do not occur until 1797 at which time a slave belonging to the estate of esquire Roger Parker Saunders was hired out for a yearly fee of £25. This wage was significantly less than the annual wage paid for the hire of Saunders' carpenter and

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[74]Charleston Inventory Book Y, 1769-71, p. 420. One blacksmith was owned by a white carpenter.

[75]SCAGG, 18 April 1764. In Michie's 1760 estate inventory, blacksmith Jemmy was valued at £600. See Charleston Inventory Book T, 1758-61, p. 447.

carpenter boy during that same period.[76] Valid comparisons in wage scales cannot be made with slaves laboring in other skills due to limited information.

Less is known about blacksmiths than any other group of slaves trained in the building trades. Few advertisements or other primary source materials describe the skills attained by this group. What also might be considered surprising is the small number of blacksmiths--both black and white--in the Charleston District during the period under study. Blacksmithing seemingly would be a trade with a high frequency of demand in colonial America. Several reasons might be suggested as to why this was not so in the low country. First, given the high volume of trade with Great Britain, many hand-wrought items could be easily imported from abroad. Not only could these articles be purchased ready-made, but also they could be obtained in the very latest style.[77] Secondly, the ever-present white belief that slaves working as blacksmiths possibly might fashion weapons from their materials also must be considered. Because only a limited amount of data has as yet been uncovered, the role and impact of the low-country blacksmith is not fully understood and is a subject worthy of further attention.

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[76]CCP, JR, Box 66A, 1766, #149A; CCP, JR, CTD, 1798, #186A. Carpenter Cato was hired out at the rate of £50 per year; boy Caesar brought in an annual sum of £30.

[77]For example, among the articles which esquire Lewis Ogier purchased in 1785 from Charleston merchants Huxham, Courtney, and Eales, were brass locks, iron-rimmed locks, HL hinges, nails, and hand-saw files. CCP, JR, Box 134A, 1787, #146A.

Although the source materials suggest that slaves performed a variety of tasks in the building of the Charleston District, a question must be raised as to the level of proficiency which they attained. Numerically, the data indicate that slave labor was much in demand. Of course the cost of hiring a black craftsman was less expensive, but if the quality of their work did not meet at least minimum standards of acceptability, it seems doubtful that slaves would continue to have been used in such large numbers. It is also worthy of note that the demand for black labor was such that white artisans felt threatened and demanded legislation to control the hiring process. The fact that blacks generally were paid at a rate approximately one-half of that earned by white tradesmen does not necessarily indicate that they were only half as skilled. What it seems more likely to suggest is the continuing presence of the master-slave relationship. It is probable, therefore, that simply because of his blackness and not the quality of his work, the slave was paid less for his skills.

When slaves labored in more than one trade, most were undoubtedly more proficient in one than the other. Overall the demands of plantation life seem to have led to a greater need for diversification of skills. Of all the slaves working in the building trades, carpenters were the most versatile and because of this factor, it seems that they also were considered the most valuable. Sawyers, on the other hand, might be labelled the least skilled because their craft required little formal training, but the types of services which they

rendered made them essential to the plantation economy. Those slaves laboring in the more exclusive trades of bricklaying, painting, and blacksmithing were owned most frequently by white artisans in the same field, yet these craftsmen did provide an important support network for the plantation. However, not only was black labor essential on the plantation, but it also contributed to the quality of home life in the city. In addition, each of these slaves had skills which could be utilized in the fabrication of the decorative arts. Taken as a whole, those blacks laboring in the building trades constituted an important segment of South Carolina's labor force.

CHAPTER V

BLACK CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DECORATIVE ARTS

It has been said that "the culture of any society . . . is unerringly revealed by the material things which the society needs and the degree of skill which it displays in producing or acquiring them."[1] By examining the articles which South Carolinians used in their daily lives, as detailed in estate inventories, merchants' invoices, and newspaper advertisements, it becomes apparent that many achieved a high standard of living. Although a number of these goods were of European manufacture, an investigation of the source material indicates that many home-related articles were crafted in the low country; further, blacks played a significant role in this production process.

Cabinetmaking

Between 1793 and 1795, Charleston cabinetmaker Charles Desel produced furniture for esquire Daniel Heyward; among the items manufactured were:

1793:	To making a toilet Table	£ .10
1794:	To a Mahogney Dining Table & Tea Table	5.10
	To making a Bed Chair	1.10
1795:	To Six Mahogney Chairs	18.0
	To one pair of Mahogney Card tables	6.0
	To making 10 and two mahogney Arm Chairs	37.0
	To making a Wash hand Stand	1. 8

[1]Burton, Charleston Furniture, p. 3.

To making one Common Table	.15
To making one Mahogney Commoded Slab	10.0
To making an Easy Chair	3.10
To making an Ironing table	.15
To one mahogney Knife Box	. 7
To making one Bedsted	3.0
To making a Bedsted Cornish	1.10
To making a Butlers tray	1.10
To making a Mahogney Secretary	10.
To putting Rockers to a Chair	. 3. 6
To making a Tea Earn Stand[2]	1.5

Records of business transactions such as this confirm the belief that South Carolinians of all social levels purchased locally-made goods.[3] In addition, not only does this list of items indicate Desel's versatility but it also includes a sizeable number of goods produced for just one person in a single year. Surely Desel had workmen to assist him in his trade so that he could meet the needs of all of his clientele.

Although it is not known if Desel had black assistance, the data revealed a total of forty-six notations for slaves working in some phase of the home furnishings trade. Of this number, there were twenty-eight references for cabinetmakers, including one slave who was a cabinetmaker and hair dresser, sixteen notations for joiners and turners, one for a chairmaker, and one for a slave who was a carver and chairmaker. In addition, seven slaves worked in two or more

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[2]CCP, JR, CTD, 1799, #408A. Desel's estate inventory, dated January 25, 1808, indicates that he owned twenty-six slaves. It is not known if any worked as cabinetmakers. CTD, Inventory Book D, 1789-1810, pp. 450-51.

[3]Kolbe, "Thomas Elfe," pp. 45-57. Included among Elfe's customers were planters, merchants, government officials, clergymen, physicians, and tradesmen.

home-related trades. Two each were noted as carpenters and joiners and carpenters and cabinetmakers, one as a sawyer and cabinetmaker, one as a carpenter and chairmaker, and the seventh slave was a house carpenter, cabinetmaker, wheelwright, boatmender, and waterman.

Neither length of apprenticeship nor job time was indicated for any of these tradesmen although it is known that a number were educated in their craft. In a 1771 advertisement, for example, John Fisher stated that he had purchased slaves whom cabinetmaker Stephen Townsend had "brought up to the Business." Several years later, cabinetmaker Richard Magrath announced the sale of a fellow "that he keeps to the Business, who is very fond of work"; and in a will proved on April 14, 1758, Martin Bensky of Charleston instructed his executors to purchase for his son, Johannes, a thirteen- or fourteen-year-old Negro boy who was to be bound out to the cabinetmaker's or joiner's trade.[4]

Both age and race were specified infrequently. An age range was indicated in only nine references; five of these slaves, including the one chairmaker, were between twenty and twenty-nine years of age. Two were less than twenty years old, one was in his forties, and one was between fifty and fifty-nine years of age. Only two slaves were labelled as mulattoes; the others were either black or race was not specified.

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[4]SCAGG, 17 June 1771; SCG, 17 October 1774; Char. Co., Will Book, 1757-60, p. 110.

For the most part, these black cabinetmakers and joiners belonged to or were employed by white artisans in related trades. Aside from the slaves owned by white cabinetmakers, there were nine notations to joiners or turners who were owned or employed by two white artisans in the same trade; in addition, a white joiner owned the slave chairmaker. In three notations the slave was employed by a white person of an unknown occupation; esquires were cited as the owners or employers in two references to cabinetmakers and one to a joiner. One notation for a cabinetmaker and three for joiners revealed that the tradesmen were owned by planters; a slave who labored as a carpenter and cabinetmaker and another who worked in numerous trades among which were house carpentry and cabinetmaking also belonged to planters.

In further examining the ownership of black cabinetmakers and joiners by white craftsmen, all but one belonged to masters who labored in the same trade.[5] For nine white cabinetmakers, there were twenty-three references to the ownership or employment of black cabinetmakers; one of the group owned a slave who worked as both a cabinetmaker and sawyer, and another had a slave trained as a carver and chairmaker. Cabinetmaker Peter Hall announced the sale of two fellows who could work in his business in 1767. Thomas Elfe bequeathed three black cabinetmakers--Joe, Jack, and Paul--to his son Thomas in a will dated July 1, 1775.[6] Cabinetmaker John Fisher owned several

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[5]Painter and glazier Mark Morris announced that he had purchased a turner from the estate of John Prue in 1773. SCG, 19 April 1773.

[6]SCG, 9 March 1767; Char. Co., Will Book, 1776-84, pp. 71-77.

slaves who worked with him, although the sources disclose that these slaves may have been more trouble than they were worth. In 1771, Fisher announced that he had purchased stock in trade and Negroes belonging to cabinetmaker Stephen Townsend. In January 1773, Fisher advertised that one of these, twenty-seven-year-old Abraham, had run away; two months later he noted the absence of twenty-seven-year-old Peter, who also had belonged to Townsend. Peter evidently was returned to his owner, because in 1777, Fisher noted that he had run away again with his cabinetmakers York and mulatto Jamie. Then in 1781 Fisher advertised that his seventeen-year-old carver and chairmaker, known particularly for his impudent behavior, also had absconded.[7] How many of these slaves eventually were returned to Fisher is not known.

Although few records exist, slave cabinetmakers who were hired out by their owners appear to have earned wages comparable to those of black carpenters. In August 1771, two fellows belonging to Thomas Elfe were paid a total of £3 for one and one-half day's work putting up bedsteads, putting on castors, and mending. Several months later, Elfe's cabinetmaker Paul was paid an identical rate of £1.10s. for moving and putting up bedsteads for one and one-half days. Two fellows who worked a half day in 1772 were paid thirty shillings each for hanging mirrors, and by 1774, two Negroes who worked one day taking down furniture together earned a total sum of £2.10s.[8] It may be

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[7]SCAGG, 17 June 1771; SCG, 7 January 1773, 22 March 1773; SCAGG, 31 July 1777, 21 February 1781.

[8]"The Thomas Elfe Account Book," SCHM 36 (January 1935): 12; "The Thomas Elfe Account Book," SCHM 36 (April 1935): 60; "The Thomas

significant that all of these wages were paid for services rendered rather than for actual furniture construction. Between 1783 and 1789, the few extant records reveal that black cabinetmakers were earning a standard wage of 4s. 8d. per day for their services. By the last decade of the eighteenth century, the daily wage for blacks appears to have been 3s. 6d. to four shillings according to the task performed.[9] Minimal numbers of references to slave wages make comparisons difficult.

Slaves belonging to white artisans were not the only blacks producing furniture. George Holmes, a James Island planter, advertised that his carpenter and cabinetmaker Simon had run away in 1785; the 1775 estate inventory of esquire George Inglis revealed the presence of a black cabinetmaker on his Stono plantation.[10] Although occupations were not listed for a number of slaves mentioned in estate inventories, the fact that joiner's tools were included with some frequency implies that other plantation slaves may have been involved in some aspect of cabinetmaking.[11] In a household account dated June 11,

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Elfe Account Book," SCHM 37 (January 1936): 31; "The Thomas Elfe Account Book," SCHM 39 (October 1938): 165.

[9]CCP, JR, CTD, 1791, #267A; CCP, JR, Box 144A, 1789, #252A; CCP, JR, CTD, 1796, #210A.

[10]CH, 2 June 1785; CTD, Inventory Book A, 1783-87, p. 459.

[11]The inventory of esquire Frances Lander of St. Andrew's Parish, for example, lists twenty-five slaves, plus joiner's tools and a mahogany couch frame. Charleston Inventory Book V, 1761-63, pp. 61-63. See also Ibid., Book X, 1768-69, pp. 61-63; Ibid., Book &, 1772-76, pp. 172-73.

1796, St. John's Berkley planter Henry Ravenel recorded that he had paid Scipio one pound for making tables and a knife box.[12] At a later date, Charles Drayton wrote in his diary that "Quash & his gang came to make large tables for kitchen & serv. hall";[13] although written in the early nineteenth century, there is nothing to indicate that the activities of this group differed greatly from the tasks required of eighteenth-century slaves.

In addition to crafting items for the homes of their masters, some slave cabinetmakers and carpenters may have been responsible for furnishing the slave cabins. These furnishings may have consisted of little more than a few simple beds, tables, chairs or benches, and cooking utensils.[14] In this regard, little data has been uncovered for this aspect of the slave's life in eighteenth-century South Carolina.

In contrast to the small number of notations for black tradesmen involved in furniture production, a total of 118 white cabinetmakers were identified as working in the Charleston District at some time between the years of 1760 and 1800. The types of tasks performed

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[12]Entry for 11 June 1796, Housekeeping Accounts (1795-96), Henry Ravenel Papers, SCHS.

[13]Entry for 2 February 1809, Charles Drayton Diaries, TS, Drayton Hall.

[14]See John W. Blassingame, The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 159-60; Leslie Howard Owens, This Species of Property: Slave Life and Culture in the Old South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 136-37; Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll, pp. 530-31.

by these tradesmen were varied. The account book of cabinetmaker Thomas Elfe indicates that, in addition to constructing a large volume of furniture, he made spokes for carriage maker Richard Hart, handles for coffee and teapots for silversmiths Philip Tidyman and James Courtonne, and mahogany picture frames for artist Jeremiah Theus; the account book also contains 482 references to his mending furniture.[15] Among the duties which cabinetmaker Nicholas Silberg performed for esquire William Wragg in 1799 were repairing and stuffing twelve chairs, replacing a stretcher on a bason stand, repairing a table hinge and a commode, and making a large liquor case.[16]

In addition to providing these types of services, Charleston District cabinetmakers used several techniques in an attempt to attract buyers for their goods. For example, in 1796 cabinetmaker Edward Johnson, who had come to Charleston from Philadelphia, stressed that his furniture was crafted in the "latest style" when he offered "Elegant & Modern Furniture" including sideboards, card tables of various patterns and figures, breakfast tables, chairs of the "newest" patterns, japanned or painted chairs, and ladies' commodes. Cabinetmaker Thomas Elfe sought to appeal to a broad spectrum of the population by varying his prices according to the design of the piece. A plain double chest-of-drawers, for example, cost £75-80 local

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[15]Kolbe, "Thomas Elfe," pp. 25-27, 43. Kolbe, p. 28, notes that between 1768 and 1775, Elfe sold a total of 1,552 pieces of furniture.

[16]William Wragg to Nicolas Silberg, entries for 21 March, 9 August, 20 August, 5 November 1799, Wragg Family Papers (1708-ca. 1860), SCHS.

currency. A pierced pediment increased the price by £5, and a fret cost an additional sum of £5. Elfe charged £80 for a mahogany clothes press; one constructed of cypress could be obtained for half the cost.[17] No doubt carver and gilder John Parkinson was attempting to attract business from the planter class when he noted "Orders from the Country punctually obeyed"; in a 1764 advertisement, cabinetmaker John Packrow thanked his country and town customers for favoring him with their business.[18]

An analysis of furniture woods revealed in Charleston District estate inventories suggests that a large amount of furniture probably was produced locally. Mahogany, which trade statistics indicate was a principal return from the West Indies' trade, was the primary wood used in eighteenth-century furniture construction.[19] Charleston cabinetmaker John Watson crafted several pieces of furniture in mahogany, including two chests-of-drawers, for esquire Daniel Fludd in 1796; Watson also made Fludd an inlaid secretary and wardrobe, although the types of wood used were not specified. The following year, the esquire purchased a dozen mahogany chairs and a mahogany bedstead with a complete cornice from Watson's workshop.[20] A 1765 estate inventory

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[17]TMDA, 3 March 1796; E. Milby Burton, "Thomas Elfe, Charleston Cabinet-Maker," Charleston Museum Leaflet No. 25 (Charleston: Charleston Museum, 1952), pp. 22-23, 25.

[18]SCAGG, 12 February 1778; SCG, 12 November 1764.

[19]Victor S. Clark, History of Manufactures in the United States, vol. 1: 1607-1860 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1929), p. 99.

[20]CCP, JR, CTD, 1799, #180A. It must be noted that mahogany also was used in English furniture.

for Charleston widow Mrs. Ruth Bedon notes that she owned twelve mahogany chairs with eagle's claws, a characteristic of furniture made in the Chippendale style.[21]

Other woods which may indicate low-country origin were cypress, cedar, poplar, and red bay. Cedar seemed to appear most often in the form of tables, and a number of clothes presses were constructed of cypress, although esquire James Parsons had several cypress bedsteads on his various plantations. Among the furnishings belonging to esquire James Sinkler of St. Stephen's Parish were two cypress presses, four small cypress tables and candlestands, one walnut butler, fourteen green chairs, and a dozen hickory chairs.[22] Eighteen chairs constructed of red bay were owned by James Island planter William Screven.[23]

Woods of lesser importance in eighteenth-century South Carolina included hickory, ash, and satinwood. Charleston esquire Thomas Lamboll owned twenty hickory chairs, and the inventory of gentleman Francis Roche of St. Thomas' Parish lists thirty, all with straw

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[21]Charleston Inventory Book W, 1763-67, p. 246.

[22]Charleston Inventory Book BB, 1776-84, pp. 190-201; CTD, Inventory Book D, 1789-1810, p. 91. The green chairs mentioned undoubtedly were in the windsor style. Chairs of this type appear frequently in Charleston District inventories; Sir John Colleton, for example, had twelve green windsor chairs in his hall. See Charleston Inventory Book BB, 1776-84, p. 123. Walnut, particularly black walnut, appears with some regularity in Charleston District inventories; since this cabinetwood was used in other geographical areas, it may or may not indicate a low-country origin.

[23]Charleston Inventory Book T, 1758-61, p. 420.

bottoms.[24] E. Milby Burton has confirmed that several species of hickory are indigenous to coastal Carolina, as was ash, a wood used only occasionally in Charleston furniture construction. Elizabeth Fleming of Christ Church Parish owned twelve ash chairs, and Thomas Elfe was known to have crafted at least one bedstead from the wood. More frequently, however, Elfe's bedsteads were constructed of mahogany or tulip poplar.[25] References to satinwood, popular in the latter part of the century, were infrequent in Charleston District inventories. However, listed among the furnishings owned by Charleston esquire Thomas Hutchinson, Jr., in 1791 were a pair of satinwood card tables, a satinwood tea table, and two two-post satinwood bedsteads, one having chintz bed curtains.[26] Whether these pieces were imported from England or whether the satinwood to make them was brought in from the West Indies is unknown.

An examination of estate inventories provides further insight into the tools and materials used in furniture construction as well as the types of pieces which were being produced locally by these eighteenth-century craftsmen. Among the items belonging to Charleston cabinetmaker Robert Liston were four saws, a clamp, three holdfasts,

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[24]Charleston Inventory Book &, 1772-76, p. 319; Ibid., Book X, 1768-69, p. 250.

[25]Burton, Charleston Furniture, p. 36; Charleston Inventory Book &, 1772-76, p. 616; Burton, "Thomas Elfe," p. 25; Kolbe, "Thomas Elfe," p. 41, states that of 130 bedsteads sold by Elfe, 72 were made of mahogany, 48 were poplar, 6 had poplar headboards and mahogany posts, and 3 were of cypress.

[26]CTD, Inventory Book B, 1787-93, p. 403.

gouges, chisels, a lathe, "common" planes, grooving and rabbet planes, fore planes, smoothing planes, fifteen long planes, and fourteen pairs of hollows and rounds. Also noted were parcels of mahogany and poplar plank, an unfinished desk, a bedstead with mahogany posts, "stuff" for eight chairs, and a jug of linseed oil.[27] Cabinetmaker Thomas Stocks owned many of the same types of tools; in addition Stocks had a vise, two work benches, a whip saw, chair nails, table hinges, a "bundle" of glue, and several sets of coffin furniture.[28] The cabinetmaking tools and benches in the shop of Thomas Elfe were appraised at £450 in 1776; furniture listed in his shop included mahogany chair frames, two bedsteads with eagle's claws, and frames for an easy chair and sofa, plus parcels of mahogany, cypress, poplar, cedar and ash.[29] Of particular note is the stock in trade detailed in the inventory of Charleston cabinetmaker and upholsterer William Jones. In addition to seven work benches and "sundry" tools, furniture in his workshop included: four mahogany bedsteads, a pair of inlaid tea tables, three dining tables, an inlaid cellaret, a commode, a bureau, an inlaid stand, two easy chairs, an unfinished bookcase, an unfinished sofa,

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[27]Charleston Inventory Book T, 1758-61, pp. 337-38. Liston's inventory is not dated, but a 3 May 1760 issue of the South Carolina Gazette reported his death. Liston owned three slaves--a wench, a boy, and a girl--all of unknown occupations.

[28]Charleston Inventory Book T, 1758-61, pp. 303-4. In identifying the uses of these various tools, Charles F. Hummel, With Hammer in Hand: The Dominy Craftsmen of East Hampton, New York (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968), is particularly helpful.

[29]Kolbe, "Thomas Elfe," p. 76; Charleston Inventory Book CC, 1776-78, pp. 77-80.

two unfinished wardrobes, and an unfinished desk; also cited were parcels of mahogany, pine, and ash, plus "sundry" drying wood and stringing. Items used for upholstering included a "lott" of hair, brass nails, nine pieces of girt webbing, hair seating, and five sets of mattress covers.[30] The scope of Jones' inventory indicates that he was an extremely versatile craftsman.

A small number of white craftsmen were involved in some other aspect of furniture production. An examination of the primary source materials disclosed that there were five chairmakers, six turners, eight joiners, and nine carvers and gilders working in the low country at some time during the period under study. In an advertisement posted in January 1767, turner Joshua Eden on King Street noted that he crafted banisters, bed posts, table frames, and straw-bottom chairs. Carver and gilder John Parkinson produced frames for pictures and mirrors, and Humeston and Stafford advertised in 1798 that they not only made, repaired, and painted all kinds of chairs but that their windsor chairs and green settees were warranted.[31]

The data further revealed that a number of carpenters engaged in cabinetmaking upon occasion; for example, Johann Martin Bolzius noted in 1751 that "several carpenters also do lathe and cabinet work if necessary, and have the necessary tools."[32] The inventory of

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[30]CTD, Inventory Book B, 1787-93, pp. 495-96. Jones' inventory does not list any slaves.

[31]SCG, 19 January 1767; SCAGG, 12 February 1778; CGDA, 29 November 1798.

[32]"Johann Martin Bolzius Answers a Questionnaire on Carolina and Georgia," trans. Klaus G. Loewald, Beverly Starika, and

Thomas Lining of Charleston, who was referred to as a carpenter and joiner, included 9 work benches, a turning lathe and wheel, 44 gouges and chisels, 42 ogee and other moulding planes, 30 pairs of hollows and rounds, 27 broad and narrow paring chisels, 24 bench planes, a lot of augers, rasps and files, mortise chisels, a complete mahogany bedstead, a complete poplar bedstead, a mahogany bureau, seven dozen handles, some curled hair, and two folios on architecture.[33] In addition to doing carpenter's work for esquire George Abbott Hall's Ashley River plantation between 1783 and 1789, house carpenter John Clement crafted oval stools and coffins, and performed several other cabinetmaker's tasks. Further, with the aid of their slaves, John Wyatt and Bernard Richardson, who were cited primarily as house carpenters, made items such as a bookcase and a cypress writing desk for their various patrons.[34]

Yet there is evidence that these craftsmen, both black and white, had competition from imported goods. In 1784, Cohen and Alexander announced a public auction of furniture just imported from London. Among the items to be sold were twenty-four dyed chairs with yoke tops and matted seats, two sofas upholstered with satin haircloth, forty-eight mahogany chairs and four elbow chairs covered in the same

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Paul S. Taylor, William and Mary Quarterly, 3d series, 15 (April 1958): 246.

[33]Charleston Inventory Book V, 1761-63, pp. 525-28. Lining owned twelve slaves of unknown occupations.

[34]CCP, JR, CTD, 1791, #267A; CCP, JR, CTD, 1796, #210A; CCP, JR. CTD, 1799, #171A.

fabric, three wainscot bedsteads with plain mahogany feet, four mahogany dining tables with tapered feet, and two solid mahogany Pembroke tables with rounded flaps and tapered feet.[35] Low-country tradesmen competed not only with products of European manufacture but also with articles imported in the coastal trade. For example, chairs, desks, tables, iron pots, earthenware, and tinware were among the items brought in from Salem, Massachusetts, on board the Brigantine Polly to be sold on Colonel Beale's wharf in 1766. Some years later, Adam Gilchrist advertised the sale of New York furniture, including mahogany sideboards, bureaus, bookcases, desks, chests, tables, and windsor chairs; and Richard Brenan on Broad Street offered windsor chairs and settees from Philadelphia in 1798.[36]

While Charleston District cabinetmakers were receiving some competition for their trade, a number of factors would seem to confirm that a large quantity of furniture was made locally. The cost of shipping furniture, particularly from Europe, must have been extremely high. Furniture was also bulky in scale, and no doubt cargo space was at a premium.[37] Furthermore, to encourage home manufactures, the United States government in 1790 levied a duty of 7-1/2 percent,

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[35]PA, 5 June 1784. For another example, see CCP, JR, CTD, 1793, #256A.

[36]CJ, 21 January 1766; CGDA, 7 August 1789, 15 May 1798.

[37]Burton introduces these ideas in Charleston Furniture, pp. 6-7. For a discussion of such theories based on a study of location economics, see books such as Peter E. Lloyd and Peter Dicken, Location in Space: A Theoretical Approach to Economic Geography (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), pp. 73-93.

ad valorem, on all cabinetwares brought into the country.[38] All of these factors should have proven to be a boon to local craftsmen in their efforts to compete with goods of foreign manufacture.

British trade statistics for the years 1760 to 1800 seem to support this belief. The declared values of cabinetware and upholstered pieces shipped to Carolina, Barbados, New England, and the combined areas of Maryland and Virginia were recorded for the period under study. Of the four regions examined, shipments of these goods to Barbados had the highest declared value for twenty-one of the forty years.[39]

In the early years of the period of investigation, 1760 to 1774, more upholstered goods and cabinetware were shipped from London to the colonies of Maryland and Virginia than to the other colonies, including the combined area of North and South Carolina. In 1772, for example, cabinetware bound for Maryland and Virginia was valued at £10 sterling while upholstered goods were listed at £1320. In contrast, the figures for Carolina were £10 for cabinetware and £230 for upholstery.[40]

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[38]Milligan, Charleston Directory, 1790.

[39]W. E. Minchinton, gen. ed., Customs 3, 1696-1780: British Records Relating to America in Microform (London: Public Records Office, 1974), vols. 1, 60-80; Walter Minchinton, gen. ed., Customs 17, 1772-1808 (London: Public Records Office, n.d.), mfm., vols. 7-22. Up until 1780, goods bound for Carolina were intended for both the north and south regions. After 1780, the term "Carolina" refers specifically to the state of South Carolina.

[40]Minchinton, Customs 3, 1772, vol. 72. All figures quoted are in pounds British sterling. More upholstered furniture consistently was imported from London than cabinetware.

Although furniture bound from London to Virginia and Maryland had the highest valuation rate for five of the pre-Revolutionary years, the same can be said for Barbados for four years during this same period, and shipments to North and South Carolina and New England each received the highest valuation in three separate years.

During the war years, the British occupation of Charleston had a direct effect on the trade statistics. Between 1780 and 1781, Charleston was the only port in the four regions to receive goods from England. In 1782, Barbados received upholstered goods and cabinetware valued at £554 as compared to £800 for Carolina; however, ports in New England and Maryland and Virginia remained closed to most British exports.

Post-Revolutionary trade statistics reveal that a majority of furnishings were bound for the Caribbean. New England received cabinetware and upholstered goods having the highest valuation rate in only two of the fifteen post-war years, and the same is true for the Maryland and Virginia region. Goods bound for South Carolina consistently were assigned a lower declared value.[41] Overall, the data confirm that no more furniture was imported into South Carolina directly from England than into the other American regions studied, and in fact, the port of Charleston received goods valued at less than those shipped to Maryland and Virginia.

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[41]Minchinton, Customs 17, 1780-1800, vols. 7-22. After 1780, goods from both London and the British outports are included in the trade statistics.

Theoretically, Charleston cabinetmakers should have had no more competition from foreign goods than those craftsmen laboring in other areas of the country. However, these statistics must be viewed with some caution for a number of reasons. The place to which the goods were shipped did not necessarily indicate the final destination. Further, furnishings were recorded "at value" according to a statement of worth by the exporter. Since these goods were subject to a duty, many merchants attempted to underdeclare their value which suggests that some entries were fraudulent; nor do records take into account smuggling or the possibility of clerical errors.[42] Nevertheless, trade statistics do provide an overall picture of the amount of furniture exported from England.

Thus, although it appears that a large amount of cabinetware was locally produced, many questions remain regarding furniture production in the Charleston District. The exact role of the black in the production process is still unclear. Was a slave cabinetmaker responsible for the total construction of a piece of furniture which was then sold under the shop label, or did the slave simply perform only one task in the construction of the whole piece? How much furniture was constructed by slave carpenters and cabinetmakers for use on the plantation? Until primary source materials are uncovered which reveal answers to these questions, blacks will never receive full credit for their contributions to the furniture-making process.

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[42]Minchinton, Customs 3, Introduction, vol. 1; Schumpeter, English Overseas Trade Statistics, pp. 4-10.

Upholsterers

Because British trade statistics show that more upholstered furniture than cabinetware was shipped from London to South Carolina, it was not surprising that the source materials revealed smaller numbers of both white and black artisans laboring in this more specialized trade. Accordingly, only seven notations were for slaves trained as upholsterers; one of this group also worked as a tailor. White owners of these slaves included an upholsterer, a government official, and four individuals of unknown occupations.[43] It is possible that these slaves were employed by a white cabinetmaker or upholsterer.

Little more is known about this particular group of black artisans. No length of apprenticeship is cited for any of the slaves; however, one fellow had worked at the trade for many years and another, belonging to Charleston upholsterer Richard Fowler, had been "brought up" to the business. An age range was given in only two references; one slave was between twenty and twenty-nine years of age, the other was in his forties. All were either black or race was not indicated.

The total number of notations for white upholsterers working in the Charleston District at some time during the period under study was nineteen. Seven additional white artisans were referred to as cabinetmakers and upholsterers, and Guillaume Echausse advertised in

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[43]Craftsman Richard Fowler offered a black upholsterer for sale in July 1773, and another in March of the following year, thereby accounting for the total number of notations. It is probable that these two notations refer to the sale of the same slave. SCG, 26 July 1773; CJ, 1 March 1774.

1799 that he made wool, cotton, hair, and moss mattresses.[44] Only one white upholsterer was cited as owning a slave who labored with him in his trade.

Despite the small number, these craftsmen performed tasks which were an essential part of the furniture construction process. In addition to covering seating pieces, other functions of the upholsterer included putting up and taking down beds, making bed hangings and curtains, hanging wallpaper, and importing textiles.[45] In an advertisement appearing in the South Carolina Gazette on February 2, 1765, upholsterer John Mason on King Street published a price schedule for his services:

For making a plain bed	£3
For each window curtain	1.10
For making a pavillion	2
For an easy chair cover	3
For a French chair cover	1
For covering and papering a screen	3
For papering a screen	1.10

Mason further noted that "he likewise repairs easy chairs, and French ditto, and papers rooms at a low rate; and will engage the paper to stay up."[46] Upholsterer Richard Bird provided an equally revealing comment in a 1762 advertisement when he stated that the wallpaper would

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[44]TDA, 3 September 1799. Although no occupation is listed for Deodatus Bradshaw of Charleston, the items in his estate inventory suggest that he also worked as a mattress maker. See CTD, Inventory Book A, 1783-87, pp. 521-22.

[45]Wendy A. Cooper, In Praise of America: American Decorative Arts, 1650-1830 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), p. 54.

[46]SCG, 2 February 1765. See also CCP, JR, Box 101A, 1774, #164A.

be "hung with a paste that has a peculiar quality of destroying all vermin in walls."[47]

The estate inventory of Charleston upholsterer Walter Russell supplies some clues as to the type of equipment and materials used by these tradesmen. Listed among his possessions were a parcel of horsehair seating, chair webbing, a "lott" of tools, a sieve, brass nails, curtain rings, sash pulleys, lead and brass hinges, castors, fringe and tassels, frames for window curtains, two wooden horses, a step ladder, two half-finished easy chairs, and what appears to be a copy of Chippendale's Director.[48] During the eighteenth century, curled hair seems to have been used most commonly for stuffing upholstered pieces. Thomas Elfe was known to have used this material, and in 1756, upholsterer Edward Weyman advertised that he would give "the best prices for hogs Bristles, Horses manes and tails, and cow tails."[49] An examination of furnishings listed in inventories disclosed that haircloth was one of the most frequently used upholstery fabrics; other domestic textiles included calico, cotton chintz, damask, linen, and leather.[50]

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[47]SCG, 11 September 1762.

[48]Charleston Inventory Book CC, 1776-78, p. 9. Russell owned two slaves of unknown occupations.

[49]Cooper, In Praise of America, p. 66; Kolbe, "Thomas Elfe," p. 14; SCG, 25 November 1756.

[50]See Charleston Inventory Book CC, 1776-78, p. 9; "The Thomas Elfe Account Book," SCHM 35 (April 1934): 60, 64; SCG, 7 January 1765.

The exact nature of the tasks performed by black upholsterers is not known, and no record has been found as yet of a black artisan hired out for a daily wage. More data is needed before the contributions of this group of craftsmen can be assessed fully.

Silversmiths

The slave silversmith represents another group for whom little information is available. Both the types of tasks performed by blacks and the amount of time spent learning or working at the trade remain in question. The source materials revealed a total of only nine notations for these tradesmen, and a length of apprenticeship was not specified in any of the references. However in 1769, John Paul Grimke, who intended to retire from business, advertised the sale of two Negro boys who had been "brought up to the jeweller's trade." Grimke indicated that the boys could "make gold rings and buttons, engrave them very neatly, and do many other kinds of work"; he offered a month's trial to any interested person. One of these slaves, a fifteen-year-old mustee named Joe, must never have been sold, because in a 1771 advertisement Grimke stated that Joe had gone to work for jeweller James Oliphant from whom he had run away with his wages. In offering a reward of one hundred pounds for the return of Joe, Grimke again commented that his slave had worked at the silversmith's trade for "many years."[51] The length of time spent on the job was given in two additional references: in one, the black had worked at his

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[51]SCG, 13 July 1769; SCAGG, 31 December 1771.

trade for three years, and in the other, the slave had labored for "many years."

Although the number of notations for slave silversmiths is small, the data provided information pertaining to the age and race of these craftsmen. An age range was indicated in two-thirds of the notations; for the most part, these black artisans began to work at a young age. In two citations, the slave was under twenty; in three, they were referred to as "boys"; and in one, the fellow was between twenty and twenty-nine years of age. Of all the home-related trades, the profession of silversmithing had the highest percentage (33.3 percent) of slaves identified as mulattoes or mustees.

Considering the large number of white silversmiths, jewellers, and clock and watchmakers (N=114) who practiced their trade in the Charleston District at some time between the years 1760 and 1800, this dearth of slave craftsmen may be surprising. Several reasons might be suggested for this. It is possible that the materials with which the artisan worked were so valuable that whites did not want to entrust them to black hands.[52] Further, whites may have perceived the trade as being highly artistic in nature and as allowing for some degree of self-expression. The white concept of black creativity and artistic ability is an area deserving further study.

An examination of the owners of these black tradesmen may provide some additional clues. Four white silversmiths were referred

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[52]This hypothesis was first set forth in George Barton Cutten, The Silversmiths of Georgia Together with Watchmakers and Jewelers, 1733 to 1850 (Savannah: Pigeonhole Press, 1958), p. 3.

to in six of the slave notations; in two notations the occupation of the owner was not listed, and in one a government official either owned or employed the slave. The training process for black silversmiths was probably lengthy, and the sale or hire of these slaves generally was limited to those working in the same trade. No black silversmith was noted as working in any other trade; this seems to indicate that the demands of the skill limited versatility. The number of slaves apprenticed to a particular trade may have been determined, in part, by the level of demand for that skill on the plantation. Because the items crafted by the silversmith could be imported from abroad or purchased from the sizeable number of whites laboring in the Charleston District, the reasons for the dearth of black artisans become more readily apparent. It may be that silversmithing was the most exclusive trade to which the black artisan was apprenticed.

Although the source materials reveal that a large number of white tradesmen were living in the low country during the latter part of the eighteenth century, it is not known how many actually produced goods, imported artifacts for resale in their shops, or engaged in mending only. Among the items known to have been manufactured by silversmiths such as James Jacks were tea and coffee urns, sugar dishes, tea caddies, candlesticks, snuffers, wall sconces, flatware, tea trays, japanned dressing cases, and clocks.[53] Tools and materials common to

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[53]See, for example, CGDA, 25 November 1794. In 1784, a japanned coffee pot, 2 pair of glass shades with glass candlesticks, a tea urn, and an oval japanned tea tray were among the items which esquire Richard Beresford purchased from merchant John S. Cripps and Company, which may indicate that these goods were imported. CCP, JR, Box 135B, 1788, #43A.

the trade were listed in the estate inventory of Alexander Petrie; these included three sets of silver and gold scales with weights, a watchmaker's bench and tools, silversmith's files, old gold and clock work, and a number of watch glasses. Items owned by Charleston goldsmith John Miot included a work bench and working tools, a box with casting sand, one old vise, two anvils, a teaster, fourteen draw plates, a large and a small pair of bellows, five casting flasks, six hammers, and a flatting mill. Executors listed a large number of stones for seals and rings, pliers, vises, files, an ingot blowing pipe, punches, a drill, patterns, and moulds among the items belonging to silversmith Wilson Dalzell.[54] With how many of these tools a slave became proficient remains in question.

Only four white silversmiths are known to have had the help of slave craftsmen. The executors of one of these men, Charleston artisan Alexander Petrie, offered a black tradesman for sale from his estate in 1768. Although slave Abraham was valued at £400, he later was sold to silversmith Jonathan Sarrazin for a sum of £810; this suggests that Abraham was skilled in his trade.[55] Thus a skilled black silversmith obviously was a rare and valuable commodity since only nine notations to slave artisans were uncovered, and several of these referred to the same slave.

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[54]Charleston Inventory Book X, 1768-69, pp. 365-69; CTD, Inventory Book B, 1787-93, pp. 405-6; Ibid., Book A, 1783-87, pp. 58-59. For one description of the methods used by colonial silversmiths, see Thomas Bullock and William DeMatteo, "Silversmithing in Colonial America," Chronicle of the Early American Industries Association 9 (February 1956): 1-6, 10.

[55]CJ, 22 March 1768; Charleston Inventory Book X, 1768-69, p. 367.

Tallow Chandlers

An examination of the primary source materials revealed that there were thirty-two white tallow chandlers working in the Charleston District at some time between the years of 1760 and 1800. Although many South Carolinians no doubt purchased their soap and candles from these tradesmen, estate inventories indicate that others manufactured these articles at home. One and a half dozen candle molds were listed in the inventory of Charleston carpenter Hugh Anderson. Planter Thomas Clifford had six fluted molds on his estate in St. Bartholomew's Parish.[56] It is not known how much competition white artisans received from home manufactures, but in 1769 Charleston tallow chandler William Bolton claimed that he could not support his wife with the money he earned from his trade.[57]

In all, there was a total of ten notations for slaves who labored as tallow chandlers; one of these fellows worked as both a tallow chandler and a groom. John Potts of Charleston was assisted in the trade by his slave tallow chandler and soap boiler who was offered for sale from Potts' estate in 1785; another Charleston tallow chandler, John Hatfield, sold his fellow York because of financial difficulties. These two notations were the only references to slaves working for white tallow chandlers revealed in the study. However, according to a grievance against soap and candle manufacturers in

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[56]Charleston Inventory Book V, 1761-63, pp. 465-67, 254-61.

[57]Misc. Rec., Book OO, 1767-71, p. 66.

Charleston, presented to the Court of General Sessions in 1774, the business was carried on primarily by Negroes.[58]

In addition to the two references to slaves who were owned by white tallow chandlers, six notations revealed slaves whose masters had unknown occupations, one was owned by an esquire, and another was owned or employed by a white artisan in a non-related trade. Other slaves belonging to plantation owners may actually have been practicing the trade, perhaps in combination with other tasks; again, equipment and materials listed in estate inventories lend support to this belief.

Only limited information was uncovered concerning apprenticeship, job time, age, or race. A term of apprenticeship was not indicated for any of these slaves. There were three references to the length of time the artisan had worked at his trade: one fellow had been on the job for two years, one for three years, and a slave belonging to tallow chandler John Hatfield had been "brought up" to the business. In the four instances in which an age range was cited, one slave was labelled a "boy," two fellows were in their twenties, and one was between thirty and thirty-nine years of age. All were black or race was not indicated.

References to the types of equipment and materials used in the trade were equally limited. Only one estate inventory for a tallow chandler, that of Richard Woodcock, exists for this period; among the items enumerated were a large iron kettle, a crackling press, tallow chandler's tools, soap boxes and molds, carpenter's tools, nine vessels

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[58]PA, 13 April 1785; CJ, 26 December 1769; SCG, 31 October 1774.

of ordinary tallow, four casks and two cakes of tallow, and eight boxes of candles.[59] However, a price schedule published by Bernard Callaghan in 1784 provides some additional clues as to the types of materials and processes used in candle and soap making:

	ls.	4d.	lb.
White wax mould candles at			
Yellow ditto	1	2	
White tallow,		10	
Myrtle,		11	
Dipped candles, all sizes		8	
Turpentine soap		6	
White ditto		6	60

It is probable that local producers of candles and soap were in competition with imported goods, yet evidence supports the belief that more of these items were being manufactured in the low country than the figures reveal. Although a number of factors, including the 1774 grievance, indicate that blacks worked as tallow chandlers, the extent of their role in the production process remains unclear.

Textile Workers

Although a preponderance of data reveals that most furnishings textiles were imported, some workers produced textiles locally.[61] England made every possible attempt to stifle colonial manufactures. In 1781, the British government imposed a fine on anyone exporting

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[59]CTD, Inventory Book B, 1787-93, pp. 407-8. The inventory does not show that Woodcock owned any slaves.

[60]GSSC, 2 September 1784.

[61]See, for example, Schumpeter, English Overseas Trade Statistics, pp. 12, 35-39; Audrey Michie, "Charleston Textile Imports, 1738-1742," Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts 7 (May 1981): 20-39.

machinery used in making textiles, and in the following year, forbade artisans proficient in the manufacture of linen or cotton goods to leave the mother country.[62] South Carolina, on the other hand, offered bounties to encourage the raising of silk, flax, hemp, and cotton, and the manufacture of linen and thread; however, the aim of these bounties was to stimulate production for exportation rather than to encourage home manufacture. By 1778, all bounties had been repealed due to the "great increase and flourishing condition of the manufactures of this state."[63]

Although much of this increased textile production was for home consumption rather than for resale, one factor which served as a stimulus was the political climate in the colonies prior to the American Revolution. Seven notations were recorded for the sale or hire of black textile workers in 1769; the following year the number declined to five, but by 1771, the number had risen to thirty. Thus more than a year after the boycott of British goods had been announced the number of black textile workers advertised for sale or hire had risen dramatically. This increased activity is also verified by an entry on July 30, 1777, in the South Carolina and American General Gazette:

> We are well informed, that a Planter to the Southward, who three months ago had not a Negro that could either spin or weave, has now 30 Hands constantly employed, from whom he gets 120 Yards of a good wearable Stuff, made of Woollen

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[62]Tryon, Household Manufactures, p. 27; Clark, History of Manufactures, 1: 260.

[63]See Statutes, 3: 436-37, 4: 316, 428.

> and Cotton, every Week. He had only one white Woman to instruct the Negroes in spinning, and one Man to instruct in weaving. He expects to have it in his Power not only to clothe his own Negroes, but soon to supply his Neighbors. The following so laudable an Example will be the most effectual Method of lessening the present exorbitant Prices of Cloth.[64]

Even after the war, some South Carolinians were interested in establishing home manufactures. Ralph Izard wrote from Philadelphia that he was attempting to purchase spinning wheels, a loom, and a reel as his wife had requested in a letter dated January 2, 1795. In a return letter, Alice Izard mentioned the presence of weavers in Dorchester and observed that her husband did not have to hire a fellow in North Carolina to come live on their plantation "unless you wish to have the whole business done at home." She also relayed the news that Beck could spin "tolerably well" although she was slow. Mrs. Izard's letter indicates that the thread was to be spun on the plantation and then taken to a shop to be woven into cloth.[65] This may have been a common practice in the Charleston District because, although spinning wheels were listed frequently in estate inventories, references to looms were rare.

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[64]August Kohn, The Cotton Mills of South Carolina (Charleston: Daggett Printing Co., 1907), p. 7. Kohn suggests that the planter referred to in the newspaper report was Daniel Heyward. See also Wallace, South Carolina, p. 378.

[65]Ralph Izard to Alice Izard, 2 January 1795, Ralph Izard Papers (1765-1955), SCL; Alice Izard to Ralph Izard, 16 February 1795, 8 January 1795, in Ibid. Mrs. Izard further noted that she was interested in raising silk worms on the plantation. See also Allen Heath Stokes, Jr., "Black and White Labor and the Development of the Southern Textile Industry, 1800-1920" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1977), p. 16.

Most of the textile production which occurred in South Carolina took place in the upcountry. In the early years of the nineteenth century, John Drayton wrote that striped, figured, and plain cottons, both for clothing and home use, were being made in this area. Production also included woolens, coarse linens, blanketing, bed covers, and cotton rugs. The difficulty in transporting goods from the coast to the western part of the state may have served to stimulate these manufactures.[66] In 1792, John MacNair and Hugh Templeton petitioned the general assembly for a loan to aid them in erecting machines for the carding and spinning of cotton. This petition, which stipulated that slaves were to be hired and instructed in the trade, put forth the argument that the development of a textile manufactory would render the state less dependent on foreign trade; the request was denied because the legislature was not empowered to grant loans. Despite this setback, goods produced in the upcountry factory included fustian, bed ticking and quilts, and plain white homespun.[67] It was not until the early nineteenth century that cotton factories were established in Charleston.[68]

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[66]Drayton, View of South Carolina, p. 150.

[67]South Carolina, Journals of the Senate, 26 November 1792-21 December 1792, pp. 113-14, 134, SCDAH; Stokes, "Black and White Labor," pp. 17-18. On 3 July 1800, the Carolina Gazette reported that a cotton gin had been installed on the plantation of esquire Thomas Hall in Christ Church Parish. This machine was said to clean thirty-five pounds of cotton per hour.

[68]Richard W. Griffin, "Poor White Laborers in Southern Cotton Factories, 1789-1865," SCHM 61 (January 1960): 27.

Until it was replaced by cotton, indigo was a primary crop on low-country plantations. Although parliamentary bounties had been offered to improve the quality, Carolina indigo had a poor reputation on the London market and production had declined by late in the eighteenth century.[69] During the forty-year period under study, there were forty-two notations to slaves who worked as indigo makers and dyers; one of this number also labored as a driver. Those slaves trained in two or more significant trades included one indigo maker and seamstress, three indigo makers and sawyers, and five indigo makers and carpenters.

A method for preparing indigo, which was said to yield a product superior to French dyes, was published by Moses Lindo in 1767:

> To every seven pounds of Carolina Indico, distinguished by him as FIRST SORT, add two pounds of Madder, and six handfulls of Wheat Bran; boil the same together a quarter of an hour, and let it settle. Then decant the clear parts, bray the Indico very fine, and keep it for use.[70]

Perhaps some of the textiles woven in the low country were dyed with indigo which had been made by slaves.

Notations for textile workers included 56 spinners, 11 weavers, and 140 seamstresses. Additional citations were for slaves who engaged in more than one craft: eleven could spin and weave, two

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[69]See John J. Winberry, "Reputation of Carolina Indigo," SCHM 80 (July 1769): 244, 247-49.

[70]SCG, 19 January 1767. For another description of the process of making indigo, see Florence H. Pettit, America's Indigo Blues: Resist-Printed and Dyed Textiles of the Eighteenth Century (New York: Hastings House, 1974).

were spinners, weavers, and seamstresses, and three were seamstresses and spinners.

A number of references confirm the versatility of these textile workers. In 1778 a twenty-two-year-old mulatto woman, advertised as a spinner of flax, wool, and cotton, a "tolerable good" weaver, and an "extraordinary" seamstress, was offered for sale because her owner was leaving the state; two other slaves, runaways owned by planter James Akin of St. Thomas' Parish, were said to be able to knit, spin, and weave. These two fugitives may have been among the eight girls which Akin apprenticed to Martha Chub in 1776 to learn the trade. For her services, Chub was paid a sum of £100 per year for four years.[71] In another instance, Frances Ramage of Cumberland Street, who advertised striped Linsey-Woolsey of different sorts which was "manufactured here," sought to hire several Negro boys and girls to spin and weave.[72] It appears that slaves belonging to esquire and planter James Parsons were spinning and weaving on his plantation in St. Bartholomew's Parish; listed in his estate inventory were about one hundred yards of homespun Negro cloth, one hundred yards in the looms, twenty-four pairs of wool cards, and some spun wool. Parsons may have been attempting to clothe his slaves with products produced on his plantation.[73]

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[71]SCAGG, 5 March 1778, 9 August 1780; CCP, JR, Box 110B, 1784, #2A.

[72]CGDA, 22 March 1790.

[73]Charleston Inventory Book BB, 1776-84, pp. 190-201.

The largest group of notations for textile workers were for slaves who worked as seamstresses (N=140), but the extent of their involvement in furnishings production is unclear. Further, many of the notations for seamstresses cited more than one slave although exact numbers were not given, which confirms that more blacks actually were working in the trade than the figures reveal. The majority of these workers were involved in clothing production; a 1796 advertisement provides but one example of a girl offered for sale who "understands cutting out men's cloathes, and making them."[74] No evidence was uncovered to suggest that the black seamstress produced goods for the home. Yet newspaper advertisements indicate that most textiles were sold by the piece and the number of upholsterers working in the Charleston District during the period under study was limited. Thus it would seem likely that slaves were used to construct some textile furnishings.

Based on limited data, the majority of textile workers appeared to be young, black, and with little or no formal training in their craft. Except for the eight girls who had been bound out for a four-year period to learn to spin and weave, no length of apprenticeship or time spent on the job was cited. Further, only a small percentage of the group was mulatto (2.3 percent). When an age range was given, the largest number of slaves was under thirty years of age: four of this group were under twenty, eight were "girls," two were between twenty and twenty-nine, one slave was in his thirties, and one was "old."

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[74] TMDA, 3 December 1796.

In almost one-half of the references (N=130), the artisans were listed as being owned or employed by planters or esquires. In 86 instances the occupation of the owner was not given; the next largest group of notations (N=18) was for slaves owned or employed by a widow or spinster. White artisans working in a related trade were specified as the owners or employers in only seven references. Although upholsterer Jean Francis Delorme advertised to hire four or five seamstresses in 1798, it is not known if any came under his employ.[75]

The pre-Revolutionary boycott of English goods served as an important stimulus to the textile industry in South Carolina. Although source materials reveal that some slaves were involved in various aspects of the trade in the eighteenth century, the number of blacks working in cotton production increased considerably in the succeeding years. In this area, the role of the black expanded from home to factory and their influence in the textile industry continues to the present day.

The black contribution to the decorative arts is not as clearly defined as for the building trades. As a whole, fewer whites labored in these crafts, thereby accounting for a smaller number of blacks engaged in the production of the decorative arts. Many items produced by these artisans could be imported, and in some cases competition was stiff. Despite their reduced numbers, blacks and whites who produced home furnishings were instrumental in helping others to attain the higher quality of life they so desired.

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[75]CGDA, 13 November 1798.

Not only were the trades encompassed by the term "decorative arts" more exclusive, but the opportunity for self-expression and creativity as a whole was greater. Did white masters think their black workers were capable of meeting such a challenge? If the attitudes of white South Carolinians are reflected in the philosophies set forth by eighteenth-century writers, then they undoubtedly did not. Thomas Jefferson, who could be considered one of the more liberal thinkers of the day, once observed that "in imagination they [Negroes] are dull, tasteless, and anomalous."[76] Twentieth-century anthropologists Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price have concluded, on the other hand, that "the monopoly of power wielded by the Europeans in slave colonies strongly influenced the ways in which cultural and social continuities from Africa would be maintained, as well as the ways in which innovations could occur."[77] In items crafted for a white society according to Euro-American production techniques, the chances for black innovation no doubt were limited. Yet in those instances in which blacks were allowed full freedom of self-expression, as reflected in items produced for personal use, the evidence of their creativity cannot be denied.[78] One could only wish that the role of the black

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[76]Quoted in Jordan, White Over Black, p. 436. Numerous other eighteenth-century writers, such as Cotton Mather and Elihu Colman, suggested that blacks were inferior in their mental abilities. See Ibid., pp. 187-90.

[77]Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price, An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past: A Caribbean Perspective (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1976), p. 12.

[78]See Vlach, Afro-American Tradition; David C. Driskell, Two Centuries of Black American Art (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976).

in the evolution and development of the American decorative arts could be further documented.

CHAPTER VI

EPILOGUE

In an examination of the role of the black artisan in the building trades and decorative arts, the quality of black craftsmanship is a question which must be addressed. Unfortunately, aside from those items which blacks crafted for their own use, only a few slave-made artifacts in the Euro-American style have been documented, primarily through a lengthy tradition of oral history.[1] Thus faced with a lack of material goods which can be subjected to artifact analysis, the researcher is forced to turn to other types of methodology in an attempt to answer the question.

By numbers alone, the importance of the black artisan in South Carolina's Charleston District has been documented. Historian John Donald Duncan is among those who have estimated that skilled craftsmen comprised between 5 and 10 percent of the black population.[2] Having examined probate records to determine what percentage of a master's total slave holdings had been trained in some aspect of the building trades or decorative arts, the number of such artisans in the Charleston District appears to be about 8 percent of the inventoried slave population. It further was hoped that a more thorough

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[1]See, for example, Chase, Afro-American Art, pp. 66-91.

[2]John Donald Duncan, "Servitude and Slavery in Colonial South Carolina, 1670-1776" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Emory University, 1972), p. 432. See also Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll, p. 394.

examination could be made of the total number of slave notations revealed in the study in relation to low-country population figures; however, a lack of reliable census data for all but a few years of the period has rendered this task impossible. Despite these limitations an elementary level of analysis is possible, and a breakdown of the number of slave notations by five-year segments is illustrated in Table 6.

Contrary to expectations, the number of notations for black artisans did not increase proportionately with the growth of the slave population as a whole. Although the smallest number of notations was recorded for the earliest years of the study and the largest number for the latter years, the middle segments present certain ambiguities. The greatest number of references for this middle segment is noted in the early years leading up to the Revolutionary War, at a time when there was particular emphasis on an increase in home manufactures. Likewise, the sizeable number of notations for the years between 1781 and 1785 could be attributed to a rebuilding of the low country after the war.[3] Yet fluctuations in the numbers of notations and the fact that the data did not conform to expectations does not necessarily denigrate the importance of the black artisan. In any historical study, the researcher is limited by the data available, and it is possible that a number of slaves working in the building trades and decorative arts were not cited in any of the source materials examined. Further analysis will have to wait until additional data come to light or

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[3]The number of notations recorded for the year 1782 was 25; for the year following British occupation, the number had increased to 131. For 1784, the number of recorded notations was 139.

Table 6. Numbers of notations for Charleston District slaves working in the building trades and decorative arts, 1760-1800.

Five-Year Segment	Number of Notations
1760-1765	208
1766-1770	400
1771-1775	463
1776-1780	358
1781-1785	456
1786-1790	449
1791-1795	427
1796-1800	563

until a better method of extracting information from the source material is discovered.

Knowing that black artisans were an important part of South Carolina's labor force, it was hypothesized that the quality of their work was such that the demand for the skills of these tradesmen would increase significantly following each of the fires which destroyed portions of the city of Charleston. To test the hypothesis, the number of newspaper advertisements for the sale or hire of slave craftsmen was tabulated for a six-month period preceding and following each of the four fires.

The blaze of February 25, 1776, was small in scale, and no advertisements offering slave assistance were posted for the designated period after the event. In comparison, only two listings for artisans were published in the six months prior to the fire. Both were for carpenters; one was for sale, the other for hire.

Following the huge fire of 1778 which destroyed more than two hundred dwellings, a total of forty-five advertisements were noted, as opposed to twelve pre-fire listings.[4] However, an examination of these post-fire notations revealed that the largest number (N=17) was for textile workers. It is suspected that the work of this group of artisans probably was related more closely to war shortages than to the restoration of goods for fire-damaged areas. The second largest group

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[4]Of the twelve pre-fire listings, one-half involved carpenters; four were offered for hire and two were for sale. The remaining notations were for the sale of three textile workers, one sawyer, and one fellow working in two relevant trades, and the hire of one bricklayer.

of notations was for carpenters (N=12), followed by those for sawyers (N=9). In addition, there were six advertisements for blacksmiths and one for a painter. In all cases, the tradesmen were offered for sale rather than for hire. Although the assistance of some building tradesmen was offered, it must be noted that much of the damage from the 1778 fire was not repaired until after the British had evacuated the city four years later.

The number of listings following the June 15, 1786, fire (N=27) again was greater than in the preceding months (N=16). In both pre- and post-fire tabulations, the largest group of references was for carpenters, followed by those for sawyers. A total of eleven carpenters were offered for sale following this blaze; in addition, five sawyers could be purchased and two more were advertised for hire. Other tradesmen to be sold included four bricklayers, three textile workers, a blacksmith, and an upholsterer.

The fire of June 13, 1796, was the largest of the four blazes to consume portions of Charleston during the period under study. Yet the number of pre-fire listings for black craftsmen (N=43) far exceeded those posted following the tragedy (N=14). In the six-month period before the event, a total of twenty-one carpenters were offered for sale and one fellow was available for hire. Likewise, among the other slaves to be sold were seven sawyers and seven bricklayers, with one additional sawyer listed for hire. Although fewer advertisements were published following the blaze, the largest number (N=9) was for carpenters who were being put out for hire. In no other instance--either before or

after any fire--was the number of references for the hire of slaves as sizeable.

Several reasons might be suggested as to why the number of pre- and post-fire notations did not totally conform to expectations. First, it is possible that although the labor of skilled blacks was in demand, a number of white slaveowners did not advertise because they had engaged their own slaves to repair their damages. Secondly, it must be remembered that the Charleston of the late eighteenth century was still a small town in comparison to present-day standards, and the fires had been contained within concentrated areas. Much of the hiring of slave craftsmen could be carried out by word of mouth or perhaps through the posting of broadsides in the areas which had been destroyed. Thus it is possible and even probable that slaves did play an important role in the rebuilding of Charleston although their contributions could not be documented fully with the chosen method of analysis.

Despite these limitations in the statistics, the abilities of black tradesmen were such that they were constantly being sought to assist white artisans. In 1771, for example, carpenter William Rigby Naylor advertised to hire five or six "good" Negro carpenters. Some years later, house carpenter John Wyatt on Church Street sought three pair of sawyers to assist him in his trade, and blacksmith Archibald Duncan noted that he wished to purchase two or three "smart active" boys to learn the business. Finally, an unknown advertiser sought a Negro to be trained as a cabinetmaker's apprentice in 1785.[5] At some

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[5]SCG, 25 July 1771; CGDA, 13 September 1791, 16 April 1800; Ev. Gaz., 25 November 1785,

time during the forty-year period under study, white artisans in every phase of the building trades and decorative arts advertised for the purchase or hire of black assistance. As James E. Newton and Ronald L. Lewis have suggested in their study of black tradesmen, the enormous volume of newspaper advertisements alone "renders it nearly impossible to contend that slaves were incapable of creating objects which could stand the acid test of aesthetic judgement."[6]

Yet as has been noted, newspaper advertisements must be viewed with some caution, particularly when they are used as a device to evaluate the quality of black craftsmanship. Numerous advertisements offering slaves for sale or hire characterized the craftsmen as being "good," "complete," or "very valuable." An October 1777 listing described a mulatto fellow who was an "extraordinary wheelwright, good rough carpenter, a good tanner and coarse shoemaker, a very good weaver, and an extraordinary driver, a squarer, can whet, set and lay out for sawyers; upon the whole is fit to assist and instruct hands sufficient for three plantations."[7] In another instance, Thomas Washington and Andrew Fitzsimons described the qualities of four slaves when they transferred ownership to Charleston esquire William Clay Snipes in repayment of a debt. Twenty-six or twenty-eight-year-old Tom was said to possess great mechanical abilities and was labelled as a "tolerable" carpenter, cooper, and bricklayer, "tho he never served a day to either trade." Major, who was twenty-two years old,

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[6]Newton and Lewis, The Other Slaves, p. xiv.

[7]SCAGG, 30 October 1777.

was noted as an "extraordinary" indigo maker and "has also a good mechanical turn being very handy with his ax or adds." Along with the other two slaves, all four fellows were said to be "good" sawyers or squarers.[8] Joshua Grimball of Edisto Island boasted that the fellow he offered for sale was "as good a house carpenter as any in the province," while another seller qualified the abilities of his Negro carpenter by stating that he was "inferior to none of his Colour in this State."[9]

Despite a preponderance of advertisements which appear to exaggerate the slave's abilities, a small number was uncovered in which the seller was attempting to provide a more realistic appraisal. For example, two valuable Negro carpenters, who were the property of house carpenter William Darby, were offered for sale in 1777; one was said to be "equal to most in this state," while the other was described as a "plain but faithful workman." When painter George Flagg of Charleston announced that he was retiring from business due to his poor state of health, he offered four of his painters for sale. One was praised as being the "best" painter and glazier in the city, two others were described as "good" tradesmen, and the fourth fellow simply was labeled as "a painter."[10] In another instance, a carpenter listed for sale in 1785 was said to be "complete" and "capable of taking charge of

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[8]Misc. Rec., Book ZZ, 1789-92, pp. 7-9.

[9]SCAGG, 9 March 1770; GSSC, 14 July 1777. See also PA, 10 March 1784; SCG, 17 September 1772. Advertisements citing racial limitations appear to support the eighteenth-century belief in black inferiority.

[10]SCAGG, 10 April 1777; CGDA, 15 November 1788.

any number of Negro carpenters"; another fellow in the same advertisement was described as "a good carpenter but not capable of directing." Of the eight carpenters listed for hire in a 1767 advertisement, four were noted as being "good" and the others as "indifferent."[11] In a letter to George Dick dated June 1764, Henry Laurens detailed both the strengths and weaknesses of Carolina-born Abram, a slave between thirty-four and thirty-six years old who was consigned for sale at Winyaw:

> His good qualities
>
> SOBER.
> A very good boatman.
> A very good hand at the Whip Saw or any other Plantation Business.
> A Jobbing Carpenter so far as to thorough work & to be a great assistant to a better hand.
> A tolerable good Cooper can White wash & do little plaster work.
> Very active, alert and Strong when he pleases.
> Very healthy in general, a good horseman, and very well acquainted all over the Province.
> Much afraid of chastisement & will exert himself to ward off Whipping if he is sure of having it in case he fails.
>
> His bad Ones
>
> He will deceive you as often as he can.
> Will pilfer trifles but always carefully keeps out of greater Scrapes.
> Fond of Women.
> Ungrateful & disobedient to any Man that uses him well and does not keep him close to work.
> Will feign himself Sick when he is not so.[12]

It is interesting to note that Abram's flaws seem to be related more closely to his personality than to the quality of his work.

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[11] PA, 21 May 1785; SCG, 7 December 1767.

[12] Rogers, Papers of Henry Laurens, 4: 298-99.

Although a handful of white advertisers attempted to provide an honest evaluation of the skills of the slaves which they offered, others did not, and some tradesmen simply didn't meet the expectations of their purchasers. An August 1799 listing announced the resale of a mulatto woman who had been advertised as a "complete" seamstress but did not live up to that description. Perhaps more disappointing to the purchaser was a young black fellow who had been billed as a "good" carpenter but supposedly knew nothing of the business. In 1798, Elizabeth M. Leger was summoned to court by planter William Brisbane of St. Paul's Parish in a dispute over the sale of Sam, a jobbing carpenter. Although Brisbane claimed that Sam was "entirely ignorant of every branch of the Carpenters business, and is no Jobbing Carpenter," Leger refused to take him back. At the hearing, Charleston house carpenter Betje Henrichson, who had apprenticed the slave to his trade, testified that he considered Sam to be competent, and the court appears to have ruled in Leger's favor.[13]

In the final analysis, Charleston District black artisans exhibited varying levels of skill in the performance of their trades. If the workmanship of their white counterparts was judged equally, it seems likely that the same conclusion would be derived. Yet even to the present century, some writers have dismissed the work of black craftsmen as being inferior, or at best, have suggested that slave competition produced lower standards of accomplishment in the

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[13]CGDA, 5 August 1799, 6 July 1795; CCP, JR, CTD, 1799, #464A.

marketplace as a whole.[14] Such commentaries, however, ignore historical evidence to the contrary.

Melville J. Herskovits has warned that "a people that denies its past cannot escape being prey to doubt of its value today and of its potentialities for the future."[15] Although many questions remain to be answered, it is hoped that the role of the black artisan in the building trades and decorative arts in South Carolina's Charleston District between the years 1760 and 1800 has been clarified. It is evident that the black contributed to the development of Southern home life, and indeed, to the artistic evolution of South Carolina.

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[14]See, for example, Louise Jones DuBose, "The White Workman in South Carolina," Louise Jones DuBose Papers (1948-51), p. 21, SCL. In Roll, Jordan, Roll, p. 404, Genovese has suggested that it was during the late antebellum period that the notion developed that blacks were incapable as craftsmen due to increased sentiments for "racial exclusiveness." Although the concept of black inferiority had its origins long before this time, the beliefs no doubt were expanded in the latter years of the nineteenth century.

[15]Melville J. Herskovits, The Myth of the Negro Past (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941), p. 32.

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Charleston Times

Charlestown Gazette

City Gazette and Daily Advertiser

Columbian Herald

Gazette of the State of South Carolina

Royal Gazette

Royal South Carolina Gazette

South Carolina and American General Gazette

South Carolina Gazette

South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal

South Carolina Gazette and General Advertiser

South Carolina Gazette and Public Advertiser

South Carolina State Gazette and Daily Advertiser

South Carolina State Gazette and Timothy and Mason's Daily Advertiser

South Carolina State Gazette and Timothy's Daily Advertiser

South Carolina Weekly Gazette

State Gazette of South Carolina

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED THROUGHOUT THE STUDY

Car. Gaz.	Carolina Gazette
Carp. Soc.	Rules of the Charleston Carpenter's Society; With a List of Members Names and the Officers, Since the Formation of the Society. Charleston: Gabriel M. Bounetheau, 1805, SCDAH.
CCP	Court of Common Pleas
CGDA	City Gazette and Daily Advertiser
CH	Columbian Herald
Char. Co.	Charleston County
Char. Inven. or Charleston Inventory	South Carolina. Records of the Secretary of State or Records of the Court of Ordinary. Inventories of Estates, 1760-1800, SCDAH.
Charlestown Gaz.	Charlestown Gazette
Char. Morn. Post	Charleston Morning Post
CJ	South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal
CTD	Charleston District
DA	South Carolina State Gazette and Daily Advertiser
Deeds	Charleston County. Mesne Conveyance Office. Deeds, 1760-1800, mfm, SCDAH.
Ev. Gaz.	Charleston Evening Gazette
GA	South Carolina Gazette and General Advertiser
GSSC	Gazette of the State of South Carolina
Insolvent Debtors	Charleston District. Court of Common Pleas. Petitions and Schedules of Insolvent Debtors, 1783-1800, SCDAH.

Journ. of Ct. of Ordinary	South Carolina. Journal of the Court of Ordinary, 1771-75, SCDAH.
JR	Judgment Roll
Letters of Admin.	Charleston County. Court of Probate. Letters of Administration, 1775-1803, SCDAH.
Misc. Rec.	South Carolina. Secretary of State. Miscellaneous Records, 1760-1800, SCDAH.
PA	South Carolina Gazette and Public Advertiser
Petitions and Decrees	Charleston District. Court of Common Pleas. Petitions and Decrees in Summary Process, 1783-1800, SCDAH.
Ravenel, Arch. of Charleston	Ravenel, Beatrice St. Julien. Architects of Charleston. Charleston: Carolina Art Association, 1945.
Regis. of St. Philip's Parish	Smith, D. E. Huger, and Salley, A. S., Jr., eds. Register of St. Philip's Parish; Charleston, South Carolina; 1754-1810. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971. Page citations refer to this book rather than to original document.
Renun. of Dower	South Carolina. Court of Common Pleas. Renunciations of Dower, 1760-75, SCDAH.
RG	Royal Gazette
Royal S. C. Gaz.	Royal South Carolina Gazette
SCAGG	South Carolina and American General Gazette
SCDAH	South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina
SCG	South Carolina Gazette
SCHM	South Carolina Historical Magazine
SCHS	South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, South Carolina
SCL	South Caroliniana Library at the University of South Carolina, Columbia

SCWG	South Carolina Weekly Gazette
SHC	Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
St. Gaz. of S.C.	State Gazette of South Carolina
Statutes	Cooper, Thomas, and McCord, David J., eds. The Statutes at Large of South Carolina. 10 vols. Columbia, S. C.: A. S. Johnston, 1836-41.
TDA	South Carolina State Gazette and Timothy's Daily Advertiser
Times	Charleston Times
TMDA	South Carolina State Gazette and Timothy and Mason's Daily Advertiser

APPENDIX B

NOTATIONS OF SLAVE OCCUPATIONS FOR THOSE WORKING IN THE BUILDING TRADES AND DECORATIVE ARTS

Trade	No. of Notations
Blacksmith	113
Blacksmith & oarsman	4
Blacksmith & field slave	2
Bricklayer	298
Bricklayer & field slave	1
Bricklayer & shoemaker	1
Bricklayer & fisherman	1
Brickmaker	52
Brickmaker, boatman & bricklayer	1
Stone cutter & bricklayer	2
Cabinetmaker	27
Cabinetmaker & hair dresser	1
Chair maker	1
Carver & chair maker	1
Joiner, turner	16
Upholsterer	6
Upholsterer & tailor	1
Carpenter	1129
Carpenter & cooper	34
Carpenter & shoemaker	1
Carpenter & wheelwright	26
Carpenter & pilot	1
Carpenter & caulker	26
Carpenter & driver	7
Carpenter, waiting man, & boatman	1
Carpenter, cooper, & driver	2
Carpenter, tanner, shoemaker, saddler, & wheelwright	1
Carpenter, boatman, & cook	1
Carpenter & fisherman	2
Carpenter, wheelwright, & tailor	1
Carpenter, waiting man & groom	3
Carpenter & field slave	6
Carpenter & house servant	2
Carpenter & basket maker	1
Carpenter & cook	1

Trade	No. of Notations
House carpenter	158
House & ship carpenter	2
Jobbing carpenter	154
Jobbing carpenter, cooper, & wheelwright	1
Jobbing carpenter, wheelwright, & driver	1
Jobbing carpenter, butcher, & market man	1
Jobbing carpenter & boatman	7
Jobbing carpenter & groom	1
Painter, Glazier	72
Painter & cook	1
Sawyer	673
Sawyer & wheelwright	1
Sawyer, saddler, & cooper	1
Sawyer & cooper	18
Sawyer & field slave	44
Sawyer & boatman	18
Sawyer & shipwright	2
Sawyer & caulker	1
Sawyer & gardener	1
Sawyer & tailor	1
Sawyer, squarer	36
Shinglemaker	3
Silversmith	9
Seamstress	140
Spinner	56
Indigo maker, dyer	41
Indigo maker & driver	1
Weaver	11
Seamstress & indigo maker	1
Seamstress, spinner, & weaver	2
Seamstress & spinner	3
Spinner & weaver	11
Tallow chandler	9
Tallow chandler & groom	1
Basketmaker & fisherman	1
Chimney sweep	5
Copper plate pressman	1
Nail maker	1

Trade	No. of Notations
Two or more significant trades	
Bricklayer, carpenter, & shoemaker	1
Bricklayer & sawyer	1
Carpenter & sawyer	25
Carpenter, sawyer, & cooper	4
Carpenter & blacksmith	2
Carpenter & chair maker	1
Carpenter, indigo maker, & cooper	1
Carpenter & indigo maker	2
Carpenter, indigo maker, cooper, & driver	1
Carpenter, indigo maker, & boatman	1
Carpenter & joiner	2
Carpenter & bricklayer	2
Carpenter & cabinetmaker	2
Carpenter, sawyer, & butcher	1
Carpenter, weaver, sawyer, squarer, wheelwright, tanner, shoemaker, & driver	1
House carpenter, cabinetmaker, wheelwright, boatmender, & water-man	1
Painter & carpenter	2
Painter & bricklayer	1
Sawyer & brick moulder	2
Sawyer, brick moulder, & driver	1
Sawyer & cabinetmaker	1
Sawyer & indigo maker	3
Sawyer, rough carpenter, cooper, & boatman	1
Sawyer, squarer, jobbing carpenter, & carter	1
Sawyer, carpenter, waiting man, & cook	1

Source: Data were compiled from a review of primary source materials including newspapers, wills, inventories, legal documents, and manuscripts.

APPENDIX C

ARTISANS AND ARTISTS IN THE CHARLESTON DISTRICT, 1760-1800

NAME	OCCUPATION	TOWN OR PARISH	EARLIEST REFERENCE DATE	EARLIEST REFERENCE SOURCE	LATEST REFERENCE DATE	LATEST REFERENCE SOURCE	NOTES
Aberly, John	carpenter	Berkley County	Nov. 30, 1766	Char. Co., Will Book, 1767-71, p. 23	May 15, 1767 (d)[1]	Char. Co., Will Book, 1767-71, p. 23	
Abernethie, Thomas	engraver	Charleston	Oct. 20, 1785 102 Broad St.	ST. GAZ. of S.C.	Nov. 25, 1795 (d)	CGDA	CGDA, Feb. 3, 1795: 43 Queen St.
Adams, Ezekial	house carpenter	Charleston	May 1799	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 158	1801 7 Maiden Lane	City Directory	
Adams, William	carpenter	Charleston	1790 Pinckney St.	City Directory	June 1795 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 269	CCP, JR, CTD, 1798, #689A: Noted as joiner (Dec. 1793).
Adamson, Alexander	house carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 1770 Lot #18, King St.	Deeds, Vol. S-3, 1770-71, pp. 319-26	Oct. 29, 1778 (d) near White Meeting	SCAGG	Carpenter's & joiner's tools sold from estate
Addison, Robert	house carpenter	St. Bartholomew's	Feb. 1788	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 150		Same[2]	
Aers, Charles	painter	Charleston	1796 30 Queen St.	City Directory		Same	
Aguire, Gugelan	tin man	Charleston	1790 220 Meeting St.	City Directory		Same	
Aikins, Thomas	carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 1787	CCP, JR, Box 132A, 1787, #16A		Same	Working with Stephen Roberts
Air, George	carpenter	Charleston	1801 91 King St.	City Directory		Same	
Aldworth, Mr.	miniature painter	Charleston	Dec. 30, 1778	SCAGG		Same	Late from London

[1]Indicates artisan is deceased at this time.

[2]Indicates only one reference discovered for individual during course of this study.

NAME	OCCUPATION	TOWN OR PARISH	EARLIEST REFERENCE DATE	EARLIEST REFERENCE SOURCE	LATEST REFERENCE DATE	LATEST REFERENCE SOURCE	NOTES
Alexander, David	painter, gilder glazier	Charleston	Aug. 21, 1788 27 Church St.	CH	Sept. 18, 1788	CH	From Edinburgh. Sept. 1788: Partnership with Mr. Marshall
Alken, M.	upholsterer, paper hanger	Charleston	Feb. 19, 1785 80 King St.	PA		Same	
Allan, William	house carpenter	St. Bartholomew's	Oct. 1792	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 82		Same	
Allemand, Robert	soap and candle maker	near Charleston	Aug. 1800	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 257	Sept. 1801	Misc. Records, OOO, 1799-1803, pp. 673-74	Sept. 1801: Partnership with William Meeds; estab. manufactory
Allen, G.	marble sculptor	Charleston	May 10, 1787 92 Meeting St.	Char. Morn. Post		Same	Makes hearth stones
Allen, John	carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 1766	CCP, JR, Box 68A, 1766, #339A		Same	
Allwood, John	painter	Charleston	May 1769	Misc. Rec., OO, 1767-71, p. 132	May 3, 1773	Misc. Rec., PP, 1771-74, p. 511	
Anderson, Archibald	plasterer	Charleston	1801 26 Hazel St.	City Directory	Oct. 2, 1801 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, p. 202	
Anderson, Hugh	carpenter	Charleston	Apr. 1751	Deeds, Vol. A-3, May 1763-Mar. 1764, pp. 1-7	May 13, 1763 (d) Queen St.	Char. Co., Will Book, 1760-67, p. 247	SCG, May 28, 1763: Notice of death
Anderson, William	carpenter	St. Bartholomew's	Oct. 1751	CCP, JR, Box 32, 1752, #1A	Mar. 1760 (d)	Inventory Book T, 1758-61, pp. 284-85	
Andrews, Daniel	bricklayer	Charleston			Jan. 1790 (d)	Misc. Rec., ZZ, 1789-92, p. 152	
Andrews, James	cabinet maker	Charleston	Aug. 1766	Char. Co., Will Book, 1760-67, p. 614	Sept. 1769	CCP, JR, Box 81B, 1769, #4A	
Appleton, John	house carpenter	Charleston	1796 26 Meeting St.	City Directory	Mar. 1799	Deeds, Vol. Z-6, 1799-1800, pp. 74-76	
Armatage, Robert	silver plater	Charleston			Apr. 2, 1799 (d)	TDA	
Arnold, Jonathan	house carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 23, 1790	CGDA	Jan. 12, 1798 (d)	CGDA	
Arnold, Mathew	bricklayer	Charleston	1790 118 King St.	City Directory	July 29, 1797 (d)	CGDA	
Ash, Cato	bricklayer	Charleston	Jan. 1761	Deeds, Vol. A-3, May 1763-Mar. 1764, p. 345	ca. 1776 (d)	Inventory Book BB, 1776-84, pp. 9-10	

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Ash, Samuel	bricklayer	Charleston	Mar. 1777	Deeds, Vol. E-6, 1790-92, pp. 216-20	Dec. 1777	Deeds, Vol. W-4, 1775-78, p. 507	Mar. 1777: purchased land on Edisto Island. Dec. 1777: sold lot #6, Ansonborough
Askew, James	jeweller	Charleston	June 19, 1782 32 Broad St.	RG	July 24, 1800 (d)	Car. Gaz.	CGDA, Jan. 14, 1789: goldsmith and hair worker, 250 King St.
Atkinson, Joseph	tallow chandler, soap boiler	Charleston	Apr. 20, 1765 Friend St.	SCG	Nov. 25, 1766 (d)	CJ	
Atkinson, William	carpenter	Charleston	1790 25 Beresford's Alley	City Directory		Same	
Atmar, Ralph	goldsmith, silversmith	Charleston	Jan. 26, 1793 256 King St.	CGDA	1801 98 Broad St.	City Directory	
Atmar and Monk	goldsmiths, engravers, silversmiths	Charleston	Oct. 14, 1797 88 Broad St.	TMDA	Oct. 22, 1799	CGDA	Oct. 1797: now in partnership Oct. 1799: partnership dissolved
Attwell, Ichabod	carpenter	Charleston	Nov. 2, 1762	Deeds, Vol. F-4, 1773-74, pp. 547-53	Aug. 1784	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 385	
Audin, Anthony	painter	Charleston	June 29, 1791 51 Meeting St.	CGDA		Same	From Paris
Avinger, Henry	house carpenter	St. James Goose Creek	Feb. 1797	Letters of Admin., Vol. K, 1778-1821, p. 260		Same	
Axson, Jacob, Jr.	bricklayer	Charleston	Feb. 1760	CCP, JR, Box 49B, 1760, #7A	Feb. 1769	CCP, JR, Box 81B, 1769, #3A	
Axson, Samuel	carpenter	Charleston	1801 17 King St.	City Directory	Oct. 19, 1801	Carp. Soc.	
Axson, William, Jr.	cabinet maker	Charleston	Jan. 1763	Deeds, Vol. ZZ, 1762-63, p. 321	Mar. 3, 1800 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book D, 1789-1810, p. 46	Jan. 1763: noted as carpenter
Axson, William (Axton)	lumber measurer, carpenter	Charleston	1790 17 King St.	City Directory	1801 61 Tradd St.	City Directory	
Backhouse, Benjamin	blacksmith	Charleston	Nov. 1763	CCP, JR, Box 57B, 1763, #28A	Sept. 1767 (d)	Inventory Book X, 1768-69, p. 170	Became tavern keeper in later years
Badger, Daniel	painter	Charleston	Feb. 7, 1752	Deeds, Vol. KK, Jan. 1752-May 1752, p. 335		Same	
Badger, James	painter, glazier	Charleston	Nov. 22, 1768	Misc. Rec., XX, 1787-89, p. 559	Aug. 7, 1799 (d)	TDA	

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Badger, Jonathan	cabinet maker	Charleston	Jan. 2, 1753	CCP, JR, Box 34, 1753, #24A	Aug. 1768 187 King St.	Deeds, Vol. O-3, 1769-70, pp. 313-20	Aug. 1768: noted as gentleman
Badger, Jonathan	painter, glazier, paper hanger	Charleston	July 27, 1790 49 Meeting St.	CGDA	1796 8 St. Philip's St.	City Directory	
Badger, Joseph and William	painters, glaziers		Dec. 8, 1766	SCG		Same	Just arrived from England
Badger, Joseph	painter	Charleston	Oct. 1, 1789 118 Queen St.	CGDA	1796 17 Pinckney St.	City Directory	
Baker, Benjamin	carpenter	Charleston	May 1757 Queen St.	Deeds, Vol. E-3, Sept. 1765-July 1766, pp. 493-500	June 1782 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book A, 1783-87, pp. 305-306	SCG, May 19, 1759: partnership with Robert Deans expired
Baker, Francis	bricklayer	Charleston	Mar. 1794	Letters of Admin., Vol. K, 1778-1821, p. 220	1801 33 King St.	City Directory	
Baker, Joseph	carpenter	Charleston	Sept. 1786	Deeds, Vol. C-7, 1800, pp. 87-92	Feb. 1806	Misc. Rec., VVV, 1803-1807, p. 384	1796 City Directory: 13 Hasell St.
Baker, Thomas	bricklayer	Charleston	Mar. 1794	Letters of Admin., Vol. K, 1778-1821, p. 220	Mar. 1803	Misc. Rec., YYY, 1806-1808, pp. 417-18	
Baldwin, Thomas	carpenter	Charleston			Sept. 17, 1778 (d)	SCAGG	See also Deeds, Vol. B-5, 1779, pp. 7-12 Executors selling lot on Church St.
Ballantine, James	bricklayer	Charleston	June 1795.	Deeds, Vol. X-6, 1798-99, pp. 120-21	Jan. 1799	Misc. Rec., KKK, 1797-99, p. 395	1796 City Directory: 114 Church St.
Ballantine, John	joiner, carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 13, 1752	Misc. Rec., II, 1751-54, p. 284	Aug. 17, 1764	Char. Co., Will Book, 1760-67, p. 408	
Bankson, Andrew	blacksmith	St. John's Berkley			Jan. 21, 1760 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1757-60, p. 254	SCG, May 24, 1760: In partnership with William Flint
Barker, William	bricklayer	Charleston	1790 35 Guignard St.	City Directory		Same	
Barnes, James	cabinet maker	Charleston	1801 132 Church St., cont.	City Directory		Same	
Barrett, James	carpenter	Charleston	Jan. 22, 1797	Carp. Soc.		Same	

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Bartlam, John	potter	Charleston	May 16, 1769	CJ	Jan. 31, 1771	SCG	May 1769: manufactory at Cainhoy SCG, Oct. 11, 1770: on old Church St.
Bartleman, Thomas and Simon Ellstob	painters, glaziers, paper hangers	Charleston	Mar. 26, 1798 King St.	TDA	July 16, 1798	TDA	July 1798: partnership dissolved
Bartoll, Samuel	painter	Charleston	Nov. 26, 1792	CGDA		Same	
Bass, Samuel (Baas)	house carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 21, 1781 35 Bay	RG	Feb. 1790	CCP, JR, Box 164A, 1790, #679A	
Battoon, John	house carpenter	Wadmalaw Island			Nov. 1785 (d)	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 496	
Baylis, William	carpenter	Charleston	1790 253 Meeting St.			Same	
Baylis, William	cabinet maker	Charleston	July 2, 1796 opp. Scotch meeting	CGDA		Same	May be same person as above
Beard, Jonas	carpenter	Berkley Co.	Feb. 1764	Deeds, Vol. C-3, Aug. 1764-Apr. 1765, pp. 153-73	Nov. 1771	Deeds, Vol. X-3, 1771-72, pp. 119-22	
Beard, Robert	tinman	Charleston	Mar. 1, 1768 Broad St.	CJ	Nov. 24, 1796 (d)	CGDA	
Bearing, John	silversmith	Charleston	Apr. 2, 1787	Char. Morn. Post		Same	To carry on business of Daniel Carrell
Beatty, Francis	carpenter	St. Bartholomew's	Feb. 1762	SCHM, 10 (1909):223	Feb. 21, 1776	SCHM, 10 (1909):234	
Bedon, George	house carpenter	Charleston	1784 (June 1788)	CCP, JR, Box 150A, 1789, #744A	Sept. 22, 1794 (d) Federal St.	Char. Co., Will Book, 1793-1800, p. 150	Appears to be a mulatto
Bedon, Henry	carpenter	Charleston	Jan. 10, 1757	Misc. Rec., KK, 1754-58, p. 422	Mar. 20, 1762 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1760-67, p. 179	Son may be the George Bedon listed above
Bee, John	carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 19, 1797	Carp. Soc.	Mar. 1798	Misc. Rec., III, 1796-99, p. 382	
Bee, Joseph	carpenter	Charleston	Sept. 18, 1770 Ponpon	CJ	Feb. 10, 1792 (d)	CGDA	
Beekman, Adam	glazier	Charleston	1796 189 Meeting St.	City Directory		Same	

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Beekman, Idolphus	painter, glazier	Charleston	1801 133 Magazine St.	City Directory		Same	
Bell, Samuel	house carpenter	Charleston	Apr. 1790	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 300		Same	
Belzons, Mr.	portrait and miniature painter	Charleston	June 16, 1795 25 Broad St.	CGDA	1801 St. Michael's Alley	City Directory	Also does hair work
Benbridge, Henry	limner	Charleston	1790 30 Broad St.	City Directory	June 1792	Misc. Rec., CCC, 1791-94, p. 75	
Benfield, John	tallow chandler	Charleston	Jan. 30, 1775 Elliott St.	SCG	May 19, 1784 (d) 33 Beaufain St.	PA	Also an insurance broker
Bennet, Asher	carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 1795 Minority St.	Deed, Vol. U-4, 1797-99, pp. 273-74		Same	
Bennet, Joseph	tin-plate worker	Charleston	1801 46 Magazine St.	City Directory		Same	
Bennet and Son	lumber measurers	Charleston	1801 Harleston's Green	City Directory		Same	
Bennett, John	blacksmith	Charleston	Aug. 1799	Misc. Rec., MMM, 1799, pp. 286-89	Dec. 1799 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 211	
Bennett, John	house carpenter	Charleston	Sept. 1783	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 288	1790 21 Trott St.	City Directory	
Bennett, Thomas	cabinet maker	Charleston	Oct. 21, 1760	Misc. Rec., LL, 1758-63, p. 320		Same	
Bennett, Thomas	carpenter	Charleston	1748	Deeds, Vol. KK, Jan. 1752-May 1752, p. 219	Apr. 1800	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 233	May be same person as above
Bent, Noah	carpenter	Charleston			Sept. 19, 1774 (d)	SCG	
Bering, John	jeweller	Charleston	June 25, 1788 Corner Broad and Union	CGDA	1801 125 Broad St.	City Directory	May be same person as John Bearing
Berry, James	house carpenter	Charleston	Nov. 1800	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 276		Same	Deeds, Vol. C-4, 1773-74, pp. 6-11, May 1772: may have been carpenter in St. Mark's Parish

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Berry, John	watchmaker	Charleston	Feb. 23, 1788 61 Meeting St.	CGDA	Aug. 20, 1790 (d)	CGDA	
Besselleau, Lewis	cabinet maker	Charleston	Nov. 24, 1792 Beaufain St.	Misc. Rec., BBB, 1791-93, pp. 426-28	1796 30 Beaufain St.	City Directory	
Bibean, Francis (Bevin)	carpenter	Charleston	1790 Union St., cont.	City Directory	1801 15 Union St., cont.	City Directory	
Biggard, John	turner	Charleston	Mar. 24, 1767 on Bay, Corner of Queen St.	CJ		Same	Late from Philadelphia
Bird, Richard	upholsterer	Charleston	Sept. 11, 1762	SCG		Same	
Black, Christopher	bricklayer	Charleston	July 1751	Deeds, Vol. S-3, 1770-71, pp. 106-9	Aug. 1770	Deeds, Vol. S-3, 1770-71, pp. 106-7	
Black, John	ironmonger	Charleston	1801 12 Broad St.	City Directory		Same	
Black, Nathaniel	carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 14, 1775 Ellery St.	CJ	1796 7 Ellery St.	City Directory	
Blair, William	carpenter	Charleston	1801 257 Meeting St.	City Directory		Same	
Blake and Tench	painters, glaziers	Charleston	July 28, 1767 shop on bay	CJ		Same	
Blamyer, William	lumber measurer	Charleston	1790 Magazine St.	City Directory		Same	
Blott, John	paper hanger, upholsterer	Charleston	Jan. 7, 1764 Union St.	SCG	June 22, 1782 Union St.	RG	
Blott, Rachel	paper hanging and upholstery	Charleston	Feb. 28, 1785 58 Tradd St.	DA		Same	Carrying on husband's business
Blundy, Charles	watch and clock maker	Charleston	Aug. 20, 1750	SCG	Jan. 1761	CCP, JR, Box 52A, 1761, #49A	SCG, Oct. 4, 1760: has returned to Charlestown
Boatwright, Thomas	blacksmith	Charleston	June 1798	Deeds, Vol. U-6, 1797-99, pp. 435-36	Mar. 1799	Deeds, Vol. X-6, 1798-99, pp. 275-76	
Bochet, Henry	carpenter	St. James' Santee	1772	SCHM, 17 (1916):80		Same	
Bochet, Samuel	joiner	Berkley Co.	Aug. 13, 1765	Char. Co., Will Book, 1771-74, p. 180	May 15, 1772 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1771-74, p. 180	
Boggs, Simon	carpenter		Dec. 12, 1776	SCAGG		Same	Mulatto working in Charlestown?

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Bohannan, John	joiner	St. John's, Colleton Co.	Mar. 1755	Deeds, Vol. QQ, Oct. 1755-Sept. 1756, pp. 577-87		Same	
Bok, John	turner, blacksmith	Charleston	Nov. 28, 1799 114 King St.	CGDA	Apr. 1800	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 236	Turner in brass, wood, iron; also an armourer
Bolsover, Francis	tin-plate worker	Charleston	Sept. 3, 1770	Misc. Rec., PP, 1771-74, p. 245		See below	
Bolsover and Sherman	tin-plater workers	Charleston	Oct. 6, 1772 Church St.	CJ	Dec. 25, 1770	CJ	
Bolton, William	tallow chandler	Charleston	May 4, 1769	Misc. Rec., OO, 1767-71, p. 66		Same	Claims he cannot support wife with money earned from trade
Bonneau, Elias	blacksmith	St. Thomas			July 23, 1773 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1771-74, p. 420	
Bonneau, Francis	house carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 21, 1783	Carp. Soc.	Mar. 25, 1802 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, p. 258	
Bonniott, Francis	house carpenter	Charleston	Nov. 1798	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 101		Same	
Bonniott, John	carpenter	Charleston	Nov. 1776	Deeds, Vol. A-5, 1776-77, pp. 396-402	Nov. 1796	Deeds, Vol. T-6, 1797-99, p. 359	
Bonnor, George	engraver, copper-plate printer	Charleston	July 5, 1796 92 Meeting St.	CH	Nov. 7, 1798 7 Queen St.	TDA	
Bonsall, Samuel	whitesmith	Charleston	Nov. 4, 1768 Queen St.	SCAGG	May 24, 1797 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book C, 1784-1800, p. 268	From London. Makes stove and kitchen grates, locksmith's work
Booden, Mr.	upholsterer	Charleston	Dec. 16, 1756 Elliott Street	SCG		Same	
Boone, Thomas	house carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 18, 1794	Carp. Soc.	Oct. 5, 1803 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book D, 1789-1810, p. 206	1801 City Directory: Ellery St.
Booner, Christian	carpenter	Charleston	Dec. 1786	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 72	June 24, 1800 39 Queen St.	CGDA	
Booth, Thomas	painter	Charleston	Oct. 25, 1768 Broad St.	CJ	Mar. 25, 1775	Misc. Rec., QQ, 1773-89, p. 100	From London
Borde, Mr.	engraver	Charleston	1801 95 Church St.	City Directory		Same	
Boswood, James, Jr.	blacksmith	St. Bartholomew's	Oct. 1768	CCP, JR, Box 82A, 1769, #39A	Dec. 1777 (d)	Inventory Book CC, 1776-78, pp. 258-59	
Bourdon, David	limner	Charleston	July 1795	Misc. Rec., FFF, 1795-96, p. 146		Same	

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Bourjoen, Francis Joseph	miniature painter	Charleston	Jan. 22, 1789 30 Broad St.	CGDA		Same	
Bowden, Thomas	house carpenter	Charleston	May 2, 1782	Misc. Rec., TT, 1781-84, pp. 141-42		Same	
Bowen, William	carpenter	St. James' Santee	1772	SCHM, 17(1916):80		Same	
Bowen, William Jones	painter, glazier	Charleston	Feb. 2, 1796	TMDA	May 1797	CCP, JR, CTD, 1798, #87A	1797: Seems to have left province. See also below
Bowen and Elliott	painters, glaziers	Charleston	June 5, 1794 185 Meeting St.	CGDA		Same	
Bower, Edward	carpenter	Jacksonborough	April 1768	CCP, JR, Box 76B, 1768, #38A	Sept. 16, 1784 (d)	GA	Carpenter's, joiner's, turner's tools in estate
Bower, William	watch & clock maker	Charleston	Oct. 23, 1770 Elliott St.	SCAGG	July 8, 1784 (d)	GSSC	
Bowman, James	tallow chandler	Charleston	April 1785	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 451		Same	
Bradford, Thomas	upholsterer, cabinet maker	Charleston	Feb. 2, 1786 84 Church St.	Ev. Gaz.	Nov. 19, 1798 (d)	TDA	From London
Bradford and Clements	upholsterers, cabinet makers	Charleston	Mar. 19, 1792 King St.	ST. GAZ. of S.C.	Sept. 19, 1793	CH	Sept. 1793: partnership dissolved
Brady, Robert	carpenter	Charleston	1801 Smith's Lane	City Directory		Same	
Branton, Henry	house carpenter	Charleston	Jan. 1775	CCP, JR, Box 103A, 1775, #115A	Oct. 27, 1781 (d) Orange St.	Char. Co., Will Book, 1780-83, p. 172	
Brewer, Samuel	weaver	Christ Church	May 1784	CCP, JR, Box 113A, 1784, #248A		Same	
Briggs, Adam	carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 1771	Misc. Rec., OO, 1767-71, p. 530		Same	
Brightman, George	blacksmith	Charleston	1796 Ellery St.	City Directory	Aug. 1799	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 175	
Briegel, Jacob	bricklayer	Charleston	Jan. 1770	Deeds, Vol. P-3, 1770, pp. 115-24	May 10, 1771 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1771-74, p. 22	
Brink, Alexander	house carpenter	Charleston	July 1784	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 379		Same	
Brodie, Robert	house carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 18, 1794	Carp. Soc.	June 1800	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 245	

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Brown, Daniel	cabinet maker	Charleston	1801 King St.	City Directory		Same	
Brown, Hugh	cabinet maker	Charleston	Oct. 8, 1772	Misc. Rec., PP, 1771-74, pp. 459-60	Dec. 1772	Deeds, Vol. V-4, 1775-77, pp. 32-38	
Brown, James	house carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 1768	Deeds, Vol. Y-4, 1778, pp. 258-64	Nov. 1793	CCP, JR, CTD, 1793, #171A	
Brown, John	carpenter	Charleston	May 20, 1790	Misc. Rec., YY, 1787-91, p. 212		Same	
Brown, John	dyer	Charleston	May 10, 1773 King St.	SCG	Jan. 30, 1775 Elliott St.	SCG	
Brown, Thomas	carpenter	Charleston	Sept. 1786	Deeds, Vol. V-5, 1786-87, pp. 313-14	Oct. 1789 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 255	
Brown, William	dyer, scourer	Charleston	Mar. 18, 1766	CJ	Oct. 1768	CCP, JR, Box 81B, 1769, #15A	
Browne, Charles Fowler	bricklayer	Charleston	Dec. 1799	Regis. of St. Philip's Parish, p. 270		Same	
Browson, John	carpenter	Charleston	1801 Boundary St.	City Directory		Same	
Brumby, Thomas	carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 1798	CCP, JR, CTD, 1799, #372A	June 1799	Misc. Rec., NNN, 1799-1805, p. 108	
Bruner, Uldrick	carpenter	Berkley Co.	May 1768	Deeds, Vol. L-3, 1768, pp. 335-39		Same	
Brunet, Isaiah	carpenter, joiner	Charleston	Oct. 9, 1755	Misc. Rec., KK, 1754-58, p. 244	May 3, 1760 (d)	SCG	
Bryce, Alexander	stone cutter	Charleston	Nov. 1797	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 18		Same	
Bryers, Laurence	blacksmith	St. Bartholomew's	1774	CCP, JR, CTD, 1793, #15A	Oct. 1792	CCP, JR, CTD, 1793, #15A	
Bryers, Lazarus	blacksmith	St. Paul's Parish			Jan. 1787 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 82	
Buchanan, Jacob	gunsmith, cutler	Charleston	Jan. 16, 1793 9 Queen St.	CGDA	Jan. 20, 1794 9 Queen St.	TMDA	
Bull, John	carpenter	Charleston	July 1771	CCP, JR, Box 93A, 1772, #176A	May 1774	CCP, JR, Box 101A, 1774, #163A	
Bull, Thomas	carpenter	Charleston	May 1771	SCHM, 11 (1910):96		Same	
Bullard, Edward	carpenter	Charleston	April 1752	CCP, JR, Box 32, 1752, #2A	Feb. 20, 1767 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1767-71, p. 90	

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Burdell, Thomas, Jr.	carpenter	Berkley Co.			Dec. 30, 1766 (d)	SCHM, 23 (1922):221	
Burden, Kinsey	carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 22, 1769	CJ	July 1785 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book A, 1783-87, pp. 368-69	CTD, Chancery Ct. Bundle, 1770-79, #4: In partnership with Richard Muncrief, 1765-69
Burk, Thomas	blacksmith	Charleston			May 1790 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 306	
Burke, Patrick	cabinet maker	Charleston	1801 43 Queen St.	City Directory		Same	
Burlin, Seneca	blacksmith	St. James' Santee			Sept. 1768 (d)	SCHM, 17 (1916):76	
Burn, Andrew	cabinet maker	Charleston	Mar. 1772	Deeds, Vol. V-4, 1775-77, pp. 282-87	Aug. 1778	CCP, JR, Box 106 B, 1778, #7A	
Burn, David	will teach architecture	Charleston	July 18, 1785 19 Beresford's Alley	ST. GAZ. of S.C.		Same	
Burn, James	cabinet maker	Charleston	1790 285 King St.	City Directory	Mar. 1798	CCP, JR, CTD, 1799, #107A	
Burnett, Henry	house & ship carver	Charleston	April 16, 1750	SCG	1761 (d)	Inventory Book V, 1761-63, p. 60	
Burn, William	joiner	Charleston			Feb. 1771 (d)	SCHM, 44 (1943):179	
Burnley, Samuel	carpenter	Berkley Co.	Sept. 1744	Deeds, Vol. G-6, 1791-92, pp. 325-27		Same	
Burrage, John	house carpenter	Charleston			Sept. 21, 1799 (d)	CGDA	
Burt, William	wood measurer	Charleston	1790 116 Queen St.	City Directory		Same	
Butler, Charles Paxton	goldsmith, jeweller	Charleston	Nov. 22, 1787 55 Bay	CGDA	1801 255 King St.	City Directory	
Butler, Joseph	painter	Charleston	Feb. 1803	Miso. Rec., SSS, 1803-1804, pp. 63-64		Same	
Byers, David	house carpenter	Charleston	July 1797	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 426		Same	
Byrd, William	silversmith	Charleston	Sept. 1798	Misc. Rec., LLL, 1798-99, p. 217; 220-21	June 1802	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 395	
Byrn, William	coppersmith, brazier	Charleston	May 8, 1784 12 Meeting St.	GA		Same	

NAME	OCCUPATION	TOWN OR PARISH	EARLIEST REFERENCE DATE	EARLIEST REFERENCE SOURCE	LATEST REFERENCE DATE	LATEST REFERENCE SOURCE	NOTES
Caine, Isaac	cabinet maker	Charleston			April 8, 1786 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1783-86, p. 637	Owned property in Amelia Township and Georgia
Calder, Alexander	cabinet maker	Charleston	Dec. 12, 1796 (248) Meeting St.	CGDA	July 1804	Misc. Rec., UUU, 1804-1806, p. 126	
Calder and Duddell	cabinet makers	Charleston	May 10, 1800 123 Queen St.	TDA		Same	Partnership dissolved
Caldwell, John	house carpenter	Charleston	Jan. 20, 1801	Carp. Soc.	Aug. 1801	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 327	
Callaghan, Bernard	tallow chandler	Charleston	Sept. 2, 1784 26 Tradd St.	GSSC		Same	
Callaghan, John	tallow chandler	Charleston	1790 40 Tradd St.	City Directory	Dec. 1793	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 149	
Caller, Christian	joiner	Berkley Co.	Feb. 1764	Deeds, Vol. C-3, Aug. 1764-Apr. 1765, pp. 153-73		Same	
Calvert, John, Jr.	house carpenter	Charleston	May 1783	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 257	July 1784	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 384	
Calwell, Henry	carpenter	Charleston	April 1760	CCP, JR, Box 49B, 1760, #36A	Mar. 1769	Deeds, Vol. M-3, 1768-69, pp. 253-61	
Calwell, Henry	weaver	Charleston	Feb. 6, 1777 Elliott St.	SCAGG	Jan. 1779	Deeds, Vol. Z-4, 1778, pp. 433-37	
Camble, James	weaver	Berkley Co.	June 1773	Deeds, Vol. I-4, 1774, pp. 60-63		Same	
Cameron, Alexander	dyer	Charleston	1790 79 Church St.	City Directory		Same	
Cameron, David	tallow chandler	Charleston	July 27, 1785	Misc. Rec., VV, 1784-89, p. 143	Dec. 1787 15 Chalmer's Alley	CCP, JR, Box 136A, 1788, #86A	
Campbell, John	carpenter	St. Bartholomew's	April 1769	CCP, JR, Box 89A, 1770, #247A		Same	
Camsen, Harman	carpenter	Charleston	1796 Mazyck St.	City Directory		Same	
Canly, George	carpenter	Charleston	1801 2 King St.	City Directory		Same	
Cannon, Daniel	house carpenter	Charleston	1759	Misc. Rec., LL, 1758-63, p. 239	1801 23 Queen St.	City Directory	

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Canterson, Joshua (Canter)	portrait painter	Charleston	April 21, 1788 40 Tradd St.	CH	1801 61 Broad St.	City Directory	1788: Lately from Europe
Cantey, James	house carpenter	Charleston			Jan. 21, 1795 (d)	CGDA	
Cardoza, David	lumber measurer	Charleston	1801 13 King St.	City Directory		Same	
Cardy, Samuel	architect, carpenter	Charleston	Feb. 1759	Deeds, Vol. XX, June 1761-Apr. 1762, pp. 581-89	Jan. 31, 1774 (d)	SCG	CCP, JR, Box 57B, 1763, #36A: Building St. Michael's Church
Cargill, John	house carpenter	Charleston	Dec. 24, 1767	Misc. Rec., NN, 1765-69, p. 62	Jan. 7, 1771 (d)	Inventory Book Y, 1769-71, p. 361	SCHM, 35 (1934):28: Sept. 1769 (d)
Carles, Johann Casper	house carpenter	St. James' Goose Creek			July 1784 (d)	Letters of Admin., Vol. 00, 1775-85, p. 380	
Carne, John	cabinet & coffin maker	Charleston	April 13, 1767	SCG		Same	In partnership with Edward Weyman
Carpenter, George	carpenter	Charleston	Dec. 1759	Deeds, Vol. VV. Jan. 1759-July 1760, pp. 486-90	Jan. 23, 1767 (d) Archdale St.	SCAGG	
Carrell, Daniel	silversmith	Charleston	Dec. 9, 1789 129 Broad St.	CGDA	1801 124 Broad St.	City Directory	
Carruthers, William	blacksmith	Charleston			Aug. 1771 (d)	SCHM, 45 (1944):49	
Cart, John	carpenter	Charleston	Nov. 4, 1745	SCG	Dec. 29, 1790 (d) Queen St.	Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, p. 488	
Cart, Joseph Sayer	silversmith	Charleston	Oct. 1789	Deeds, Vol. T-6, 1797-99, pp. 537-39	Dec. 1798	Letters of Admin., 1797-1800, p. 111	
Carte, Johann Casper	house carpenter	Charleston	June 1783	Letters of Admin., Vol. 00, 1775-85, p. 265		Same	Probably same person as J.C. Carles
Castine, John	mahogany sawyer	Charleston	1790 19 Beresford St.	City Directory		Same	
Caton, John	carpenter	Berkley Co.	June 1783	Deeds, Vol. O-5, 1785, pp. 186-90	Feb. 1784	Letters of Admin., Vol. 00, 1775-85, p. 333	
Chalmers, Gilbert	house carpenter	Charleston	Feb. 1779	Deeds, Vol. K-5, 1784, p. 182	1801 18 Beaufain St.	City Directory	

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Chalmers, John Brown	house carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 6, 1793	Misc. Rec., EEE, 1793-95, p. 374	Dec. 1797 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 25	
Chance, Henry	house carpenter	Charleston	Jan. 1798	Misc. Rec., HHH, 1796-98, p. 444		Same	
Chapman, Samuel	blacksmith	Berkley Co.	July 1772	Deeds, Vol. E-4, 1773, p. 140		Same	
Chipchase, Stephen	tin-plate worker	Charleston			Oct. 3, 1767 (d)	SCHM, 24 (1923):111	
Chisolme, William	house carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 1771	Char. Co., Will Book, 1771-74, p. 47	July 14, 1781	RG	
Christie, Henry	carpenter	Charleston	May 1743	Deeds, Vol. HH, July 1750-May 1751, p. 25	Oct. 17, 1761 Dupuy's Alley	SCG	
Church, Slocum	carpenter	Charleston	June 1801	Regis. of St. Philip's Parish, p. 273		Same	
Clark, David	watchmaker	Charleston	July 1794	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 192	1801 123 Broad St.	City Directory	
Clark, Felix	house carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 1802	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 420		Same	
Clark, Jeremiah	lumber measurer	Charleston	1790 Greenwood's Alley	City Directory		Same	
Clark, John	blacksmith	Charleston	June 1771	Deeds, Vol. W-5, 1786-87, pp. 568-74		Same	
Clark, John	painter	Charleston	1790 13 Hasell St.	City Directory		Same	
Clark, Jonathan	silversmith	Charleston	Oct. 24, 1773 Chalmer's Alley	Char. Co., Will Book, 1771-74, p. 463		Same	
Clark, Peter	blacksmith	Charleston	July 1784	CCP, Petitions & Decrees, 1784, #26A		Same	Working with Anthony Jankoffsky
Clark, Richard	watch & clock maker	Charleston	June 2, 1767 King St.	CJ	May 21, 1772 (d) King St.	SCG	1767: From London
Clark, Robert	watch & clock maker	Charleston	May 28, 1785 5 1/2 Church St.	PA	July 25, 1785 corner Tradd & Church	Ev. Gaz.	
Clark, Thomas	house carpenter	Charleston	Nov. 1796	Misc. Rec., III, 1796-99, p. 34		Same	
Clarke, Charles	carpenter	Charleston			July 24, 1789 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, p. 330	

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Clarke, Francis	cutler	Charleston	July 1783	CCP, JR, Box 111A, 1784, #108A	Nov. 1784	Letters of Admin., Vol. 00, 1775-85, p. 412	GSSC, Feb. 26, 1784: on the Bay. Makes all sorts of tools
Clarke, John	cabinet maker	Charleston	Sept. 1764	CCP, JR, Box 59A, 1764, #58A		Same	
Clarke, Joseph	carpenter	Charleston	1758	CCP, JR, Box 105A, 1777, #66A	May 1777 (d)	CCP, JR, Box 105A, 1777, #66A	
Clarke and Latham	watchmakers	Charleston	1790 125 Broad St.	City Directory		Same	
Clarkson, Joseph	carpenter	Charleston	Sept. 10, 1790	Misc. Rec., YY, 1787-91, p. 304		Same	
Claudon, John George	watchmaker	Charleston	July 19, 1773 Church St.	SCG		Same	
Claybrook, Richard	carpenter	Charleston	1801 20 Pinckney St.			Same	
Cleator, John	whitesmith	Charleston	May 11, 1770 Corner Tradd & Meeting	SCAGG	Sept. 14, 1770 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1767-71, p. 487	Makes iron stair railings, grates, etc. From London
Cleave, Nathan	carpenter	St. Thomas			Aug. 2, 1764 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1760-67, p. 406	
Clement, John	house carpenter	Charleston	Dec. 1784	Letters of Admin., Vol. K, 1778-1821, p. 99	Feb. 1802 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 364	
Clime, Geer	carpenter	Charleston	1801 125 King St.	City Directory		Same	
Coghlan, William	painter, glazier, paper hanger	Charleston	May 6, 1790 22 Union St.	CGDA	April 12, 1798	TDA	
Cole, Thomas	bricklayer	Charleston	Mar. 1768	Deeds, Vol, R-6, 1795-96, pp. 59-63	Nov. 8, 1771 (d) Meeting St.	Char. Co., Will Book, 1771-74, p. 58	
Coleman, Thomas	upholsterer	Charleston	June 16, 1766	SCG	Mar. 8, 1769 (d)	SCHM, 31 (1930):156	
Coleman, William	jeweller	Charleston	Dec. 1769	CCP, JR, Box 82A, 1769, #50A		Same	
Colhoun, Samuel	house carpenter	Charleston	Sept. 1799	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 192	Feb. 12, 1805 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, p. 542	Was in partnership with Jeremiah Shrewsbury
Colles, Robert	carpenter	Charleston			Dec. 1773 (d)	Deeds, Vol. Y-4, 1778, pp. 211-13	

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Collins, John	house carpenter	Charleston	July 15, 1760	Misc. Rec., LL, 1758-63, p. 403	Jan. 1790 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 285	
Collins, John	carpenter	St. James' Santee	1765	SCHM, 17 (1716):42		Same	
Collins, Jonah	house carpenter	Charleston	1790 Wyatt's Lott	City Directory		Same	
Colt, Thomas	carpenter	Jacksonborough			Nov. 11, 1766 (d)	SCHM, 23 (1922):218	
Colt, William Saxby	carpenter	St. Bartholomew's	Aug. 1765	SCHM, 11 (1910):29		Same	
Combe, John	house carpenter	Charleston	Feb. 1797	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 394		Same	
Connall, Matthew	house carpenter	St. Bartholomew's			Oct. 1792 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 82	
Connor, Daniel	carpenter	Charleston			Jan. 1788 (d)	CCP, JR, Box 138A, 1788, #269A	In partnership with Thomas Mellifont and James Moles
Connoway, Robert	cabinet maker	Charleston	May 5, 1773	Misc. Rec., PP, 1771-74, p. 515	Nov. 1780	Char. Co., Will Book, 1780-83, p. 76	
Cooke, James	house carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 1772	Deeds, Vol. A-4, 1772-73, pp. 310-15	Feb. 1785	Deeds, Vol. T-5, 1786, pp. 370-72	
Cooke, Thomas	cabinet maker	Charleston	May 27, 1784	GSSC	Feb. 1792	Deeds, Vol. C-7, 1800-1801, pp. 343-46	1784: Was in partnership with Benjamin Wheeler
Cookson, Rowland	tallow chandler, soap boiler	Charleston	Feb. 15, 1793 18 Union St.	CGDA		Same	
Cookson, Thomas	tallow chandler, soap boiler	Charleston	Feb. 17, 1797	CGDA		Same	In partnership with Abraham Williamson and Abraham Dowthwaite
Coon, John	house carpenter	St. Bartholomew's			Oct. 1784 (d)	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 398	
Coon, William	carpenter	Dorchester			Aug. 2, 1760 (d)	SCG	
Cooper, John	paper hanger, upholsterer	Charleston	May 26, 1784 10 Meeting St.	PA		Same	
Coquereau, Charles	cabinet maker	Charleston	1796 284 King St.	City Directory	Jan. 1797	Misc. Rec., LLL, 1798-99, p. 70	
Coram, Thomas	engraver	Charleston	Sept. 10, 1778 on Bay	SCAGG	1801 81 Queen St.	City Directory	CH, Nov. 26, 1784: Teaches drawing at 28 Queen St.

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Corkall, Samuel W. (Corkel)	carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 19, 1777	Misc. Rec., QQ, 1773-89, p. 245		Same	
Cornier, Charles	carpenter	Charleston	1801 12 Wall St.	City Directory		Same	
Cornwell, Abraham Samuel	carpenter	Charleston	Feb. 1796	Deeds, Vol. A-7, 1800, pp. 117-19		Same	
Cotten, James W.	carver, gilder	Charleston	Sept. 10, 1799 71 Meeting St.	CGDA	1801 71 Meeting St.	City Directory	
Cotton and Stattler	carvers, gilders	Charleston	1796 20 Trott St.	City Directory	Feb. 17, 1797 20 Trott St.	CGDA	See above
Coulliette, Christopher	carpenter	St. James	July 1765	CCP, JR, Box 73A, 1767, #499A		Same	
Courtonne, James Alex	jeweller	Charleston	May 7, 1753	SCG	Jan. 6, 1787	Misc. Rec., Book WW, 1786-87, pp. 88-89	
Cowen, George	house carpenter	Charleston?	Oct. 1772	CCP, JR, Box 96A, 1773, #70A	Jan. 17, 1774 (d)	SCG	
Cox, John	bricklayer	Charleston	Oct. 1798	Misc. Rec., KKK, 1797-99, p. 389	1801 4 Federal St.	City Directory	
Cox, Joseph D. and John	carpenters	Charleston	Oct. 1795	Deeds, Vol. R-6, 1795-96, pp. 63-66		Same	
Crawford, Alexander	painter, glazier	Charleston	Aug. 1786 Tradd St.	CCP, JR, Box 136A, 1788, #95A	1801 258 Meeting St.	City Directory	
Crawford and Wallace	painters, glaziers	Charleston	1790 18 East Bay	City Directory		Same	
Crawford, Daniel	bricklayer	St. Bartholomew's	1775	SCHM, 12 (1911):22	June 12, 1797 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1793-1800, p. 395	CGDA, Mar. 13, 1788: partnership with David Scott dissolved
Crawford, John	coppersmith, brazier, tin & plate worker	Charleston	Jan. 2, 1775 Broad St.	SCG		Same	
Cripps, George	bricklayer	Charleston	Nov. 13, 1778	Misc. Rec., QQ, 1773-89, p. 153	Nov. 1778	Deeds, Vol. Z-4, 1778, pp. 198-201	
Crosby, Timothy	bricklayer	Charleston	July 1751	Deeds, Vol. II, May 1751-Jan. 1752, p. 343	Mar. 1787 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 93	
Cross, James	dyer, scourer	Charleston	May 24, 1799 Beresford St.	CGDA	1801 1 Beresford St.	City Directory	All kinds of silks, satins, damasks dyed

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Cross, John	house carpenter	Charleston	April 1796	Deeds, Vol. Q-6, 1795-96, pp. 222-23	1796 Pitt St.	City Directory	
Cross, Mathew William	bricklayer	Charleston	1796 231 King St.	City Directory	June 13, 1811 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book E, 1802-19, p. 43	
Cross, Mathew W. and Thomas Baker	bricklayers	Charleston	April 9, 1798	Misc. Rec., III, 1796-99, p. 407	Jan. 17, 1800	CGDA	1800: partnership dissolved
Culliatt, Adam	cabinet maker, joiner, carpenter	Jacksonborough	April 14, 1757	SCG	Sept. 13, 1768 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1767-71, p. 251	
Culliatt, Adam	blacksmith	Jacksonborough	Aug. 1793	Deeds, Vol. O-6, 1795, pp. 129-31	Aug. 1797	Misc. Rec., KKK, 1797-99, pp. 329-30	
Cumbui, Paul	carpenter	Charleston			Oct. 31, 1766 (d)	SCHM, 23 (1922):218	
Cummins, John	carpenter	St. Bartholomew's	July 1803	Misc. Rec., SSS, 1803-1804, pp. 198-200		Same	
Cunningham, William	house carpenter	St. Paul's			Nov. 1789 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 268	
Cusack, Adam	joiner	Charleston	July 1765	CCP, JR, Box 65A, 1766, #108A	Nov. 1767	CCP, JR, Box 77A, 1768, #112A	
Dallas, Alexander and Robert Douglas	dyers, scourers	Charleston	Feb. 28, 1765	Misc. Rec., MM, 1763-67, p. 224		Same	
Dalziel, William	cabinet maker	Charleston	June 2, 1773	Misc. Rec., QQ, 1783-89, p. 390		Same	
Dalziel, Wilson	silversmith	Charleston			April 1783 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book A, 1783-87, pp. 58-59	
Dandridge, George	glazier	Charleston			Jan. 24, 1765 (d)	SCHM, 10 (1909):162	
Dandridge, John	cabinet maker, joiner	Charleston	Feb. 1778	Misc. Rec., SS, 1776-81, p. 223		Same	
Dandridge, William	painter, glazier	Charleston	Nov. 13, 1755	SCG	Jan. 1761	Deeds, Vol. A-3, May 1763-Mar. 1764, pp. 342-51	
Daray and Fowavet	carpenters	Charleston	1796 9 Guignard St.	City Directory		Same	
Darby, John	goldsmith	Charleston	1796 6 Pinckney St.	City Directory	Dec. 1802	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 440	
Darby, William	jeweller, hair work, goldsmith	Charleston	1790 20 Broad St.	City Directory	May 10, 1798 (d)	Car. Gaz.	

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Darby, William	house carpenter	Charleston	April 10, 1777	SCAGG	Oct. 28, 1788 (d)	CGDA	
Davane, John	goldsmith	Charleston			Oct. 17, 1801 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book D, 1789-1810, p. 59	
Davis, Andrew	weaver	St. James' Santee	1779	SCHM, 17 (1916):105		Same	
Davis, George	carver, joiner	Charleston	May 1764	Deeds, Vol. B-3, Mar. 1764-Aug. 1764, pp. 440-42	Feb. 21, 1772 (d)	Inventory Book Z, 1771-74, p. 207	
Davison, John	limner	Charleston	April 1760	CCP, JR, Box 50A, 1760, #43A		Same	
Davison, John	house & ship painter	Charleston	April 7, 1759 Union St.	SCG	June 2, 1759	SCG	Also does glazing, plumbing, and japanning
Day, George	silversmith	Charleston	April 1795	Deeds, Vol. O-6, 1795, pp. 339-45	1801 215 Meeting St.	City Directory	
Deans, Robert	carpenter, cabinet maker	Charleston	Jan. 29, 1750	SCG	May 1763	Deeds, Vol. A-3, May 1763-Mar. 1764, pp. 91-94	SCG, May 19, 1759: partnership with Benjamin Baker expired
Debow, John	silversmith	Charleston	Oct. 1789	Deeds, Vol. T-6, 1797-99, pp. 537-39		Same	
DeBrahl, Michael Samuel (Debruhl)	jeweller, clock maker	Charleston	Aug. 21, 1798 7 Queen St.	CGDA	1801 137 Queen St.	City Directory	
Decolland, Mr.	painter, glazier, paper hanger	Charleston	July 16, 1795 93 King St.	CGDA		Same	
deGrasse, Augustus	teaches architectural design	Charleston	July 20, 1800 Federal St.	TDA		Same	
De Lajonchere, Mr.	brickmaker	Charleston	1796 22 Society St.	City Directory		Same	
Delancy, Abraham	portrait painter	Charleston	Nov. 14, 1768	SCG	Dec. 1, 1768	SCG	
Delany, Daniel	carpenter	Charleston	1801 15 Boundary St.	City Directory		Same	
Denton, James	carpenter	Charleston	1801 8 St. Philip's St.	City Directory		Same	
Delorme, John Francis	upholsterer	Charleston	Oct. 19, 1791	CGDA	1801 44 Broad St.	City Directory	

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Depresseville, Anthony	drawing master	Charleston	1796 Longitude Lane	City Directory	April 20, 1797 Longitude Lane	CGDA	
Desel, Charles	cabinet maker	Charleston	April 1777	Deeds, Vol. P-4, 1775-77, pp. 457-61	Dec. 4, 1807 (d) Corner of King & Broad	Char. Co., Will Book, 1807-18, p. 17	
Desel and Gafkin	cabinet makers	Charleston	Jan. 16, 1792 44 Church St.	CGDA		Same	
Dewes, William	carpenter	Charleston	Dec. 1764	Deeds, Vol, C-3, Aug. 1764-Apr. 1765, pp. 452-55	Feb. 1775	Deeds, Vol. V-5, 1786-87, pp. 408-11	
Diamond, John	oil cloth manufacturer	Charleston	Sept. 28, 1793 71 King St.	CH		Same	Makes table covers, floor cloths, etc.
Dick, Walter	gunsmith, cutler	Charleston	Jan. 6, 1775 Meeting St.	SCAGG		Same	Also makes locks and keys
Dickenson, Joseph	carpenter	Charleston	1796 Magazine St.	City Directory	Jan. 15, 1799	Carp. Soc.	
Dierson, Martin	carpenter	Charleston	1796 5 Union St.	City Directory		Same	
Dill, John	bricklayer	Charleston	June 1788	CCP, JR, Box 153A, 1789, #924A	Sept. 1789	Deeds, Vol. C-6, 1789-90, pp. 148-51	
Dill, Joseph	house carpenter	Charleston	May 1768	Misc. Rec., NN, 1765-69, p. 313	Mar. 22, 1796 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1793-1800, p. 279	
Dillon, John	blacksmith	Charleston?			Aug. 18, 1800 (d)	TDA	
Dingle, Alexander (Robert?)	house carpenter	Charleston			Mar. 1770 (d)	SCHM, 42 (1941):195, 197	
Dobbins, John	cabinet maker	Charleston	Aug. 12, 1768	SCAGG	Nov. 22, 1770	SCG	1770: Intends to leave province. Business carried on by John Forthet
Dodd, John	house carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 1784	Letters of Admin., Vol. K, 1778-1821, p. 94		Same	
Donaldson, James	carpenter	Charleston	1782 9 Tradd St.	Charlestown Directory	1801 116 Tradd St.	City Directory	
Donaldson, William	jeweller	Charleston	June 20, 1771 Broad St.	SCG		Same	
Donavan, James	bricklayer	Charleston	1790 6 Trott St.	City Directory	Dec. 1793	Misc. Rec., CCC, 1791-94, p. 493	

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Dott, David	carpenter	Charleston			May 16, 1796 (d)	CH	
Doud, Amasa	house carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 1797	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 11		Same	
Doughty, Thomas	house carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 1771	Deeds, Vol. I-4, 1774, pp. 73-79	Feb. 1780	Deeds, Vol. F-5, 1781-82, pp. 39-43	
Douglas, John	cabinet maker	Charleston	June 1797	Deeds, Vol. Y-6, 1798-1800, p. 75	Nov. 1804	Misc. Rec., TTT, 1803-1805, p. 559	
Douglas, Robert	silk dyer	Charleston	June 19, 1765	Misc. Rec., MM, 1763-67, p. 287		Same	
Downes, Arthur	watchmaker	Charleston	Dec. 24, 1765	CJ	Nov. 15, 1784 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1783-86, p. 437	
Downey, Bernard	bricklayer	Charleston	Oct. 1791	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 410		Same	
Dowthwaite, Abraham	tallow chandler, soap boiler	Charleston	Feb. 17, 1797	CGDA	Jan. 1803	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 453	1797: In business with Abraham Williamson and Thomas Cookson
Draxler, George	house carpenter	St. George			Mar. 1787 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 99	
Drummond, James	cabinet maker	Charleston	Mar. 7, 1771	SCG	June 21, 1773	SCG	
Dryburgh, James	carpenter	Charleston	1796 9 Guignard St.	City Directory		Same	
DuBois, Peter	carpenter	Charleston	Nov. 1799	Deeds, Vol. Y-6, 1799-1800, pp. 258-61	Jan. 1804	Misc. Rec., TTT, 1803-1805, p. 310	
Duddell, James	cabinet maker	Charleston	May 8, 1800 251 Meeting St.	CGDA	Dec. 1804	Misc. Rec., WWW, 1804-1807, pp. 60-64	Had been in partnership with Alexander Calder
Dueston, Daniel	house carpenter	Charleston			Sept. 27, 1798 (d)	CGDA	
Duff, Matthew	house carpenter	Charleston			Sept. 1802 (d)	Letters of Admin. 1793-1803, p. 413	
Duke, Benjamin	house carpenter	Charleston	Sept. 8, 1784	PA	Oct. 1784	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 400	
Dulles, Joseph	ironmonger	Charleston	1796 35 East Bay	City Directory		Same	

NAME	OCCUPATION	TOWN OR PARISH	EARLIEST REFERENCE DATE	EARLIEST REFERENCE SOURCE	LATEST REFERENCE DATE	LATEST REFERENCE SOURCE	NOTES
Duncan, Archibald and Archibald Murdock	blacksmiths	Charleston	Mar. 22, 1788	Misc. Rec., QQ, 1773-89, p. 689	Dec. 29, 1796	CGDA	1796: partnership dissolved; Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, p. 521: Archibald Duncan, Dec. 21, 1804 (d).
Duncan, David	makes locks and keys	Charleston	Oct. 23, 1769 King St.	SCAGG		Same	
Duncan, James	blacksmith	Charleston	April 1778	Deeds, Vol. F-5, 1781-82, pp. 321-24	1790 18 Beresford's Alley	City Directory	
Duncan, Patrick	tallow chandler	Charleston	June 1798	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 77		Same	
Dunn, Alexander	carpenter	Charleston	1801 19 Federal St.	City Directory		Same	Carp. Soc., Oct. 18, 1794: An Alexander Don listed
Dunsworth, George	house carpenter	Charleston			Dec. 1787 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 139	
DuVall, John	house carpenter	Charleston	Dec. 1792	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 90	Aug. 1801	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 326	
Earl, James	limner	Charleston			Oct. 29, 1796 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book C, 1784-1800, p. 218	
Echausse, Guillaume	mattress maker	Charleston	Sept. 3, 1799 51 Meeting St.	TDA	Aug. 5, 1800	TDA	Wool, cotton, hair, & moss mattresses
Eden, Jeremiah	turner?	Christ Church			Mar. 1783?	Char. Co., Will Book, 1783-86, p. 34	Turner's tools left in will
Eden, Joshua	turner	Charleston	Jan. 19, 1767 King St.	SCG	May 8, 1802 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book D, 1789-1810, p. 93	
Edmanson, John, Jr.	carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 1766	CCP, JR, Box 65A, 1766, #24A	May 12, 1767	CJ	
Edwards, John	blacksmith	St. George's			Nov. 8, 1770 (d)	Inventory Book Y, 1769-71, p. 337	
Edwards, John	tallow chandler, soap boiler	Charleston?	Dec. 8, 1768	SCG		Same	
Edwards, Uriah	blacksmith	St. George's	Jan. 1757	Deeds, Vol. VV, Jan. 1759-July 1760, pp. 605-609	July 15, 1766 (d) near Bacon Bridge	CJ	
Ehney, George	house carpenter	Charleston	June 1793	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 125		Same	
Elfe, Thomas	cabinet maker	Charleston	Sept. 28, 1747	SCG	July 7, 1775 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1776-84, pp. 71-76	

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Elfe and Fisher	cabinet makers	Charleston			May 23, 1771	SCG	Partnership dissolved
Elfe, Thomas and Thomas Hutchinson	cabinet makers	Charleston	Jan. 1764	CCP, JR, Box 60A, 1764, #200A		Same	
Elfe, Thomas, Jr.	cabinet maker	Charleston	Oct. 1778	CCP, JR, Box 108B, 1779, #2A·	1796 116 Queen St.	City Directory	
Elliott, Christian Robert	painter, glazier	Charleston	July 1795	Misc. Rec., EEE, 1793-95, pp. 609-10	Jan. 1799	CCP, JR, CTD, 1799, #260A	
Elliott, Stephen	carpenter	Charleston	April 1801	Misc. Rec., PPP, 1800-1801, p. 343		Same	
Elliott, Thomas	house carpenter	Edisto Island			Feb. 1799 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 133	
Ellis, Matthew	cabinet maker	Charleston	Jan. 1803	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 446		Same	
Ellison, John	tallow chandler	Charleston	July 1783	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 274	Sept. 1784	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 393	
Ellison, Stephen H.	turner	Charleston	1801 99 Tradd St.	City Directory		Same	
Elsam, John	house carpenter	Charleston	Jan. 28, 1787	Misc. Rec., QQ, 1783-89, p. 560		Same	
Elstob, Simon	painter	Charleston	Feb. 1802	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 370		Same	
Ernst, John	blacksmith	Ansonborough			Oct. 24, 1781 (d)	RG	
Evans, Rowland	glazier	Charleston	Sept. 1767	Deeds, Vol. H-3, Sept. 1767-May 1768, pp. 327-32		Same	
Evelin, Frederick	carpenter	St. Paul's	Aug. 26, 1776	Misc. Rec., SS, 1776-81, p. 407		Same	
Everlay, Frederick	carpernter	Berkley Co.	Feb. 1764	Deeds, Vol. C-3, Aug. 1764-Apr. 1765, pp. 153-73		Same	
Faesch, John	limner	Charleston	Dec. 12, 1768	SCAGG	July 23, 1771	Misc. Rec., PP, 1771-74, p. 22	Draws and paints on glass
Fairchild, Aaron	blacksmith	Charleston	1796 119 Pinckney St.	City Directory	Oct. 21, 1809 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book D, 1789-1810, p. 522	
Fairchild, Henry	cabinet maker	Colleton Co.	Nov. 1762	CCP, JR, Box 55B, 1762, #55A		Same	

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Fairchild, Robert	cabinet maker, joiner	James Island	July 10, 1750	Misc. Rec., II, 1751-54, p. 102	Dec. 4, 1775 (d)	Inventory Book CC, 1776-78, pp. 4-5	
Fairly, Hance	cabinet maker	Charleston	July 24, 1799 Queen St.	CGDA		Same	
Falconnet, John-Baptiste	watchmaker	Charleston			Oct. 1807 (d)	Letters of Admin., Vol. K, 1778-1821, p. 361	
Farasteau, Anthony	weaver	Charleston	June 9, 1777 Liberty St.	GSSC	July 1779	Deeds, Vol. B-5, 1779, pp. 156-58	1777: Just arrived from France
Farol, Patrick	bricklayer	St. Andrew's			April 1798 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 58	
Farquhar, George	carpenter	Charleston	June 1769	Misc. Rec., OO, 1767-71, p. 259		Same	
Farrow, William	cabinet maker	Charleston	June 4, 1765	Misc. Rec., MM, 1763-67, p. 367	May 1767	CCP, JR, Box 70A, 1767, #165A	
Faver, John (Favour)	joiner, carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 1756	Deeds, Vol. RR, Sept. 1756-May 1757, pp. 73-76	Nov. 7, 1761 (d)	SCG	
Fell, William	house painter, gilder	Charleston	May 31, 1773 Meeting St.	SCG	Sept. 17, 1778 (d)	SCAGG	
Fendin, William-Henry	bricklayer	Charleston			Dec. 1801 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 358	
Fenning, Samuel	turner	Charleston	Nov. 25, 1778	GSSC		Same	Items in brass, iron, copper; spinning wheels
Finlayson, Mr.	silversmith	Charleston	June 1, 1782 83 Church St.	RG		Same	
Finlayson, John	carpenter	Charleston	1790 4 Trott St.	City Directory		Same	
Finleyson, Mungo	cabinet maker	Charleston	April 1773	CCP, JR, Box 99A, 1773, #347A	Dec. 3, 1793 (d)	ST. GAZ. of S.C.	
Finlyson, John	carpenter	St. James' Santee			Jan. 21, 1807 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, p. 704	
Fisher, John	cabinet maker	Charleston	May 5, 1767 Tradd St.	CJ	April 14, 1789	Misc. Rec., ZZ, 1789-92, p. 2	1789: Now living in Jamaica
Fitzpatrick, Edward	bricklayer	St. Stephens			May 1797 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 413	
Fitzsimmons, Christopher	tallow chandler	Charleston	May 21, 1751	Misc. Rec., II, 1751-54, p. 18	July 10, 1783 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1783-86, p. 166	

NAME	OCCUPATION	TOWN OR PARISH	EARLIEST REFERENCE DATE	EARLIEST REFERENCE SOURCE	LATEST REFERENCE DATE	LATEST REFERENCE SOURCE	NOTES
Flagg, George	painter, glazier	Charleston	April 15, 1768	SCAGG	Feb. 1800	CCP, Petitions & Decrees, 1800, #36A	1768: Had been in partnership with Benjamin Hawes
Flagg, George, Jr.	carpenter	Charleston	1796 Maiden Lane	City Directory		Same	
Flere, Thomas and Charles Harris	jewellers	Charleston	Feb. 27, 1767 Broad St.	SCAGG		Same	
Fletcher, John	painter, glazier	Charleston	1796 250 Meeting St.	City Directory		Same	
Flinn, Jeremiah	blacksmith	Charleston	Feb. 1795	Misc. Rec., FFF, 1795-96, p. 9		Same	
Flottard, Mr.	silversmith, jeweller	Charleston	Dec. 24, 1793 Queen St.	CGDA		Same	From Paris
Floyd, Thomas	clockmaker	Charleston	June 15, 1767 Mr. Burn's Wharf	SCG	Aug. 12, 1768 Church St.	SCAGG	SCG, Aug. 3, 1767: Charged with murder
Fogartie, James	carpenter	Charleston	July 1771	Deeds, Vol. T-4, 1775-78, pp. 538-42	Jan. 1787 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book A, 1783-87, pp. 512-14	
Follingsby, John	carpenter	Charleston	May 1775	Deeds, Vol. P-5, 1785, pp. 214-16		Same	
Folwell, Samuel	miniature & profile painter	Charleston	Jan. 17, 1791 29 Elliott St.	ST. GAZ. of S.C.		Same	From Philadelphia
Foot, John and William Briarly	plastering, slating, stucco work	Charleston	Dec. 1, 1794 14 Queen St.	CGDA		Same	
Forehand, Anthony	cabinet maker	Charleston	Nov. 1, 1762	Misc. Rec., LL, 1758-63, p. 554		Same	
Forst, Benjamin	coppersmith	Charleston	Nov. 19, 1764 Church St.	SCG		Same	
Fountaine, Thomas	carpenter	Charleston	Jan. 1797	CCP, JR, CTD, 1799, #350A		Same	
Founteaine, Peter	carpenter	St. Bartholomew's	July 1785	CCP, JR, Box 138A, 1788, #251A		Same	
Fournier, Joseph	drawing master	Charleston	Mar. 8, 1770	SCG	Aug. 27, 1772	SCG	Draws architectural plans
Fousebury, Nathaniel	house carpenter	St. James' Goose Creek			Oct. 1801 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 333	
Fowler, John	carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 18, 1794	Carp. Soc.	1801 Longitude Lane	City Directory	

NAME	OCCUPATION	TOWN OR PARISH	EARLIEST REFERENCE: DATE	EARLIEST REFERENCE: SOURCE	LATEST REFERENCE: DATE	LATEST REFERENCE: SOURCE	NOTES
Fowler and Brodie	house carpenters, joiners	Charleston	Dec. 6, 1785 7 Queen St.	Ev. Gaz.	Dec. 8, 1798	CGDA	1785: From London; 1798: Partnership dissolved
Fowler, Richard	upholsterer, paper hanger	Charleston	Oct. 19, 1765	SCG	Jan. 3, 1775 (d)	CJ	1765: Late assistant to John Blott; CJ, Jan 24, 1775: Wife Ann to carry on business
Francis, John Vincent	house carpenter	Charleston	Jan. 1798	Misc. Rec., QQQ, 1800-1803, p. 268		Same	
Fraser, William	carpenter	St. James' Santee			Mar. 1785 (d)	SCHM, 17 (1916):107	
Frazer, John Milligan (Fraser)	house carpenter	Charleston	April 1797	Regis. of St. Philip's Parish, p. 265	1801 10 Pinckney St.	City Directory	
Freling, Theodore	cabinet maker	Charleston			Oct. 1799 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book C, 1784-1800, p. 418	
Frew, John	cabinet maker	Charleston	Oct. 7, 1795 124 Queen St.	TMDA	Nov. 10, 1799 (d)	SCHM, 26 (1925):49	
Frierson, John	house carpenter	Charleston	Dec. 1798	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 111	1801 12 Guignard St.	City Directory	
Frissell, Eli	carpenter	Christ Church	Aug. 15, 1758	Char. Co., Will Book, 1757-60, p. 245	Jan. 4, 1760 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1757-60, p. 245	
Fulcker, Henry	blacksmith	Charleston	Oct. 1760	CCP, Renun. of Dower, 1757-60, p. 238	April 1761	Deeds, Vol. G-3, Mar. 1767-Oct. 1767, pp. 332-39	1760: of St. George's Parish
Fullerton, John	carpenter	Charleston	Nov. 1766	CCP, Renun. of Dower, 1761-68, p. 340	July 1785 (d)	CCP, JR, Box 144A, 1789, #269A	
Fursdon, Roger	clock repairs	Charleston	July 8, 1784 56 King St.	GA		Same	From London
Fustin, Joseph	bricklayer	Dorchester			Sept. 29, 1794 (d)	CGDA	
Fyfe, John	cabinet maker	Charleston	April 1777	Deeds, Vol. P-4, 1775-77, pp. 457-61		Same	
Gaborial, John	carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 1775	Deeds, Vol. P-4, 1775-77, pp. 358-61		Same	
Gafkin, Henry Christopher (Gaskin)	cabinet maker	Charleston	Dec. 1784	Deeds, Vol. N-5, 1784-85, pp. 180-84	Mar. 1794	Deeds, Vol. L-6, 1793-94, pp. 301-4	
Gafqui, Bartholomew	candle manufactory	near Cannon's Bridge (Edisto River)	Nov. 18, 1790	CGDA		Same	

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Galbraith, Robert	house carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 1799 George St.	Deeds, Vol. A-7, 1800, pp. 274-76	Aug. 18, 1812 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book E, 1802-12, p. 96	
Gamelian, Mathias	carpenter	Charleston	Dec. 13, 1791	Misc. Rec., BBB, 1791-93, p. 146		Same	
Gardner, George (Gardiner)	bricklayer	Charleston	July 1788	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 185	May 20, 1797 (d) 200 Meeting St.	CGDA	
Gardner, George	carpenter	Charleston	April 1760	CCP, JR, Box 50A, 1760, #78A		Same	
Gardner, John	blacksmith	Charleston	Aug. 1798	Misc. Rec., NNN, 1799-1805, pp. 36-37	Nov. 1805	Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, p. 620	
Gardner, Simon (Garettner)	carpenter	Charleston	May 1761	CCP, JR, Box 53A, 1761, #135A		Same	
Gardner, William	carver, gilder	Charleston	1790 206 Meeting St.	City Directory	Aug. 1801	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 325	
Gatch, John	carpenter	Charleston	April 1787	Deeds, Vol. Y-5, 1787-88, pp. 56-60		Same	
Geslain, Mr.	miniature painter	Charleston	Feb. 9, 1796 68 East Bay	CGDA		Same	
Gessendennner, John	carpenter	Charleston	1796 29 Beaufain St.	City Directory		Same	
Gibson, John	house carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 1797	Misc. Rec., HHH, 1796-98, p. 351	Sept. 1799 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 189	
Gibson, Robert	blacksmith	Charleston	1801 South Bay	City Directory		Same	
Gibson, Thomas	jeweller	Charleston	Mar. 1797	Misc. Rec., III, 1796-99, pp. 236-37	Dec. 7, 1799	TDA	
Gibson, Thomas and James Jacks	silversmiths	Charleston	Aug. 1799	CCP, JR, CTD, 1800, #400A	Mar. 10, 1800	CGDA	1800: Partnership dissolved
Gidnay, Isaac	carpenter	Charleston	1801 16 Minority St.	City Directory		Same	
Gifford, Andrew	cabinet maker	Charleston	Mar. 16, 1790 Champney's Wharf	CGDA		Same	Just from New York
Gilbert, Joseph	bricklayer	Charleston	1801 125 Church St.	City Directory		Same	

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Gilbert, Seth	blacksmith	Charleston	Aug. 19, 1766 Capt. Roper's Wharf	CJ	Sept. 25, 1789 (d) 125 Church St.	CGDA	From Philadelphia
Given, Robert	marble & stone cutter	Charleston	Nov. 21, 1786	Char. Morn. Post	1801 158 King St.	City Directory	
Godfrey, John	blacksmith	St. John's			Mar. 1803 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 464	
Godfrey, Thomas	house carpenter	Charleston	April 1784	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 354	Aug. 1799	Misc. Rec., MMM, 1799, pp. 272-73	
Godier, Edward	upholsterer, auctioneer, paper hanger	Charleston	June 27, 1785 25 1/2 on the Bay	DA		Same	From London
Gomme, James	house carpenter	Charleston			Dec. 15, 1785 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1783-86, p. 591	
Goodwin, Robert	blacksmith	Charleston	1790 13 Queen St.	City Directory		Same	
Goodwin, Thomas	brickmaker	Charleston	May 1797	Misc. Rec., HHH, 1796-98, p. 314		Same	Late of Newbern, N.C.
Gordon, Andrew	bricklayer	Charleston	1796 181 Meeting St.	City Directory	1801 111 Queen St.	City Directory	
Gordon, James	house carpenter	Charleston			May 4, 1771 (d)	Inventory Book Y, 1769-71, p. 455	
Gordon, John	bricklayer	Charleston	Sept. 11, 1799 92 Tradd St.	CGDA	1801 92 Tradd St.	City Directory	
Gordon, Thomas	bricklayer	Charleston			July 1, 1766 (d)	CJ	
Gottier, Francis	silversmith	Charleston	May 1751	CCP, JR, Box 31, 1751, #53	Aug. 28, 1784 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1783-86, p. 384	Mends clocks and watches
Gough, John	bricklayer	Charleston	Oct. 1784	CCP, JR, Box 118A, 1785, #237A		Same	
Gough, John	cabinet maker	Charleston	Feb. 1774	Deeds, Vol. S-4, 1775, pp. 82-90	Mar. 1787	Deeds, Vol. F-6, 1791-93, pp. 66-67	
Gowdey, John	jeweller, goldsmith	Charleston	Feb. 24, 1757	SCG		Same	Work sold by Wm. Gowdey
Gowdey, William	jeweller, goldsmith	Charleston	Feb. 24, 1757	SCG	Dec. 1784	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 420	

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Grafton, John	portrait painter	Charleston	Nov. 11, 1774 Queen St.	SCAGG	July 4, 1775 (d)	CJ	Pupil of Sir Joshua Reynolds
Graham, Samuel	blacksmith	Charleston	Feb. 19, 1782	Misc. Rec., TT, 1781-84, pp. 113-14	April 1791	CCP, JR, CTD, 1799, #461A	
Graham, William	bricklayer	Charleston			Oct. 20, 1795 (d)	CH	
Grant, Robert	house carpenter	Charleston			Aug. 1785 (d)	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 482	
Grassell, George (Gressel)	house carpenter	Charleston	1790 34 Trott St.	City Directory	Oct. 1793	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 139	
Graves, James	bricklayer	Charleston	Oct. 1776	Deeds, Vol. A-5, 1776-77, pp. 143-49	1790 6 Stoll's Alley	City Directory	
Gray, Andrew	stone mason	Charleston			Oct. 1799 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 196	
Gray, William	silversmith	Charleston			April 1803 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 473	
Green, R.	painter, gilder, glazier	Charleston	June 27, 1788 120 Church St.	CCDA		Same	From Bath
Green, William Alexander	house carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 1801	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 295		Same	
Greenhill, Hugh and Co. (Hume)	house carpenters	Charleston	1790 20 Legare St.	City Directory	Aug. 1803	Misc. Rec., AAAA, 1808-10, p. 171	
Greenland, Walter	cabinet maker, joiner	Charleston	Jan. 1761	CCP, JR, Box 53A, 1761, #132A	Nov. 12, 1763 Queen St.	SCG	
Greenwood, John	tallow chandler	Charleston			Nov. 10, 1769 (d) Beresford St.	Char. Co., Will Book, 1767-71, p. 370	SCG, Dec. 7, 1769: Business carried on by wife Elizabeth
Grelee, Joseph	carpenter	Charleston	Sept. 1778	Deeds, Vol. G-5, 1781-83, pp. 83-87	May 15, 1798 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1793-1800, p. 474	
Grey, William Russell	bricklayer	Charleston	Aug. 1800	Misc. Rec., PPP, 1800-1801, p. 168	1801 Church St. Cont.	City Directory	
Grimke, John Paul	silversmith	Charleston	July 18, 1740	SCG	Jan. 11, 1791 (d)	CCDA	SCG, April 12, 1770: Retired from business
Gruber, John	house carpenter	Charleston	Sept. 1800	Misc. Rec., QQQ, 1800-1803, pp. 171-74		Same	

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Gruber, Samuel, Jr.	carpenter	Charleston	Nov. 1797	Deeds, Vol. U-6, 1797-99, pp. 262-65	April 1800	Deeds, Vol. B-7, 1800, pp. 373-75	
Gruly, Joseph	carpenter	Charleston	1790 4 Cock Lane	City Directory		Same	May be same person as Joseph Grelee
Gully, George	bricklayer	Charleston	April 20, 1786	Misc. Rec., WW, 1786-87, p. 337		Same	
Gunn, William	blacksmith, cutler	Charleston	April 1788	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 167	1790 6 Queen St.	City Directory	
Guy, Christopher	joiner	Charleston	1801 29 Trott St.	City Directory		Same	
Haig, Robert (Hague)	house carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 11, 1794	Carp. Soc.	Dec. 1803	Misc. Rec., TTT, 1803-1805, p. 272	
Haig and Dunn	carpenters	Charleston	1790 116 East Bay	City Directory		Same	
Hainsdorff, Henry	carver, gilder	Charleston	Oct. 2, 1776 Queen St.	SCAGG	Dec. 1796 (d) 9 Hassell St.	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 376	Worked as journeyman for three years with John Lord
Hair, William	joiner	St. James' Goose Creek	Aug. 1764	Deeds, Vol. T-6, 1797-99, pp. 503-505		Same	
Hall, Andrew	carpenter	Four Holes (Edisto River)	May 1776	Deeds, Vol. X-6, 1798-99, pp. 309-13		Same	
Hall, Hercules	carpenter	Charleston	May 1770	Deeds, Vol. S-3, 1770-71, pp. 109-15	April 24, 1771	SCAGG	
Hall, John	blacksmith	Charleston	May 1759	Deeds, Vol. VV, Jan. 1759-July 1760, pp. 205-11		Same	
Hall, Peter	cabinet maker, upholsterer	Charleston	Dec. 19, 1761	SCG	Mar. 9, 1767	SCG	From London; 1767: Going to London
Hall, Thomas	house carpenter	Charleston			Mar. 29, 1787 (d)	ST. GAZ. of S.C.	
Hall, William	house carpenter	Charleston	May 1759	Char. Co., Will Book, 1757-60, p. 286	May 16, 1768 (d)	SCG	
Hall, William H.	house carpenter	Charleston	May 1801	Misc. Rec., NNN, 1799-1805, p. 246	1801 3 Wentworth St.	City Directory	
Ham, Samuel S.	carpenter	Charleston	1801 14 Amen St.	City Directory		Same	
Hamilton, Dudley	bricklayer	Charleston	1801 8 Beresford St.	City Directory		Same	

NAME	OCCUPATION	TOWN OR PARISH	EARLIEST REFERENCE DATE	EARLIEST REFERENCE SOURCE	LATEST REFERENCE DATE	LATEST REFERENCE SOURCE	NOTES
Hamilton, John	house carpenter	Charleston	1786	Carp. Soc.	Aug. 22, 1799 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book C, 1784-1800, p. 427	
Hamlin, Thomas	house carpenter	Christ Church			May 1785 (d)	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 463	
Hampton, John	house carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 1779	Deeds, Vol. B-5, 1779, pp. 314-17	Nov. 1793 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 145	
Hampton, William	cabinet maker	Charleston	1790 13 Beresford's Alley	City Directory	1801 63 Queen St.	City Directory	
Hanahan, Edward	carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 1786	Deeds, Vol. V-5, 1786-87, pp. 374-75	Nov. 1791	Deeds, Vol. H-6, 1791-93, pp. 80-83	
Hanahan, Thomas	carpenter	Charleston	Feb. 1772	CCP, JR, Box 93A, 1772, #155A	April 28, 1773	Misc. Rec., PP, 1771-74, p. 499	
Handlen, Thomas	house carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 1773	Deeds, Vol. Q-4, 1775, pp. 422-30	Mar. 29, 1794 (d)	TMDA	1794: on John's Island
Hankinson, Joseph	carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 1766	CCP, JR, Box 65A, 1766, #97A		Same	
Hanscome, John	carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 1796	Misc. Rec., III, 1796-99, p. 282	June 1797	Misc. Rec., III, 1796-99, pp. 301-2	
Harden, Michael	blacksmith	Charleston			Dec. 1793 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 150	
Harden, Thomas	blacksmith	Charleston	Dec. 1793	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 150		Same	
Hardy, William	watch & clock maker	Charleston	Dec. 27, 1773 Queen St.	SCG	Nov. 10, 1781 28 King St.	RG	
Harper, Thomas	jeweller, goldsmith	Charleston	Jan. 14, 1773 Broad St.	SCG	July 9, 1782	Royal S.C. Gaz.	
Harper, Thomas	upholsterer	Charleston	Jan. 19, 1786 69 King St.	ST. GAZ. of S.C.		Same	From Philadelphia
Harrell, Thomas	house carpenter	Charleston			April 1803 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 472	
Harrigan, William	house carpenter	Charleston	April 5, 1784	Misc. Rec., QQ, 1773-89, p. 391	Feb. 1790 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 291	
Harris and Co.	gold & silversmiths	Charleston	Feb. 12, 1771	CJ	Oct. 9, 1777	SCAGG	James M. and Charles Harris
Harris, Charles	silversmith	Charleston	Aug. 1, 1768 Broad St.	SCG	June 8, 1798 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1793-1800, p. 478	

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Harris, George	carpenter	Charleston	Dec. 9, 1774	SCAGG		Same	
Harris, George	painter, gilder	Charleston	April 1, 1766	CJ		Same	Late from London
Harris, James Mortimer	jeweller, silversmith	Charleston	Feb. 12, 1771 Meeting St.	CJ	Dec. 2, 1783 (d)	GA	1771: From London
Harrison, John	bricklayer	St. James	Jan. 1798 (1794)	CCP, JR, CTD, 1798, #484A	May 26, 1798	Misc. Rec., LLL, 1798-99, p. 365	
Harrison, John	bricklayer	St. Thomas & St. Dennis	Sept. 1798	CCP, JR, CTD, 1798, #534A	June 1801 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book D, 1789-1810, p. 57	
Harrison, Thomas	carpenter	Charleston	1783	Carp. Soc.		Same	
Hartee, Elijah	bricklayer	St. Bartholomew's			Dec. 1786 (d)	Deeds, Vol. E-6, 1790-92, pp. 352-55	
Harvey, Benjamin	bricklayer	Charleston	Jan. 31, 1788	Misc. Rec., XX, 1787-89, p. 89	1801 Wentworth St.	City Directory	
Harvey, Robert	house carpenter	Charleston	May 11, 1757	Misc. Rec., KK, 1754-58, p. 500	April 1767	CCP, JR, Box 81A, 1768, #491A	
Haslett, John (Heislet)	painter	Charleston	Aug. 2, 1799	Regis. of St. Philip's Parish, p. 269	Nov. 28, 1807 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book D, 1789-1810, p. 473	
Hatfield, John	tallow chandler	Charleston	Oct. 31, 1765 Broad St.	SCG	Feb. 1783	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 229	
Hawes, Adino	painter, glazier, paper hanger	Charleston	July 3, 1786	Char. Morn. Post	Mar. 1798	CCP, JR, CTD, 1798, #87A	
Hawes, Ann	painting, glazing	Charleston	Sept. 1, 1781	RG	Dec. 23, 1786	Char. Morn. Post	Carries on business of husband Benjamin; 1786: Has declined business
Hawes, Benjamin	painter, glazier	Charleston	Aug. 23, 1760 Union St.	SCG	Nov. 7, 1768	SCG	
Hawes and Flagg	painters, glaziers	Charleston			April 19, 1768 on the Bay		Partnership to be dissolved
Hawkins, James	house carpenter	Charleston	1790 273 King St.	City Directory	Jan. 1797 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 383	
Hazlewood, John	painter	Charleston	1790 36 Pinckney St.	City Directory		Same	
Hazlewood, Joseph	painter, glazier	Charleston	Aug. 1785	CTD, CCP, Insolvent Debtors, 1785, #4A	1801 39 Pinckney St.	City Directory	

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Heck, Conrad	house carpenter	Charleston	Jan. 1799	Deeds, Vol. Y-6, 1798-1800, pp. 76-77		Same	
Hector, John	goldsmith, jeweller	Charleston	Dec. 23, 1774	SCAGG		Same	
Heliger, Joseph (Heyliger)	engraver	Charleston	1790 6 Elliott St.	City Directory	1801 244 Meeting St.	City Directory	
Henderreckson, Belsha	carpenter	Charleston	1790 23 Society St.	City Directory		Same	
Henderson, Daniel	blacksmith	Charleston	April 1797	Misc. Rec., III, 1796-99, p. 213	Dec. 23, 1799	Misc. Rec., OOO, 1799-1803, pp. 21-23	Was in partnership with Edward Tash
Henderson, James	tallow chandler	Charleston	Dec. 1767	Deeds, Vol. H-3, Sept. 1767-May 1768, pp, 388-94	Ca. 1772-73 (d)	Inventory Book &, 1772-76, p. 249	Inventory not dated
Henderson, Logan	jeweller, goldsmith	Charleston	June 1768	Misc. Rec., OO, 1767-71, p. 349	Oct. 30, 1767 Church St.	SCAGG	
Henri, Peter	miniature painter	Charleston	Oct. 23, 1790 90 Church St.	CGDA	Feb. 2, 1792 George St.	CGDA	From Paris
Henrichson, Betje (Henricksen)	house carpenter	Charleston	June 21, 1790	ST. GAZ. of S.C.	Oct. 1802	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 418	
Hendricks, Francis	pewterer	Charleston	May 2, 1771	SCG		Same	
Henry, John	blacksmith	Charleston	1790 91 Meeting St.	City Directory		Same	
Henson, Archibald	house carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 1799	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 195	1801 21 Minority St.	City Directory	
Heron, Erskin	clockmaker, silversmith	Charleston	Aug. 3, 1765	SCG		Same	
Hibben, Andrew	watchmaker, jeweller	Charleston	Dec. 17, 1763 Elliott St.	SCG	Jan. 26, 1765 Broad St.	SCG	1763: Just arrived from London
Higgins, Thomas	carpenter	Charleston			June 21, 1783 (d)	SCWG	
Hill, Andrew	carpenter	Charleston	1801 150 Meeting St.	City Directory		Same	
Hill, Burril	carpenter	St. James' Santee	1768	SCHM, 17 (1916):45		Same	
Himely, John James	watchmaker	Charleston	Dec. 4, 1786 117 Tradd St.	Char. Morn. Post	Oct. 1796	Misc. Rec., III, 1796-99, p. 53	

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Hislop, John	carpenter	Charleston	1801 Church St. cont.	City Directory		Same	
Hislop, Robert (Histop)	lumber measurer	Charleston	1796 61 Church St.	City Directory	1801 5 Union St. cont.	City Directory	
Hoban, James	house carpenter	Charleston	Jan. 1789	Deeds, Vol. B-6, 1788-89, pp. 337-38	Mar. 1795	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 252	CGDA, April 17, 1790: Will teach architecture; in partnership with Pierce Purcell
Hodgson, John	carpenter	Charleston	1801 20 Amen St.	City Directory		Same	
Holnot, David	weaver	Charleston	Nov. 13, 1767	SCAGG		Same	
Honeywood, Arthur	blacksmith	Charleston	Feb. 1785	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 434	Feb. 1791	Letters of Admin., Vol. K, 1778-1821, p. 180	
Hood, Jonathan	carpenter	Charleston	Sept. 3, 1772	SCG	Sept. 1773 (d)	Inventory Book Z, 1771-74, p. 478	
Hook, Conrad	carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 1794	Deeds, Vol. M-6, 1794-95, pp. 487-89	April 5, 1805 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, p. 562	Car. Gaz., Aug. 2, 1798: In partnership with John Nevison?
Hook, George	carpenter	Charleston	1790 12 Chamber's Alley	City Directory		Same	
Hope, Thomas	cabinet maker	Charleston	1790 15 Friend St.	City Directory		Same	
Hopkins, John	carpenter	Charleston	Nov. 1798	Misc. Rec., LLL, 1798-99, p. 309		Same	
Hopser, John	calico stamper & dyer	Charleston	Mar. 15, 1786 9 Archdale St.	Char. Morn. Post		Same	
Horlbeck, Harry (Henry)	bricklayer	Charleston	Mar. 1800	Misc. Rec., OOO, 1799-1803, p. 125	1801 3 Moore St.	City Directory	
Horlbeck, John, Sr.	bricklayer	Charleston	July 1772	Deeds, Vol. F-4, 1773-74, pp. 176-78	Mar. 1796	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 329	
Horlbeck, John, Jr.	bricklayer	Charleston	Mar. 1800	Misc. Rec., OOO, 1799-1803, p. 124	April 1803	Misc. Rec., TTT, 1803-1805, p. 77	see below
Horlbeck, Peter	bricklayer	Charleston	July 1772	Deeds, Vol. F-4, 1773-74, pp. 176-78	1797 (d)	Ravenel, Arch. of Charleston, p. 44	1772: Living in St. George Dorchester
Horlbeck, Peter and John	bricklayers	Charleston	July 1765	Deeds, Vol. T-3, 1771, pp. 27-36	Feb. 5, 1768	Misc. Rec., NN, 1765-67, p. 237	

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Horsey, Thomas	tin-plate worker	Charleston	Oct. 19, 1765 Meeting St.	SCG		Same	
Hosmer and Haslet	painters, glaziers	Charleston	Nov. 27, 1798 41 Elliott St.	CGDA	Mar. 18, 1799	CGDA	
Hoster, Edmond	carpenter	St. John's			Jan. 24, 1800 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1793-1800, p. 639	
Houff, John	blacksmith	Berkley Co.	Feb. 1764	Deeds, Vol. C-3, Aug. 1764-Apr. 1765, pp. 153-73		Same	
How, James	silk dyer, scourer	Ansonborough	Aug. 25, 1775	SCAGG		Same	Late from London
How, John (Howe)	joiner, cabinet maker	Charleston	Sept. 1766	CCP, JR, Box 65A, 1766, #102A	Mar. 1777	CCP, JR, Box 105A, 1777, #104A	
How and Roulain	joiners, cabinet makers	Charleston	Nov. 1762 King St.	SCG		Same	
Howsen, Anson	house carpenter	St. Bartholomew's			Mar. 1787 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 96	Wife is free mulatto
Hubart, Michael	weaver	Charleston	April 24, 1777	SCAGG	June 1778	Deeds, Vol. G-5, 1781-83, pp. 336-43	
Hudson, James	house, ship, sign painter	Charleston	Oct. 19, 1790 8-9 Archdale St.	CGDA		Same	
Hudson, William	carpenter	Charleston			July 1788 (d)	CCP, JR, Box 165A, 1790, #707A	Was in partnership with John Watts
Hughes, James	house carpenter, ship joiner	Charleston	Feb. 12, 1795 2 Amen St.	CGDA	Mar. 21, 1796	CGDA	
Hughes, James and Wise Miller	house carpenters, ship joiners, cabinet makers	Charleston	Jan. 27, 1797 2 Ragg's Alley	TMDA		Same	"Being perfect in either branch" of work
Hughes, John	house carpenter	Charleston	Nov. 1768 (1766)	CCP, JR, Box 83A, 1769, #146A	Sept. 29, 1794 (d)	CGDA	
Humbert, Godfrey	house carpenter	Charleston	1796 13 Lynch's Lane	City Directory	Oct. 1800	Misc. Rec., PPP, 1800-1801, p. 189	
Humeston and Stafford	chairmakers	Charleston	Nov. 29, 1798 opp. the New Church	CGDA		Same	Warranted windsor chairs and green settees
Hungerman, Gotfred	house carpenter	St. Stephen's			June 1793 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 124	

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Hunn, P. and Co.	jewellers, hair workers	Charleston	Dec. 13, 1796 corner Church & Elliott Sts.	CGDA	Aug. 24, 1797 27 Church St.	CGDA	
Huston, George	blacksmith	Dorchester	Aug. 1773	CCP, JR, Box 100A, 1774, #72A		Same	
Hutchinson, Thomas	cabinet maker	Charleston	June 1751	CCP, JR, Box 32, 1751, #82A	Jan. 20, 1784 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1783-86, p. 262	
Hyslop, James	house carpenter	Charleston			Aug. 27, 1800 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book C, 1784-1800, p. 476	
Imbert, John Claude	miniature painter	Charleston	Aug. 3, 1793	CH		Same	From Nantz
Irland, Benjamin	carpenter	Charleston	1801 55 Queen St.	City Directory		Same	
Irvine, William	carpenter	Edisto Island	July 1796 (1794)	CCP, JR, CTD, 1797, #66A		Same	
Irving, James	carpenter	Charleston	July 1789	Letters of Admin., Vol. K, 1778-1821, p. 161	Aug. 29, 1806 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, p. 676	
Ivans, Leacraft	carpenters	Charleston	1801 7 Wyatt's Lott	City Directory		Same	
Ivers, Gregory and Stephen Lane	house carpenters	Charleston	Oct. 7, 1768	SCAGG		Same	Lately from New York
Jacks, James	jeweller, clock & watch maker	Charleston	June 29, 1785 5 Broad St.	PA	1801 109 Broad St.	City Directory	CGDA, Mar. 10, 1800: Partnership with Thomas Gibson dissolved
Jackson, John	watchmaker, silversmith	Charleston	1790 129 Broad St.	City Directory	Oct. 1803	Misc. Rec , SSS, 1803-1804, p. 550	
Jackson and Potts	tallow chandlers, soap boilers	near Lamboll's bridge	Sept. 5, 1768	SCG		Same	
Jahan, Joseph (Johan)	carpenter, joiner, cotton-gin maker	Charleston	Aug. 26, 1800 Meeting St.	CGDA	Nov. 6, 1800 Meeting St.	Times	
James, John	bricklayer	Charleston	Mar. 1773	CCP, JR, CTD, 1792, #287A	Aug. 16, 1776 (d)	Inventory Book, BB, 1776-84, p. 1	
James, John	carpenter	Charleston	1796 5 Wentworth St.	City Directory	1801 19 Archdale St.	City Directory	
Jankoffsky, Anthony	locksmith	Charleston	Apr. 10, 1777 King St.	SCAGG	July 14, 1791 (d) 23 Beresford St.	ST. GAZ. of S.C.	1777: Late of Surinam; all sorts of brass and copper work, iron work
Jaudon, Daniel	carpenter	St. James' Santee	1764	SCHM, 17 (1916):44	1767	SCHM, 17 (1916):44	

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Jeachin, Stephen	tin-plate worker	Charleston	1774	Deeds, Vol. N-4, 1774-75, pp. 452-57		Same	
Jeanes, Michael	painter, glazier	Charleston	May 29, 1755	SCG	June 28, 1760 (d)	SCG	
Jefferson, John	turner of wood, ivory, metals	Charleston	April 5, 1799 King St.	CGDA	1801 43 King St.	City Directory	
Jefford, Daniel	carpenter	Charleston	April 1798	Misc. Rec., LLL, 1798-99, p. 113		Same	
Jenkins, Elias	bricklayer	Charleston	June 1800	Regis. of St. Philip's Parish, p. 271		Same	
Jenkins, Thomas William and John Hodson	builders, joiners, carpenters	Charleston	July 6, 1769 corner of King & Queen	SCG	Feb. 1774	CCP, JR, Box 101A, 1774, #148A	1774: Only T.W. Jenkins mentioned
Jennys, Richard	portrait painter	Charleston	Oct. 31, 1783	SCWG	Aug. 2, 1784 3 Cumberland St.	GSSC	
John, Mr.	carpenter	Charleston	1796 42 Trott St.	City Directory		Same	
Johnson, Edward (Johnston)	cabinet maker	Charleston	Jan. 9, 1796 Meeting St.	TMDA	Aug. 1796 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 357	Late from Philadelphia
Johnson, Jabez Withers	watch & clock maker	Charleston	Jan. 8, 1796 29 Broad St.	TMDA	1801 122 Broad St.	City Directory	
Johnson, Jacob	carpenter	St. Bartholomew's	Oct. 1, 1755	Misc. Rec., LL, 1758-63, p. 5	Feb. 1788 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 150	
Johnson, Jacob (Johnston)	carpenter	Charleston	1790 2 Boundary St.	City Directory	1801 36 Trott St.	City Directory	
Johnson, John	watchmaker	Charleston	Sept. 17, 1763 Elliott St.	SCG	Oct. 29, 1764	SCG	1763: From London, late from Havana
Johnson, John, Jr.	blacksmith	Charleston	Dec. 3, 1794 Gillon St.	CH	Nov. 1802	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 431	
Johnson, William	blacksmith	Charleston	Dec. 1, 1768 on C. Elliott's Wharf	SCG	1801 Charles St.	City Directory	CH, Dec. 3, 1794: In business with son John
Johnston, Barrow	upholsterer, paper hanger	Charleston	Oct. 31, 1774 Broad St.	SCG		Same	Lately from Liverpoole
Johnston, John	watchmaker	Charleston	Jan. 28, 1764 Elliott St.	SCG	Dec. 24, 1765	CJ	
Johnston, Samuel and Andrew Wallace	bricklayers	Charleston	Jan. 19, 1786 1 Church St.	CH	Jan. 23, 1794 (d)	CGDA	

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Jones, Francis	carpenter	Christ Church	Oct. 1767	Deeds, Vol. Q-6, 1795-96, pp. 38-43	Jan. 1780	Deeds, Vol. Q-6, 1795-96, pp. 43-45	
Jones, Francis	carpenter	St. James' Santee	1781	SCHM, 17 (1916):109		Same	Possibly same person as above
Jones, Nathaniel	carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 1774	Deeds, Vol. Q-4, 1775, pp. 273-79	1775 (d) Ashepoo	SCHM, 12 (1911):22	1775: Worked for Col. Isaac Hayne as master craftsman
Jones, Owen	blacksmith	Jacksnoborough			Aug. 1, 1795 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book C, 1784-1800, p. 269	
Jones, William	cabinet maker, upholsterer	Charleston	Aug. 15, 1788 51 Meeting St.	CGDA	Nov. 16, 1792 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, p. 701	
Jones, William	painter	Charleston	June 1795	Misc. Rec., EEE, 1793-95, p. 558		Same	
Joy, Abraham	ship joiner, house carpenter	Charleston	Jan. 21, 1795 Amen St.	CGDA	Oct. 22, 1802 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, p. 310	
Joy, Daniel	carpenter	Charleston	1796 Burckmyer's Alley	City Directory		Same	
Joy, John	carpenter	Christ Church	July 1795	Deeds, Vol. W-6, 1798, pp. 250-53		Same	
Joy, John, Jr.	carpenter	St. James' Santee	Aug. 1798	Misc. Rec., NNN, 1799-1805, p. 60		Same	
Judy, Jacob	blacksmith	Jacksonborough	Mar. 1789	Deeds, Vol. P-6, 1795-96, pp. 554-56	Dec. 1791 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 11	
Kain, George	bricklayer	Charleston	July 1770	Deeds, Vol. R-3, 1770, pp. 211-14	Jan. 19, 1781 (d)	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 117	
Kay, James	bricklayer	Charleston	June 1793	Deeds, Vol. O-6, 1795, pp. 140-45	1797	Misc. Rec., LLL, 1798-99, p. 336	
Kayl, Christian	blacksmith	Berkley Co.	Feb. 1764	Deeds, Vol. C-3, Aug. 1764-April 1765, pp. 153-73		Same	
Keckley, George	blacksmith	Charleston	July 1783	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 265	Oct. 1787	Deeds, Vol. A-6, 1787-88, pp. 155-59	
Keels, Peter	carpenter	Charleston	1801 Wentworth St.	City Directory		Same	
Keill, Christian	blacksmith	Goose Creek	July 25, 1766	SCAGG	July 4, 1775 (d) of Charleston	CJ	May be same person as Christian Kayl

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Keith, George	carpenter	Charleston	July 1794	CCP, JR, CTD, 1800, #343A	Oct. 1801	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 339	
Kekley, George	blacksmith	St. George's Dorchester	Aug. 1779	Deeds, Vol. V-5, 1786-87, pp. 371-73		Same	May be same person as George Keckley
Kelsey, William	carpenter	Charleston	Dec. 1770 near Dutch Church	CCP, JR, Box 90A, 1771, #74A	Oct. 1784	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 397	
Kershaw, John	goldsmith, jeweller	Charleston	Jan. 23, 1789 264 King St.	CGDA	Feb. 23, 1791 97 Broad St.	CGDA	1791: Selling off stock in trade
Keys, John	house carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 16, 1791	CGDA		Same	
Keys, John	silk dyer, scourer	Charleston	May 1, 1790 behind old Episcopal Church	CGDA		Same	
Kilpatrick, Andrew	house carpenter	Charleston			Nov. 1792 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1791-92, p. 86	
King, Benjamin	house carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 1799	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 195	1801 9 Wentworth St.	City Directory	
King, John	carpenter	Charleston	July 1798	CCP, JR, CTD, 1799, #72A		Same	
Kinmont, David (Kinmond)	blacksmith	Charleston	June 1798	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 73	1801 East Bay	City Directory	
Kinton, Richard	bricklayer, master builder	Charleston	Feb. 23, 1792	CGDA		Same	From London
Kirby, Nicholas	cabinet maker	Charleston	Dec. 20, 1792	Misc. Rec., BBB, 1791-93, p. 438		Same	
Kirkwood, Alexander	watch & clock maker	Charleston	Feb. 9, 1767 Broad St.	SCG	July 1769	CCP, JR, Box 87A, 1770, #61A	
Kirkwood, James	cabinet maker	Charleston	Jan. 1761	Deeds, Vol. WW, July 1760-June 1761, pp. 568-79	July 1762	CCP, JR, Box 58A, 1763, #99A	
Kirkwood, John	blacksmith	Charleston	Sept. 4, 1797 Broad St.	CGDA	1801 97 East Bay	City Directory	
Kirkwood, John	watch & clock maker	Charleston	Jan. 17, 1761 Church St.	SCG	Oct. 3, 1766	SCAGG	1766: Intends to depart province
Kirkwood, Robert	house carpenter	Charleston	Feb. 9, 1765 Tradd St.	SCG		Same	Draws plans, elevations, sections
Knight, Abraham	carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 1796	CCP, JR, CTD, 1797, #384A		Same	

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Knox, Walter	carpenter	Charleston	1801 26 Hazel St.	City Directory	Feb. 1802	Misc. Rec., NNN, 1799-1805, p. 342	
Koger, Joseph	carpenter	St. Bartholomew's	April 1775	Misc. Rec., RR, 1774-79, p. 324	Mar. 7, 1777	Misc. Rec., DDD, 1792-95, p. 409	
Kugley, John	carpenter	Charleston	June 1792	Deeds, Vol. F-6, 1791-93, pp. 321-25		Same	
Labatut, Mr.	miniature painter	Charleston	Jan. 4, 1799 31 Beaufain St.	CGDA	July 3, 1799 95 Tradd St.	CGDA	
Lacey, Thomas	house carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 17, 1802	Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, p. 266		Same	
Lahiffe, John	cabinet maker	Charleston	July 9, 1799	TDA		Same	Apprentice to Nicholas Silberg
Laidler, Thomas	limner, drawing master	Charleston	Sept. 16, 1768	SCAGG		Same	
Lamb, Thomas	joiner, house carpenter	Charleston	July 22, 1785 67 Queen St.	Ev. Gaz.	July 4, 1786 (d)	Ev. Gaz.	Also a millwright & engineer
Lampe, John	watchmaker, jeweller	Charleston	June 13, 1796 Tradd St.	CH	July 26, 1796 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1793-1800, p. 320	
Landels, James	weaver	St. James' Santee	Jan. 1780	Deeds, Vol. Q-6, 1795-96, pp. 43-45		Same	
Landolf, John	watchmaker	Charleston	Oct. 1796	Misc. Rec., III, 1796-99, p. 53		Same	
Landridge, John	carpenter, joiner	John's Island	Aug. 4, 1759	SCG		Same	From London
Lane, Samuel	carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 19, 1796	Carp. Soc.	1801 5 Society St.	City Directory	
Lane, William	blacksmith	Charleston	1796 6 Ellery St.	City Directory	Feb. 1802	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 366	
Lang and Wylie	jewellers, hair workers	Charleston	Mar. 4, 1785 51 1/2 Church St.	DA		Same	
Langdale, Josiah	house carpenter	St. Bartholomew's	Mar. 1794	Deeds, Vol. K-6, 1793-94, pp. 443-45		Same	
Langley, Nathaniel	house carpenter	Charleston			Sept. 7, 1799 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book C, 1784-1800, p. 410	
Langrage, John	carpenter	Charleston			July 24, 1764 (d)	Misc. Rec., MM, 1763-67, p. 133	

NAME	OCCUPATION	TOWN OR PARISH	EARLIEST REFERENCE DATE	EARLIEST REFERENCE SOURCE	LATEST REFERENCE DATE	LATEST REFERENCE SOURCE	NOTES
Lapp, John George	carpenter	St. Bartholomew's	Nov. 1758 Craven Co.	Deeds, Book VV, Jan. 1759-July 1760, pp. 260-61	Jan. 31, 1777 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1774-79, p. 408	
LaQuaine, Mr.	watchmaker	Charleston	April 7, 1788 Broad St.	ST. GAZ. of S.C.		Same	
Larry, Robert (Larey)	house carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 1770	Deeds, Vol. R-3, 1770, pp. 143-53	1801 62 Church St.	City Directory	
Lasman, George	house carpenter	St. George Dorchester	Sept. 1768	Deeds, Vol. B-4, 1772-73, pp. 42-47		Same	
Latham, Joseph	watchmaker	Charleston	Feb. 11, 1794	CGDA	Aug. 29, 1806 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, p. 675	See below
Latham and Clark	clock & watch makers	Charleston	Feb. 5, 1790 125 Broad St.	CGDA		Same	
Laurence, Ettsell	bricklayer	Charleston	1796 Liberty St.	City Directory	April 1798	Misc. Rec., LLL, 1798-99, p. 48; 354	
Lawrence, William	carver, gilder	Charleston	Aug. 9, 1774 Beresford's Alley	CJ		Same	
Leacraft, William	carpenter	Charleston	July 28, 1795	Carp. Soc.	Aug. 1796	Deeds, Vol. T-6, 1797-99, pp. 222-24	
Leaver, Abraham	carpenter	Charleston	Feb. 10, 1780	Misc. Rec., QQ, 1773-89, p. 299		Same	
Lee, Stephen	watchmaker, jeweller	Charleston	Feb. 28, 1771 Broad St.	SCG	Jan. 1791	CCP, JR, CTD, 1792, #271A	1771: In partnership with Arthur Downes RG, July 11, 1781: Now working with William Lee
Lee, Thomas	carpenter	Charleston			Aug. 12, 1769 (d) Elliott St.	Char. Co., Will Book, 1767-71, pp. 341-44	SCG, Aug. 10, 1769: Had lived in Charleston 35 years
Lee, William	watchmaker	Charleston	Nov. 22, 1768 Broad St.	CJ	1801 50 King St.	City Directory	
Leech, Mr.	artist	Charleston	Oct. 24, 1774 Meeting St.	SCG		Same	
Legare, Solomon	goldsmith	Charleston			Jan. 9, 1761 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1760-67, pp. 7-8	
Legg, James (Legge)	bricklayer	Charleston	1796 198 King St.	City Directory	Mar. 22, 1805 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, p. 558	
Legg, Samuel (Legge)	carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 10, 1772	Misc. Rec., PP, 1771-74, p. 255	1790 38 Archdale St.	City Directory	

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Lenormant, Andrew	goldsmith	Charleston	1801 44 Queen St.	City Directory		Same	
Leroux, John	house carpenter	Charleston	1790 37 Trott St.	City Directory	July 2, 1798 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1793-1800, p. 486	
Lesesne, John	carpenter	Charleston	1783	Carp. Soc.	Jan. 1793 (d) (1770)	CCP, JR, CTD, 1794, #374A	
Lessley, William	miniature painter	Charleston	Dec. 5, 1769 Elliott St.	CJ	Feb. 21, 1775	CJ	
Lester, George and Thomas Jones	bricklayers	Charleston	Feb. 14, 1769 King St.	CJ		Same	From London
Lewis, John	carpenter	Charleston	Jan. 8, 1798	CGDA	1801 7 Beresford St.	City Directory	
Lingard, James	blacksmith	Charleston	May 7, 1753 Sinclair's Wharf	SCG	Nov. 23, 1770 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1767-71, p. 548	
Lining, Thomas	carpenter, joiner	Charleston	May 11, 1748	SCG	Sept. 1763 (d)	Inventory Book V, 1761-63, pp. 525-28	1748: Late of London
Linton, John	upholsterer	Charleston	April 22, 1774 Church St.	SCAGG		Same	
Liston, Robert	cabinet maker	Charleston	Oct. 9, 1756	Misc. Rec., KK, 1754-58, p. 405	May 3, 1760 (d) Tradd St.	SCG	
Little, Robert	carpenter	Charleston	1790 9 Wragg's Alley	City Directory	1801 21 Union St. cont.	City Directory	
Littlejon, James	watch & clock maker	Charleston	Mar. 14, 1761 Elliott St.	SCG	Oct. 16, 1762 Meeting St.	SCG	From London
Lockwood, Joshua	clock & watch maker	Charleston	Mar. 3, 1757	SCG	Oct. 20, 1781 1 Broad St.	RG	From London; SCG, Jan. 10, 1771: Has returned from West Indies
Logan, George	carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 1798	Regis. of St. Philip's Parish, p. 267	1801 20 Union St. cont.	City Directory	
Logan, Peter	blacksmith	St. James' Santee			Oct. 1760 (d)	SCHM, 17 (1916):41	
Lord, John	carver, gilder	Charleston	June 17, 1766 Church St.	CJ	Dec. 1776	Deeds, Vol. W-5, 1786-87, pp. 35-40	
Lovett, William	carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 10, 1800	CGDA	Mar. 1803	Misc. Rec., TTT, 1803-1805, p. 59	

NAME	OCCUPATION	TOWN OR PARISH	EARLIEST REFERENCE DATE	EARLIEST REFERENCE SOURCE	LATEST REFERENCE DATE	LATEST REFERENCE SOURCE	NOTES
Lundbery, Peter	painter, paper hanger	Charleston	June 6, 1782 46 Queen St.	Royal S.C. Gaz.		Same	
Lunt, Mary	tallow chandler	Charleston	1801 8 Maiden Lane	City Directory		Same	
Lunt, William	tallow chandler, soap boiler	Charleston	1790 16 Chalmer's Alley	City Directory	Aug. 30, 1791	Misc. Rec., AAA, 1791-92, p. 244	
Luyten, William	cabinet maker	Charleston	1773	CCP, JR, Box 100A, 1774, #104A	Jan. 18, 1787 104 Church St.	Char. Morn. Post	1787: Intends to depart state
Lynch, Thomas	bricklayer	Charleston	May 1801	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 307		Same	
Lyon, Abraham	blacksmith	Charleston	July 1784	CCP, JR, Box 113A, 1784, #235A	1790 6 Short St.	City Directory	
Mabire, Jean	carpenter	Charleston			Aug. 27, 1799 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1793-1800, p. 589	
McAfee, John (McAffee)	house carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 1797	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 12	1801 11 St. Philip's St.	City Directory	
McClelland, Archibald	carpenter	St. James' Santee	1762	SCHM, 17 (1916):38	July 1792 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 58	
McCliesh, Alexander	brass founder, coppersmith	Charleston	Nov. 5, 1790 2 Queen St.	CGDA	May 20, 1808 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book D, 1789-1810, p. 472	CGDA, Sept. 6, 1800: In partnership with J.C. Moss at 64 Meeting St.
McCloud, Andrew	house carpenter	St. John's			Feb. 1794 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 161	
McCorkel, John	house carpenter	Charleston			Mar. 1803 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 471	
McCorkell, Samuel	house carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 1772	Deeds, Vol. A-4, 1772-73, pp. 310-15	Aug. 19, 1802 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, p. 297-98	
McCorkell, Samuel	carpenter	Charleston	Dec. 1803	Misc. Rec., TTT, 1803-1805, p. 272		Same	Son of the S. McCorkell listed above
McCrae, Farquhar	house carpenter	Christ Church			Nov. 1797 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1797-1800, p. 22	
McCulloch, John	weaver	Charleston	Aug. 1789	Deeds, Vol. C-6, 1789-90, pp. 104-5		Same	
McCullough, John	blacksmith	Wadmalaw Island	April 28, 1752	Deeds, LL, Jan. 1752-May 1752, p. 71	May 19, 1761 (d)	Inventory Book V, 1761-63, pp. 10-11	
McDonald, Charles	bricklayer	Charleston	April 1778	Deeds, Vol. S-5, 1785, pp. 419-22	1780	Deeds, Vol. S-5, 1785, pp. 422-25	

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McDonald, Duncan	cabinet maker, upholsterer	Charleston	1796 224 Meeting St.	City Directory	July 1798	Misc. Rec., KKK, 1797-99, p. 307	
MacDonald, John	carpenter	Charleston			April 29, 1789 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, p. 301	
McDonnald, John	carpenter	St. George's			May 27, 1768 (d)	SCHM, 26 (1925):126	
McDowell, Archibald	bricklayer	St. James' Santee			Nov. 1784 (d)	SCHM, 17 (1916):107	
McDowell, John	turner	Charleston	Jan. 5, 1797 247 Meeting St.	CGDA		Same	Late from Philadelphia
McFarlan, John	stucco plasterer	Charleston			Feb. 8, 1805 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, p. 541	
McGavin, Mr.	miniature painter	Charleston	Nov. 28, 1797	CGDA	Jan. 23, 1798 38 Pinckney St.	TMDA	
McGill, William	house carpenter	Charleston			Oct. 1797 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 12	See also John Ure and William McGill
McGillivray, Farquhar (McGilvery)	cabinet maker	Charleston	April 1764	CCP, JR, Box 59A, 1764, #18A	Jan. 1771 (d)	SCHM, 44 (1943):143	
McGiverin, Daniel	architect, master builder	Charleston	April 1798	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 58	May 1799	Misc. Rec., MMM, 1799, p. 421	
McGiverin, Daniel and Edward McGrath	teach figure & architectural drawing	Charleston	Dec. 27, 1797 247 Meeting St.	CGDA		Same	
McGrath, Richard (Magrath)	cabinet maker	Charleston	Aug. 8, 1771 King St.	SCG	Mar. 13, 1775 Broad St.	SCG	
McHugh, Mr.	house carpenter	Charleston	April 1799	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 152		Same	
Mackay, Crafts	watchmaker	Charleston	April 24, 1790 1 Broad St.	CGDA	1801 41 Elliott St.	City Directory	
McKee, Andrew	trunk maker	Charleston	Dec. 1798	Deeds, Vol. Y-6, 1798-1800, p. 68		Same	
McKee, John	bricklayer	Charleston	June 1795	Misc. Rec., PPP, 1800-1801, p. 92	Oct. 1805	Misc. Rec., XXX, 1805-1808, p. 122	
McKimmy, John	bricklayer	Charleston	April 1789	CCP, Petitions & Decrees, 1788-90, #1789-6A	Sept. 1792	Misc. Rec., DDD, 1792-95, p. 321	
McKune, Christopher	house carpenter	Charleston			Aug. 10, 1793 (d)	CGDA	See Milligan and McKune

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McLean, Michael	house carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 1795	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 252		Same	
McLeod, Daniel	portrait painter	Charleston			Sept. 2, 1799 (d)	TDA	
McMurray, Samuel	weaver, spinner	Charleston	July 30, 1778 Pinckney St.	SCAGG	July 8, 1790 South Bay	CGDA	1790: Makes all kinds of weaver's equipment
McNarney, George	carpenter	Charleston?	Oct. 1772	CCP, JR, Box 96A, 1773, #88A		Same	Worked with Samuel Legg
McQueen, Robert	house carpenter	Charleston	May 1791	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 366	Dec. 1, 1792 (d)	CGDA	
Maddock, Abraham	upholsterer, paper hanger	Charleston	Jan. 21, 1773 King St.	SCG	Aug. 25, 1773	SCG	From Dublin
Magan, James	carpenter	Charleston	1796 23 Church St.	City Directory		Same	
Magann, Patrick (McGann)	watchmaker	Charleston	Feb. 29, 1792 122 Broad St.	CGDA	Aug. 1805	Misc. Rec., XXX, 1805-1808, p. 76	From Ireland
Magann and Latham	watch & clock maker	Charleston	Mar. 2, 1792 122 Broad St.	CGDA	July 18, 1792	CGDA	July 1792: Partnership dissolved
Maighen, James	carpenter	Charleston	June 1798	Misc. Rec., KKK, 1797-99, pp. 257-58		Same	
Makky, John (Makkay)	house carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 19, 1791	Carp. Soc.	1801 33 Tradd St.	City Directory	
Malland, Charles	carpenter	Charleston	1790 9 Clifford St.	City Directory		Same	
Mann, Henry	cabinet maker	St. Bartholomew's			Dec. 1773 (d)	Inventory Book Z, 1771-74, pp. 516-17	
Mann, John, Jr.	carpenter	St. Andrew's	Jan. 1773 (1771)	CCP, JR, Box 97A, 1773, #120A		Same	
Manners, Archibald	carpenter	Charleston	June 1783 (1779)	CCP, JR, Box 110A, 1783, #47A		Same	
Marie, John	watchmaker	Charleston	1796 34 Church St.	City Directory		Same	
Marion, Charles	carpenter	St. John's	April 1766 (1764)	CCP, JR, Box 66A, 1766, #184A		Same	
Markall, John and John Peatt	blacksmiths	Charleston	Dec. 8, 1772	CJ		Same	Worked a considerable time at Mr. William Johnson's
Marks, Humphrey	jeweller	Charleston	Mar. 1792	Misc. Rec., PPP, 1800-1801, p. 170		Same	

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Marquis, John Inniss	house carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 16, 1774	Misc. Rec., QQ, 1773-89, p. 64		Same	
Marshall, Mr.	tile manufacturer	Wando River	Feb. 21, 1799	CGDA		Same	
Marshall, John	cabinet maker	Charleston	April 8, 1790	Misc. Rec., ZZ, 1789-92, p. 173	Sept. 1799	Deeds, Vol. Y-6, 1799-1800, pp. 294-95	
Marshall, John	carpenter	Charleston	May 1774	CCP, JR, Box 100A, 1774, #68A		Same	
Martin, Charles	bricklayer	Charleston	1796 15 Pinckney St.	City Directory	Feb. 2, 1805	Misc. Rec., CCCC, 1809-14, pp. 645-47	
Martin, Edward (Marlin)	bricklayer	Charleston	1790 113 East Bay	City Directory	Sept. 1792	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 74	
Martin, Gilbert	carpenter	St. George's	Jan. 1794	Misc. Rec., EEE, 1793-95, p. 175		Same	
Martin, Joseph	bricklayer	Charleston			April 1792 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 39	
Martin, Sabastian	painter, varnisher, gilder	Charleston	Aug. 6, 1772 Broad St.	SCG		Same	
Mason, John	carpenter	St. Thomas'	July 1773	CCP, JR, Box 99A, 1773, #302A		Same	
Mason, John	upholsterer	Charleston	Oct. 29, 1764 King St.	SCG	Feb. 2, 1765 King St.	SCG	
Matlack, William	watch & clock maker	Charleston	May 14, 1787 40 Church St.	Char. Morn. Post	Sept. 15, 1790 20 Broad St.	CGDA	
Maverick, Samuel	house carpenter	Charleston	Feb. 1772	Deeds, Vol. Y-3, 1771-72, pp. 455-60	Sept. 1779	Deeds, Vol. M-5, 1784, pp. 296-97	
Maybank, Peter Bonneau	carpenter	Charleston	July 15, 1800	Carp. Soc.	April 30, 1801 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, p. 163	
Mayhew, Joseph	carpenter	Charleston	1801 South Bay	City Directory		Same	
Mayret, Abraham	turner	Charleston	April 1787	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 102		Same	
Mears, John	coppersmith, brass founder, gunsmith	Charleston	April 11, 1787	Char. Morn. Post	Jan. 17, 1793 Beresford's Alley	ST. GAZ. of S.C.	
Mellichamp, Thomas	indigo maker	Charleston?	Feb. 1761 (Aug. 1757)	CCP, JR, Box 53A, 1761, #159A		Same	

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Mellifont, Thomas	carpenter	Charleston	Jan. 1788	CCP, JR, Box 138A, 1788, #269A		Same	Had been in partnership with James Moles and Daniel Conner
Metheney, James	weaver	St. Bartholomew's	May 1783	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 261		Same	
Mewhenney, William	tallow chandler	Charleston	April 1767	Deeds, Vol. G-3, Mar. 1767-Oct. 1767, pp. 242-44		Same	
Michael, John	brass founder, coppersmith	Charleston	Dec. 24, 1772 Meeting St.	SCG	June 1778	Deeds, Vol. Y-4, 1778, pp. 328-31	
Michau, Isaac	house carpenter	Charleston	June 1787	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 114		Same	
Miller, Adam	bricklayer	Charleston	May 1, 1769	SCAGG	June 1792 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 52	
Miller, Daniel	cabinet maker	Charleston	Nov. 1773	Deeds, Vol. Z-4, 1778, pp. 314-17		Same	
Miller, John	blacksmith	St. Bartholomew's	May 1772	Deeds, Vol. B-4, 1772-73, pp. 192-98		Same	
Miller, John David	silversmith	Charleston	Feb. 9, 1770	Misc. Rec., SS, 1776-81, p. 523	1796 Market Square	City Directory	
Miller, John T.	carpenter	Charleston	1801 23 Beaufain St.	City Directory		Same	
Miller, Martin	bricklayer	Charleston	May 1764	Deeds, Vol. B-3, Mar. 1764-Aug. 1764, pp. 413-16	July 7, 1788 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, p. 206	
Miller, Philip	house carpenter	Edisto Island	June 1802	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 401		Same	
Miller, Samuel	house carpenter	Charleston	Feb. 1788	CCP, JR, Box 135B, 1788, #59A	Jan. 4, 1792 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, p. 617	Had been in partnership with Job Palmer
Miller, Theodore	house carpenter	Charleston	June 1792	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 52		Same	
Miller, William	house carpenter, ship joiner	Charleston	Feb. 17, 1759 King St.	SCG	Jan. 26, 1779 (d) White Point	Charlestown Gaz.	Carries on business of late brother, Samuel Miller
Miller, William and Co.	plaistering, bricklaying	Charleston	April 23, 1785 47 Bay	PA		Same	
Miller, William	carpenter	Charleston			Feb. 24, 1798 (d) Meeting St.	CCDA	

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Milligan, John	house carpenter	Charleston	June 1790	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 308	Nov. 1797	Deeds, Vol. U-4, 1797-99, pp. 107-8	
Milligan and McKune	carpenters	Charleston	1790 85 Church St.	City Directory	Mar. 17, 1792	CCDA	
Milling, John	painter, glazier	Charleston	May 5, 1781 St. Michael's Alley	RG		Same	
Milling and Oliver	painter, glazier	Charleston	Oct. 31, 1781 93 Meeting St.	RG		Same	
Mills, John	repairs & cleans clocks	Charleston	May 12, 1777 next to Scots' Meeting	GSSC		Same	
Mills, Robert	house carpenter	Charleston	April 7, 1781	Misc. Rec., SS, 1776-81, p. 405		Same	
Mills, Thomas	cabinet maker	Charleston	Jan. 5, 1768	Misc. Rec., NN, 1765-69, p. 94		Same	
Milner, George	blacksmith	Charleston	Oct. 1786	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 59	1801 86 Church St.	City Directory	
Minott, Thomas	carpenter	Charleston	1801 Stoll's Alley	City Directory		Same	
Minthorne, Henry	tin-plate worker	Charleston	Dec. 26, 1774 Broad St.	SCG		Same	Intends to leave province
Mintzing, Christian	blacksmith	Charleston	Dec. 1788	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 205	1790 78 King St.	City Directory	
Mintzing, Philip	blacksmith	Charleston	Oct. 1, 1758	Deeds, TT, April 1758-Jan. 1759, pp. 399-405	Sept. 14, 1781 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1780-83, p. 162	
Mintzing, Philip	cabinet maker	Charleston	Dec. 1788	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 205		Same	
Miolet, John	tin-plate worker	Charleston	1774	Deeds, Vol. N-4, 1774-75, pp. 446-52		Same	
Miot, John	jeweller, goldsmith	Charleston	June 25, 1772 Broad St.	SCG	Nov. 23, 1791 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, p. 606	
Misman, John Ludwick	carpenter	St. Paul's			April 1776 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1776-84, p. 7	
Mitchell, James	house carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 1794	Deeds, Vol. T-6, 1797-99, pp. 520-23	July 1810	Misc. Rec., AAAA, 1808-1810, p. 570	
Mitchell, John	carpenter	Charleston	May 21, 1789	Misc. Rec., QQ, 1773-89, p. 703	July 29, 1796	Carp. Soc.	

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Mitchell, John	repairs clocks & watches	Charleston	June 1, 1784 100 1/2 Church St.	GA		Same	
Mitchell, William	carpenter	Charleston	1779	SCHM, 11 (1910):169	July 1796	Deeds, Vol. P-6, 1795-96, pp. 443-44	
Moffett, Solomon	blacksmith	St. James' Santee	Aug. 4, 1766	Misc. Rec., MM, 1763-67, p. 484		Same	
Moles, James	blacksmith	Charleston	Mar. 1797	Letters of Admin., Vol. K, 1778-1821, p. 263	1801 12 Pinckney St.	City Directory	
Moles, James	carpenter	Charleston			July 24, 1786 (d)	Char. Morn. Post	Was in partnership with T. Mellifont and Daniel Connor
Moll, Barnard A.	drawing master	Charleston	Nov. 23, 1784 31 Broad St.	GA	Nov. 12, 1788 (d)	CGDA	
Moncrieff, John (Muncreef)	house carpenter, builder	Charleston	Aug. 14, 1783	Carp. Soc.	1801 101 East Bay	City Directory	
Moncrieff, Richard (Muncreef)	cabinet maker, house carpenter	Charleston	April 7, 1749	SCG	Sept. 1787	CCP, JR, Box 148A, 1789, #553A	In later years, more frequently noted as carpenter.
Moncrieffe, John, Jr.	carpenter	Charleston	Nov. 11, 1788	Carp. Soc.		Same	Was excluded from Carpenter's Society by 1805
Monk, James	silversmith	Charleston	Dec. 1799	Misc. Rec., OOO, 1799-1803, p. 17	Aug. 1805	Misc. Rec., VVV, 1803-1807, pp. 308-11	
Monk, John	house carpenter	Charleston			Feb. 1, 1788 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, p. 162	
Monk and Shaw	carpenters	Charleston	Mar. 31, 1788 28 Meeting St.	CGDA		Same	
Monro, Hugh (Manrow)	carpenter	Colleton Co.	April 1750	CCP, JR, Box 31, 1751, #12A	Nov. 1763	CCP, JR, Box 60A, 1764, #170A	
Montgomery, Robert	watchmaker	Charleston			Nov. 19, 1787 (d)	CGDA	
Mood, Peter	silversmith	Charleston	1790 238 King St.	City Directory	1801 238 King St.	City Directory	
Moore, James Walker	blacksmith	Berkley Co.	Dec. 1771	Deeds, Vol. Z-3, 1772-73, pp. 271-75		Same	
Moore, John	weaver	St. Thomas'	Feb. 5, 1778	SCAGG		Same	
Moore, Philip	cabinet maker	Charleston	1796 246 Meeting St.	City Directory	Nov. 1808	Misc. Rec., AAAA, 1808-1810, p. 136	

NAME	OCCUPATION	TOWN OR PARISH	EARLIEST REFERENCE DATE	EARLIEST REFERENCE SOURCE	LATEST REFERENCE DATE	LATEST REFERENCE SOURCE	NOTES
Moore, Richard	house painter, glazier, paper hanger	Charleston	Sept. 9, 1784 156 King St.	GA	Dec. 1798	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 111	1784: Late from Dublin
Moorhead, Charles	weaver	Ponpon	Aug. 1770	Deeds, Vol. R-3, 1770, pp. 221-25		Same	
Morgan, David	carpenter	Charleston	1801 Blake's Wharf	City Directory		Same	
Morgan, Edward B.	carpenter	Charleston	Feb. 1794	Deeds, Vol. L-6, 1793-94, pp. 114-19	1796 Liberty St.	City Directory	
Morgan, Isaac	carpenter	Charleston	Dec. 1799	Deeds, Vol. A-7, 1800, pp. 5-7		Same	
Morgan, Nathaniel	house carpenter	Charleston	1785	Carp. Soc.	Aug. 1786	Deeds, Vol. Y-5, 1787-88, pp. 37-40	
Morgan, William	picture & glass frame maker	Charleston	Aug. 21, 1800 Wall St.	CGDA		Same	
Morris, George, Sr.	painter	Charleston	Mar. 1785	Deeds, Vol. N-5, 1784-85, pp. 255-60	May 24, 1792 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, p. 652	CGDA, July 24, 1792: Mrs. Morris will carry on business
Morris, George	house carpenter	Charleston	Sept. 1794	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 206	Oct. 19, 1796	Carp. Soc.	
Morris, Mark	house painter, glazier	Charleston	April 1769	Misc. Rec., OO, 1767-71, p. 186	Mar. 1781 (d)	Inventory Book BB, 1776-84, pp. 149-50	
Morrison, John	house carpenter	Charleston	April 21, 1795	Carp. Soc.	May 1800	Deeds, Vol. B-7, 1800, pp. 167-73	
Morse, Garner	carpenter	Charleston	1796 72 Meeting St.	City Directory		Same	
Moss, John Christian	brass founder, coppersmith	Charleston	Feb. 18, 1792 61 Meeting St.	CGDA	Nov. 15, 1799 (d)	TDA	CGDA, Sept. 6, 1800: Had been in partnership with Alex McCleish
Motte, Christian	carpenter	St. Bartholomew's	1778	CCP, JR, Box 139A, 1788, #305A	June 1788 (d)	CCP, JR, Box 139A, 1788, #305A	
Mouzon, Samuel	carpenter	St. James' Santee	1773	SCHM, 17 (1916):80		Same	
Muckenfuss, Andrew	blacksmith	Charleston	Jan. 18, 1770	Charlestown Gaz.	Jan. 29, 1784 (d)	GA	
Muckenfuss, Henry	bricklayer	Charleston	June 1797	Deeds, Vol. Z-6, 1799-1800, pp. 145-46	Feb. 1803	Misc. Rec., TTT, 1803-1805, p. 5	
Muckenfuss, Michael	blacksmith	Charleston	April 1765	Deeds, Vol. D-3, April 1765-Sept. 1765, pp. 595-601	Aug. 1778	Deeds, Vol. Q-5, 1786, pp. 211-15	

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Muckenfuss, Michael	cabinet maker	Charleston	Oct. 1797	Deeds, Vol. U-6, 1797-99, p. 112	Sept. 6, 1808 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book D, 1789-1810, p. 476	
Mulholand, Charles	house carpenter	Charleston	July 1797	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 426		Same	
Munro, John	watchmaker	Charleston	Aug. 20, 1785 6 Broad St.	Ev. Gaz.	Aug. 1804	Misc. Rec., UUU, 1804-1806, pp. 213-15	
Murdock, Archibald	blacksmith	Charleston	Feb. 1787	CCP, JR, Box 132A, 1787, #40A	Jan. 25, 1799 (d) Church St. cont.	Char. Co., Will Book, 1793-1800, p. 537	
Murphy, Josiah	cabinet maker	Charleston			Nov. 1771 (d)	Journ. of Ct. of Ordinary, 1771-75, p. 15	
Musid, John	watchmaker	Charleston	Dec. 8, 1786	Char. Morn. Post		Same	
Narney, John	watchmaker	Charleston	May 1756	Deeds, Vol. QQ, Oct. 1755-Sept. 1756, pp. 651-59	1764	Deeds, Vol. B-3, Mar. 1764-Aug. 1764, pp. 297-99	
Naylor, William Rigby	carpenter	Charleston	July 25, 1771 corner of Dean's Square	SCG	Oct. 18, 1773 (d)	SCG	SCG, Oct. 15, 1772: Wants to teach architectural drawing
Neall, William	cabinet maker	Charleston?	Mar. 1774	CCP, JR, Box 100A, 1774, #73A		Same	Did some work for Richard Magrath
Nedderman, Herman	blacksmith	Charleston			Dec. 1796 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 374	
Nelson, Ambrose	jeweller, silversmith	Charleston	Feb. 4, 1795 42 Trott St.	CCDA	1796 42 Trott St.	City Directory	
Nelson, George	carpenter	Charleston	June 1795	Deeds, Vol. Z-6, 1799-1800, pp. 279-82	1796 63 Meeting St.	City Directory	
Neville, James	cabinet maker	Charleston	1801 Broad St.	City Directory		Same	
Neville, Joshua	cabinet maker	Charleston	1801 11 Clifford's Alley	City Directory	Nov. 1809	Letters of Admin., Vol. K, 1778-1821, p. 380	
Nevison, John	carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 1795	CCP, JR, CTD, 1797, #777A	May 13, 1803 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, p. 365	1795: Worked on Charleston Theater with Conrad Hook
Newbold, John (Newbauld)	joiner,carpenter	St. Bartholomew's	Dec. 1756	SCHM, 10 (1909):232	July 1763	CCP, JR, Box 60A, 1764, #183A	
Nicholson, Joseph	architect	Charleston	c. 1800	Ravenel, Arch. of Charleston, p. 65	April 14, 1801	Carp. Soc.	Carp. Soc: deceased by 1805

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Nights, Andrew	house carpenter	Charleston	Feb. 1793	Misc. Rec., CCC, 1791-94, p. 165	June 1798	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 73	
Nivison, John and John Young	sawyers	Charleston	Nov. 1802 Harleston Green	Misc. Rec., RRR, 1801-1804, pp. 473-78		Same	Partnership established
Norman, Barrack	blacksmith	St. Paul's	Oct. 13, 1750 St. George's Parish	Deeds, Vol. OO, Nov. 1753-Oct. 1754, p. 54	Dec. 14, 1770 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1767-71, p. 537	
Norris, James	painter	Charleston	1796 7 Maiden Lane	City Directory		Same	
Norris, James	windsor chair maker	Charleston	1801 97 King St.	City Directory		Same	
Norris, N.	cabinet maker?	Charleston	Aug. 22, 1795 116 Queen St.	CGDA		Same	Hiring out workmen bred to cabinet business; selling mahogany, tools, work benches
Nuffer, David	carpenter	Charleston	June 1788	Deeds, Vol. F-6, 1791-93, pp. 242-44		Same	
Nutt, John	cabinet maker	Charleston	Mar. 8, 1770 King St.	SCG	Aug. 2, 1770	SCG	
Nutter, Joshua	weaver	Charleston	June 11, 1778 on the Green	SCAGG		Same	
O'Brien, James	tallow chandler	Charleston			Aug. 1792 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 68	
O'Bryan, Thomas	blacksmith	Charleston	May 1767 King St.	CCP, JR, Box 86A, 1769, #391A		Same	
Offutt, Archibald	silversmith	St. James' Santee?	Mar. 1774	Deeds, Vol, I-4, 1774, pp. 454-59	June 1777	Deeds, Vol. W-4, 1775-78, pp. 461-65	
Oliphant, David	painter	Charleston	Aug. 7, 1784 Gadsden's Alley	PA	1801 58 Broad St.	City Directory	
Oliphant, James	jeweller	Charleston	May 23, 1768 Broad St.	SCG	Aug. 14, 1777	SCAGG	1777: Intends to decline business
Oliphant and Henderson	jewellers, goldsmiths	Charleston	Feb. 27, 1767 Church St.	SCAGG	Oct. 26, 1767	SCAGG	Oct. 1767: Partnership dissolved
Oliver, James	bricklayer	Charleston	1801 115 East Bay, cont.	City Directory		Same	

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Oliver, John, Jr.	watchmaker	Charleston	Feb. 18, 1764	SCG	July 11, 1768 Meeting St.	SCG	
Oliver, Thomas	painter, glazier	Charleston	Dec. 9, 1774	SCAGG	Mar. 1775	Deeds, Vol. T-5, 1786, pp. 351-52	
O'Mitchell, William	carpenter	Charleston	1801 Queen St.	City Directory		Same	
Overin, George Davis (Ovrin)	brass founder	Charleston	Oct. 8, 1799 Church St.	TDA	1801 Market Sq.	City Directory	
Oxindine, John	carpenter	Christ Church			June 9, 1797 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1793-1800, p. 394	
Packrow, John	cabinet maker	Charleston	Feb. 1760 (1759)	CCP, JR, Box 51A, 1760, #240A	Aug. 12, 1778	GSSC	SCAGG, June 12, 1777: In Georgetown but intends to move to Charleston
Page, John	upholsterer	Charleston	July 24, 1793 7 Beresford's Alley	CGDA		Same	From Philadelphia
Page, Thomas	carpenter	Charleston	Nov. 1784	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 418	June 27, 1788 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book B, 1787-93, p. 163	
Palmer, Job	house carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 21, 1783	Carp. Soc.	Jan. 1803	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 449	See below
Palmer and Miller, (Samuel)	carpenters	Charleston	Jan. 13, 1785 7 1/2 Orange St.	GSSC		Same	
Palthaser, John	bricklayer, plasterer	St. John's	Feb. 1763	CCP, JR, Box 60A, 1764, #189A	July 1763	CCP, JR, Box 60A, 1764, #190A	
Parisen, P.	miniature painter	Charleston	April 2, 1795 116 Queen St.	CGDA		Same	
Park, Gabriel	carpenter	Charleston	1796 3 Trott St.	City Directory		Same	
Parker, Benjamin	bricklayer	Charleston	Oct. 25, 1785	Misc. Rec., WW, 1786-87, p. 476	Nov. 16, 1789	CCP, JR, Box 158A, 1790, #199A	
Parker, Christopher	carpenter	Berkley Co.	Feb. 1764	Deeds, Vol. C-3, Aug. 1764-April 1765, pp. 153-73		Same	
Parker, Isaac	house carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 1797	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 11	July 1800	Regis. of St. Philip's Parish, p. 271	
Parker, John and George	brickmakers	Charleston	1790 80 East Bay St.	City Directory	1801 87 East Bay	City Directory	1801: Only George is listed

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Parker, Joseph	goldsmith	Charleston			Mar. 26, 1790 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, p. 404	
Parkinson, John	carver, gilder	Charleston	June 2, 1777 Tradd St.	SCG	June 1, 1794	Misc. Rec., DDD, 1792-95, pp. 469-72	1777: Late apprentice to Mr. John Lord
Paterson, William	house carpenter	Charleston	1782 63 King St.	Charlestown Directory	April 29, 1795 (d) 271 King St.	CGDA	
Patton, Edward	carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 31, 1787	Misc. Rec., QQ, 1783-89, p. 596		Same	
Patton, George	house carpenter	Charleston	April 7, 1781	Misc. Rec., SS, 1776-81, p. 405		Same	
Paul, Peter	carpenter	St. James Goose Creek	Dec. 8, 1755	Misc. Rec., KK, 1754-58, p. 252		Same	
Payne, William Robert	marble mason	Charleston	Dec. 16, 1800 48 Broad St.	Times	Aug. 1803	Misc. Rec., SSS, 1803-1804, pp. 232-34	
Peale, Raphaelle and Rembrandt	portrait painters	Charleston	Dec. 3, 1795 2 Chalmer's Alley	CGDA		Same	Late from Philadelphia
Pearce, Abraham	cabinet maker, carver	Charleston	Mar. 14, 1768 Broad St.	SCG	July 22, 1782	Misc. Rec., TT, 1781-84, p. 168	1782: Noted as carver and undertaker
Pearce, Robert	bricklayer	Charleston	Feb. 6, 1793	Misc. Rec., CCC, 1791-94, p. 151	July 21, 1794 (d) Hassell St.	CGDA	
Pearce, William	watchmaker	Charleston	1801 101 Broad St.	City Directory		Same	
Pearse, John	painter, gilder	Charleston	Dec. 21, 1789 106 1/2 Church St.	CGDA	June 1801	Misc. Rec., PPP, 1800-1801, p. 397	
Peat, John (Pent)	blacksmith	Charleston			April 16, 1778 (d) Trott's Point	SCAGG	See also: Char. Co., Will Book, 1774-78, p. 611
Peebles, James	house carpenter	Charleston	June 1790	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 308		Same	
Perdriau, Mr.	carpenter	Charleston	1801 6 Smith's Lane	City Directory		Same	
Perry, John	house carpenter	Ashley Ferry	Aug. 21, 1762	SCG	Oct. 1771	CCP, JR, Box 92A, 1772, #91A	
Perry, Samuel	tin-plate worker	Charleston	Feb. 10, 1800 109 Broad St.	CGDA		Same	

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Petrie, Alexander	silversmith	Charleston	Mar. 11, 1745	SCG	Mar. 11, 1768 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1767-71, p. 192	
Pettigrew, James	house carpenter	Colleton Co.	April 1772	Deeds, Vol. R-4, 1775, pp. 485-91		Same	
Pfafhauser, Conrad (Pofhizer)	calico printer	Charleston			Oct. 20, 1794 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1793-1800, p. 153	Late of Philadelphia
Pfeninger, Martin	cabinet maker	Charleston	April 12, 1773 New Church St.	SCG	April 2, 1783 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1783-86, p. 64	
Pfeninger, Martin	cabinet maker	Charleston			Feb. 6, 1796 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book C, 1784-1800, p. 166	
Phalthaser, Joachim	bricklayer	Childsberry	May 12, 1767	CJ		Same	
Phelon, John	bricklayer	Charleston	April 1798 St. Andrew's Parish	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 58	Aug. 1799 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 179	
Philips, Eleazer	cabinet maker	Charleston	July 1784	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 381	July 1793	CCP, JR, CTD, 1794, #121A	
Philips, John M.	cabinet maker, undertaker	Charleston	Aug. 1798	Deeds, Vol. W-6, 1798, p. 276	Aug. 14, 1800 131 King St.	CGDA	
Phillips, John	painter, glazier	Charleston	1796 36 Meeting St.	City Directory	1801 47 Broad St.	City Directory	
Philips, Thomas	painter, gilder	Charleston	Aug. 1789	Deeds, Vol. E-6, 1790-92, p. 32	Sept. 9, 1790 73 Meeting St.	CGDA	See below
Phillips and Oliphant	painters	Charleston	Feb. 6, 1788 226 Meeting St.	CGDA	Sept. 9, 1790	CGDA	1790: partnership dissolved
Pickton, Charles Morgan	carpenter	Charleston	1801 20 Amen St.	City Directory	July 28, 1806 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book D, 1789-1810, p. 403	
Pickton, Thomas	carpenter	Charleston	1801 20 Amen St.	City Directory		Same	
Pierce, Benjamin	painter	Charleston	1790 35 Broad St.	City Directory		Same	
Pierce, John	painter, glazier	Charleston	May 1794	CCP, JR, CTD, 1795, #334A		Same	May be same person as John Pearse
Pierce, Gladding, and Co.	painters, glaziers, turners	Charleston	Feb. 23, 1788	CGDA		Same	
Pierce, Robert	bricklayer	Charleston	1790 35 Meeting St.	City Directory		Same	
Pilsbury, Amos	silversmith	Charleston	June 1798	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 75		Same	

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Pincel, Emanuel	tinman	Charleston	June 14, 1783 Broad St.	SCWG	May 20, 1797 (d)	CGDA	
Pohl, Eliah	tin & iron worker	Charleston	Feb. 11, 1792 280 King St.	CGDA		Same	
Poincignon, Mr.	tinman	Charleston	1801 2 Queen St.	City Directory		Same	
Pomeroy, John	house carpenter	Charleston	Feb. 1785	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 433		Same	
Pope, Alexander	carpenter	Charleston	1790 94 Queen St.	City Directory	Nov. 1793 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 142	
Pope, John	house carpenter	Edisto Island	Aug. 1792 (1787)	CCP, JR, CTD, 1793, #69A	Feb. 1793	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 97	
Pope, Samuel Ward	carpenter	Charleston	1790 4 Pinckney St.	City Directory	Nov. 1793	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 142	
Porter, Benjamin R.	cabinet maker	Charleston	Jan. 3, 1798 63 Meeting St.	CGDA	April 1807	Misc. Rec., XXX, 1805-1808, p. 380	
Pottifear, William	house carpenter	Charleston			April 1785 (d)	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 454	
Potts, John	tallow chandler	Charleston			May 1784 (d)	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 361	
Powell, John	cabinet maker	Charleston			Nov. 6, 1789 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, p. 357	
Powell, Thomas	house carpenter	Charleston			July 15, 1785 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1783-86, p. 537	
Poyas, Daniel	house carpenter	Charleston	April 1795	Deeds, Vol. M-6, 1794-95, pp. 366-69	May 5, 1800 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1793-1800, p. 657	
Poyas, John Lewis	house carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 1784	Deeds, Vol. P-5, 1785, pp. 203-7	1801 12 Ellerie St.	City Directory	
Presley, Henry B.	cutler	Charleston	Feb. 12, 1784 166 King St.	GSSC		Same	
Price, John	cabinet maker	Charleston			April 1784 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1778-1821, p. 88	
Price, Thomas	cabinet maker	Charleston			Nov. 14, 1797 (d) corner of Queen & Union	CTD, Inventory Book C, 1784-1800, p. 284	
Prince, Charles	tinsmith	Charleston	1790 267 King St.	City Directory	1801 266 King St.	City Directory	

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Proby, Jacob and Solomon	brass founders	Charleston	Nov. 26, 1764 Broad St.	SCG		Same	Make brass fenders, sconces, candlesticks
Proby, John	brass founder, coppersmith	Charleston	July 1, 1766	CJ	May 8, 1769 Broad St.	SCAGG	
Provaux, Mr.	watchmaker	Charleston	May 5, 1775	SCAGG		Same	
Prue, John	turner, cabinet maker	Charleston	Mar. 10, 1746	Deeds, Vol. RR, Sept. 1756-May 1757, pp. 337-44	Feb. 12, 1773 (d) King St.	Char. Co., Will Book, 1771-74, p. 312	
Purcell, Henry D.	engraver	Charleston	Dec. 12, 1788 30 Broad St.	CGDA		Same	
Purcell, Pierce	house carpenter	Charleston	Jan. 1789 Trott St.	Deeds, Vol. B-6, 1788-89, pp. 339-41	Oct. 1791	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 2	1790: In partnership with James Hoban
Purse, William	watchmaker, silversmith	Charleston	Sept. 1783	Letters of Admin., Vol. K, 1778-1821, p. 69	June 1798	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 75	
Quin, James	house carpenter	Charleston			Feb. 1793 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 101	
Quinby, Henry	carpenter	Charleston	1790 78 Meeting St.	City Directory		Same	
Quinby, James	carpenter	Charleston	1796 4 Pinckney St.	City Directory		Same	
Quinby, Joseph	house carpenter	Charleston	Sept. 1794	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 205	1801 4 Pinckney St.	City Directory	
Quinn, Charles	bricklayer	Charleston	Oct. 1795	Misc. Rec., FFF, 1795-96, pp. 236-38		Same	
Quinn, James	painter	Charleston	May 1788	CCP, JR, Box 154A, 1789, #1023A	Sept. 1801	Regis. of St. Philip's Parish, p. 273	
Ralph, John	cabinet maker	Charleston	Dec. 1779	Deeds, Vol. D-5, 1779-80, pp. 22-23	Jan. 28, 1802 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book D, 1789-1810, p. 107	
Ralph, John and Nicholas Silberg	cabinet makers	Charleston	Oct. 1, 1793 52 Church St.	CGDA	Mar. 26, 1796	TMDA	1796: Partnership dissolved
Ralph, Thomas	house carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 1760	Deeds, Vol. A-3, May 1763-Mar. 1764, p. 352		Same	
Ramage, Frances (Ramadge)	weaver	Charleston	Feb. 24, 1789 James Island	CGDA	Dec. 12, 1789 6 Cumberland St.	CGDA	
Ramely, Martin (Remley; Rimeli)	house carpenter, joiner	Charleston	Mar. 25, 1766 Jean's Alley	CJ	May 1795 (d)	CCP, JR, CTD, 1795, #352A	

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Raper, William	bricklayer	Charleston	Mar. 1768	Deeds, Vol. I-3, 1767-68, pp. 316-20	Oct. 27, 1787 (d) Meeting St.	Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, p. 130	
Rawlins, Robert	tallow chandler	Charleston	July 1765	CCP, JR, Box 67A, 1766, #266A		Same	
Redmond, Andrew	turner	Charleston	Oct. 11, 1783 27 Meeting St.	GA	Feb. 1, 1791 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, p. 513	
Reeves, Enos	silversmith	Charleston	1790 234 Meeting St.	City Directory	1801 99 Broad St.	City Directory	
Reid, John	tin-plate worker	Charleston	1799	Regis. of St. Philip's Parish, p. 269	May 2, 1806 (d) Church St.	Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, p. 655	See below
Reid and King	tin-plate workers	Charleston	1796 45 Church St.	City Directory		Same	
Reid, Joseph	bricklayer	Charleston	Jan. 29, 1799	CGDA	June 25, 1799 (d)	CGDA	
Reilly, John (Reyley)	blacksmith	Charleston	May 1790	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 306	1790 9 Ellery St.	City Directory	
Rennio, George	stone cutter	Charleston	1801 57 Broad St.	City Directory		Same	
Reside, William	cabinet maker	Charleston	1796 114 Tradd St.	City Directory	Nov. 1800	Misc. Rec., PPP, 1800-1801, p. 231	
Reymond, Mr.	clock & watch maker	Charleston	Oct. 8, 1785 8 Queen St.	Ev. Gaz.		Same	From Paris
Reynolds, Joseph	bricklayer	Charleston			Mar. 1783 (d)	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 233	
Richardson, Barnard	house carpenter	Charleston	May 1782	Deeds, Vol. H-5, 1783, pp. 362-67	Jan. 13, 1797 (d)	CGDA	See also Wyatt and Richardson
Richardson, Edward	bricklayer	Charleston	Nov. 18, 1755	Misc. Rec., KK, 1754-58, p. 248	April 1760	CCP, JR, Box 51A, 1760, #186A	
Richardson, Thomas	carpenter	Charleston			April 7, 1792 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, p. 643	Had been in partnership with John Wyatt and Barnard Richardson
Ricketts, John Brueton	architect, marble mason	Charleston	April 1, 1799 Governor's Bridge	CGDA	Sept. 17, 1799 (d)	CGDA	
Riddle, William (Ruddell)	house carpenter	St. Bartholomew's			April 29, 1799 (d)	CGDA	
Rife, Philip	house carpenter	Charleston			Feb. 23, 1797 (d)	CGDA	

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Riggs, Samuel	carpenter	St. George's	May 1794	Misc. Rec., CCC, 1791-94, p. 544		Same	
Riley, John	cabinet maker	St. Bartholomew's	Mar. 1784	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 346	Mar. 1793	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 110	
Ringland, George	house carpenter	St. John's	Aug. 1788	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 188		Same	
Ringland, Michael	house carpenter	St. John's			Oct. 28, 1788 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book B, 1787-93, p. 139	
Rivers, Francis	carpenter	Charleston	1790 5 Wragg's Alley	City Directory		Same	
Rivers, James	house carpenter	Charleston	Sept. 1793	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 130	1801 261 King St.	City Directory	
Rivers, John	carpenter	Charleston	April 2, 1753	Deeds, Vol. OO, Nov. 1753-Oct. 1754, p. 7	Mar. 1761	Deeds, Vol. WW, July 1760-June 1761, pp. 514-21	
Rivers, Samuel	carpenter	St. Andrew's	Aug. 20, 1747 Charleston	Misc. Rec., II, 1751-54, p. 187	Sept. 1783 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1783-86, p. 28	
Rivers, William Stephen	bricklayer	Toogoodoo	April 1796	Misc. Rec., GGG, 1795-97, p. 218		Same	
Roberson, John	bricklayer	Charleston	Feb. 1, 1746	SCG	April 16, 1788 5 Charles St.	CGDA	
Roberts, J.	miniature painter	Charleston	Dec. 6, 1796 34 Meeting St.	CGDA		Same	
Roberts, Richard	blacksmith	Charleston	May 1790	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 306		Same	
Roberts, Stephen	carpenter	Charleston	Dec. 1783	Deeds, Vol. Z-5, 1787-88, pp. 443-44	1798	Deeds, Vol. U-6, 1797-99, pp. 305-6	
Roberts, Thomas	carpenter	Charleston	1790 24 Queen St.	City Directory		Same	
Robertson, Charles	plasterer carver in stucco	Charleston	Nov. 4, 1774	SCAGG		Same	
Robertson, John	bricklayer	Charleston	July 1792	Deeds, Vol. I-6, 1791-93, pp. 54-58	June 30, 1800 (d) Cook Lane	CGDA	
Robertson, John	brass founder	Charleston	Dec. 16, 1760 King St.	SCG		Same	

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Robertson, Peter	painter	Charleston	1801 8 Hopton's Lane	City Directory	Nov. 1802	Misc. Rec., NNN, 1799-1805, p. 481	
Robertson, William (Roberson)	house joiner, cabinet maker	Charleston	Sept. 1788 (1786)	CCP, JR, Box 144A, 1789, #252A		Same	
Robin, Andrew	jeweller	Charleston	Dec. 1801	Misc. Rec., NNN, 1799-1805, p. 255	Feb. 1805	Misc. Rec., XXX, 1805-1808, p. 217	
Robinson, John	bricklayer	Charleston	1790 5 Cock Lane	City Directory		Same	May be same person as John Robertson
Robinson, Joseph	house carpenter	Charleston	1790 39 1/2 Meeting St.	City Directory	Nov. 1792	Deeds, Vol. F-6, 1791-93, pp. 373-75	
Robinson, Thomas	carpenter	Charleston	May 1762	CCP, JR, Box 57B, 1763, #33A	May 1774	CCP, JR, Box 101A, 1774, #119A	
Rockford, James	carpenter	St. James' Goose Creek	July 22, 1784	Misc. Rec., VV, 1784-89, pp. 106-7	Dec. 1786	Deeds, Vol. V-5, 1786-87, pp. 434-36	
Rogers, Francis	cabinet maker	Charleston	April 28, 1787 225 Meeting St.	Char. Morn. Post	May 22, 1787	Misc. Rec., VV, 1784-89, p. 326	April 1787: About to depart for Europe
Rogers, John	cabinet maker	Charleston	June 27, 1786	Misc. Rec., VV, 1784-89, p. 364		Same	
Roper, Joseph	turner	Charleston	Jan. 5, 1769 Meeting St.	SCG	1790 13 Pinckney St.	City Directory	
Rosetti, John Baptiste	miniature & portrait painter	Sullivan's Island	Jan. 24, 1797	CGDA	Sept. 15, 1797 (d)	CGDA	Italian
Ross, George	tinman	Charleston	May 26, 1784 73 King St.	PA	Sept. 24, 1790 (d) 115 Tradd St.	Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, p. 447	
Ross, James	carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 1778	Deeds, Vol. G-5, 1781-83, pp. 279-82		Same	
Ross, Malcolm	carpenter	Charleston	1790 29 Society St.	City Directory	Oct. 1792	Misc. Rec., DDD, 1792-95, p. 47	
Rosseitte, Mr.	portrait painter	Charleston	1796 44 Broad St.	City Directory		Same	Probably same person as J.B. Rosetti
Rotinbury, Francis	carpenter	Charleston	1790 10 Trott St.	City Directory		Same	
Rou, John	cabinet maker	Charleston?	April 1800	Misc. Rec., OOO, 1799-1803, pp. 157-60		Same	

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Roulain, Abraham	cabinet maker	Charleston	Dec. 6, 1768 Tradd St.	CJ	Aug. 1787 (d)	Deeds, Vol. D-6, 1789-90, pp. 200-203	
Roulain, Robert	bricklayer	Charleston	April 1800	Deeds, Vol. C-7, 1800, pp. 237-38	April 1803	Misc. Rec., TTT, 1803-1805, p. 110	
Rousselin, Louis	watchmaker	Charleston	Feb. 8, 1794 133 King St.	CCDA		Same	
Row, George Daniel (Rou)	cabinet maker	Charleston	Jan. 1800	Deeds, Vol. A-7, 1800, pp. 73-75	1801 11 Federal St.	City Directory	
Row, Michael	carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 1798	Deeds, Vol. W-6, 1798, pp. 201-2		Same	
Rowe, Frederick	weaver	Berkley Co.	Feb. 1764	Deeds, Vol. C-3, Aug. 1764-April 1765, pp. 153-73		Same	
Rudd, Walter	blacksmith	Charleston	Feb. 1795	Misc. Rec., FFF, 1795-96, p. 9		Same	
Ruger, John	painter, gilder	Charleston	Aug. 1767	CCP, JR, Box 81A, 1768, #492A	April 28, 1786 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, p. 1	
Rumph, Abraham	carpenter	St. George's	Nov. 1783	Letters of Admin., Vol. K, 1778-1821, p. 78		Same	
Russell, Andrew	carpenter	Charleston	1784	Carp. Soc.		Same	
Russell, Benjamin	bricklayer	Charleston	Oct. 1772	CCP, JR, Box 97A, 1773, #178A	1801 31 Guignard St.	City Directory	
Russell, Daniel	carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 12, 1784	GSSC	1801 3 Ellery St.	City Directory	
Russell, George	house carpenter	Charleston	Sept. 1793	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 132		Same	
Russell, John	hardware & ivory turner	Charleston	May 4, 1786 36 Meeting St.	CH	Mar. 8, 1790	Misc. Rec., ZZ, 1789-92, p. 2999	
Russell, Joseph	house carpenter	Charleston	1784	Carp. Soc.	July 1786	CCP, JR, Box 131A, 1786, #498A	
Russell, Walter	upholsterer, paper hanger	Charleston	Nov. 8, 1773	SCG	May 24, 1776 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1776-84, p. 40	
Rutherford, Robert	carpenter	Charleston	April 1766	CCP, JR, Box 73A, 1767, #493A		Same	
Saltus, Elias C.	master builder	Charleston			Aug. 27, 1798 (d)	CCDA	

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Samson, Robert	blacksmith	Charleston	July 20, 1782	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 199		Same	
Samways, William	bricklayer	Charleston	Nov. 1777	Deeds, Vol. Y-4, 1778, pp. 1-3	May 1783 (d)	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 259	
Sanders, William	house carpenter	St. Thomas			Feb. 8, 1792 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, p. 626	
Sanderson, William	goldsmith, jeweller	Charleston	Nov. 6, 1800 45 Broad St.	Times		Same	
Sarrazin, Jonathan	silversmith	Charleston	Aug. 25, 1762	SCG	April 1793	Misc. Rec., CCC, 1791-94, pp. 352-53	See below
Sarrazin, Jonathan and Harsen	silversmiths	Charleston	Mar. 13, 1755 Church St.	SCG	Feb. 1761	CCP, JR, Box 55A, 1761, #292A	Feb. 1761: M. Sarrazin deceased
Sarrazin, Moreau	silver & goldsmith	Charleston	Dec. 15, 1746 Elliott St.	SCG	Mar. 21, 1761 (d) St. John's Parish	Inventory Book T, 1758-61, pp. 578-79	1746: [illegible] in partnership with William Wright
Sass, Jacob	cabinet maker	Charleston	Sept. 1777	Deeds, Vol. F-5, 1781-82, pp. 145-49	Dec. 1802	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 442	
Saunders, Harry (Sanderson, Harrie)	cabinet maker	Charleston	July 5, 1786	Misc. Rec., WW, 1786-87, p. 196	June 16, 1787 (d)	Char. Morn. Post	
Sayer, William	brush maker	Charleston	Oct. 31, 1765 Elliott St.	SCG		Same	Makes dust and hearth brushes
Scheurer, Michael	painter, glazier	Charleston	Sept. 1, 1758 King St.	SCG		Same	
Scott, David	bricklayer	Charleston	1790 Quince St.	City Directory	Sept. 9, 1791 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, p. 599	See below
Scott, David and Daniel Crawford	bricklayers	Charleston			Mar. 13, 1788	CCDA	Partnership dissolved
Scott, James	brick maker	St. John's	April 1795	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 261	Nov. 15, 1796	CCP, JR, CTD, 1798, #1022A	
Scott, Robert	carpenter	Charleston?			Feb. 9, 1776 (d)	SCAGG	
Scottow, Samuel	carpenter	Charleston	1790 181 King St.	City Directory		Same	
Sears, Willard	trunk, case, box maker	Charleston	June 12, 1795 237 Meeting	CCDA		Same	
Seaver, Abraham	carpenter	Charleston	Sept. 1778	Deeds, Vol. G-5, 1781-83, pp. 83-87	1801 37 Pinckney St.	City Directory	

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Seixas, Abraham	tallow chandler	Charleston	1790 112 King St.	City Directory	Jan. 4, 1796	TMDA	
Shand, William	house carpenter	St. Bartholomew's	April 1799	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 153		Same	
Sharp, Jeremiah	carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 1770	Deeds, Vol. P-3, 1770, pp. 364-71		Same	
Sharp, John	clock maker	Charleston	Mar. 1800	Regis. of St. Philip's Parish, p. 270		Same	
Shaw, John	carpenter	Charleston	May 1789	CCP, JR, Box 161A, 1790, #395A		Same	
Sheckell, Adam	house carpenter	St. Bartholomew's			July 1784 (d)	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 383	
Shecot, Abraham	bricklayer	Charleston	Mar. 1767 Beaufort	Deeds, Vol. H-3, Sept. 1767-May 1768, pp. 31-37	May 1788 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 177	Seems to have moved to Charleston ca. 1778
Shepherd, John	carpenter	Charleston	1796 3 King St.	City Directory		Same	
Shepherd, Matthew	watchmaker	Charleston	Oct. 28, 1774	SCAGG	May 2, 1775 on the Bay	CJ	1774: Lately from London
Shepherd, Samuel and Co.	candle maker	Charleston	Mar. 19, 1778 on the Green	SCAGG	Dec. 1784	Deeds, Vol. R-5, 1785-86, pp. 221-25	
Sherman, Robert	makes tin ware	Charleston	Dec. 20, 1768	CJ		Same	
Shiells, Alexander	carpenter	Charleston	Feb. 16, 1778	Misc. Rec., QQ, 1773-89, p. 141		Same	
Shirer, John (Shier, Shyrer)	carpenter	Charleston	1790 Commin's St.	City Directory	July 3, 1807 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, p. 728	
Shirras, Alexander	ironmonger	Charleston	1790 48 East Bay	City Directory		Same	
Shnis, Conrad (Schnis)	blacksmith	St. Bartholomew's	Apr. 1769 (1766)	CCP, JR, Box 85A, 1769, #291A	Jan. 31, 1775 (d)	Inventory Book AA, 1774-85, p. 74	
Shrewsbury, Stephen	house carpenter	Charleston	Sept. 1770	Deeds, Vol. R-3, 1770, pp. 185-92	May 17, 1798	Misc. Rec., LLL, 1798-99, p. 78	
Sigwald, Thomas	cabinet maker	Charleston	Mar. 1799	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 147		Same	
Silburgh, Nicholas (Silberg)	cabinet maker	Charleston	Jan. 1797	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 383	Jan. 12, 1802 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, p. 233	See partnership of Ralph and Silberg
Simmons, James	cabinet maker	Jacksonburgh	Apr. 2, 1784	Misc. Rec., VV, 1784-89, p. 69	Apr. 7, 1790 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 300	

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Simmons, Silas	blacksmith	St. James' Goose Creek			Feb. 27, 1795 (d)? (1804)	Misc. Rec., SSS, 1803-1804, pp. 474-77	
Simmons, William	carpenter	Charleston	Jan. 1796	Deeds, Vol. R-6, 1796, pp. 134-36	1801 King St.	City Directory	
Sims, William	house carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 1799	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 177		Same	
Sinckler, Daniel	blacksmith	St. James' Santee	1770	SCHM, 17(1916):74	1781	SCHM, 17 (1916):108	
Singleton, Bracy	watchmaker	Charleston	Sept. 1777 (1774)	CCP, JR, Box 106B, 1778, #33A	Sept. 30, 1784	Misc. Rec., UU, 1783-85, p. 195	
Singleton, Daniel	bricklayer	Charleston	Oct. 25, 1785	Misc. Rec., WW, 1786-87, p. 476	Sept. 24, 1791 (d)	CGDA	
Singleton, Ripley	silversmith	Charleston	Apr. 1784	Deeds, Vol. E-5, 1784, pp. 550-55	Mar. 1799 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 143	
Sisk, James	bricklayer	Charleston			Jan. 1790 (d)	Misc. Rec., ZZ, 1789-92, p. 152	
Slade, Daniel	carpenter	Charleston	Dec. 1753 Dorchester	Deeds, Vol. OO, Nov. 1753-Oct. 1754, p. 74	Apr. 4, 1769	CCP, JR, Box 82A, 1769, #66A	
Smith, Alexander	weaver	Charleston	May 1784	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 361		Same	
Smith, David	blacksmith	Charleston	Feb. 1771	Deeds, Vol. B-4, 1772-73, pp. 259-64		Same	
Smith, Edward	house carpenter	Charleston	Apr. 23, 1772	Misc. Rec., PP, 1771-74, p. 476	Apr. 1787	Deeds, Vol. B-6, 1788-89, pp. 217-18	
Smith, E.	turner	Charleston	Apr. 19, 1796 131 King St.	CGDA		Same	From London
Smith, George	house carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 1787	Misc. Rec., OOO, 1799-1803, p. 1	Mar. 1799	Deeds, Vol. C-7, 1800, pp. 69-71	See below
Smith, George and George Keith	house carpenters	Charleston	Aug. 1792 (1787-89)	CCP, JR, CTD, 1793, #87A	Sept. 1796	Misc. Rec., HHH, 1796-98, p. 102-3	
Smith, James (Smyth)	carpenter	Charleston			Jan. 18, 1780 (d)	Charlestown Gaz.	
Smith, James	carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 23, 1790	CGDA	1801 16 Pinckney St.	City Directory	
Smith, John	cabinet maker	Charleston	1796 Pinckney St.	City Directory	Mar. 1801	Misc. Rec., QQQ, 1800-1803, pp. 346-48	

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Smith, John	tallow chandler, soap boiler	Charleston	Mar. 8, 1773 Church St.	SCG	Mar. 28, 1775	CJ	
Smith, John	upholsterer	Charleston	1796 37 King St.	City Directory	May 1801	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 309	
Smith, John Christian	tile manufactory	Charleston	Oct. 7, 1800 52 King St.	Times		Same	
Smith, John and George Forbes	house carpenters	Charleston	Dec. 1786	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 72		Same	
Smith, Malcom	house carpenter	Charleston			Dec. 1786 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 72	
Smith, Nicholas	jeweller, goldsmith	Charleston	Mar. 13, 1775 King St.	SCG	Aug. 25, 1790	Misc. Rec., YY, 1787-91, p. 327	1790: Now in Jamaica
Smith and Smithson	jewellers	Charleston	May 30, 1774 King St.	SCG	Mar. 13, 1775	SCG	1775: Parnership discontinued
Smith, Peter	carpenter	Charleston	July 5, 1783	SCWG	Dec. 1800	Letters of Admin., 1797-1800, p. 282	
Smith, Samuel, Sr.	carpenter	Charleston	Feb. 19, 1756	Misc. Rec., KK, 1754-58, p. 269	1790 21 Hasell St.	City Directory	
Smith, Samuel	joiner, cabinet maker	Charleston	May 11, 1786	Misc. Rec., WW, 1786-87, p. 127	1796 175 Meeting St.	City Directory	
Smith, Solomon	upholsterer, paper hanger	Charleston	Nov. 2, 1772 Church St.	SCAGG	Oct. 13, 1791 6 Bedon's Alley	CCDA	
Smith, Thomas	brass founder	Charleston	Apr. 1771 (1769)	CCP, JR, Box 94A, 1772, #284A	Feb. 1774	CCP, JR, Box 103A, 1775, #156A	
Smith, William, Jr.	carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 16, 1796	TMDA	1801 108 East Bay	City Directory	
Smith, William	ironmonger	Charleston	1796 3 Broad St.	City Directory		Same	
Smithson, George	jeweller, goldsmith	Charleston	Mar. 13, 1775 on the Bay	SCG		Same	
Smiton, Bryson	silk dyer	Charleston			Nov. 30, 1795 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1793-1800, p. 253	Formerly of London
Smyth, John	painter	Charleston	1796 11 Ellery St.	City Directory		Same	
Snead, James	turner	Charleston	Apr. 10, 1775 Church St.	SCG	1782 91 Church St.	Charlestown Directory	

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Snead, Thomas (Sneed)	carpenter	Charleston	May 1770	CCP, JR, Box 87A, 1770, #113A	Jan. 1772	Deeds, Vol. Y-3, 1771-72, pp. 381-86	
Snead, Thomas, Jr.	cabinet maker	Charleston	May 1770	CCP, JR, Box 87A, 1770, #113A	Sept. 1779	Deeds, Vol. E-5, 1781-82, pp. 96-98	
Snyder, John-Paul	house carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 1801	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 295	1801 7 Federal St.	City Directory	
Snyder, Paul	house carpenter	Charleston	May 1790	Letters of Admin., Vol. K., 1778-1821, p. 173	1790 109 King St.	City Directory	May be same person as above
Sommers, Humphrey	bricklayer	Charleston	Dec. 1749	Deeds, Vol. N-4, 1774-75, pp. 424-29	Nov. 27, 1762	SCG	
Sommers, John	house carpenter, joiner	Charleston	Apr. 1778	Deeds, Vol. F-5, 1781-82, pp. 327-31	Dec. 31, 1791 (d)	Car. Gaz.	
Sommerville, William	bricklayer	Charleston	Nov. 14, 1761	SCG		Same	Will cure smoking chimnies for one guinea each
Sowers, John	carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 19, 1791	Misc. Rec., ZZ, 1789-1792, p. 449		Same	
Spears, James	house carpenter	Charleston	Nov. 1776 Craven Co.	Deeds, Vol. P-4, 1775-77, pp. 331-34	Apr. 5, 1808 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book D, 1789-1810, p. 458	Carp. Soc., Aug. 21, 1783: Was living in Charleston
Spencer, John	house carpenter	St. Paul's	Apr. 1787	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 100		Same	
Spidle, John George (Spedle)	house carpenter	Charleston	July 21, 1796	Carp. Soc.	1801 10 Beresford St.	City Directory	
Spofford, Eliphalet	carpenter	St. John's			Jan. 25, 1804 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book D, 1789-1810, p. 226	
Stafford, Thompson, and Co.	windsor chair factory	Charleston	Jan. 21, 1800 97 King St.	CGDA		Same	See also Humeston & Stafford
Stapf, Lewis	carpenter	St. Paul's	Oct. 1764	Deeds, Vol. F-3, July 1766-May 1767, pp. 69-74	Mar. 1793	Deeds, Vol. I-6 1791-93, p. 376	
Starling, John	carpenter	Charleston			Feb. 10, 1792 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book B, 1787-93, p. 409	
Stattler, George	carver	Charleston	Dec. 4, 1797 Meeting St.	CGDA	Mar. 21, 1799 (d)	CGDA	
Steedman, Charles (Stedman)	house carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 14, 1783	Carp. Soc.	1801 161 Meeting St.	City Directory	CGDA, July 10, 1798: Had been in partnership with James Steedman

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Steedman, James	carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 1772	CCP, JR, Box 98A, 1773, #237A	June 15, 1798 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1793-1800, p. 482	
Steel, Adam	dyer	Charleston	Sept. 3, 1771	CJ	Sept. 26, 1774 opp. the Fish Market	SCG	
Stephens, David	carpenter, house joiner	Charleston	Sept. 15, 1759 Queen St.	SCG	Apr. 1760	CCP, JR, Box 51A, 1760, #210A	
Stevenson, Hamilton	miniature painter	Charleston	June 5, 1782	RG		Same	
Stevenson, John and Hamilton	limners	Charleston	Dec. 12, 1774 Meeting St.	SCG		Same	
Stevenson, John	painter, glazier	Charleston	May 11, 1757	Misc. Rec., KK, 1754-58, p. 500	June 3, 1766 Queen St.	CJ	
Stevenson, John	limner	Charleston	Sept. 21, 1773	CJ		Same	
Stevenson, John	house carpenter	Charleston	1790 88 Queen St.	City Directory	Sept. 1797	Misc. Rec., HHH, 1796-98, p. 457	
Stewart, Alexander	house carpenter	Charleston	Dec. 18, 1795 King St.	Char. Co., Will Book, 1793-1800, p. 257	1801 296 King St.	City Directory	
Stewart, Charles	cabinet maker	Charleston	May 14, 1795 183 Meeting St.	CGDA	1801 62 Broad St.	City Directory	From London
Stewart, George	cabinet maker	St. Bartholomew's			Mar. 1785 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1775-85, p. 445	
Stewart and Barre	tobacconists and tallow chandlers	Charleston			July 12, 1786 Broad St.	Char. Morn. Post	Partnership dissolved
Stocks, Thomas	cabinet maker	Charleston	Oct. 1, 1758	Deeds, Vol. TT, Apr. 1758-Jan. 1759, pp. 399-405	Apr. 19, 1760 (d) Tradd St.	SCG	1760: Had been in partnership with Stephen Townsend
Stohr, John Philip	painter	Charleston?			Sept. 3, 1789 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book B, 1787-93, p. 234	
Stokes, Henry	blacksmith	St. Bartholomew's	Oct. 1799	Misc. Rec., PPP, 1800-1801, p. 489		Same	
Stoll, David	blacksmith	Charleston	Aug. 19, 1766 Capt. Roper's Wharf	CJ	Oct. 30, 1772 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1771-74, p. 50	1766: Leaving off business
Stoll, Jacob	metalsmith	Charleston	1790 189 King St.	City Directory	1801 209 King St.	City Directory	
Stoll, Justinus	blacksmith	Charleston	May 1751 (1749)	CCP, JR, Box 31, 1751, #58A	Jan. 1768	CCP, JR, Box 78A, 1768, #215A	SCG, May 1, 1767: Partnership with David Thompson expired
Stoll, Justinus	bricklayer	Charleston	Dec. 1797	Regis. of St. Philip's Parish, p. 267	1801 13 Wyatt's Lot	City Directory	

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Stoll, William	carpenter	Charleston	Feb. 11, 1772	Misc. Rec., PP, 1771-74, p. 138		Same	
Stone, Joseph	carpenter	Charleston	Dec. 1776	Deeds, Vol. P-4, 1775-77, p. 546		Same	
Stone, Thomas	bricklayer	Charleston	Nov. 1781	Deeds, Vol. F-5, 1784, pp. 13-15	April 20, 1793 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1793-1800, p. 11	
Storey, Zachariah	carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 1768	Deeds, Vol. F-3, May 1768-Jan. 1769, pp. 302-7		Same	
Story, John	scourer, dyer	Charleston	Sept. 14, 1785 12 Church St.	Ev. Gaz.		Same	
Strohecker, John	blacksmith	Charleston	Nov. 1, 1799 Meeting St.	CGDA	April 1807	Misc. Rec., AAAA, 1808-10	
Strother, James	bricklayer	Charleston	Jan. 1794	Misc. Rec., EEE, 1793-95, p. 575		Same	
Strouble, Frederick (Struble)	bricklayer	Charleston			May 12, 1764 (d) King St.	Char. Co., Will Book, 1760-69, p. 358	
Stukes, Joseph	jeweller	Charleston	Sept. 1788	Deeds, Vol. Z-5, 1787-88, pp. 521-24		Same	
Sugden, George	painter	Charleston			Sept. 9, 1800 (d)	CGDA	CGDA, Dec. 23, 1799: Had been in partnership with J. Wilcox and C. Flagg, Jr.
Sullivan, Cornelius	carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 1778	Deeds, Vol. Z-4, 1778, pp. 106-9		Same	
Sullivan, Michael	brickmaker	St. James	Sept. 1767	Deeds, Vol. I-3, 1767-68, pp. 234-42		Same	
Sullivant, Stephen	carpenter	St. James' Santee	1773	SCHM, 17 (1916):80		Same	
Sutton, John	carpenter	Charleston	Nov. 2, 1789	Misc. Rec., ZZ, 1789-92, p. 107	Feb. 7, 1792	Misc. Rec., BBB, 1791-93, p. 135	
Swanson, David	blacksmith	Charleston	Jan. 14, 1771 Trott's Point	SCAGG	April 21, 1781 Burn's Wharf	RG	
Swanston, David	carpenter	Peedee	Feb. 1800	Deeds, Vol. A-7, 1800, pp. 162-64		Same	
Swindershime, Nicholas	blacksmith	St. Paul's	Oct. 1, 1771	CJ	July 8, 1774 (d)	SCAGG	
Syberberg, Christopher	clock & watch maker	Charleston	Oct. 28, 1768 Broad St.	SCAGG		Same	
Symonds, J.	cotton machine maker, turner	Charleston	Oct. 14, 1800 Meeting St.	CGDA		Same	

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Tamplet, Peter	house carpenter, joiner	Charleston	Mar. 1749	Deeds, Vol. SS, May 1757-April 1758, p. 197	Nov. 1785 St. James', Goose Creek	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 496	
Tash, Edward	blacksmith	Charleston	1790 12 Queen St.	City Directory	Sept. 28, 1798 (d) corner Kinloch Ct. & Queen St.	CGDA	
Taylor, Christopher	bricklayer	Charleston	Jan. 1772	Deeds, Vol. B-4, 1772-73, pp. 251-55	Jan. 1791	CCP, JR, CTD, 1791, #114A	
Taylor, John	carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 8, 1763	Misc. Rec., LL, 1758-63, p. 596		Same	
Taylor, John (Tayleur)	silversmith, bookseller	Charleston	Oct. 7, 1785 114 Broad St.	Ev. Gaz.	1790 17 Beresford's Alley	City Directory	
Taylor, Michael	weaver	Berkley Co.	Jan. 12, 1751	Misc. Rec., HH, 1749-51, p. 438	Feb. 5, 1770 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1767-71, p. 412	
Taylor, Paul	carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 25, 1785	PA	Mar. 1799	Deeds, Vol. X-6, 1798-99, pp. 193-96	
Taylor, Peter	bricklayer	Charleston?	Mar. 12, 1785	Misc. Rec., UU, 1783-85, p. 309		Same	
Taylor, William Malcolm	bricklayer	Charleston	Mar. 1787	Deeds, Vol. D-6, 1789-90, pp. 137-41	1790 2 Charles St.	City Directory	
Tebout, Tunis	blacksmith	Charleston	Nov. 7, 1761	SCG	June 27, 1774 Burn's Wharf	SCG	
Tebout, Tunis and William Johnson	blacksmiths	Charleston			Oct. 18, 1768	CJ	Partnership expired
Tew, George	bricklayer	Charleston	May 1777 (1773)	CCP, JR, Box 106B, 1778, #32A	Nov. 30, 1786 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, p. 65	
Tew, Thomas	bricklayer	Charleston	April 1786	Deeds, Vol. R-5, 1785-86, pp. 347-52	June 12, 1800 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book C, 1784-1800, p. 466	
Theus, Jeremiah	limner	Charleston	Sept. 6, 1740	SCG	May 23, 1774 (d)	SCG	
Thomas, Noah	carpenter	St. James' Santee	1768	SCHM, 17 (1916):45		Same	
Thompson, Cephas	portrait painter	Charleston	Nov. 26, 1800 5 Tradd St.	CGDA		Same	From Boston
Thompson, George	house carpenter	St. Bartholomew's	Mar. 1791	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 355		Same	
Thompson, John	carpenter	Charleston	May 1783	Deeds, Vol. I-5, 1783-84, pp. 217-20	Oct. 1799 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 194	

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Thompson, Peter	carpenter	Charleston	1790 115 East Bay	City Directory		Same	
Thompson, William	windsor chair maker	Charleston	Oct. 14, 1800 97 King St.	Times		Same	
Thompson, William Neilson	house carpenter	Charleston	Sept. 1799	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 192		Same	
Thomson, Alexander	house carpenter	St. Bartholomew's	Jan. 1788	Deeds, Vol. F-6, 1791-93, p. 478	Feb. 1799 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 139	
Thomson, David	blacksmith	Charleston	May 1, 1762	SCG	Dec. 31, 1770 (d)	Inventory Book Y, 1769-71, p. 420	1762: Parnership with Justinus Stoll expired
Thomson, James (Thompson)	carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 1, 1788	Misc. Rec., XX, 1787-89, p. 376	1790 2 Queen St.	City Directory	
Thomson, Jeremiah Smith (Thompson)	house carpenter	Charleston	June 1794	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 186	April 18, 1797	Carp. Soc.	
Thomson, Robert	house carpenter	Charleston			June 1794 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 186	
Thorp, John	cabinet maker	Charleston	April 1779	Misc. Rec., RR, 1774-79, p. 628	June 15, 1789	Misc. Rec., YY, 1787-91, pp. 16-17	
Threadcraft, Bethel	watchmaker	Charleston	Nov. 9, 1789	Misc. Rec., YY, 1787-91, p. 210	1801 258 King St.	City Directory	
Threadcraft, Thomas	house carpenter	St. Thomas	May 1744	Deeds, Vol. D-3, April-Sept. 1765, pp. 26-32	July 8, 1765	Char. Co., Will Book, 1767-71, p. 276	
Tidyman, Philip	jeweller	Charleston	Oct. 29, 1761 Broad St.	SCG	June 1783 (d)	Letters of Admin., Vol. K, 1778-1821, p. 60	SCG, Nov. 1, 1770: Censored for importing British goods
Tomlinson, John	bricklayer	Charleston			Feb. 2, 1776 (d)	SCAGG	
Toomer, Anthony	bricklayer	Charleston	Mar. 1768	CCP, JR, Box 80A, 1768, #423A	Mar. 1799 (d)	CCP, JR, CTD, 1799, #409A	
Tousiger, James	house carpenter	Charleston	Sept. 1769	Deeds, Vol. A-5, 1776-77, pp. 402-8	Jan. 20, 1791 (d) 2 Water St.	Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, pp. 506-8	
Townsend, Stephen	cabinet maker	Charleston	Oct. 31, 1765	Misc. Rec., NN, 1763-67, p. 576	June 1, 1771	CJ	1771: Sold out stock in trade and negroes
Townsend, Stephen and William Axson, Jr.	cabinet makers	Charleston	Feb. 12, 1763 Tradd St.	SCG		Same	See also partnership between Townsend & Thomas Stocks
Tragg, Laurence	bricklayer	Charleston	1790 253 Meeting St.	City Directory		Same	

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Treagy, Laurence	bricklayer	Charleston	Feb. 26, 1791	Misc. Rec., AAA, 1791-92, p. 343	Nov. 1801	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 348	May be same person as above
Trezevant, Daniel	goldsmith	Charleston	Feb. 27, 1762 Union St.	SCG	Dec. 1768 (d)	Burton, Silversmiths, p. 185	
Trickey, Jonathan	carpenter	Charleston	April 1797	Misc. Rec., III, 1796-99, p. 234		Same	
Turnbull, James	house carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 1801	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 339	Oct. 19, 1801	Carp. Soc.	
Turtaz, Lewis	limner, miniature painter	Charleston	Mar. 30, 1767	SCG		Same	From Lausanne, Switzerland
Tustin, Joseph	bricklayer	St. George's			Sept. 1794 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 207	
Tylsho, P.	painter, glazier	Charleston	Sept. 2, 1785 26 Elliott St.	Ev. Gaz.		Same	From Amsterdam
Underhill, William	plasterer	Charleston			Oct. 30, 1789 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1786-93, p. 355	
Ure, John and William McGill	house carpenter	Charleston			Nov. 1, 1797 (d) Winn's Court	TMDA	
Vallain, Laurence	bricklayer	Charleston			Dec. 1794 (d)	Letters of Admin., Vol. K, 1778-1821, p. 232	
Vanall, John	gold & silversmith	Charleston	Mar. 9, 1752	SCG	Mar. 10, 1767	CJ	
Vanall, Mathew	carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 1742	Deeds, Vol. F-3, July 1766-May 1767, pp. 122-27	Aug. 1766	Deeds, Vol. F-3, July 1766-May 1767, pp. 122-27	
Vandaggelan, Hendrick	bricklayer	Charleston	Oct. 1784	Deeds, Vol. N-5, 1784-85, pp. 429-30		Same	
Vane, George	silversmith	Charleston	Aug. 4, 1752	Misc. Rec., II, 1751-54, p. 256	Dec. 1781 (d)	Burton, Silversmiths, p. 187	
Vannorden, Wessel	blacksmith	Charleston	Dec. 16, 1766 Trott's Point	CJ		Same	
Vanvalkinburgh, Martin	bricklayer	Charleston			Oct. 30, 1801 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, p. 211	Late of New York, but now of Charleston
Varner, Henry	carpenter	St. James' Santee	Dec. 1770	SCHM, 17 (1916):79	1771	SCHM, 17 (1916):79	
Varnor, Samuel	carpenter	Christ Church	Oct. 1767	Deeds, Vol. Q-6, 1795-96, pp. 38-43	May 1776 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1776-84, p. 9	
Veitch, William	bricklayer, slater, plasterer	Charleston	Sept. 21, 1795	CCDA	Sept. 1803	Misc. Rec., TTT, 1803-1805, p. 207	1795: Lately from Britain

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Verree, Isaac	carpenter	Charleston	April 1774	CCP, JR, Box 103A, 1775, #148A		Same	
Verree, James	house carpenter, joiner	Charleston	Oct. 24, 1748	SCG	June 1765	Deeds, Vol. D-3, April-Sept. 1765, p. 350-51	
Verree, Joseph	house carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 1764	Deeds, Vol. C-3, Aug. 1764-April 1765, pp. 277-84	Oct. 1779 (d)	Deeds, Vol. E-5, 1781-82, p. 294	
Vinyard, John	cabinet maker	Charleston	1801 181 Meeting St.	City Directory		Same	
Waddell, James	weaver	Charleston	Aug. 1783	Letters of Admin., Vol. OO, 1775-85, p. 282		Same	
Wagner, Henry	house carpenter	Charleston			June 30, 1797 (d)	CCDA	
Waite, Ezra	architect, house carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 23, 1769 King St.	SCAGG	Nov. 2, 1769	SCAGG	
Walker, Robert	cabinet maker	Charleston	Sept. 1799	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 189	Dec. 1803	Misc. Rec., WWW, 1804-1807, pp. 118-19	
Walker, Robert	carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 28, 1768	Misc. Rec., NN, 1765-69, p. 407	Feb. 7, 1806	CTD, Inventory Book D, 1789-1810, p. 389	
Walker, Thomas	stone cutter	Charleston	Oct. 31, 1793 8 Amen St.	CCDA	May 26, 1794	TMDA	Also teaches architecture
Walker, Thomas and James Evans	marble cutters	Charleston	Feb. 13, 1798 18 Trott St.	CCDA	1801 26 Trott St.	City Directory	1798: Now in partnership
Walker, Thomas George	bricklayer	Charleston			Jan. 6, 1789 (d)	CCDA	
Walker, William	cabinet maker	Charleston	Mar. 28, 1800 Hasell St.	CCDA	July 5, 1811 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book E, 1802-19, p. 48	1800: Partnership with Bowman dissolved. (Bowman unknown)
Wallace, Andrew and Samuel Johnston	bricklayers	Charleston	Jan. 19, 1786	CH	Jan. 23, 1794 (Wallace: d)	CCDA	CCDA, Sept. 10, 1790: Partnership dissolved
Wallace, Hugh	painter	Charleston	Jan. 1789	CCP, JR, CTD, 1791, #173A	Nov. 1795	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 307	ST. GAZ. of S.C., Dec. 29, 1791: Partnership with Alexander Crawford dissolved Feb. 1791
Wallace, Thomas (Wallis)	cabinet maker	Charleston	1790 237 Meeting St.	City Directory	1801 22 Queen St.	City Directory	See below

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Wallace, Thomas and Charles Watts	cabinet and piano forte makers	Charleston	Mar. 5, 1790 237 Meeting St.	CGDA	June 27, 1791	ST. GAZ. of S.C.	From London 1791: Partnership to expire
Walsh, Henry, Jr.	house carpenter	Charleston	Nov. 1786	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 62		Same	
Warham, Charles	cabinet maker	Charleston	Sept. 29, 1748	Deeds, Vol. GG, Feb. 1749-July 1750, p. 178	April 1777	Deeds, Vol. G-3, Mar. 1767-Oct. 1767, pp. 436-42	
Warley, George	bricklayer	Charleston	June 1788	CCP, JR, Box 153A, 1789, #924A	Feb. 8, 1793 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book C, 1784-1800, p. 6	
Warner, George Henry	cabinet maker	Charleston	Mar. 9, 1787	Misc. Rec., WW, 1786-87, p. 421	Mar. 9, 1787	Misc. Rec., VV, 1784-89, pp. 264-65	
Warnock, Samuel	bricklayer	Charleston	May 1773	Deeds, Vol. E-4, 1773, pp. 189-95	Aug. 12, 1780 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1780-83, p. 10	
Warson, Thomas	carpenter	Charleston	Aug. 1794	Misc. Rec., NNN, 1799-1805, p. 165	Aug. 1799	Misc. Rec., MMM, 1799, pp. 286-89	
Warwell, John	artist	Charleston	Nov. 10, 1766	SCG	Feb. 20, 1767	Misc. Rec., MM, 1763-67, p. 589	From London
Wasson, Thomas	house carpenter	Charleston	Jan. 1800	Misc. Rec., NNN, 1799-1805, p. 209		Same	Probably same person as Thomas Warson above
Watson, George	upholsterer	Charleston	Mar. 23, 1785	CTD, Inventory Book A, 1783-87, p. 335	Sept. 30, 1791 (d)	SCHM, 21 (1920):83	
Watson, John	cabinet maker	Charleston	1790 21 Tradd St.	City Directory	Oct. 1807	Misc. Rec., XXX, 1805-1808, p. 495	
Watson, John and George	cabinet makers & upholsterers	Charleston	June 18, 1791	CGDA	Nov. 24, 1791	ST. GAZ. of S.C.	1791: Partnership dissolved due to death of George
Watson, John and John A. Woodill	cabinet & upholstery manufacturers	Charleston	Dec. 21, 1797	CGDA	May 24, 1800	CGDA	
Watts, Charles	cabinet maker	Charleston	Mar. 1779	Deeds, Vol. Q-6, 1795-96, pp. 381-83	Nov. 30, 1811 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1807-18, p. 230	Residing in Great Britain at time of death
Watts, John	carpenter	St. Bartholomew's, Charleston	July 1788	CCP, JR, Box 165A, 1790, #707A	Nov. 1795 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 307	Was in partnership with Wm. Hudson
Way, Thomas	blacksmith	Charleston	Oct. 1799	Letters of Admin., Vol. K, 1778-1821, p. 289		Same	
Wayne, William	cabinet maker	Charleston	April 1769	Deeds, Vol. B-4, 1772-73, pp. 116-18	April 1769	Deeds, Vol. E-4, 1773, pp. 456-62	
Wayne, William	painter, glazier	Charleston	Nov. 7, 1766	SCAGG	Mar. 15, 1774	CJ	

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Wayne and Ruger	painters, glaziers	Charleston	May 10, 1768 on the Bay	CJ		Same	
Weare, Andrew	blacksmith	Charleston	Feb. 28, 1799 Kinloch Ct. & Queen St.	CCDA		Same	In partnership with Mrs. Ann Tash
Weaver, Henry	painter	Charleston			Sept. 1795 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 294	
Webster, James	brickmaker	Charleston			Jan. 1793 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1791-97, p. 95	
Wesbury, Jonathan	carpenter	St. James' Goose Creek	July 22, 1784	Misc. Rec., UU, 1783-85, p. 216		Same	
Westermeyer, Andrew	goldsmith	Charleston	1801 22 Union St.	City Directory		Same	
Westermyer, Henry	goldsmith	Charleston	1790 23 Church St.	City Directory		Same	
Weyman, Edward	upholsterer	Charleston	Nov. 25, 1756 Tradd St.	SCG	Jan. 1769 in Philadelphia	CCP, JR, Box 85A, 1769, #352A	
Weyman and Carne	cabinet makers, looking glasses	Charleston	Aug. 25, 1764 Queen St.	SCG	Oct. 21, 1766	CJ	1766: Partnership dissolved
Weyman, Rebecca	carries on upholstery business	Charleston	Dec. 22, 1767 Church St.	CJ		Same	With Mr. Coleman
Wheeler, Benjamin	cabinet maker	Charleston	May 1783	Letters of Admin., Vol. K, 1778-1821, p. 58	May 10, 1784 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1783-86, p. 321	
White, Blake Leay	house carpenter	Charleston	July 18, 1771 King St.	SCG	Mar. 27, 1793	ST. GAZ. of S.C.	
White, John	blacksmith	Charleston			Oct. 6, 1784 (d)	SCWG	
Whitesides, John	house carpenter	Christ Church	Jan. 1799	Letters of Admin., Vol. K, 1778-1821, p. 279		Same	
Whiting, Zenas	house carpenter, joiner	Charleston	Dec. 6, 1799	CCDA		Same	
Whitley, George	watchmaker	St. Bartholomew's			April 1771 (d)	SCHM, 44 (1943):247	
Whitman, William	jeweller	Charleston	1801 227 Meeting St.	City Directory		Same	

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Whittemore, Retier	carpenter	Charleston	Nov. 1796 (1794-95)	CCP, JR, CTD, 1797, #369A	Jan. 1803 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 449	
Wightman, William	goldsmith	Charleston	June 10, 1783 24 Meeting St.	GA	Jan. 1801	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 287	
Wilcocks, John	blacksmith	Charleston	1790 9 Trott St.	City Directory		Same	
Wilcox, Jeremiah	painter, glazier	Charleston	1796 Beresford's Alley	City Directory	1801 133 East Bay	City Directory	1801: With George Flagg CCDA, Dec. 23, 1799: In partnership with George Flagg and George Sugden
Wilhelm, John	carpenter	St. George's	Oct. 1783	CCP, Petitions & Decrees, 1783-88 #1783-7A		Same	
Wilkie, George	cabinet maker	St. Andrew's			Jan. 1787 (d)	Letters of Admin., 1785-91, p. 79	
Wilkie, William	house carpenter	Charleston	Sept. 1778	Deeds, Vol. Y-6, 1799-1800, pp. 238-41		Same	
Wilkins, Benjamin	house carpenter	Charleston	Oct. 1769	Deeds, Vol. A-5, 1776-77, pp. 64-70	May 1783 (d)	Letters of Admin., Vol. K, 1778-1821, p. 58	
Wilkins, James	carpenter	Charleston	April 1778	Deeds, Vol. Z-4, 1778, pp. 173-76	Sept. 1791	CCP, JR, CTD, 1792, #638A	
Will, Mathew	cabinet maker	Charleston	1801 205 Meeting St.	City Directory		Same	
Williams, Daniel	blacksmith	St. Thomas'			Sept. 20, 1765 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1760-67, p. 549	
Williams, George Robert	clock & watchmaker	Charleston	May 29, 1786 141 King St.	Char. Morn. Post	Jan. 25, 1787 (d)	Char. Morn. Post	
Williams, John	joiner	Charleston	1750	Deeds, Vol. TT, April 1758-Jan. 1759, p. 368	Nov. 1802	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 437	
Williams, Michael	chair maker	St. Thomas'			1771 (d)	Inventory Book Z, 1771-74, p. 147	
Williams, William, Sr.	carpenter	Charleston District	Nov. 1797 (1796)	CCP, JR, CTD, 1798, #1264A		Same	
Williams, William	tin & iron-plate worker	Charleston	Dec. 17, 1794 105 Queen St.	CH		Same	
Williamson, Abraham	tallow chandler	Charleston	July 31, 1792 6 Chalmer's Alley	CCDA	Oct. 4, 1810 (d)	CTD, Inventory Book E, 1802-19, p. 23	

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Williamson, David	chairmaker	St. Bartholomew's			Oct. 20, 1785 (d)	ST. GAZ. of S.C.	
Williamson, John	blacksmith	Charleston	1790 48 King St.	City Directory		Same	
Williamson, William	watchmaker	Charleston	June 29, 1767 Broad St.	SCG		Same	
Willkye, William	cabinet maker	Charleston District	July 1774	Misc. Rec., RR, 1774-79, p. 127		Same	
Wilson, John	cabinet maker	Charleston	Mar. 11, 1790 217 Meeting St.	CCDA	Feb. 1799	Misc. Rec., KKK, 1797-99, pp. 411-13	
Wilson, Thomas	house carpenter	Charleston	Nov. 1772	Deeds, Vol. B-4, 1772-73, pp. 270-75	Oct. 10, 1774 (d)	SCG	
Winchester, Jonathan	house carpenter	Charleston	June 1799	Letters of Admin., 1797-1803, p. 164		Same	
Winckler, John	silversmith	Charleston	May 20, 1761	Misc. Rec., LL, 1758-63, p. 373	May 14, 1763 on the Bay	SCG	
Winstanly, Thomas	house carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 1796	Deeds, Vol. U-6, 1797-99, p. 446		Same	
Wish, Benjamin	carpenter	Charleston	Sept. 1784	Deeds, Vol. Z-5, 1787-88, pp. 200-203	1790 12 Mazyck St.	City Directory	
Wish, John	carpenter	Charleston	1801 61 Queen St.	City Directory		Same	
Witherstone, Philip	carver	Charleston	Sept. 6, 1773 near Post Office	SCG		Same	From Bristol
Wittich, Charles	goldsmith, jeweller	Charleston	Mar. 31, 1785 182 King St.	ST. GAZ. of S.C.	1801 29 Broad St.	City Directory	
Wood, Henry	weaver	St. Andrew's	Nov. 1761	Deeds, Vol. XX, June 1761-April 1762, pp. 508-11		Same	
Woodcock, Richard	tallow chandler	Charleston	1790 241 Meeting St.	City Directory	Dec. 6, 1791 (d)	CCDA	
Woodill, John Anthony	cabinet maker	Charleston	Dec. 21, 1797	CCDA	Mar. 6, 1805 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, p. 548	
Woodin, Thomas	carver, cabinet maker	Charleston	June 29, 1767 White Point	SCG	Mar. 25, 1773 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1774-79, p. 125	
Worthington, Joseph	cabinet maker, upholsterer	Charleston	July 6, 1793	SCHM, 21 (1920):158	1801 St. Michael's Alley	City Directory	

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Worthington and Kirby (Nicholas)	cabinet makers	Charleston	Dec. 20, 1792 Meeting St.	Misc. Rec., BBB, 1791-93, p. 438	Feb. 8, 1793	CGDA	From London 1793: Partnership ended
Worthington and Sinclair	cabinet makers, upholsterers	Charleston	Feb. 8, 1793 230 Meeting St.	CGDA		Same	
Wragg, George	painter	Charleston	June 1, 1799	Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, p. 697	Dec. 5, 1806 (d)	Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, p. 697	
Wright, Thomas	sawyer?	Charleston	July 2, 1763	SCG		Same	
Wyatt, John	house carpenter, cabinet maker	Charleston	May 1, 1778	Misc. Rec., QQ, 1773-89, p. 258	Aug. 4, 1798 (d)	CGDA	
Wyatt and Richardson	house carpenters	Charleston	April 16, 1795	CGDA		Same	Partnership may be expired by this date
Wyatt, Peter	carpenter	Charleston	Feb. 3, 1786	Char. Morn. Post	1801 1 Lynch's St.	City Directory	
Wyatt, Richard	house carpenter	Charleston	Mar. 1791	Deeds, Vol. H-6, 1791-93, pp. 424-27	1801 60 Church St.	City Directory	
Yates, Seth	carpenter	Charleston	April 9, 1783	Misc. Rec., TT, 1781-84, p. 281		Same	
Yeadon, Richard	watch & clock maker	Charleston	Nov. 14, 1771 Broad St.	SCG	July 29, 1784 (d)	GSSC	
York, Michael	carpenter	Charleston	Dec. 1769	Deeds, Vol. Q-3, 1770, pp. 180-84		Same	
You, Thomas	gold & silversmith	Charleston	Feb. 26, 1756 Broad St.	SCG	May 26, 1786 (d)	Char. Morn. Post	
Young, John	house carpenter	Charleston	Jan. 1799	CCP, JR, CTD, 1799, #351A		Same	
Young, Thomas	bricklayer	Charleston	April 1752	Deeds, Vol. QQ, Oct. 1755-Sept. 1756, pp. 517-26	Sept. 1778	Deeds, Vol. B-5, 1779, pp. 20-22	
Yulzy, Vallentine	blacksmith	Charleston District?			Jan. 27, 1772 (d)	Inventory Book Z, 1771-74, pp. 174-76	
Zolbins, Jean	miniature painter	Charleston	Nov. 26, 1794	CGDA		Same	
Zylstra, Peter	painter, glazier	Charleston	Sept. 8, 1785 26 Elliott St.	ST. GAZ. of S.C.	Mar. 1796	CCP, JR, CTD, 1797, #39A	

APPENDIX D

TYPES OF TRADE ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN WHITE AND BLACK ARTISANS, CHARLESTON DISTRICT, 1760-1800

WHITE ARTISAN	OCCUPATION OF WHITE ARTISAN	LOCATION	NAME OR # OF SLAVE	OCCUPATION OF SLAVE	NOTATION	SOURCE OF INFORMATION
John Appleton	house carpenter	Charleston	Harlo	carpenter	sale	CGDA, Aug. 23, 1798
Jonathan Arnold	house carpenter	Charleston	John	carpenter	apprenticed to	CGDA, Oct. 23, 1790
Benjamin Baker	carpenter	Charleston	1	painter	for hire	SCAGG, Sept. 9, 1774
			1	painter & glazier	sale from estate	RG, June 15, 1782
			1	carpenter	apprenticed to	Char. Morn. Post, Mar. 20, 1786
Andrew Bankson	blacksmith	St. John's	2	blacksmiths	sale from estate	SCG, Feb. 3, 1760
Samuel Bass	house carpenter	Charleston	Prince	carpenter	runaway	RG, Mar. 21, 1781
John Bee	carpenter	Charleston	Sharper	jobbing carpenter	sale	Misc. Rec., III, 1796-99, pp. 382-83
Joseph Bee	carpenter	Ponpon	Pompey	carpenter	runaway	CJ, Sept. 18, 1770
Francis Bonneau	carpenter	Charleston	Hector	carpenter	purchase	Misc. Rec., YY, 1787-91, p. 360
			Ben	carpenter	runaway	TMDA, Oct. 17, 1796
Thomas Boone	house carpenter	Charleston	5	carpenters	employed by	CCP, JR, CTD, 1798, #28A
Christian Booner	carpenter	Charleston	Peter	carpenter	purchase	Misc. Rec., NNN, 1799-1805, p. 223
			1	sawyer & blacksmith	sale	CGDA, June 24, 1800
James Boswood	blacksmith	St. Bartholomew's	July	blacksmith	inventory	Inven. Book CC, 1776-78, p. 259
Edward Bower	carpenter	Jacksonburgh	2	carpenters	sale	CJ, April 9, 1771
Isaiah Brunet	carpenter	Charleston	3	carpenters	sale by widow	SCG, May 3, 1760
John Bull	carpenter	Charleston	3	carpenters	sale	SCG, Mar. 29, 1773
			Scipio	carpenter	former employer	CJ, Feb. 18, 1772
Edward Bullard	carpenter	Charleston	1	carpenter	sale from estate	SCG, Mar. 16, 1767
Kinsey Burden	carpenter	Charleston	2	carpenters	employed by	CTD, Chancery Ct., 1770-79, p. 4
			1	painter	sale	PA, May 14, 1785
			1	carpenter & cooper	sale from estate	PA, July 16, 1785
			1	sawyer	sale from estate	PA, July 28, 1785

WHITE ARTISAN	OCCUPATION OF WHITE ARTISAN	LOCATION	NAME OR # OF SLAVE	OCCUPATION OF SLAVE	NOTATION	SOURCE OF INFORMATION
Samuel Cardy	carpenter	Charleston	2 a few	carpenters house carpenters	employed by sale	CCP, JR, Box 52A, 1761, #33A SCG, Mar. 29, 1773
George Carpenter	carpenter	Charleston	3	carpenters	sale from estate	SCAGG, Jan. 23, 1767
Gilbert Chalmers	house carpenter	Charleston	Ben Ben	carpenter carpenter	runaway runaway employed by	PA, Sept. 3, 1785 CGDA, April 1, 1796
John Brown Chalmers	house carpenter	Charleston	Abram	jobbing carpenter	purchase	Misc. Rec., III, 1796-99, pp. 170-71
John Clement	house carpenter	Charleston	7	carpenters	employed by	CCP, JR, CTD, 1791, #267A
James Cooke	house carpenter	Charleston	Jemmy	carpenter	purchase	Misc. Rec., QQ, 1773-89, p. 266
			Ned	carpenter	purchase	Misc. Rec., QQ, 1773-89, P. 294
			several	carpenters	sale	RG, June 19, 1782
			several	bricklayers	sale	RG, June 19, 1782
			Davey	carpenter	employed by	GA, Jan, 17, 1784
			Tom	house carpenter	former owner	DA, Jan. 15, 1785
Adam Culliatt	house carpenter	Jacksonburgh	1	carpenter & wheelwright	sale	CJ, July 15, 1766
			1	carpenter	sale from estate	SCG, Mar. 9, 1769
			several	sawyers	sale from estate	SCG, Mar. 9, 1769
William Darby	house carpenter	Charleston	2	carpenters	sale	SCAGG, April 10, 1777
Joseph Dickenson	carpenter	Charleston	Ben	carpenter	former owner	TDA, Nov. 6, 1798
Joseph Dill, Sr.	house carpenter	Charleston	several (3)	carpenters	for hire from estate	CGDA, Oct. 3, 1796
James Donaldson	carpenter	Charleston	1	carpenter	sale	GA, Jan. 7, 1786
David Dott	carpenter	Charleston	2	carpenters	employed by	CH, May 16, 1796
*Thomas Doughty	carpenter	Charleston	2	house carpenters	for hire	CGDA, Feb. 16, 1799
James Duncan	blacksmith	Charleston	5	blacksmiths	sale	SCAGG, April 30, 1778
John Edmanson, Jr.	carpenter	Charleston	1	sawyer & carpenter	sale	CJ, May 12, 1767
John Edwards	blacksmith	St. George's	2	blacksmiths	sale from estate	CJ, Nov. 6, 1770
Uriah Edwards	blacksmith	St. George's	1	blacksmith	sale from estate	CJ, July 15, 1766
John Ernst	blacksmith	Ansonborough	1	blacksmith	sale from estate	RG, Oct. 24, 1781
Fowler & Brodie	carpenters	Charleston	Joe	carpenter	apprenticed to	CGDA, Dec. 12, 1799

*Identity not positive.

WHITE ARTISAN	OCCUPATION OF WHITE ARTISAN	LOCATION	NAME OR # OF SLAVE	OCCUPATION OF SLAVE	NOTATION	SOURCE OF INFORMATION
John Fullerton	carpenter	Charleston	Dick	carpenter	apprenticed to	John Cordes Acct. Book, 1764-98, p. 26
Seth Gilbert	blacksmith	Charleston	1	blacksmith	sale by widow	CGDA, Sept. 25, 1789
James Gordon	house carpenter	Charleston	1	carpenter	sale from estate	CJ, April 30, 1771
Alexander Gowen	free Negro carpenter	St. Bartholomew's	Primus	carpenter	former owner	SCAGG, Sept. 9, 1774
Hercules Hall	carpenter	Charleston	3	carpenters	sale	SCAGG, April 24, 1771
William Hall	house carpenter	Charleston	6	house carpenters	sale from estate	CJ, June 21, 1768
John Hamilton	house carpenter	Charleston	Titus	sawyer	purchase	Misc. Rec., XX, 1787-89, p. 69
Betje Henricksen	house carpenter	Charleston	George Isaac	carpenters	runaways	CGDA, June 4, 1793
James Hoban	house carpenter	Charleston	Peter	carpenter	runaway	CGDA, Jan. 17, 1789
Jonathan Hood	carpenter	Charleston	1	carpenter	sale from estate	SCG, Sept. 20, 1773
Hook & Nevison	carpenters	Charleston	David	carpenter	former employers	Car. Gaz., Aug. 2, 1798
John Hughes	house carpenter	Charleston	2	carpenters	employed by	CCP, JR, Box 108A, 1778, #197A
Joseph Jahan	carpenter & joiner	Charleston	Baptist	carpenter & cook	runaway	CGDA, Aug. 26, 1800
John James	carpenter	Charleston	Stephen	carpenter	runaway	CGDA, Mar. 8, 1797
Anthony Jankoffsky	blacksmith	Charleston	1	blacksmith	sale from estate	ST GAZ. of SC, July 14, 1791
William Johnson	blacksmith	Charleston	Jack	blacksmith	runaway	CJ, Nov. 6, 1770
Thomas Lee	carpenter	Charleston	Tomm	carpenter	bequeathed	Char. Co., Will Book, 1767-71, pp. 341-44
James Lingard	blacksmith	Charleston	Jemmy	blacksmith	employed by	CCP, JR, Box 66A, 1766, #149A
Samuel McCorkell	house carpenter	Charleston	Dick	carpenter	bequeathed	Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, pp. 297-98
McKune & Milligan	house carpenters	Charleston	Polydore	carpenter	employed by	CGDA, Mar. 17, 1792
William Miller	house carpenter	Charleston	Simon 5	carpenter carpenters	runaway apprenticed to sale from estate	SCG, Oct. 12, 1769 Charlestown Gaz., Jan. 26, 1779

WHITE ARTISAN	OCCUPATION OF WHITE ARTISAN	LOCATION	NAME OR # OF SLAVE	OCCUPATION OF SLAVE	NOTATION	SOURCE OF INFORMATION
Philip Mintzing	blacksmith	Charleston	Sam	blacksmith	bequeathed by widow	Char. Co., Will Book, 1800-1807, pp. 224-27
John Moncrieff	house carpenter	Charleston	George Peter	carpenters	employed by	CCP, JR, Box 132A, 1787, #18A
Richard Moncrieff	house carpenter & cabinet maker	Charleston	John	carpenter	employed by	SCAGG, July 17, 1767
Monk & Shaw	carpenters	Charleston	1	carpenter	sale	CGDA, Mar. 31, 1788
Andrew Muckenfuss	blacksmith	Charleston	Peter Sam	blacksmith	bequeathed	Char. Co., Will Book, 1783-86, pp. 248-50
Archibald Murdock	blacksmith	Charleston	1	blacksmith	sale from estate	CGDA, July 6, 1799
John Nevison	carpenter	Charleston	Homidy	house carpenter	inventory	CTD, Inven. Book D, 1789-1810, p. 192
Thomas Robinson	carpenter	Charleston	Cudjoe Ben Harry	carpenters	employed by	CCP, JR, Box 73A, 1767, #532A
Adam Sheckell	house carpenter	St. Bartholomew's	Sampson	house carpenter	inventory	CTD, Inven. Book A, 1783-87, p. 238
Stephen Shrewsbury	house carpenter	Charleston	5	carpenters	employed by	CCP, JR, Box 134A, 1787, #199A
			2	carpenters	purchase	Misc. Rec., LLL, 1798-99, p. 78
Daniel Slade	carpenter	Charleston	Jack	carpenter	sale	Misc. Rec., MM, 1763-67, p. 682
		St. George's	Matthias	house carpenter	apprenticed to	CCP, JR, Box 82A, 1769, #66A
George Smith	carpenter	Charleston	Sam	carpenter	purchase	Misc. Rec., OOO, 1799-1803, p. 1
George Smith & George Keith	carpenters	Charleston	Boston	carpenter	sale	Misc. Rec., HHH, 1796-98, p. 312
			Sam	carpenter, sawyer, butcher	sale	Misc. Rec HHH, 1796-98, pp. 102-3
James Smith	carpenter	Charleston	3	carpenters	sale from estate	Charlestown Gaz., Jan. 18, 1780
James Smith	carpenter	Charleston	John	carpenter	runaway	CGDA, Oct. 23, 1790
James Spears	house carpenter	Charleston	3	carpenters	employed by	CCP, JR, CTD, 1793, #166A
James Steedman	carpenter	Charleston	2 Peter	carpenters sawyer	sale from estate inventory	TDA, April 3, 1799 CTD, Inven. Book C, 1784-1800, p. 331

WHITE ARTISAN	OCCUPATION OF WHITE ARTISAN	LOCATION	NAME OR # OF SLAVE	OCCUPATION OF SLAVE	NOTATION	SOURCE OF INFORMATION
John Stevenson	house carpenter	Charleston	Joe	sawyer	runaway	CGDA, Jan. 27, 1795
Nicholas Swindershime	blacksmith	Stono	1	blacksmith	sale from estate	SCAGG, July 8, 1774
Peter Tamplet	carpenter	Goose Creek	Bristol	house carpenter	runaway	CJ, April 18, 1769
Tunis Tebout	blacksmith	Charleston	London 4	blacksmith blacksmiths	runaway sale	SCG, Nov. 7, 1761 SCAGG, Sept. 25, 1769
David Thomson	blacksmith	Charleston	5	blacksmiths	sale from estate	SCAGG, Jan, 7, 1771
James Tousiger	house carpenter	Charleston	4	house carpenters	employed by	CCP, JR, CTD, 1795, #342A
Joseph Verree	house carpenter	Charleston	2	carpenters	sale	CJ, Feb. 11, 1772
Ezra Waite	house carpenter	Charleston	1	bricklayer	sale from estate	SCAGG, Nov. 20, 1769
Thomas Warson	carpenter	Charleston	3	carpenters	employed by	CCP, JR, CTD, 1797, #649A
John Watts & William Hudson	carpenters	Charleston	4	carpenters	employed by	CCP, JR, Box 165A, 1790, #707A
Retier Whittemore	carpenter	Charleston	several	carpenters	employed by	CCP, JR, CTD, 1797, #369A
Benjamin Wilkins	house carpenter	Charleston	2	carpenters	sale from estate	SCWG, Oct. 18, 1783
James Wilkins	carpenter	Charleston	1	carpenter	sale	ST. GAZ. ~~St. Gaz~~ of S.C., Mar. 1, 1792
Thomas Wilson	carpenter	Charleston	3	carpenters	sale from estate	SCAGG, Oct. 28, 1774
John Wyatt	house carpenter	Charleston	Tom Sampson	bricklayer sawyer	inventory	CTD, Inven. Book C, 1784-1800, p. 326
Wyatt & Richardson	carpenters	Charleston	Aberdeen 1 1	sawyer bricklayer carpenter	employed by employed by employed by	CGDA, April 16, 1795 CCP, JR, CTD, 1799, #1029A CCP, JR, CTD, 1799, #1029A
Peter Wyatt	house carpenter	Charleston	Little Jemmy	sawyer	runaway	CGDA, April 8, 1800
John Allwood	painter	Charleston	several Sampson	painters painter	sale former owner	SCG, Mar. 8, 1773 SCAGG, July 3, 1777
Cato Ash	bricklayer	Charleston	5	bricklayers	sale from estate	Charlestown Gaz., Jan. 26, 1779
Jacob Axson, Jr.	bricklayer	Charleston	Jack Andrew Syrus Sam	bricklayer bricklayers	employed by employed by	CCP, JR, Box 49B, 1760, #7A CCP, JR, Box 81B, 1769, #7A

WHITE ARTISAN	OCCUPATION OF WHITE ARTISAN	LOCATION	NAME OR # OF SLAVE	OCCUPATION OF SLAVE	NOTATION	SOURCE OF INFORMATION
Joseph Badger	painter	Charleston	Jack	painter	sale	ST. GAZ of S.C., Jan 13, 1791
Jacob Briegel	Bricklayer	Charleston	2	bricklayers	sale from estate	CJ, June 11, 1771
Thomas Cole	bricklayer	Charleston	3 Sam	bricklayers bricklayer	sale from estate former employer	SCG, Nov. 28, 1771 CGDA, Mar. 29, 1788
Alexander Crawford	painter	Charleston	Harford	painter & glazier	employed by	CCP, JR, Box 136A, 1788, #95A
Daniel Crawford	bricklayer	Ashepoo	Glasgow Jack	carpenters?	employed by	CCP, JR, CTD, 1799, #794A
Timothy Crosby	bricklayer	Charleston	1	bricklayer	apprenticed to	GA, June 7, 1783
George Flagg	painter & glazier	Charleston	Quash Tom Flint Sam	painter & glazier painter & glazier painter painter	sale	CGDA, Nov. 15, 1788
George Gardner	bricklayer	Charleston	Mingo Tom Bob	bricklayer bricklayer bricklayer	runaway runaway from widow inventory	CGDA, Aug. 23, 1797 CGDA, Mar. 6, 1799 CTD, Inven. Book C, 1784-1800, p. 273
Robert Given	stone cutter	Charleston	Brutus	stone cutter & bricklayer	sale	CGDA, April 4, 1795
Thomas Gordan	bricklayer	Charleston	4-5 Jack	bricklayers bricklayer	sale from estate former owner	SCG, June 30, 1766 CJ, July 3, 1770
John Harrison	bricklayer	St. James or St. Thomas	Cuffy	bricklayer	inventory	CTD, Inven. Book D, 1789-1810, p. 57
Benjamin Harvey	bricklayer	Charleston	Dick	sawyer	sale	Misc. Rec., AAA, 1791-92, p. 397
			Toney Jack	bricklayer bricklayer	runaway former owner	CGDA, Feb. 7, 1794 CGDA, Aug. 22, 1796
Benjamin Hawes	painter	Charleston	several	painters	for hire	SCG, Nov. 19, 1764
John Horlbeck, Sr.	bricklayer	Charleston	Maumby Soebacher	bricklayers	for hire	Laurens, H. Ledger (1766-73), Dec. 1772.
Michael Jeanes	painter & glazier	Charleston	Cesar	painter & glazier	inventory	Inven. Book T, 1758-61, p. 323
James Kay	bricklayer	Charleston	Geofrey	bricklayer	runaway	CGDA, May 14, 1794
Martin Miller	bricklayer	Charleston	Caesar	bricklayer	runaway	CJ, Oct. 6, 1772

WHITE ARTISAN	OCCUPATION OF WHITE ARTISAN	LOCATION	NAME OR # OF SLAVE	OCCUPATION OF SLAVE	NOTATION	SOURCE OF INFORMATION
Richard Moore	painter	Charleston	Moses Passage	house painter painter	runaway apprenticed to runaway	CGDA, Oct. 7, 1795 CGDA, Jan. 13, 1797
Mark Morris	painter & glazier	Charleston	Jerry 2 1 2	turner carpenters bricklayer painters	for hire sale from estate	SCG, April 19, 1773 RG, Mar. 13, 1781
Benjamin Parker	bricklayer	Charleston	3	bricklayers	for hire	CCP, JR, Box 158A, 1790, #199A
Joachim Phalthaser	bricklayer	Childsberry	Toney	bricklayer	apprenticed to	CJ, May 12, 1767
John Pierce	painter & glazier	Charleston	Jack	painter & glazier	employed by	CCP, JR, CTD, 1795, #334A
William Raper	bricklayer	Charleston	1 Tom	bricklayer bricklayer	sale by widow former owner	CGDA, Aug. 14, 1788 CGDA, Mar. 6, 1799
Joseph Reynolds	bricklayer	Charleston	2	bricklayers	sale from estate	SCWG, April 26, 1783
Benjamin Russell	bricklayer	Charleston	Johney Isaac Jack	bricklayer bricklayer bricklayer	runaway runaway purchase	Ev. Gaz., Sept. 21, 1785 TMDA, Jan. 30, 1794 Misc. Rec., NNN, 1799-1805, p. 219
David Scott	bricklayer	Charleston	3	bricklayers	sale from estate	CGDA, Mar. 9, 1792
James Scott	brickmaker	St. John's	5	brickmakers	employed by	CCP, JR, CTD, 1798, #1022A
Daniel Singleton	bricklayer	Charleston	several	bricklayers	sale from estate	CGDA, Sept. 24, 1791
Humphrey Sommers	bricklayer	Stono Charleston	York Tom Owen	painter bricklayer	runaway apprenticed to	SCG, Nov. 27, 1762 SCG, Aug. 1, 1761
John Stevenson	painter	Charleston	Stepney	painter	former employer	SCG, June 13, 1768
Frederick Strouble	bricklayer	Charleston	Harry	bricklayer	inventory	Inven. Book W, 1763-67, p. 119
Thomas Tew	bricklayer	Charleston	Sambo	bricklayer	runaway employed by	CGDA, July 28, 1797
Anthony Toomer	bricklayer	Charleston	5	bricklayers	employed by	CCP, JR, CTD, 1799, #409A
Laurence Treagy	bricklayer	Charleston	8	bricklayers	employed by	CCP, JR, CTD, 1795, #438A
William Veitch	bricklayer	Charleston	Liberty	carpenter	purchase	Misc. Rec., NNN, 1799-1805, p. 212
George Warley	bricklayer	Charleston	several	bricklayers	sale from estate	CGDA, Feb. 11, 1793
Samuel Warnock	bricklayer	Charleston	Anthony	bricklayer	sale	Misc. Rec., SS, 1776-81, p. 516

WHITE ARTISAN	OCCUPATION OF WHITE ARTISAN	LOCATION	NAME OR # OF SLAVE	OCCUPATION OF SLAVE	NOTATION	SOURCE OF INFORMATION
William Wayne	painter & glazier	Charleston	Jock	painter	employed by	Baker-Grimke Papers, Box 11-535, Feb. 22, 1768
			Quash	painter		
			4	painters	for hire	SCG, Jan. 7, 1773
Jeremiah Wilcox	painter & glazier	Charleston	3	painters	employed by	CCP, JR, CTD, 1797, #650A
*Thomas Young	bricklayer	Four Holes	Joe	bricklayer	runaway	SCAGG, April 17, 1777
Samuel Bochet	joiner	Berkley Co.	1	carpenter & wheelwright	sale from estate	CJ, June 2, 1772
			2	carpenters	sale from estate	CJ, June 2, 1772
John Francis Delorme	upholsterer	Charleston	Pea	carpenter	purchase	Misc. Rec., PPP, 1800-1801, p. 138
James Drummond	cabinetmaker	Charleston	Romeo	sawyer & cabinetmaker	sale	SCG, June 21, 1773
Joshua Eden	turner	Charleston	1	chair maker	sale	SCG, July 5, 1770
Thomas Elfe	cabinetmaker	Charleston	Bob	sawyer	runaway	SCG, May 3, 1760
			George	sawyer	for hire	SCHM, 35 (1934): 104
			Oxford	sawyer & carpenter	for hire	SCHM, 35 (1934): 157
			Lake	carpenter	for hire	SCHM, 36 (1935): 64
			Liverpool	painter	for hire	SCHM, 41 (1940): 27
			Joe	cabinetmaker	bequeathed	Char. Co., Will Book, 1776-84, pp. 71-77
			Jack	cabinetmaker		
			Paul	cabinetmaker		
			Hector	carpenter	bequeathed	Char. Co., Will Book, 1776-84, pp. 71-77
			London	bricklayer	former owner	GSSC, Oct. 21, 1777
John Fisher	cabinetmaker	Charleston	Abraham	cabinetmaker	runaway	SCG, Jan. 7, 1773
			Peter	cabinetmaker	runaway	SCG, Mar. 22, 1773
			Jamie	cabinetmaker	runaway	SCAGG, July 31, 1777
			York	cabinetmaker	runaway	SCAGG, July 31, 1777
			Quamina	carver & chair maker	runaway	SCAGG, Feb. 21, 1781
Richard Fowler	upholsterer	Charleston	1	upholsterer	sale	CJ, Mar. 1, 1774
Peter Hall	cabinetmaker	Charleston	2	cabinetmakers	sale	SCG, Mar. 9, 1767
			1	sawyer & carpenter	sale	SCG, Mar. 9, 1767
Farquhar McGilvrey	cabinetmaker	Charleston	1	carpenter	employed by	CCP, JR, Box 69A, 1767, #104A
Richard Magrath	cabinetmaker	Charleston	1	cabinetmaker, joiner	sale	SCG, Oct. 17, 1774
John Marshall	cabinetmaker	Charleston	Joe	cabinetmaker	runaway	CGDA, Aug. 10, 1799
Philip Moore	cabinetmaker	Charleston	Jack	sawyer	runaway	TDA, May 25, 1798

*Identity not positive.

WHITE ARTISAN	OCCUPATION OF WHITE ARTISAN	LOCATION	NAME OR # OF SLAVE	OCCUPATION OF SLAVE	NOTATION	SOURCE OF INFORMATION
N. Norris	cabinetmaker?	Charleston	several	cabinetmakers	for hire	CGDA, Aug. 22, 1795
John Packrow	cabinetmaker	Combahee	Harry	cabinetmaker	runaway employed by	GSSC, Aug. 12, 1778
John Prue	turner	Charleston	Jerry 2	turner carpenters	sale from estate inventory	SCG, Mar. 1, 1773 Inven. Book & 1772-76, p. 229
William Reside	cabinetmaker	Charleston	Aberdeen	sawyer	runaway	CGDA, Sept. 22, 1798
William Robertson	house joiner & cabinetmaker	Charleston	7	joiners	employed by	CCP, JR, Box 144A 1789, #252A
Charles Warham	cabinetmaker	Charleston	1 2 1	sawyer, squarer, carpenter sawyers & watermen carpenter	sale sale sale	SCG, Sept. 12, 1768 SCG, Sept. 12, 1768 SCG, Feb. 15, 1770
Charles Watts	cabinetmaker	Charleston	Saul	cabinetmaker	runaway	TMDA, Sept. 5, 1797
Thomas Abernethie	engraver	Charleston	1	copper plate pressman	sale from estate	CGDA, Mar. 18, 1796
James Askew	jeweller	Charleston	Dick	carpenter	for hire	CCP, JR, Box 114A, 1784, #270A
Francis Gottier	goldsmith	Charleston	Billy	bricklayer	inventory	CTD, Inven. Book A, 1783-87, P. 256
John Paul Grimke	silversmith	Charleston	2 Joe	jewellers silversmith	sale runaway	SCG, July 13, 1769 SCAGG, Dec. 31, 1771
John Hatfield	tallow chandler	Charleston	York	tallow chandler	sale	CJ, Dec. 26, 1769
Alexander Petrie	silversmith	Charleston	2 1	house carpenters silversmith	sale from estate sale from estate	CJ, Mar. 22, 1768 CJ, Mar. 22, 1768
Joh Potts	tallow chandler	Charleston	1	tallow chandler	sale from estate	PA, April 13, 1785
Moreau and Jonathan Sarrazin	silversmiths	Charleston	several pair	sawyers	sale	SCG, Feb. 28, 1761
Jonathan Sarrazin	silversmith	Charleston	Abraham	silversmith	purchase	Inven. Book X, 1768-69, p. 367
Abraham Seixas	tallow chandler	Charleston	1	sawyer, squarer, carpenter & caulker	sale	TMDA, Jan. 4, 1796
Charles Wittich	jeweller	Charleston	Simon	goldsmith & jeweller	purchase	Misc. Rec., OOO, 1799-1803, pp. 216-18

VITA

Mary Allison Carll was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on March 22, 1948. She spent her early years in Haddonfield, New Jersey and was graduated from Haddonfield Memorial High School in June 1966. Four years later, Ms. Carll received a Bachelor of Science degree in Home Economics Education from Iowa State University. Pursuing her interest in the field of interior design, she enrolled in the graduate program at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro and was awarded a Master of Science degree in May 1973.

Upon completion of her Master's program, Ms. Carll was appointed as an Instructor in the School of Home Economics at The Ohio State University. During her four years at Ohio State, she taught courses in the basic design concepts and the historic aspects of home furnishings. She also has worked as a free-lance interior designer.

Ms. Carll entered The Graduate School of The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, in September 1977. She received her Doctor of Philosophy degree with a major in Home Economics in December 1982. Her primary area of interest was the history of design; minor areas included Textiles, History, and Art History.

The author is a member of Phi Kappa Phi and Omicron Nu. She is also an Education Associate of the American Society of Interior Designers.

She is married to Steven Jay White of Greensboro, North Carolina, who shares her love of colonial history.