2015

"Fresh and Fashionable Goods": The Daybooks of Elijah Boardman, Connecticut Shopkeeper, 1784-1811

Johanna Tower
University of Rhode Island, johanna.tower@gmail.com

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“FRESH AND FASHIONABLE GOODS”:
THE DAYBOOKS OF ELIJAH BOARDMAN,
CONNECTICUT SHOPKEEPER, 1784-1811

BY
JOHANNA TOWER

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
TEXTILES, FASHION MERCHANDISING AND DESIGN

UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND

2015

MASTER OF SCIENCE THESIS

OF

JOHANNA TOWER

APPROVED:

Thesis Committee:

Major Professor Linda Welters

Margaret Ordoñez

Ronald Onorato

Nasser H. Zawia
DEAN OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND
2015

Abstract

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, store-bought textiles and dress-related goods played an important role in the material world of many Americans. Local and domestic manufacturing generally did not fulfill the demand for such goods; imports from Europe and Asia provided many of these products. Advancements in manufacturing technologies and the growth of American overseas trade during this time contributed to the expanding supply of consumer goods, among which textiles and dress-related items featured prominently. In rural regions, dry-goods stores provided the populace with access to a diverse assortment of these wares.

This study examines purchases made at Elijah Boardman's store in New Milford, Connecticut, to determine the patterns of consumption of store-bought textiles and dress-related goods in a rural New England town in early national America. It focuses on how these patterns shifted during this period of immense changes in textile production and fashion. This research is based on document analysis of seven daybooks recording the transactions that took place at Elijah Boardman's store during thirty-five months in 1784-85, 1797-98, and 1810-11.

The purchases made during these years show that Boardman's customers bought a wide array of textiles and dress-related goods. This included utilitarian and fashionable items, raw materials and tools as well as finished goods, and products made by local artisans in addition to those imported from distant lands. Their purchases also reflect the changing times through the increase in cotton textile sales during 1797-98 and 1810-11 resulting from manufacturing

improvements and emerging neoclassical fashions. The amounts and types of goods bought also suggest their end uses: the predominance of short textile lengths and trimmings in these transactions indicates that Boardman's customers more routinely refurbished rather than replaced garments. Boardman sold goods to a variety of customers: account holders included men, women, and enslaved and free non-white people. Individuals other than account holders also regularly made purchases; the family, friends, and business acquaintances who participated in these transactions illustrate the consumer networks that were often involved in the acquisition of these goods.

Acknowledgements

It is a pleasure to thank the many people who have assisted me in this endeavor. Many thanks to my advisor, Dr. Linda Welters, for bringing the Elijah Boardman account books to my attention in the fall of 2012 and for her continued guidance, support, and encouragement throughout this process. My gratitude also goes to Dr. Margaret Ordoñez, who also provided excellent advice in the development of this research and as well as thoughtful editing of its written content. Additionally I wish to thank my external committee member, Dr. Ronald Onorato, for his unique perspective and his enthusiasm on the subject of Elijah Boardman. I also thank Dr. Karl Aspelund, who participated as an outside reader and offered invaluable insights and encouragement at many critical moments along the way. I am deeply appreciative of the time and knowledge given so generously by each of these faculty members.

The Graduate School and the Center for Humanities provided much-needed financial support for this project. The two grant-funded study trips to Litchfield County, Connecticut, greatly facilitated my research and brought to life the world of Elijah Boardman, his store, and his customers. Linda Hocking, Curator of Library and Archives at Litchfield Historical Society, gave me unfettered access to the Elijah Boardman account books and shared her knowledge of local history and the Boardman family. Lisa Rausch and Kathleen Zuris of the New Milford Historical Society patiently fulfilled my many requests for information from their genealogical files and set me in the right direction in my research on the town of New Milford.

Denise Andreozzi and Jonathan Young provided crucial technical support. Their work on transforming hundreds of pages of spreadsheets into a functioning

database was integral to the success of this project and I am eternally grateful for their willingness to tackle this daunting task.

The ongoing encouragement and love from my family has been essential to the successful completion of my graduate studies. David Tower, Robin Hoffman, and Leslie Beran provided unwavering support from day one. Blair Pershyn patiently endured many evenings, weekends, and vacations during which I was occupied with schoolwork, bringing me countless cups of tea while I studied. I owe my love of history, culture, and learning to my mother, the late Dr. Beeke Sell Tower, who raised me on a steady diet of museum visits, reading, and travel. Her memory inspired me to persevere in this pursuit throughout its many ups and downs.

All of the aforementioned individuals played vital roles in helping me bring this thesis into being and for this I offer each and every one of you my most heartfelt gratitude.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Evidence abounds to contest the long-held belief that rural Americans living before the Industrial Age had little access to goods beyond those made by their own or their neighbors' hands. In actuality, an immense diversity of goods sourced from regions far and wide, largely channeled to remote areas by country shopkeepers, augmented locally manufactured products. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, textiles and dress-related goods produced by the highly developed industries of Europe and Asia comprised the majority of imports into America.¹ Purchases of such goods were typically among individual households' highest expenditures. While research has addressed local production of textiles and clothing in depth, the prevalence of their store-bought counterparts in early national America calls for further investigation into the specifics of this trade in country stores.² This study provides in-depth insights into textiles and dress-related goods that rural Americans bought, their patterns of acquisition, and how these purchases evolved over a period of significant changes in textile manufacturing and fashion through the daybooks of Connecticut shopkeeper Elijah Boardman.

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century commercial account books are common elements of museum and historical society archives throughout the United States. For decades, historians have mined these rich sources for information on the economic, social, and cultural conditions of a given time and place. Such documents have proven invaluable to the study of material culture and specifically, textiles and clothing, as

¹ Florence Montgomery, *Textiles in America, 1650-1870* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007), xi.

² In this context, early national refers to the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century.

they are often the only remaining evidence of such ephemeral objects. Many collections of account books have not themselves survived intact: often only a few scattered volumes exist, providing momentary glimpses into a store's activities. The almost-complete collection of daybooks belonging to Elijah Boardman, the proprietor of a dry-goods store in New Milford, Connecticut, between the years of 1781 and 1819, are therefore a unique and important resource. This collection documents the goods and people that flowed daily in and out of Boardman's store over several decades, offering a remarkably continuous narrative of this community's purchasing patterns.

Boardman's store operated during a period of vigorous commercial activity in America's teeming port cities and its backcountry hamlets alike. The decades between the conclusion of the American Revolution and the commencement of the War of 1812 were years of particular prosperity for American merchants and shopkeepers, who supplied consumers with vast assortments of goods that ranged from the mundane to the exotic, many of which were textile-related. This era will serve as the focus of the following study, which is based on a three-year selection of Elijah Boardman's daybooks from the beginning, middle, and end of the period spanning Boardman's earliest surviving daybook of 1784 to the last extant volume preceding the War of 1812.³

The burgeoning trade in consumer goods experienced in the decades surrounding the turn of the nineteenth century coincided with significant developments in textile manufacturing and fashion in the western world. The

³ The Litchfield Historical Society holds a collection of nearly 100 volumes of Elijah Boardman's account books. The scope of this study limited analysis to a sampling of seven daybooks, which are account books that document the store's transactions chronologically by day.

technological advancements of the nascent Industrial Revolution and the cultural upheavals of political revolutions ushered in new tastes in textiles and clothing to American consumers. These changes reverberated throughout the country and quickly made their way to New Milford, Connecticut. In the pages of Boardman's daybooks, their impact is apparent in the purchases of textiles and dress-related goods at his store, which chronicle an important period in the history of textiles and clothing.

This study of textiles and dress-related goods sold at Boardman's store draws from historical research in the intersecting fields of textiles, fashion, and commerce. The work of these historians is surveyed first, in the following chapter, to provide a general historical background and to locate this research in the existing body of scholarship. These related studies offer context that is essential to unlocking the significance in the thousands of transactions captured in Boardman's daybooks. While it demonstrates this period's importance in the complex history of textiles and dress, this review also establishes the need for more research into the purchasing of such goods at country stores, a vital source for a wide variety of textiles and dress-related goods for many Americans.

At a time when regional conditions impacted the experiences and habits of American consumers, the specific social, economic, and geographic conditions are important considerations in a study of this nature. Chapters Three and Four situate the people and goods that passed in and out of Elijah Boardman's store with descriptions of New Milford and its inhabitants, and the life and career of Elijah Boardman himself. Chapter Five looks at the commercial activities in Connecticut during the

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the business of country shopkeeping, and the operation of Boardman's store.

Chapters Six and Seven explore the textile and dress-related transactions found in Boardman's daybooks. Data was collected from seven volumes, encompassing thirty-five months of transactions from June to May of 1784-85 and 1797-98, and August to June of 1810-11.⁴ All transactions involving textiles and dress-related goods were entered into a database, and then analyzed with a focus on types and quantities of goods purchased. Chapter Six discusses the overall acquisition patterns of Boardman's customers, providing an overview of the textiles and dress-related goods sold at Boardman's store during the three years with an emphasis on how these purchases changed over time.

Chapter Seven focuses on the customers who were buying textiles and dress-related goods at Boardman's store. This chapter first examines the variety of participants involved in these transactions and the yearly rhythms of their purchases. The vital statistics and financial standing of Boardman's ten most frequent customers from 1784-85, 1797-98, and 1810-11 are also presented to establish a profile of those who shopped most regularly for textiles and dress-related goods at his store. The textile purchases of these thirty customers are examined in detail to determine in what manner his customers acquired store-bought textiles. This chapter also includes a discussion of the purchases of textiles and dress-related goods made by the female and non-white account holders in Boardman's daybooks.

⁴ These ranges are based on the start date of the first surviving daybook, which commences in late May 1784. The daybook that includes June and July 1810 is missing from the Litchfield Historical Society collection.

The aim of this study is to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the textiles and dress-related goods purchased in a country store. In doing so, it demonstrates the variety of such purchases and how they changed in response to developments in technology and fashion. This study also illustrates the diverse shopping habits of his customers and the networks of individuals who were often involved in buying these goods. By bringing to light the yards of cloth, dozens of buttons, and papers of pins purchased daily by Boardman's customers, this study presents a detailed picture of the acquisition of store-bought textiles and dress-related goods at a local level. As such, it contributes an additional perspective to the history of American textiles and dress in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Chapter Two
Review of Literature:
Textiles, Dress, and Consumer Culture in Early National America

This study builds on a deep and wide-ranging body of scholarship that spans cultural, social, and economic histories. Researchers have approached the endless intersections of culture and commerce from various perspectives including fashion, technology, material culture, and consumer studies. This chapter contains a selective review of the work that is most relevant, drawing on historical research to outline three circumstances that provide the context for this study. It commences with a discussion of the importance of late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to textile and dress history, owing to the confluence of manufacturing innovations, fashion change, and the expanding consumer market. An examination of the prevalence of store-bought textiles within many American households during this period follows. Lastly, some recent work on early American retailing and commerce illustrates the social and cultural significance of shops and shopping at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Revolutions in Industry, Fashion, and Commerce

The last decades of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century witnessed drastic changes in the production of textiles and in styles of dress, as well as increased access to consumer goods. All three factors interconnected: new technology expanded the availability of desirable textiles such as printed cotton fabrics, which spurred widespread fashion changes and also stimulated the consumption of commercially produced (and in America, imported) textiles and dress-related goods in the marketplace. In turn, fashion changes and consumer demand drove further technological innovations in textile production. These global forces

made their way into seemingly remote corners of America, including rural New England.

This discussion of advancements in textile production begins with the British textile industry, which had close ties with American markets. Beverly Lemire has written extensively on the history of this industry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Much of her work has focused on cotton, the first fiber to undergo mechanization of production in the second half of the eighteenth century.¹ Lemire chronicles the European craze for a type of Indian cottons known as calicoes, first imported to England in the sixteenth century and reaching a fever pitch in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.² She also charts the rise of British calico manufacturing, which commenced in the eighteenth century and was stimulated by a ban on Indian imports.³ Fiber-processing and spinning technologies developed in Britain in the 1770s and 1780s in response to consumer demand and exponentially increased the production and quality of cotton yarn.⁴ According to Lemire, the great variety of inexpensive British cotton textiles that resulted from industrial production in turn drove the increasingly widespread fashion for cotton clothing among all classes in the 1780s and 1790s.⁵

In the first chapter of *Wearable Prints, 1760-1860*, Susan Greene traces the emergence of the taste for printed cottons, covering much of the same ground as Beverly Lemire. However, Greene's study ultimately focuses on the American

¹ Beverly Lemire, *Cotton* (New York: Berg, 2011), 65.

² Ibid., 33, 43.

³ Ibid., 53.

⁴ Ibid., 78-82.

⁵ Lemire. "'A Good Stock of Cloathes': The Changing Market for Cotton Clothing in Britain, 1750-1800," *Textile History* 22, no. 2 (1991): 311.

markets and industry. While much of her research addresses the technical aspects of printed textiles, Greene also discusses their consumption in the early national period. Colonial America did not develop a textile industry that could compete with the complexity and sophistication of textile production in Europe because of British legislation that outlawed the export of technology and production skills to its colonies.⁶ Greene, along with numerous other textile historians, claims that these conditions created an American dependence on a variety of imported textiles that continued in the decades following the American Revolution.⁷ Throughout the 1780s and 1790s, importing textiles continued to be more cost effective than producing them domestically.⁸ The fashionable and inexpensive printed cottons favored by a wide sector of the British population at this time were thus also available to their American counterparts. Even as American manufacturing began to catch up to Britain in the 1790s with the introduction of new spinning technology to the United States, Greene explains that Americans were not mass-producing printed textiles until the 1820s.⁹ Imported textiles from Europe and Asia were therefore the primary sources of the cotton fabrics that took hold in American dress during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Other historians have addressed American textile production and its contributions to the American marketplace during this period. In his history of the New England textile industry, Paul Rivard suggests that local production of cloth

⁶ Susan W. Greene, *Wearable Prints, 1760-1860: History, Materials, and Mechanics* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2014), 43.

⁷ Ibid., 43.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid., 47.

supplied the lower end of the market, driving out foreign imports of coarse cloth by the late 1780s.¹⁰ Rivard claims that the domestic production of linen and wool textiles was “widespread and economically significant” in the American colonies long before the advent of large-scale industrial production in the nineteenth century.¹¹ According to Rivard, the appearance of carding machines and improvements to spinning technology at the end of the eighteenth century increased the productivity of local cloth manufacturing.¹² Furthermore, the establishment of cotton spinning mills in New England in the 1790s introduced large quantities of inexpensive cotton yarn to local weavers.¹³ Cotton yarn, which could be more easily processed and mechanically spun than flax, was then “put out” to domestic handloom weavers, who produced the checked and striped cotton fabrics that adorned the bodies and homes of many Americans during this period.¹⁴ Rivard asserts that between 1790 and 1830, local weaving flourished in New England as a result of the new fiber-processing and spinning technologies, which supplied handloom weavers with an abundant supply of yarn.¹⁵ While higher-quality fashion textiles continued to be imported from abroad, these American-made textiles supplied consumers with the inexpensive cotton fabrics that made up a large part of the wardrobes of the lower and middling echelons of society.¹⁶

¹⁰ Paul E. Rivard. *A New Order of Things: How the Textile Industry Transformed New England* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2002), 7.

¹¹ Ibid., 3.

¹² Ibid., 16, 23-26.

¹³ Ibid., 20.

¹⁴ Ibid., 19, 21, 27.

¹⁵ Ibid., 27.

¹⁶ Ibid., 3-7.

The revolutionary innovations that were reshaping the European and American textile industries during this period coincided with equally dramatic shifts in fashion. In her seminal works on the evolution of men's and women's dress in Europe from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, Norah Waugh pinpoints the 1780s and 1790s as decades of significant fashion changes.¹⁷ This upheaval is most visible in women's clothing of this period: high waistlines, elongated skirts, and diaphanous cottons replaced the conical torsos, full petticoats, and heavy silks that dominated much of the eighteenth century.¹⁸ Waugh attributes this stylistic change in large part to the taste for classically inspired design favored in the new French Republic, as well as the popularity of fine cotton textiles.¹⁹ Men's dress underwent a similar simplification of style beginning in the 1780s as the elegant but subdued fashions worn by English country gentlemen took hold throughout Europe.²⁰ Waugh notes that narrowly cut, unadorned broadcloth coats and shorter waistcoats replaced the full-skirted versions made from figured silks that were seen in fashionable menswear earlier in the century.²¹ Within the span of a decade, the landscape of fashionable dress underwent a profound transformation, which emanated from Britain and France and reverberated across Europe and America.

Linda Baumgarten's work on clothing in colonial and federal America reveals the close ties between American and European fashions in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Baumgarten's research illustrates that Americans looked to

¹⁷ Norah Waugh, *The Cut of Men's Clothes, 1600-1900* (New York: Routledge, 1964), 54; Waugh, *The Cut of Women's Clothes, 1600-1930* (New York: Routledge, 1968), 131.

¹⁸ Waugh, *The Cut of Women's Clothes*, 131-33.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 131.

²⁰ Waugh, *The Cut of Men's Clothes*, 54.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 54-57.

Europe for textiles and fashion information both before and after the Revolutionary War.²² She examines the numerous channels through which Americans acquired clothing: while some sourced their garments directly from Europe or purchased ready-made imports, many Americans wore clothing that was made at home or by local craftspeople.²³ Fashion plates, newspapers, imported clothing, and European travelers enabled Americans to keep current with the latest European styles.²⁴ Despite its numerous similarities to European fashion, Baumgarten demonstrates that American dress of this period was also influenced by the social, cultural, and economic conditions that were unique to America.²⁵

Early national America was a place in which a diverse population inhabited regionally distinct environments; therefore it is important to consider Americans' experiences with clothing in a regional context. Catherine Fennelly's early research on the dress of rural New Englanders illustrates that they were influenced by the same fashion changes taking place in Britain and France at the turn of the nineteenth century. Fennelly shows that many New Englanders had espoused neoclassical styles of dress by the end of the eighteenth century, along with the taste for lightweight cotton fabrics.²⁶ Fennelly suggests that many New England women were avid fashion consumers who readily embraced these styles despite their incompatibility with the local climate.²⁷ She also documents the new styles of coats, waistcoats, and pantaloons

²² Linda Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America* (Williamsburg, VA: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2002), 95.

²³ *Ibid.*, 88, 90-93.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 100, 175.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 104-5.

²⁶ Catherine Fennelly, *The Garb of Country New Englanders, 1790-1840: Costumes at Old Sturbridge Village* (Sturbridge, MA: Old Sturbridge Village Inc., 1966), 4.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

that New England men adopted at this time in accordance with European fashions.²⁸

While the pace of fashion change certainly varied among communities and individuals, rural New Englanders were interested participants in the world of fashion.

In his study of New England gowns, David Lazaro corroborates Fennelly's findings. Lazaro's article on English patterned silks in the Connecticut River Valley attests to the presence of fashionable luxury textiles far beyond coastal urban centers. The wives of prosperous farmers acquired these textiles from local retailers who stocked fine imported fabrics.²⁹ Lazaro also suggests that frugality tempered the fashion choices of these women, as seen in the repeated alterations and continued use of patterned silk gowns even after such textiles had fallen out of favor.³⁰ Lazaro and Patricia Campbell-Warner also examine the construction of women's gowns between 1780 and 1805 to show how local gownmakers adapted earlier construction techniques to achieve fashionably high-waisted silhouettes.³¹ They identified an "all-over pleated bodice" as a style that existed for a relatively brief period in late 1790s and early 1800s; Lazaro and Campbell-Warner's New England example is contemporaneous with a 1797 English fashion plate.³² This gown further attests to some New Englanders' awareness and espousal of current European fashions.

The subjects of the aforementioned research likely had access to resources that allowed them to keep up with changing fashions. In her book on common clothing of rural New Englanders in the late eighteenth century, Meredith Wright suggests that

²⁸ Fennelly, 13.

²⁹ David Lazaro, "Fashion and Frugality: English Patterned Silks in Connecticut River Valley Women's Dress, 1660-1800," *Dress* 33 (2006): 59-60.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 73.

³¹ David Lazaro and Patricia Campbell Warner, "All-Over Pleated Bodice: Dress-Making in Transition, 1780-1805," *Dress* 31 (2004): 19.

³² *Ibid.*, 19-20.

even individuals of modest resources incorporated elements of the new fashions in their apparel. According to Wright, garments made of store-bought textiles were saved for Sundays and special occasions, while locally manufactured cloth was the norm for working wear.³³ A country woman's formal attire commonly consisted of a fashionably-cut, printed cotton gown while her husband or father probably wore a broadcloth coat.³⁴ Although rural New Englanders of modest means generally did not own a great quantity of clothing, Wright's research demonstrates that they consumed of fashionable textiles and clothing to the extent that their resources allowed.

Textiles and dress-related goods were an integral part of the growing demand for consumer items in Europe and America in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Numerous historians have examined the topic of the "Consumer Revolution," and most do not agree on exactly when and how this took place. Some, like T.H. Breen, locate the rise of American consumerism firmly in the eighteenth century and argue that its rapid onset in the 1740s warrants its categorization as a revolution.³⁵ Others, like Phyllis Hunter, suggest that Americans' growing interest in consumer goods arrived earlier, in the second half of the seventeenth century, and developed more gradually.³⁶ Despite their opposing positions on the subject, Breen and Hunter agree that a transformation took place in the eighteenth century that gave many Americans unprecedented access to a wide array of consumer goods by the century's close.

³³ Meredith Wright, *Put On Thy Beautiful Garments: Rural New England Clothing, 1783-1900* (East Montpelier, VT: Clothes Press, 1990), 12.

³⁴ Ibid., 12.

³⁵ T.H. Breen, "'Baubles of Britain': The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present* 119 (May 1988): 79.

³⁶ Phyllis Hunter, *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World: Massachusetts Merchants, 1670-1780* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 9.

The study of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century consumer culture is inextricably linked to the study of the refinement of American society. Richard Bushman, a pioneer in this area of inquiry, defines refinement as the cultivation of “genteel standards of behavior to elevate human life.”³⁷ Bushman is particularly interested in the material articulation of refinement and traces its development in American society from the late seventeenth century to the mid nineteenth century in architecture, household goods, and personal items. He briefly discusses high-quality household textiles and wearing apparel as essential to the expression of gentility.³⁸ Bushman argues that the dissemination of refinement was largely the result of emulation of one’s social superiors.³⁹ He claims that this trickling down of genteel living as expressed through consumer goods did not reach the middle and lower orders of American society until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when improved manufacturing techniques made many consumer items more available.⁴⁰

Christina Hodge takes issue with Bushman’s explanation of refinement’s spread across America in her study of eighteenth-century Newport widow and shopkeeper Elizabeth Pratt. Hodge asserts that non-elites were already participating in aspects of refined lifestyles by the early eighteenth century.⁴¹ She further argues that non-elites’ selective and partial adoption of genteel practices, which she calls “partible refinement,” was a driving force in the so-called Consumer Revolution.⁴² Hodge’s

³⁷ Richard Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, and Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), xiv.

³⁸ Ibid., 69-74.

³⁹ Ibid., xii

⁴⁰ Ibid., xiii.

⁴¹ Christina J. Hodge, *Consumerism and the Emergence of the Middle Class in Colonial America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), xix, xx.

⁴² Ibid., xvii.

examination of the textile inventory sold at Pratt's store, which illustrates a wide range of textiles sold to a variety of customers across the social and economic spectrum, supports her argument that people of all classes were independent players in the pursuit of refinement through consumer goods.⁴³ As with the debate surrounding the exact nature of the Consumer Revolution, the ongoing discussion of refinement demonstrates the significance of this period to the evolution of American consumer tastes.

This body of research illustrates the importance of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to the history of textiles and clothing in America. New technologies and new fashions fueled a demand for store-bought textiles, which contributed to the expansion of a consumer culture during this period. We are still left with questions about how these conditions manifested themselves in the lives of everyday Americans. How do the broad trends correlate to the individual experiences? What do the purchases of textiles and dress-related goods at Elijah Boardman's store tell us about his customers' interactions with the changing landscapes of fashion, textile production, and consumer goods?

The Acquisition of Textiles and Clothing in Early America

The myth of entirely self-sufficient early American households has persisted in popular culture despite being discredited by various historians over the past several decades. Textiles and clothing have figured prominently in this myth by way of nostalgic notions of rural families dressed only in goods produced by their own hands. Local and domestic production of textiles, often referred to as homespun, indeed

⁴³ Hodge, 142.

played an important part of the material landscape of early America. Historians such as Linzy Brekke and Kate Haulman suggest that, at various points in the eighteenth century, political leaders encouraged Americans to eschew imported textiles in favor of homespun cloth in protest against British taxation and, later, to preserve the new nation from the corrupting influences of foreign fashions.⁴⁴ However, attempts to curb American appetites for foreign textiles and dress-related goods did not have lasting success because of local producers' inability to fulfill demand and the widespread availability of imported cloth and apparel items. As seen in the following pages, these store-bought goods made up at least part of the wardrobes of most Americans both before and after the Revolution.

In her 1982 article, "How Self-Sufficient Was Early America?," Carole Shammas tackles this subject directly in her statistical analysis of the productive output of an average-sized farm in the late eighteenth century.⁴⁵ Her research reveals a multifaceted supply chain in which domestic manufacturing was combined with market-purchased textiles.⁴⁶ Shammas' analysis of Massachusetts probate inventories shows that even in rural regions, where spinning equipment was most commonly found, households only produced a fraction of their textiles.⁴⁷ She estimates that on

⁴⁴ Linzy A. Brekke, "The 'Scourge of Fashion': Political Economy and the Politics of Consumption in the Early Republic," *Early American Studies* (Spring 2005): 111-39; Kate Haulman, *The Politics of Fashion in Eighteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 81-116.

⁴⁵ Carole Shammas, "How Self-Sufficient Was Early America?," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 13, no. 2 (Autumn 1982): 250.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 258.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

average, Americans spent at least one quarter of their yearly income on imported goods, many of which were dress-related items.⁴⁸

Adrienne Hood's research on cloth production in southeastern Pennsylvania provides further evidence of a household's reliance on store-bought textiles in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Her work, which is based on an analysis of output and demand, shows that although this region had an active trade in textiles produced by professional weavers, local manufacturing could not completely fulfill textile needs.⁴⁹ Furthermore, the profusion and affordability of imported textiles meant that most households had access to such goods.⁵⁰ Hood's study demonstrates that imported textiles acquired in the marketplace were a cornerstone of many households' textile consumption, even in areas with a strong tradition of local textile production.

In her material culture study of early American textile objects, Laurel Thatcher Ulrich brings to light the local networks of domestic production that provided many of the textiles found in New England homes during this period. Her research on Connecticut cloth production shows that unlike Pennsylvania, where professional male weavers dominated manufacturing, women were the primary makers of textiles.⁵¹ Ulrich finds that although eighty to ninety percent of New England households produced some fabric for furnishing textiles and "common wear" clothing, store-bought textiles remained a necessary and desired supplement to homespun goods.⁵² Through her in-depth regional study, Ulrich, like Hood, reveals that in many early

⁴⁸ Shammass, 266.

⁴⁹ Adrienne D. Hood, *The Weaver's Craft: Cloth, Commerce and Industry in Early Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 111.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth* (New York: Vintage Books, 2001), 287, 289.

⁵² Ulrich, 298, 318-20.

American households, commercial imports coexisted alongside textiles of local and domestic manufacture.

Charles and Tandy Hersh extend the study of commercial textiles more specifically into patterns of consumption through their research into eighteenth-century textiles and clothing in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania. Collecting data from advertisements, account books, and store inventories, the Hershes examine the types and choices of textiles available to Cumberland County consumers between 1750 and 1800.⁵³ Their statistical analysis, which encompasses textiles sold at several stores, illustrates the volume and variety of textiles sold by country shopkeepers in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania. Moreover, it reveals that both the types and choices of store-bought fabrics increased by the 1790s, indicating that turn-of-the-century consumers had access to an unprecedented variety of textiles in the marketplace.⁵⁴ Despite the importance that so many historians have assigned to the role of store-bought textiles within local, regional, national, and international economies during this period, the Hershes' study is one of the few to provide a detailed classification of these goods.

Marla Miller has contributed greatly to our understanding of the production and consumption of clothing and textiles in the Connecticut River Valley through her research on women's work in the needle trades. She illuminates the importance of clothing as an indicator of individual socioeconomic status and its close ties to

⁵³ The Hershes use "type" to denote different fabrics and "choice" to denote specific characteristics such as color, texture, pattern, quality, etc. See Charles and Tandy Hersh, *Cloth and Costume, 1750-1800, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania* (Carlisle, PA: Cumberland County Historical Society, 1995), 69-77.

⁵⁴ Ibid., Fig. 4-6, 70.

lifecycles and household wealth.⁵⁵ Using diaries, letters, newspaper advertisements, and personal account books, Miller chronicles the working lives of artisans who manufactured clothing within these communities and discusses their adaptation to turn-of-the-century fashion changes.⁵⁶ She considers the combination of professional skills and domestic labor, and the varying degrees of women's participation in the production and maintenance of their family's clothing.⁵⁷ Miller reconstructs the stories of six local women involved in various aspects of the needle trades to explore their patterns of work and the familial, social, and professional networks of garment making in this region.⁵⁸ With its focus on clothing production, Miller's research is a vital component in the narrative of fiber to garment, bridging the gap between clothing that New Englanders wore and the textiles from which it was produced.

Store-bought textiles undeniably played a role in the material lives of most Americans in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In many rural households, locally manufactured textiles were used alongside store-bought textiles to varying degrees—almost never to the exclusion of one or the other. While scholars have studied local and domestic textile production at length, more research into the textiles that people bought is needed. This study of textiles in Elijah Boardman's account books contributes to a deeper understanding of this subject by examining consumption patterns of textiles at his store.

⁵⁵ Marla Miller, *The Needle's Eye: Women and Work in the Age of Revolution* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), 25-55.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 56-86.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 89-181.

Shopkeeping and Shopping

Merchants' and shopkeepers' account books have served as the basis for many histories on the exchange of goods in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century America. Two recent studies of shopkeepers who were contemporaries of Elijah Boardman have proven quite useful to understanding the world of retailing during this period and are deserving of individual mention. This section also considers a relatively new approach to the history of commerce that focuses on the consumer experience. Although the three historians reviewed here cast wide nets that encompass the many types of goods purchased in country stores, textiles and dress-related items figure prominently in their research.

Diane Wenger's comprehensive study of Schaefferstown, Pennsylvania, shopkeeper Samuel Rex offers many insights into the manner in which country shopkeepers operated their businesses. Her examination of three years (1791, 1798, 1806-07) of transactions documented in Rex's account books reveals the purchasing patterns of a small, rural community.⁵⁹ Using these sources, Wenger uncovers who Rex's customers were, what they purchased, and how they paid for these goods.⁶⁰ Wenger also reconstructs Rex's Philadelphia-based supply chain, through which he acquired imported goods to sell at his store and sold the country produce provided by his customers.⁶¹ By tracing the full cycle of exchange within one store, Wenger demonstrates how rural shopkeepers linked their communities to the global

⁵⁹ Diane Wenger, *A Country Storekeeper in Pennsylvania: Creating Economic Networks in Early America, 1790-1807* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 10.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 50-57, 62-63, 65-78.

⁶¹ Wenger, 130-36.

marketplace through providing these remote towns and villages with access to consumer goods produced in Europe and Asia.

Ann Smart Martin has also contributed an excellent analysis of rural shopkeeping in her research on John Hook, a late eighteenth-century merchant in backcountry Virginia. Like Wenger, Martin vividly recreates the world of John Hook and his customers using his account books, correspondence, and business papers.⁶² She delves into Hook's supply chains and inventory to illustrate how Hook connected rural Virginians with the "world of goods."⁶³ Martin takes particular interest in the consumer experience of the people who shopped at Hook's store. She examines the physical layout of stores as spaces in which shopkeepers, customers, and goods engaged in socially and psychologically complex negotiations.⁶⁴ Martin reconstructs the daily rhythms of Hook's store to demonstrate that shopping there was also a sociable and recreational activity.⁶⁵ In her exploration of both the merchant and customer perspectives, Martin illuminates the social and cultural significance behind the buying and selling of goods in an early American country store.

Ellen Hartigan-O'Connor also looks at the consumer perspective in her work on women and commerce in eighteenth-century America. She focuses on the port cities of Newport, Rhode Island, and Charleston, South Carolina, to illustrate the important roles that female consumers played in the commercial activities of these

⁶² Ann Smart Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backcountry Virginia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 2.

⁶³ Ibid., 42-93.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 145-55.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 155-67.

cities.⁶⁶ Hartigan-O'Connor is more interested in consumption captured in action rather than its total accumulation as static wealth; her research is therefore primarily concerned with the records of exchanges of goods found in sources such as account books and personal correspondence.⁶⁷ She pays particular attention to the role of intermediaries in facilitating these exchanges.⁶⁸ This approach brings to light the familial and social networks through which individuals made purchases, emphasizing the collaborative and mediated aspects of shopping.⁶⁹ Hartigan-O'Connor's study thus illustrates the complex web of relationships that lay behind the acquisition of consumer goods.

These studies of retailing and consumption in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century America reveal the depth of meaning behind the lists of goods in shopkeepers' account books. They establish the utility of studying in detail one store's activities to gain a more complete understanding of the players involved in the exchange of goods. Their work also reveals the insights to be gained from studying the consumer's perspective in addition to the seller's perspective. The approach of these historians is holistic, encompassing the many types of consumer goods sold in country stores. The study of Elijah Boardman's account books instead focuses specifically on textiles and dress-related goods to present a more nuanced picture of a central component of this trade.

⁶⁶ Ellen Hartigan-O'Connor, *The Ties That Buy: Women and Commerce in Revolutionary America* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 7, 192.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 5.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 129-60.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 129, 131.

Conclusion

The history of textiles and clothing in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century America is a well-trodden path, but one of endless variations that therefore warrants continued study. The importance of store-bought goods to this history is indisputable and calls for more research into their retailing. By focusing exclusively on these types of items purchased at Elijah Boardman's store, this study contributes to our knowledge of the acquisition of textiles and dress-related goods. While similar research has been undertaken in port cities, as well as in rural Virginia and Pennsylvania, studies have not yet focused on a New England country town. The previous work on textiles, clothing, retailing, and consumption guides this research, serving as points of comparison between products and consumers at Elijah Boardman's store and their counterparts in other regions. As one of many related works, this study provides an additional perspective to the history of an economically, socially, and culturally important commodity.

Chapter Three

New Milford and Its Residents

The authors of an early nineteenth-century survey of Connecticut described New Milford as a “large and flourishing post town” boasting a diverse landscape with abundant natural resources, varied agricultural activities, and many “large, neat, and handsome buildings.”¹ Like hundreds of New England communities, New Milford had grown from its humble beginnings as a frontier settlement to an established and prosperous country town over the course of the eighteenth century. The town was in its heyday during the decades surrounding the turn of the nineteenth century when Elijah Boardman operated his dry-goods store. Fifty miles to the east, the larger towns and cities along the Connecticut River, a major waterway, far outranked New Milford in size and sophistication. Nonetheless, New Milford was a local hub of commercial and cultural activity for the surrounding districts.

In 1707, a handful of white settlers from the eastern parts of Connecticut took up residence on land purchased from the local natives in the Housatonic Valley, along Connecticut’s western border with New York (figs. 1 & 2).² The town was officially organized as New Milford in 1712 with the establishment of town tax collection and the formation of a church.³ The original settlement (later the town center) sat on the banks of the Housatonic River, which flowed approximately 120 miles from its source at Lake Pontoosuc in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, to its mouth at the Long Island Sound

¹ John C. Pease and John M. Niles, *A Gazetteer of the States of Connecticut and Rhode Island* (Hartford, CT: 1819), Google e-book, 252-53.

² Michael-John Cavallaro, *Tales of Old New Milford: The History, Legend, and Lore of a Connecticut Frontier Town* (New Milford, CT: Arkett Publishing, 2008), 42.

³ Samuel Orcutt, *History of the Towns of New Milford and Bridgewater, Connecticut, 1703-1882* (Hartford, CT: Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1882), Google e-book, 20.

in Stratford, Connecticut.⁴ The river and its tributaries served as important commercial transportation routes for the region by the middle of the eighteenth century.⁵ They also provided waterpower for various mills and manufactories, such as ironworks, potash works, and nailories, which were established in the vicinity of New Milford in the eighteenth century.⁶ The surrounding hills and valleys contained areas of fertile soil well suited for crops and grazing.⁷ As a result, New Milford and its neighboring communities prospered in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries through a local economy based on mixed agricultural and manufacturing activities.⁸

By 1782, New Milford had expanded from its original thirteen shareholders to a population of 3,015 inhabitants.⁹ Census reports from 1790, 1800, and 1810 show that the population grew slowly over subsequent decades, increasing to 3,537 inhabitants by 1810.¹⁰ It was the most populous community in the immediate area, matched only by Danbury, fifteen miles south, and the slightly larger county seat of Litchfield, twenty miles to the northeast.¹¹ New Milford was one of the largest towns in the state, comprised approximately 84 square miles at the end of the eighteenth century.¹² The town center, perched on a hillside a few hundred feet from the Housatonic River, surrounded a town green and became the most densely settled area

⁴ James E. Dibble, ed, *Howard Peck's New Milford: Memories of A Connecticut Town* (West Kennebunk, ME: Phoenix Publishing, 1991), 7.

⁵ Ibid., 9.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ *The History of Litchfield County, Connecticut with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Pioneers* (Philadelphia: J.W. Lewis, 1881), 13.

⁸ Holly Izard, "The State of Connecticut Agriculture in 1800," in *Voices of the New Republic, Connecticut Towns 1800-1832, Volume II: What We Think*, eds. Howard R. Lamar and Carolyn C. Cooper (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2003), 69.

⁹ Cavallaro, 42; State of Connecticut, "Connecticut Population by Town, 1756-1820," <http://www.ct.gov/ecd/cwp/view.asp?a=1106&q=250670> (accessed June 13, 2015).

¹⁰ "Connecticut Population by Town, 1756-1820."

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Orcutt, 82.

of New Milford, containing 60 houses in 1819 (fig. 3).¹³ Other residents were scattered on farms in the surrounding districts, some of which separated into independent townships in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹⁴

During the last decades of the eighteenth century, New Milford became a bustling inland town. Twenty-one school districts and several churches of various denominations attended to the educational and spiritual needs of the community.¹⁵ A hotel, a private school, a singing school, and a library clustered around the town green along with several taverns, stores, and fine homes by the 1790s.¹⁶ New Milford's local economy supported a sizable population of artisans, which included 11 shoemakers, 8 joiners, 5 blacksmiths, 5 millers, 5 masons, 4 coopers, 4 tailors, 2 saddlers, 3 silversmiths, 1 wheelwright, and 1 hatter.¹⁷ Numerous professionals, including 4 attorneys and 2 physicians, also resided in the town.¹⁸ Eleven tavern keepers and at least 10 merchants serviced New Milford as well.¹⁹ These establishments also drew customers from the smaller neighboring villages and benefited from the proximity

¹³ Pease and Niles, 253.

¹⁴ Orcutt, 243; Daniel N. Brinsmade, "Washington," in *Voices of the New Republic, Connecticut Towns 1800-1832, Volume I: What They Said*, eds. Christopher P. Bickford, Carolyn C. Cooper and Sandra L. Rux (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2003), 151.

¹⁵ Orcutt, 171-94.

¹⁶ Elizabeth Mankin Kornhauser, *Ralph Earl: The Face of the Young Republic* (Hartford, CT: Wadsworth Athenaeum, 1991), 76.

¹⁷ Orcutt, 201-3.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ These numbers are sourced from 1790 and 1793 assessment lists published in Samuel Orcutt's history of New Milford. Orcutt does not name two other individuals who also might have worked in the mercantile trade. Orcutt, 201-3. In her research on the subjects of Ralph Earl's portraits, Kornhauser identifies Angus Nicholson, a New Milford resident during this period, as a merchant. Kornhauser, 168. Additionally, a January 2002 email notice for the sale of an account book belonging to Abel Gunn, also of New Milford, is located in the files of the New Milford Historical Society. The seller lists the item as a shopkeeper's account book dating from 1773 to 1804, although it might have been a personal account book or one pertaining to a different business venture. "Abel Gunn," New Milford Historical Society genealogical files, New Milford, CT.

Figure 1. Detail of Connecticut,
 “Connecticut and Parts Adjacent,” Covens and Mortier, 1780.

Figure 2. Detail of Litchfield County,
 “Connecticut and Parts Adjacent,” Covens and Mortier, 1780.

to several major roadways that passed through New Milford. Chief among them were the Albany Turnpike, the only major east-west route in Connecticut north of Danbury, and a post road between Boston and Philadelphia, both of which channeled a steady stream of travelers who helped sustain the town's multiple taverns and shops.²⁰

Although New Milford could not compete with the prosperity of Connecticut River towns such as Hartford, the fortunes of several local families including the Boardmans flourished in the second half of the eighteenth century.²¹ These families owned large tracts of land, invested in local industries, and participated in lucrative real-estate speculation in Connecticut and in western and northern regions such as New York, Ohio, and Vermont.²² The members of the local gentry sent their sons to college, built stately homes, and sat in elegant attire for portraits by the renowned painter Ralph Earl.²³ Some of the town's elites were among the customers at Boardman's store, where costly luxuries such as fine imported textiles, gold jewelry, and castor hats were among the many goods for sale.

The majority of New Milford's residents lived modestly in small houses with few of the luxuries enjoyed by their wealthy neighbors.²⁴ Most households were employed in farming to some degree, even those that also engaged in other trades.²⁵ These farmers grew a variety of grains such as wheat, rye, corn, and oats; they also

²⁰ Cavallaro, 86-87; Kornhauser, 74.

²¹ Kornhauser compiled a list of assessable luxuries in Connecticut towns in 1796, which shows that New Milford had only 7 "first-rate" fireplaces (a measure of house value), 27 watches, and no carriages. In comparison, Litchfield contained 55 first-rate fireplaces, 46 watches, and 6 carriages, whereas Hartford had 492 first-rate fireplaces, 134 watches, and 90 carriages. Kornhauser, 72.

²² Ibid., 74.

²³ Ibid., 73-75.

²⁴ Ibid., 71.

²⁵ Cavallaro, 104.

cultivated flax for local use in textile production or for flaxseed.²⁶ Abundant pastureland provided beef, pork, and dairy products as well.²⁷ New Milford's farmers could trade their agricultural surpluses at one of the town's stores in exchange for an assortment of items.²⁸ Although their resources were limited in comparison to New Milford's first families, these individuals participated in the consumer-goods marketplace and acquired imported cloth, trimmings, and notions among other things at Boardman's store.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, New Milford's population also included a number of non-white residents of African, Native American, and mixed-race descent. Although the slave trade was outlawed in Connecticut in 1788, slavery itself was not fully abolished in the state until 1848.²⁹ In 1790, twenty-eight slaves resided in New Milford among fifteen households.³⁰ The number of slaves in each household was relatively small: most slave-owning households had fewer than three slaves.³¹ Little is known about the slaves' lives, although New Milford town records document some basic vital statistics such births and deaths. Several of the slaves were emancipated in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and thereby joined the small population of free non-white people who lived in the town, which totaled thirty-nine in 1790.³² By 1800, New Milford had 110 non-white

²⁶ Izard, 69.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid., 68.

²⁹ Michael-John Cavallaro. *Tales of Old New Milford: Slavery, Crime and Punishment on the Connecticut Frontier* (New Milford, CT: Arkett Publishing, 2011): 61.

³⁰ Kathleen Zuris, *New Milford, Connecticut Emancipation Records Transcribed from Town Clerk Land Records* (New Milford, CT: Bostwick Typing Service, 2006): 11.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

residents, whereas the number of slaves had dwindled to four.³³ In 1810, 148 non-white individuals were living in the town, but none were slaves.³⁴ The records are equally vague about New Milford's free non-white community; according to early census records, many lived within white households, probably as servants, while some were identified as independent householders.³⁵ Contemporary accounts of free non-whites living in Litchfield County were generally disparaging of their condition, suggesting that they were among the poorer people living in the town.³⁶ Despite their limited circumstances, both enslaved and free non-white customers purchased textiles and dress-related goods from Elijah Boardman.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, New Milford was a vibrant community with a socially and economically diverse population. Despite its stature as a small town in a rural corner of New England, New Milford offered a variety of social, cultural, and commercial amenities to its inhabitants. Its thriving local economy enabled commerce to flourish and afforded New Milford's residents, rich and poor alike, opportunities to participate as consumers in the town's several stores. Many of them passed through the doors of Boardman's store, where they encountered the world

³³ Zuris., 23.

³⁴ Ibid., 30.

³⁵ Ibid., 11, 22-23, 28-30.

³⁶ The contemporary accounts are no doubt racially biased. Elijah Allen, "Cornwall," and John Cotton Smith, "Sharon," in *Voices of the New Republic, Connecticut Towns 1800-1832, Volume I: What They Said*, eds. Christopher P. Bickford, Carolyn C. Cooper and Sandra L. Rux (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2003), 107, 149. However, probate records examined by Jackson Turner Main in his statistical analysis of the social and economic makeup of colonial Connecticut reveal that non-whites (former slaves in particular) generally did not accumulate much wealth. Jackson Turner Main, *Society and Economy in Colonial Connecticut* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985): 184-5. Archaeological evidence corroborates the documentary records: James Deetz's study of Parting Ways, a small, early nineteenth-century black community in Plymouth, MA, suggests a subsistence way of life that may have similarities with that of New Milford's free black population. James Deetz, "Parting Ways," in *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Anchor Books, 1996): 187-211.

beyond New Milford through goods sourced from around the globe as did countless other Americans in country stores around the nation.

Chapter Four

Elijah Boardman and the Boardmans of New Milford

The Boardmans had long been a family that commanded a “particular respect and deference” in New Milford, according to Elijah Boardman’s son-in-law, John Frederick Schroeder.¹ Elijah was part of the third generation of the Boardman family to reside in the town. His grandfather, Reverend Daniel Boardman, originally of Wethersfield, Connecticut, served as the first minister of New Milford beginning in 1712.² Reverend Daniel Boardman had six children; his only son, Sherman (1728-1814), was Elijah’s father.³ Sherman Boardman married Sarah Bostwick in 1755 and fathered seven children.⁴ He ran a large and prosperous farm called Mary Land, located a few miles from the town center.⁵ Sherman Boardman was an active and highly respected member of the community: he was a deacon in the First Congregational Church and served twenty-one terms in the Connecticut General Assembly.⁶ A letter he wrote to Elijah on the eve of his son’s departure as a soldier in the Continental Army shows Sherman as a devoted and loving father.⁷ Living to the age of eighty-six, Sherman Boardman continued to be a regular customer at his son’s store well into his old age.

¹ John Frederick Schroeder, *Memoir of the Life and Character of Mrs. Mary Anna Boardman* (New Haven, 1849), Google e-book, 123.

² *Ibid.*, 388; Samuel Orcutt, *History of the Towns of New Milford and Bridgewater, Connecticut, 1703-1882* (Hartford, CT: Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1882), Google e-book, 20.

³ Schroeder, 391-92.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 393-94.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Rachel D. Carley, *Voices from the Past: A History as told by The New Milford Historical Society’s Portraits and Paintings* (Kennebunk, ME: Phoenix Publishing, 2000), 40.

⁷ Schroeder, 127-29.

Elijah was the third son of Sherman and Sarah, born in New Milford on March 7, 1760.⁸ In his boyhood, Elijah was tutored locally by Reverend Nathaniel Taylor in preparation for future studies at Yale College.⁹ However, the outbreak of the Revolutionary War compelled Elijah to enlist in the Continental Army in 1776 at age sixteen.¹⁰ He suffered a severe illness that year while stationed in New York and returned home to New Milford to convalesce.¹¹ During the following years, Elijah worked on his parents' farm and continued his studies.¹² He moved to New Haven in 1779 to clerk for merchants Elijah and Archibald Austin and spent two years learning the mercantile trade under their guidance.¹³ Returning to New Milford in 1781, Elijah set up his first dry-goods store that year.¹⁴ His older brother Daniel joined the business in 1782 as a partner.¹⁵ Over the next eleven years, the brothers expanded their business and acquired a significant amount of property, amassing wealth that would secure the continued preeminence of the Boardman family in New Milford.¹⁶

According to the remembrances of his family, Elijah Boardman was endowed with many admirable qualities. They thought him to be "remarkable for his manly and dignified appearance" and the most handsome member of the family.¹⁷ He possessed a strong intellect and an unwavering sense of duty and propriety, along with a "natural

⁸ Schroeder, 394.

⁹ Ibid., 400; Carley, 44.

¹⁰ Schroeder, 400.

¹¹ Carley, 44-45.

¹² Schroeder, 401-2.

¹³ Carley, 45.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Schroeder, 402.

¹⁶ Elizabeth Mankin Kornhauser, "'By Your Own Inimitable Hand': Elijah Boardman's Patronage of Ralph Earl," *American Art Journal* 23, no. 1 (1991): 8.

¹⁷ Schroeder, 125.

temperament [that] inclined him to hilarity.”¹⁸ Elijah’s “energy and intrepidity” – attributed to his mother’s influence, and his “natural and acquired ease and urbanity” no doubt aided his successes in business and public office.

In 1789, Elijah, along with his brother Daniel and sister Esther, had his portrait painted by Ralph Earl, a well-known artist who painted many portraits of New England’s country gentry in the 1780s and 90s (fig. 4).¹⁹ Elijah’s portrait is of a rather unusual composition for the period. Instead of the bucolic landscape settings typical of many late-eighteenth century portraits, Elijah poses in his store at a counting desk next to a doorway that opens into a storeroom lined with bolts of imported fabrics.²⁰ This mercantile setting presents Elijah Boardman as an ambitious young shopkeeper who “epitomizes the entrepreneurial spirit of the new republic.”²¹

Elijah’s portrait shows him handsomely dressed in the manner of understated elegance favored among Anglo-American country gentry during this period. His well-cut garments of broadcloth, fine linen, and satin, are made of the types of high-quality fabrics that were for sale in his store.²² Details such as his silver shoe and knee buckles and his gold watch, an item of such value that it was itemized separately in town tax rates, mark his prosperity.²³ Other elements indicating Elijah’s refinement are the volumes of Shakespeare and Milton standing alongside his account books.²⁴ With this portrait, Elijah Boardman projects the image of himself not only as an industrious

¹⁸ Schroeder, 125-26.

¹⁹ Kornhauser, 8.

²⁰ Kornhauser notes that some of the painting’s fabric bolts carry British tax stamps, thereby identifying them as imports. Ibid.

²¹ Elizabeth Mankin Kornhauser, *Ralph Earl: The Face of the Young Republic* (Hartford, CT: Wadsworth Athenaeum, 1991), 154.

²² Ibid., 156.

²³ Ibid., 72, 156.

²⁴ Kornhauser, “‘By Your Own Inimitable Hand’,” 8.

Figure 4. Ralph Earl, *Elijah Boardman*, 1789, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY.

businessman, but also a cultivated and educated gentleman.

Around the time his portrait was painted, Elijah Boardman wrote to his future brother-in-law Samuel Whiting, confessing that he found his mind “anxiously employed in the pursuit of wealth.”²⁵ Elijah’s preoccupation with climbing the economic ladder is evident in his business activities of the 1790s. During this decade, he opened two additional stores in Litchfield and New Preston. His store in Litchfield, which operated under the name of Boardman & Seymour, was run in partnership with both his brother, Daniel, and Litchfield businessman Moses Seymour Jr. from 1794 to 1804.²⁶ By this time, Elijah had sole proprietorship of the New Milford store. He and Daniel had dissolved their partnership in 1793, after which Daniel relocated to New York City, where he entered into a partnership with merchant Henry Hunt.²⁷ By 1799, Elijah was operating a third store in New Preston, a prosperous mill village in the northern section of New Milford.²⁸

Elijah Boardman’s business interests extended well beyond the mercantile trade. He had substantial landholdings in New Milford and the surrounding towns, which comprised farmland, woodlots, orchards, and pastureland.²⁹ He also invested in Massachusetts and Vermont properties.³⁰ In 1795, Elijah purchased land in the Ohio

²⁵ Kornhauser, “‘By Your Own Inimitable Hand’,” 8.

²⁶ Boardman & Seymour Records, 1794-1811, Elijah Boardman Papers, 1782-1853, Litchfield Historical Society collections database, <http://www.litchfieldhistoricalsociety.org/archon/?p=collections/findingaid&id=127&q=&rootcontentid=3074> (accessed June 20, 2015).

²⁷ Orcutt, 495-6.

²⁸ Elijah Boardman Accounts, 1794-1824, Elijah Boardman Papers, 1782-1853, Litchfield Historical Society collections database, <http://www.litchfieldhistoricalsociety.org/archon/?p=collections/findingaid&id=1053&q=&rootcontentid=12458#id12458> (accessed June 22, 2015).; Michael-John Cavallaro, *Tales of Old New Milford: The History, Legend, and Lore of a Connecticut Frontier Town* (New Milford, CT: Arkett Publishing, 2008), 117.

²⁹ Carley, 45.

³⁰ Ibid.

Western Reserve as a member of the Connecticut Land Company and established the towns of Boardman, Palmyra, and Medina.³¹ In 1810, Elijah paid \$678.15 in taxes, the highest rate in New Milford that year.³² Like his father, Elijah Boardman rose to prominence in New Milford as one of the wealthiest men in the town.

Elijah married Mary Anna Whiting (b. 1767) of Great Barrington, Massachusetts in 1792 (fig. 5). The daughter of Dr. William Whiting and Anna Mason Whiting, Mary Anna was praised by friends and family for her beauty, good nature, and gentility.³³ She received an upbringing that befit the daughter of a country gentleman, which included a year of study under a tutor in New Haven.³⁴ During the first year of her marriage, Mary Anna continued to reside with her parents in Great Barrington until the completion of the Boardmans' new house in New Milford.³⁵ Her husband returned to New Milford to work in his store and oversee construction, but frequently visited Mary Anna in Great Barrington that year.³⁶

By the end of 1793, Elijah and Mary Anna Boardman took up residence in their new home on New Milford's town green (fig. 6; Boardman's house is the largest structure with the gambrel-roof store next door).³⁷ The house was built in the Palladian style in accordance with the neoclassical taste of the 1790s.³⁸ Such a house suited the young and prosperous couple, who were already counted among the ranks of New Milford's elite. The couple inhabited this house for the rest of their lives and

³¹ Kornhauser, *Ralph Earl*, 154.

³² New Milford List for 1810, p. 111, New Milford Record of Lists, 1787-1822, Office of the Town Clerk, New Milford, CT.

³³ Schroeder, 101-2.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 79.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 132.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Schroeder, 132.

³⁸ Kornhauser, "'By Your Own Inimitable Hand'," 8.

Figure 5. Ralph Earl, *Mrs. Elijah Boardman and Son*, 1796,
Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery,
San Marino, CA.

in it, raised their six children. William Whiting Boardman was born in 1794, followed by Henry Mason (b. 1797), George Sherman (b. 1799), Caroline Maria (b. 1802), Mary Anna (b. 1805), and Cornelia Elizabeth (b. 1808).³⁹

Elijah continued to operate his New Milford store through the 1810s, however he became increasingly preoccupied with public affairs during this time.⁴⁰ Despite his commercial interests, Elijah was not a Federalist, but a member of the Republican minority in Litchfield County.⁴¹ He served several terms in the Connecticut General Assembly between 1803 and 1819 and unsuccessfully ran for lieutenant governor in 1811.⁴² In 1819, Elijah was elected to the United States Senate.⁴³ That year Elijah sold his New Milford store, which he had been operating in partnership with Elijah Bennett since 1812, to Stanley Lockwood and Anan Hine.⁴⁴ In the summer of 1819, Elijah, his wife, and several of their children journeyed to Ohio to visit their son Henry, who had settled there with his own family as the overseer of his father's property.⁴⁵ During this visit, Elijah died on August 18, 1823, at the age of sixty-three after suffering a month-long illness.⁴⁶

Elijah Boardman was in many ways a leader of the New Milford community. Throughout his life Elijah continued to build upon the legacy of the respected and prosperous Boardman family. His accomplishments in business ensured Elijah's position as a member of Connecticut's country gentry and provided a life of relative luxury. Like the leading merchant families of colonial Massachusetts, Elijah

³⁹ "Elijah Boardman," New Milford Historical Society genealogical files, New Milford, CT.

⁴⁰ Carley, 48.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Schroeder, 159-60.

⁴⁶ Schroeder, 165-68.

Figure 6. Ralph Earl, *Houses Fronting New Milford Green*, 1796,
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY.

Boardman no doubt influenced the social and cultural life of New Milford through the example of his own genteel lifestyle.⁴⁷ His fine clothes, elegant home, and refined manners would have set the bar for New Milford's polite society. Elijah Boardman's role as a taste-shaper extended beyond his own high-style habits to his store, where he furnished New Milford's residents with many of the textiles and dress-related goods that had become important emblems of respectability.

⁴⁷ Phyllis Hunter argues that the cultural influence exerted by leading merchants in colonial Boston and Salem was twofold: they shaped tastes both as purveyors of consumer goods to American markets and as elite consumers themselves. Phyllis Hunter, *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World: Massachusetts Merchants, 1670-1780* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 4-5.

Chapter Five

Connecticut Commerce, Country Shopkeeping, and Elijah Boardman's Store

In the December 25, 1786, issue of the *Connecticut Courant and Weekly Intelligencer*, Daniel and Elijah Boardman of New Milford advertised their “very extensive assortment of European, East, and West-India Goods” for sale at their store to the Hartford newspaper’s readers.¹ Advertisements like this one filled the pages of American newspapers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, touting the wares of countless merchants and shopkeepers who operated businesses in large port cities and small country towns alike. Long lists of goods, including many types of textiles, were a common feature of these advertisements, enticing potential customers with a store’s wide-ranging inventory of items sourced from the far corners of the globe.

In the decades following the Revolution, Americans enjoyed direct access to goods that had previously been controlled under British legislation.² Commerce flourished during this period, and many ambitious men such as Elijah Boardman entered into the mercantile business, supplying American consumers with a vast array of goods. This chapter describes Connecticut’s commercial activities and the nature of country shopkeeping at the turn of the nineteenth century to establish the context in

¹ *The Connecticut Courant and Weekly Intelligencer*, 25 December 1786, http://infoweb.newsbank.com.ezproxy.bpl.org/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p_product=EANX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=K58Q59XRMTQzNjIzMjUwMy4zMjE5Njk6MToxMzoxOTIuODAuNjUuMTE2&p_action=doc&s_lastnonissuequeryname=2&d_viewref=search&p_queryname=2&p_docnum=2&p_docref=v2:1080E0D856AD30E8@EANX-108650AA05D39F78@2373742-108650AA6768A750@3-108650AB981826E0@ (accessed July 6, 2015).

² The Navigation Acts attempted to control the flow of goods to Britain’s American colonies by requiring that all imports destined for America be channeled first through Britain. T.H. Breen, “‘Baubles of Britain’: The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century,” *Past and Present* 119 (May 1988): 84-85.

which Boardman ran his business. It also looks more closely at the operation of Boardman's store to better understand his customers' shopping experiences.

Connecticut's Mercantile Activities

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, much of Connecticut's trading activities involved the exchange of its agricultural surpluses for imported goods. Because the state lacked a large coastal port, direct trade with Europe and Asia was limited; Connecticut's commerce therefore centered on the interstate "coasting" and West Indies trades.³ Agricultural products (also known as country produce) were sent to larger American markets such as Boston, New York, or Philadelphia to be sold to for retail or export; shopkeepers could then acquire European and Asian goods from wholesaling merchants in these cities. Country produce was also exported directly to West Indian plantations where it was traded primarily for rum, sugar, molasses, coffee, or salt.⁴

As Connecticut's population expanded into its western regions during the eighteenth century, its agricultural output increased and so, too, did its trade in imported goods.⁵ The Revolutionary War brought significant disruptions in overseas commerce followed by a period of economic depression, which, in Connecticut, largely resulted from the closing of British West Indian ports to American traders.⁶ However, goods continued to circulate as British merchants extended easy credit to their American counterparts in the early 1780s in an effort to sell off inventories that

³ Phyllis Hunter, *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World: Massachusetts Merchants, 1670-1780* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), 9-10; Margaret Martin, 1.

⁴ Margaret Martin, 22-24.

⁵ Ibid., 18.

⁶ Ibid., 36, 42.

had accumulated during the war.⁷ Elijah Boardman might himself have taken advantage of this glut of European imports when he opened his store in 1781.

Connecticut trade flourished in the 1790s, owing first to a series of poor harvests in Europe and then to the outbreak of war between Britain and France in 1793, which increased the demand for American agricultural products in foreign markets.⁸ Restrictions on trade with both the British and French West Indies were lifted because the warring nations were in need of American goods to supply their colonies.⁹ Agricultural products exported to the West Indies were traded for remittances, which were exchanged for European manufactured goods as well as for West Indian products.¹⁰ The West Indies trade thus entered into a period of unprecedented prosperity between the years of 1793 and 1807, much to the benefit of Connecticut merchants and shopkeepers like Elijah Boardman.¹¹

In 1807, the trade ban effected by President Thomas Jefferson's embargo in response to British and French hostilities towards American ships served a blow to American commerce.¹² A brief recovery followed from 1809 to 1811 with the lifting of the embargo. This respite was short-lived as trade restrictions were renewed in 1811 and war against Great Britain was declared in 1812.¹³ Over the next several years, the British blockade of the East Coast effectively halted the coasting and West Indies

⁷ Margaret Martin, 42.

⁸ Ibid., 51-42.

⁹ Ibid., 61.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid., 52.

¹² Ibid., 65.

¹³ Ibid., 67.

trades.¹⁴ Largely cut off from their primary markets, the business of Connecticut's merchants and shopkeepers suffered acutely until the war's end in 1815.¹⁵

The Business of Country Shopkeeping

During the heyday of American foreign trade, country shopkeepers like Elijah Boardman played an essential role in the movement of goods between the hinterlands and regional and international markets. The agricultural activities of rural communities such as New Milford provided the population with currency in the form of country produce, which was exchanged for a variety of items carried by local retailers. Shopkeepers transported country produce to larger markets and sold it to other retailers or to wholesale merchants in exchange for cash or imported goods.¹⁶ Shopkeepers would then return home, having amassed inventories of goods to stock their stores.

A variety of retail establishments existed in eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century America. Larger cities had both specialty retailers such as milliners, who dealt in women's dress goods, and slops-sellers, who sold inexpensive, ready-made men's clothing, as well as general stores that carried a wide range of merchandise.¹⁷ Grocers, who sold imported foodstuffs, were yet another branch of the

¹⁴ Margaret Martin, 67-68.

¹⁵ Ibid., 68-70.

¹⁶ The terms shopkeeper and merchant referred to different types of traders. Shopkeepers were retailers, whereas merchants were wholesalers who imported goods from foreign markets. Some merchants also had retailing establishments. Diane Wenger, *A Country Storekeeper in Pennsylvania: Creating Economic Networks in Early America, 1790-1807* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 120. Elijah Boardman appears only to have been involved in retailing and therefore is referred to throughout this study as a shopkeeper.

¹⁷ Patricia Cleary, *Elizabeth Murray: A Woman's Pursuit of Independence in Eighteenth-Century America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000), 45; Tyler Rudd Putnam, "Joseph Long's Slops: Ready-made Clothing in Early America," *Winterthur Portfolio* 49, no. 2/3 (2015): 72-84.

retail trade.¹⁸ Country shopkeepers, like Elijah Boardman and his contemporaries John Hook and Samuel Rex, often carried an assortment of both dry goods such as textiles, accessories, household items, hardware, and tools, and wet goods such as groceries and alcoholic beverages.¹⁹ In the 1790s, New Milford was home to several “merchants,” although the types of inventory they carried are unknown.²⁰ In rural towns and villages, some tavern keepers also had goods for sale; New Milford historian Samuel Orcutt noted that several of the town’s taverns also operated as stores.²¹

The rural retail trade involved a far-reaching network of remote business connections to properly supply and manage inventories. Country shopkeepers journeyed to urban centers several times a year to sell off perishable country produce and restock their stores with fresh goods.²² Samuel Rex regularly undertook the 75-mile trip from Schaefferstown to Philadelphia, where he sold farm products collected from his customers and bought goods from merchants, auction houses, and ships unloading on the wharves.²³ John Hook had direct connections with his overseas suppliers to furnish his New London, Virginia, store, as well as business dealings with other merchants involved in importing goods to America.²⁴ According to Boardman’s invoice book, which documents his accounts with suppliers, he spent several weeks in

¹⁸ Wenger, 120.

¹⁹ Ann Smart Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backcountry Virginia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 1; Wenger, 132.

²⁰ Orcutt does not distinguish between merchants and shopkeepers; presumably many of the so-called merchants were actually shopkeepers. Samuel Orcutt, *History of the Towns of New Milford and Bridgewater, Connecticut, 1703-1882* (Hartford, CT: Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1882), Google e-book, 201-3.

²¹ Orcutt, 495; Wenger, 35-36.

²² Wenger provides a detailed explanation of the movement of goods between country stores and urban centers. Wenger, 113-41.

²³ *Ibid.*, 120, 130, 132.

²⁴ Ann Smart Martin, 1, 15.

New York in August and September 1783 buying goods for his store.²⁵ Later on, Boardman might have relied on his brother Daniel, who operated a wholesaling business in New York, to source his inventory.

Connecticut shopkeepers had the advantage of relative proximity to their suppliers. Most communities were within striking distance of cities on the major trade routes of the Connecticut River or the Atlantic coast; however, transporting goods to and from these markets even over relatively short distances was an arduous task.²⁶ Inland shopkeepers operating within the vicinity of the Connecticut River Valley could conduct business with the numerous wholesalers based in Hartford and Middletown. These local centers were primarily involved in the coasting and West Indies trades; European goods were generally sourced from Boston and New York.²⁷ Boardman's invoice books reveal that much of his merchandise came from New York, although he also had accounts with merchants and shopkeepers in Boston, Philadelphia, New Haven, Norwalk, and Danbury.²⁸

Country stores stocked an array of wares ranging from utilitarian to luxurious, fulfilling both customers' needs for essential items and their desires for fashionable and genteel goods. The myriad goods that fill the pages of Boardman's daybooks were

²⁵ Boardman Invoice Book (vol. 1 1783-1802), The Hon. Elijah Boardman Papers, 1762-1825, Series III: Folders 119-120, New Milford Historical Society, New Milford, CT.

²⁶ Wenger chronicles the overland journey from Schaefferstown to Philadelphia, which involved hiring carters to drive loads to and from the city. Wenger, 125-30. Margaret Martin discusses the improvements made to river and road travel in Connecticut in the 1790s to facilitate trade. Martin, 53-54. Elijah Boardman was involved with the improvement of several roads around New Milford, which was perhaps motivated in part by his business' dependency on reliable and efficient transportation routes. See Elijah Boardman Accounts, 1794-1824, Elijah Boardman Papers, 1782-1853, Litchfield Historical Society collections database, <http://www.litchfieldhistoricalsociety.org/archon/?p=collections/findingaid&id=1053&q=&rootcontentid=12458#id12458> (accessed July 9, 2015).

²⁷ Margaret Martin, 1.

²⁸ Boardman Invoice Books (vols. 1&2, 1783-1802).

typical of what was sold in country stores at the time. The assortment includes groceries such as molasses, raisins, sugar, chocolate, and tea; alcoholic beverages such as rum, brandy, and wine; tools such as hammers, planes, awls, and chisels; hardware such as nails and hinges; household items such as flatware, cooking utensils, and mirrors; books; writing supplies; soap; glass windowpanes and so forth. Textiles, trimmings, sewing notions, and accessories make up a sizeable portion of the goods sold at Boardman's store. Other studies of shopkeepers' account books show that, generally, at least half of the goods sold at country stores were textiles and dress-related goods.²⁹ While this study does not directly compare textiles and related items to other types of goods, a cursory evaluation of the distribution of goods sold indicates that they made up a significant portion of Boardman's trade as well.

In addition to selling consumer items, some shopkeepers also supplied craftspeople with tools and materials for local manufacture, and then sold the finished goods in their stores. Samuel Rex provided a local nailmaker with iron rods, from which he fabricated nails that were sold back to Rex for store credit.³⁰ Boardman also participated in this trade, as evidenced in the transactions with several hatters and shoemakers recorded in his daybooks. Boardman supplied hatter Josiah Lockwood with linings and hatbands, and shoemaker Abner Gunn with shoe binding.³¹ Both men sold numerous finished hats and shoes back to Boardman, indicating that he carried

²⁹ Ann Smart Martin, 56.; Wenger, 55, 124.

³⁰ Wenger, 71.

³¹ Boardman Daybook 8 (October 1797-March 1798), 28 October 1797, Elijah Boardman Accounts, 3:7, Elijah Boardman Papers, Litchfield Historical Society, Litchfield, CT; Boardman Daybook 4 (November 1784-June 1785), 11 March 1785, Elijah and Daniel Boardman Records, 2:2.

these products for sale in his store.³² Boardman also acted as a third-party financial intermediary for other transactions between local artisans and their customers. Several entries debited Boardman's customers for clothing and shoes made by New Milford's tailors and shoemakers, who then received a credit to their store account for this work. Store credit thus became a form of currency itself that was exchanged for work done beyond the realm of the store.

Customers who shopped at country stores like Elijah Boardman's paid for their goods in a variety of ways. While some customers paid up front for their purchases, many bought goods using credit on terms ranging from a few weeks to several months.³³ Eventually, account holders paid debts with cash, commodity payments, or labor.³⁴ Commodity payments referred to goods such as agricultural products or locally manufactured items that were assigned cash values, and served as a common type of currency in country stores throughout America in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.³⁵ The transactions recorded in Boardman's daybooks indicate that his customers participated in the same systems of exchange, buying goods on credit and making intermittent payments by cash, commodities, and labor. The commodities that Boardman's customers traded were wide-ranging and occasionally included textile items such as cloth, yarn, and rags. Boardman probably sold the homespun cloth and yarn in his store, while he sold the rags by the pound to a local paper mill. As a result of the region's thriving household dairying activities, dairy

³² Boardman Daybook 9 (March-September 1798), 5 May 1798, Elijah Boardman Accounts, 3:8; Boardman Daybook 4, 28 February 1785.

³³ Wenger, 105-6.

³⁴ Ibid.; Ann Smart Martin, 72-73.

³⁵ Wenger, 65.

products such as butter and cheese were among the most common forms of commodity payment at Boardman's store.

Shopkeepers used bookkeeping systems of varying complexity to document these transactions and their other business activities. An eighteenth-century bookkeeping manual lists twelve different types of books used in a complete system, with each type serving a different purpose.³⁶ For some shopkeepers, a relatively simple, single-entry bookkeeping system was sufficient. Samuel Rex recorded transactions by day in a daybook and eventually copied the transactions into a ledger, which listed each account name alphabetically, followed by all the transactions made on the account that year.³⁷

Elijah Boardman apparently utilized a more complicated, double-entry system in which transactions and accounts were recorded in several different books. The extant collection of his account books includes daybooks, which were sometimes referred to as journals; blotters, simplified versions of daybooks also known as waste books; ledgers; balance books, or debt books, that totaled balances on accounts on the days that payments were due; and invoice books that recorded accounts with Boardman's suppliers and the other shopkeepers whom he supplied.³⁸ Much of the information in these books overlapped, but was organized differently by book type and used to cross-reference transactions by either date or name.³⁹ The daybooks are

³⁶ Thomas Dilworth, *The Young Book-keepers Assistant: Shewing Him, In the Most Plain and Easy Manner, The Italian Way of Stating Debtor and Creditor* (London, 1765), Google e-book, vi-ix.

³⁷ Wenger, 104.

³⁸ Dilworth, vii-viii.

³⁹ Ann Smart Martin, 68.

particularly useful for studying purchasing patterns because they capture the daily rhythms of customers and goods flowing in and out of the store.

Shopping at Country Stores

While account books provide detailed records of the activities that took place in country stores, the spaces in which these activities occurred are equally important to understanding the shopping experience. Although few such structures have survived, Elijah Boardman's store, which he built in 1793, is still intact on the grounds of the New Milford Historical Society (fig. 7). When Boardman first opened his store in 1781, it was located in the southern half of the Daniel Bostwick longhouse, a double-saltbox building that stood on the northwest corner of New Milford's town green.⁴⁰ In 1782, Elijah and Daniel purchased this part of the Bostwick longhouse, and in subsequent years, bought the rest of the house and several acres of land surrounding it.⁴¹ Here, just south of the Bostwick longhouse, Elijah Boardman built his new house and store between 1793 and 1796 (fig. 8).⁴² The new shop was a gambrel-roof structure with a center doorway flanked by two large windows. The store's second story could be accessed from the outside by a large opening directly above the center entrance, through which goods could be hauled up to the storage area. Boardman had a brick tunnel constructed between his house and the store as a passageway between the store and additional storage in the house's basement.⁴³

The building's present interior offers little information about its layout when it operated as a store in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It was first

⁴⁰ This house was torn down in the late nineteenth century. Orcutt, 495.

⁴¹ "Elijah Boardman," New Milford Historical Society genealogical files, New Milford, CT.

⁴² Carley, 45.

⁴³ Carley, 48.

Figure 7. Elijah Boardman's store at New Milford Historical Society in 2015.

Figure 8. Detail showing Bostwick longhouse (right) and Boardman's new store (left),
Ralph Earl, *Houses Fronting New Milford Green*, 1796,
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY.

moved down the hill from its original location sometime in the nineteenth century, where it became a residence for several decades, and then was relocated again on the same street after 1914.⁴⁴ The building was moved to its current location just north of the town green on the grounds of the New Milford Historical Society in 1995.⁴⁵ In light of the many functions the building served since its construction, it likely has had a number of reconfigurations. In its current iteration, the building has one large room on the first floor and one large room on the second floor, which is accessed by a back-corner stairwell. The original flooring, which might have indicated locations of interior walls, doorways, stairwells, and counters, has not survived.

The original layout of Boardman's store can be conjectured from Ann Smart Martin's descriptions of country-store building types. The first floor was probably divided into two rooms: a front room accessed by the main door and a back room.⁴⁶ The front room was the store's primary public space. Large windows lit this room and might have displayed goods to entice customers from the street.⁴⁷ The front room likely was lined with shelves, drawers, and possibly glass cases used for both the display and storage of wares.⁴⁸ A counter would have delineated the space occupied by the store's employees and customers, and served as a surface on which to measure goods and conduct transactions.⁴⁹ The counting room, located at the back of the store,

⁴⁴ "Elijah Boardman", New Milford Historical Society genealogical files, New Milford, CT.

⁴⁵ "Historical Society Timeline," *The Greater New Milford Spectrum*, April 22, 2015, <http://www.newmilfordspectrum.com/local/article/HISTORICAL-SOCIETY-TIMELINE-6216872.php> (accessed July 10, 2015).

⁴⁶ Ann Smart Martin, 151.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 152.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

was an office in which other business, such as accounting and correspondence, took place.⁵⁰ This room also could be used for entertaining customers and housing the store's clerks, who often lived on the premises.⁵¹ The second floor room was likely used for storage; boxes, crates, and barrels would be hoisted up through the second floor doorway.⁵²

In an early American country store, shopkeepers and their employees controlled many aspects of customers' interactions with their goods. While they might have displayed goods to catch customers' eyes, shopping was not a self-service activity.⁵³ Shopkeepers needed to balance protecting their goods from damage or theft and allowing customers access to them to encourage sales.⁵⁴ Store employees served customers by pulling out goods for them to examine under supervision.⁵⁵ They would also assess the customers' ability to pay before quoting prices and extending terms of credit.⁵⁶ At Boardman's store, customers seeking textiles and apparel-related goods would be assisted by Boardman or one of his clerks, who would lay out bolts of cloth, lengths of ribbon, and assortments of buttons on the counter for the customer's inspection.⁵⁷ Slight variations in the prices paid for these goods by different customers, as well as intermittent notations of "cash price," seen in his daybooks suggest that Boardman adjusted his prices based on currency and the terms of credit. A

⁵⁰ Ann Smart Martin, 153.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid., 151.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 156.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Most of the transactions recorded in the daybooks used in this study were not written in Elijah Boardman's handwriting, indicating that he regularly employed at least one clerk.

large part of the shopping experience in country stores was defined by the relationships between customers and shopkeepers, who had the ability to extend or limit customers' access to goods at their discretion.

Country stores were hubs of social and recreational, as well as commercial, activity in their communities. Accounts of shopping trips documented in journals reveal that such excursions could involve large family groups and last several hours.⁵⁸ For young people, and young women in particular, stores often served as venues in which to socialize without parental supervision.⁵⁹ Boardman's daybooks allude to some of the recreational aspects of his customers' comings and goings. Occurrences of several transactions charged to one account over the course of a day suggest that some of his customers lingered in the store for long periods of time, perhaps using the opportunity to catch up on news or gossip. Frequent purchases of trinkets, such as lengths of ribbon, intimate the pleasure of browsing through Boardman's goods for the novelty of some small ornament. Entries listing pairs of young women buying goods hint at unchaperoned social outings. These transactions attest to the steady stream of customers who populated his store daily to engage in both the business and pleasure of shopping.

Conclusion

As commerce flourished at the turn of the nineteenth century, country shopkeepers played increasingly important roles in the towns and villages of rural America. They acted as liaisons between consumers and the global marketplace by facilitating the exchange of local products with foreign goods sourced from often-

⁵⁸ Ann Smart Martin, 165.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 166-67.

distant urban centers. Country produce was a common form of currency in these stores; in New Milford, Boardman's customers traded their surplus butter and cheese for buttons and handkerchiefs among other things. While shopkeepers brought imported wares into their communities, they also supported local trades by providing artisans such as tailors, hatters, and shoemakers with tools and materials, and, in some cases, an outlet in which to sell their products.

Country stores brimmed with goods and bustled with activity. Account books show that customers could obtain all manner of goods with cash, credit, or commodity payments. Shopping also served a recreational role: customers could socialize with friends and browse the store's selection while they made their purchases. Textiles and dress-related goods made up a large part of the business in these stores. The following chapters examine various aspects of these particular transactions at Boardman's store to illustrate the types of goods that his customers bought and their purchasing patterns.

Chapter Six

An Overview of Textiles and Dress-Related Goods at Elijah Boardman's Store

Elijah Boardman stands proudly in front of a storeroom stocked to the ceiling with bolts of fabric of various sorts in his 1789 portrait. While Boardman sold many types of goods at his store, textiles are the only ones featured in his portrait, indicating the importance of this commodity to his business activities. Throughout the colonial and early national periods, cloth made up the largest portion of goods imported to America, providing many merchants and shopkeepers throughout the land with prosperous livelihoods.¹ The immense variety of textile types available by this time attests to the manufacturing prowess of a global industry that offered American consumers an unprecedented number of choices.

In a 1782 newspaper advertisement, Boardman's textile inventory received top billing—a list that included no fewer than twenty-three different textile types in a variety of colors and patterns—followed by numerous accessories, trimmings, and notions (fig. 9).² Within the walls of one store, his customers could select from a diverse assortment of textiles and dress-related goods to suit their needs. The following analysis of the purchases recorded in Boardman's daybooks during 1784-85, 1797-98, and 1810-11 provides insights into the types of goods that people bought, demonstrating the wide range of textile and dress-related goods sold at Boardman's

¹ Florence Montgomery, *Textiles in America, 1650-1870* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007), xi.

² *The Connecticut Journal*, 14 February 1782, nfoweb.newsbank.com.ezproxy.bpl.org/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p_product=EANX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=J5FR50QHMTQ0MDM1MTY3Mi42MTAxNDU6MToxMzoxOTIuODAuNjUuMTE2&p_action=doc&s_lastnonissuequeryname=5&d_viewref=search&p_queryname=5&p_docnum=5&p_docref=v2:1035C6AC8931AEF8@EANX-103B66C415B554E0@2371967-103B66C424C0E5B4@0-103B66C4AA36B809@ (accessed August 23, 2015).

T O B E S O L D,
By Elijah Boardman,

A few Rods North of the Meeting-House
in New-Milford, for Cash, State's Mo-
ney, or Country Produce in Hand ;

SUPERFINE blue, white, and mix'd
Broad-Cloth--dark and light blue,
green, garnet, London-brown, and light
2d do. buff Casamur, Baize, Shaloons,
Durants and Calimanco, Corderoys and
Velvets, Sergedenims, Plush, Calicoes &
Chintz, Irish Linen, Lasting, Taffaty, Sat-
tin and Mode, black Lace, black, white,
striped, spotted, and plain Silk Cauzes,
Millinet, Cambric, Lawn, Muslin, ban-
dano, romal, and Barcelona silk Hand-
kerchiefs, check'd and stamp'd linen do.
black and figur'd Ribbands, plain and
rib'd worsted Hose, Quality Binding,
Buttons, Sewing Silk, Twitt, Thread,
worsted Gloves and Mitts, Hat Binding,
Hair Pins, Pins and Needles, Knives and
Forks, Jack Knives, Razors, Spoons,
Grocery Ware, Frying Pans, Wool-
Cards, Writing Paper Ink Powder, Tes-
taments, Spelling Books, Primers, Psalm
Books, Common Prayer Books.

Also Rum, Sugar, Molasses, Tea, Cof-
fee, Indigo, Pepper, Chalk, Salt, Bar-
Iron. Likewise an Assortment of HOL-
LOW WARE.

New-Milford, January 26, 1782.

Figure 9. Elijah Boardman Advertisement, *The Connecticut Journal*,
14 February 1782, New Haven, CT.

store and the effects that technological innovations and fashion changes had on their consumption.

Textile Sales

During the three years examined for this study, Elijah Boardman's textile sales far exceeded those of any other related goods sold at his store. Each year, Boardman sold dozens of different textile types, from coarse utility fabrics to sumptuous silk dress goods. Entries of sales in Boardman's daybooks were brief, often lacking specific descriptions of color or pattern, but the textile names themselves reveal much about fiber types, weave structures, finishes, and possible end uses. In one word, "calimanco" describes a wool fabric with a glazed finish that was used for both men's and women's garments, women's shoes, and various furnishing textiles; the ¼ yard purchased by Stephen Chittenden, a shoemaker, on June 8, 1784, suggests that this fabric was intended for a pair of shoes.³ Because they are a particularly rich source of information, textile purchases are discussed in depth in the following pages. This section focuses on the overall annual purchases of four textile groups—wool, cotton, linen, and silk—and the different textile types within these groups to determine the kinds of textiles acquired by Boardman's customers at his store and how this changed over time. The individual quantities of textiles purchased and their end uses also are addressed briefly here, but will be considered in more depth in the following chapter.

Wool Textiles

From 1784-85 to 1810-11, wool textiles made up the most varied group of textile types sold at Elijah Boardman's store. The versatility of wool yarn production

³ Montgomery, 185-87; Boardman Daybook 3 (May-November 1784), 8 June 1784, Elijah and Daniel Boardman Records, 2:2, Elijah Boardman Papers, Litchfield Historical Society, Litchfield, CT.

allowed for the manufacture of an immense assortment of weaves, weights, and finishes to accommodate numerous end uses. Woolens such as broadcloth, baize, and kersey were woven of yarns with short fibers prepared with cards, and were often fulled and napped to give them a dense, soft finish.⁴ Worsted textiles such as calimanco, durant, and everlasting had yarns of longer wool fibers that were processed with wool combs, which produced lighter weight textiles with a smooth finish.⁵ Valued for their durability, warmth, and dyeability, wool textiles had long been a staple in the wardrobes of men and women of all classes in both Europe and America.⁶

Sales at Boardman's store reflect the diversity and ubiquity of wool textiles in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Table 1 lists total yardages of wool textile types sold each year along with their prices. Boardman stocked and sold woolens and worsteds that ranged from superfine broadcloth, priced well over £1 per yard, to durant, which cost only a few shillings per yard. Both textile types, the former a luxurious woolen and the latter a cheap, glazed worsted, were predominantly used for the same sorts of men's garments such as coats.⁷ In the relatively limited vocabulary of garment styles in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the textiles from which garments were made signified their quality.⁸ Sales of inexpensive wool textiles such as camblet, durant, shalloon, russell, and flannel outstripped sales of more costly wool textiles at Boardman's store, reflecting the modest means of many of his customers. These common textiles, probably used for workaday clothing, were

⁴ Montgomery, 375.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Linda Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America* (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2002), 78.

⁷ Montgomery, 179, 238.

⁸ Baumgarten, 114.

Table 1. Wool Textile Types Sold By Year

	1784-85		1797-98		1810-11	
TYPE	yards	prices*	yards	prices	yards	prices
baize	36.2	3/9 – 4/4	96.9	2/4 – 4/9	29.7	2/2 – 2/4
bombaset	--	--	--	--	74.3	2/5 – 4/6
broadcloth	5.4	10/3 – 38/6	69.6	12/ – 39/	49.6	9/4 – 46/
calimanco	93.2	1/8 – 2/	9.5	2/6	6.8	2/10
camblet	275.8	1/4 – 2/8	19.5	2/3 – 2/8	--	--
(cassimere)	--	--	16.7	14/ – 20/	65.7	8/ – 22/
cloth	109.1	8/ – 35/	124.3	3/ – 40/	12.4	3/ – 34/
coating	76.6	7/ – 10/4	82.1	6/ – 10/	50.4	5/6 – 13/6
crape**	--	--	--	--	8.3	6/ – 16/6
damascus**	3.8	8/8	--	--	--	--
drapery	21.4	2/4 – 4/	--	--	--	--
durant	269.4	1/3 – 2/8	112.1	2/ – 2/8	5	2/ – 2/6
flannel	42.5	2/4 – 6/	263.1	3/2 – 7/6	236.4	2/10 – 13/
florentine**	10	13/ – 19/6	26.8	4/10 – 6/	5.5	4/4
forest cloth	9.1	12/ – 14/6	76.6	4/9 – 9/6	29.1	3/9 – 6/6
lasting	47.8	3/6 – 6/8	--	--	--	--
moreen	60	2/11 – 3/9	86.6	2/8 – 3/3	--	--
plush**	16.1	5/ – 11/	36.1	6/ – 12/	--	--
rateen	7.8	7/6 – 8/	--	--	--	--
ratinet	40.1	2/10 – 3/6	30.4	3/4 – 4/6	--	--
russell	17.6	3/10 – 4/	173	1/8 – 3/10	5.5	2/6
satin**	47	5/6 – 9/3	116	9/6 – 16/5	7.8	7/11 – 13/
satinet**	162	3/6 – 6/	18.1	2/9 – 5/8	2	5/
say	1.8	8/10	--	--	--	--
serge	141.6	5/8 – 7/10	5	6/4 – 6/6	1	6/3
shag	10.5	11/ – 12/9	1.9	12/	--	--
shalloon	168	2/2 – 3/	72.3	2/6 – 4/2	--	--
stuff	4	1/8	--	--	--	--
(taborine)	22.4	2/4 – 3/	--	--	--	--
taboret**	1.5	2/9	--	--	--	--
tammy	86.1	1/7 – 2/4	3	1/5	--	--
thickset**	--	--	3.5	6/	--	--
vesting**	--	--	0.9	15/	1.8	8/8 – 16/
wildbore	--	--	61.5	1/9 – 2/6	3	--
wool shirting	7.8	3/3	--	--	--	--
TOTAL***	1554.3		1304.1		563.9	

* prices reflect range in shillings/pence

** denotes textile that may or may not be wool; () = wool blend or mixture

*** total does not include possible wool textiles

within reach of the country farmers and tradesmen, among whom purchases of more expensive textiles for finer clothing likely would have been less frequent.

Cotton Textiles

Even as his customers continued to purchase many wool textiles into the early nineteenth century, the number of types and total yardage sold at Boardman's store decreased overall in 1797-98 1810-11. This decline was accompanied by a noteworthy increase in cotton textile sales as seen in table 2. While cotton textiles had been available to European and American consumers since the early seventeenth century, late eighteenth-century improvements in cotton spinning processes increased the supply and lowered their prices in the marketplace.⁹ The growing availability of these textiles is reflected in the sales of 1797-98 and 1810-11, during which Boardman sold considerably more types and yardage of cotton textiles than in 1784-85. Cotton textiles at his store were comparable in cost to some of the mid-priced wool textiles in 1784-85; in later years, their prices had dropped substantially.

The desire for cotton textiles proliferated as they became more easily obtainable, particularly for printed types such as calicoes and chintzes. These textiles were favored for their novel designs, which ranged from simple, one-color geometric prints to complex, five-color floral and foliate motifs.¹⁰ The difference between calico and chintz during this period is unclear. Calico referred both to the plain cotton textiles upon which designs could be printed and to printed cotton textiles in general.¹¹ Chintzes were printed cotton textiles that were often, but not always, finished with a

⁹ Beverly Lemire, *Cotton* (New York: Berg, 2011), 78-82.

¹⁰ Susan W. Greene, *Wearable Prints, 1760-1860: History, Materials, and Mechanics* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2014): 28-29, 75.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 77, 81.

glaze.¹² Boardman sold large quantities of both types in all three years; the average price of chintz at his store was one to two shillings higher than that of calico, indicating that the fabrics were distinct.

Table 2. Cotton Textile Types Sold By Year

	1784-85		1797-98		1810-11	
TYPE	yards	prices*	yards	prices*	yards	prices*
calico	285	3/2 – 5/9	365.9	2/5 – 6/	623.1	1/4 – 4/
cambric	--	--	--	--	10.3	2/6 – 4/9
cassimere	--	--	--	--	60.6	2/ – 7/6
chintz	112.6	5/ – 7/3	497.9	3/3 – 7/	109.1	2/ – 4/
coating	--	--	--	--	7.5	7/6
corduroy	37.5	5/6 – 6/	7	6/6 – 7/	--	--
cotton	--	--	--	--	1.5	4/
diaper	--	--	--	--	5.1	2/6
dimity	2.5	3/9 – 4/	60	2/10 – 5/	38	2/10 – 7/
(fustian)	102.9	2/8 – 3/6	56.3	1/10 – 3/	--	--
gingham	--	--	9.8	4/4	41.3	1/6 – 2/9
humhum	--	--	251.3	1/ – 2/11	364.3	1/ – 2/6
(jean)	90.6	2/7 – 4/4	14	2/7 – 2/11	3.8	4/ – 5/6
milanet**	14.5	1/4 – 1/8	1	1/4	14.7	1/6 – 2/
muslin	--	--	128.6	2/ – 11/	121	3/3 – 11/
nankeen	71.3	2/6 – 2/9	295.8	1/6 – 3/	81.6	1/8 – 2/3
oilcloth**	--	--	--	--	12.3	3/8 – 4/
royal rib**	--	--	21.8	5/4 – 6/	--	--
sateen**	4.5	8/	--	--	--	--
satinet**	162	4/ – 6/4	18.1	2/9 – 5/8	2	5/
seersucker	--	--	--	--	1	7/
shirting**	11.3	3/3	10.5	3/4 – 4/6	45.4	2/10 – 4/
thickset**	--	--	3.5	6/	--	--
velvet**	100.4	5/9 – 9/6	23.7	5/6 – 10/6	61.8	4/9 – 9/
TOTAL***	702.4		1686.6		1480.4	

* prices reflect range in shillings/pence

** denotes textile that may or may not be cotton; () = cotton-linen mixture

*** total does not include possible cotton textiles; 1810-11 total includes 17.3 yards of shirting specified as cotton

The range of price points for printed cotton textiles at Boardman's store also indicates varying degrees of quality within the specific types; the more expensive

¹² Greene, 75.

chintzes and calicoes might have been fine Indian imports, whereas the less expensive ones were probably lesser-quality textiles produced either in India or Britain.¹³

Overall, these textiles were relatively affordable and therefore not limited to the wardrobes and homes of the wealthy: evidence from eighteenth-century runaway advertisements shows that servants and slaves also wore printed cotton clothing.¹⁴

Garments made from these textiles included women's gowns and petticoats; children's clothing; banyans worn by men at home; and accessories such as detachable pockets, handkerchiefs, and shawls.¹⁵

By century's end, printed cotton textiles had largely taken the place of many of the wool, linen, and silk textiles used in women's clothing earlier in the eighteenth century, even in New England's cool climate.¹⁶ The 1790s and 1800s saw a shift from the fuller, more structured women's styles of earlier decades to softer, more elongated neoclassical silhouettes.¹⁷ Printed cotton fabrics suited the new styles and, as these textiles became more affordable, greater numbers of women from all economic backgrounds dressed in them. As this fashion change took hold in New Milford, Boardman's trade in printed cotton textiles picked up—his sales in calico alone more than doubled between 1784-85 and 1810-11—numbering among the most commonly sold fabrics in his store in 1797-98 and 1810-11.

¹³ Greene explains that both Asian and European manufacturers produced printed cotton textiles of varying quality. Greene, 36, 42.

¹⁴ Rebecca Fifield, "'Had on When She Went Away...': Expanding the Usefulness of Garment Data in American Runaway Advertisements 1750-1790 through Database Analysis," *Textile History* 42 (May 2011): 84-85.

¹⁵ Greene, 29, 32, 42, 122, 180, figures; Boardman sold chintz shawls and calico handkerchiefs as finished goods, but it is possible that his customers purchased yardage for these accessories as well.

¹⁶ Catherine Fennelly, *The Garb of Country New Englanders 1790-1840: Costumes at Old Sturbridge Village* (Sturbridge, MA: Old Sturbridge Village Inc., 1966), 4.

¹⁷ Norah Waugh, *The Cut of Women's Clothes, 1600-1930* (New York: Routledge, 1968), 131-33.

In addition to the much-sought-after printed fabrics, Boardman sold several other cotton textile types at his store during these years in ever-increasing amounts. Muslin, sold in 1797-98 and 1810-11, was a lightweight, often-white, textile favored for the delicate gowns and accessories that came into fashion at the turn of the nineteenth century.¹⁸ Gingham, a cotton textile with colored striped or checks that was used for both men's and women's garments, also appeared in his daybooks in 1797-98 and 1810-11.¹⁹ Nankeen, a cotton fabric imported in great quantities from China by American merchants after the Revolution, was a popular textile for men's clothing in the late-eighteenth century, as seen in its peak sales at Boardman's store in 1797-98.²⁰ Boardman's flourishing sales of cotton textiles were not limited to fashionable garment fabrics: by 1797-98 he was selling a large quantity of humhum, an inexpensive cotton fabric used for toweling.²¹ This signaled the gradual replacement of linen with cotton even in basic utility fabrics. Sales of cotton cassimere, coating, cambric and shirting in 1810-11, textiles that had previously been manufactured from wool and linen but by the early nineteenth century were also produced from cotton, further reflect this trend.

Linen Textiles

Boardman's customers also purchased various types of linen textiles at his store, although their sales also decreased appreciably with the influx of inexpensive cotton textiles in the early nineteenth century. Until this point, linen textiles were an essential part of most early American households. They were used for almost every

¹⁸ Akiko Fukai, "Rococo and Neoclassical Clothing," in *Revolution in Fashion: European Clothing, 1715-1815* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1989), 116.

¹⁹ Greene, 64, caption.

²⁰ Montgomery, 308.

²¹ Ibid., 262.

type of garment as well as for bedding and table linens. New England had a long tradition of local linen manufacturing that had been established by English and Irish immigrant weavers in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.²² However, local production did not fully meet the demand for linen textiles, as seen in the robust sales of linen textiles at Boardman's store in 1784-85 and 1797-98 (table 3).

For the most part, the prices of linen textiles sold at Boardman's store ranged from two to four shillings, similar to the prices of his inexpensive wool and cotton textile types. This suggests that majority of Boardman's linen sales were thus of middle- to lower-grade textiles, which perhaps were comparable to the linen textiles produced by local weavers. He sold large quantities of tow cloth, a cheap, coarse fabric manufactured from short flax fibers called tow. This fabric generally was used for utility purposes such as grain sacks.²³ A number of accounts were credited for tow cloth, revealing that local weavers made at least some of Boardman's stock and exchanged their products at his store. Most of the other linen textiles Boardman sold each year were recorded in his daybooks simply as "linen." These entries were occasionally accompanied by descriptors such as "brown" (meaning unbleached), "checked," "striped," or "fine." Boardman did sell small amounts of high-quality linen textiles such as lawn and cambric, likely used for fine accessories such as caps, sleeve and neck ruffles, aprons, and handkerchiefs, which were priced between seven and twelve shillings per yard.

²² Martha Coons, *All Sorts of Good Sufficient Cloth: Linen-Making in New England, 1640-1860* (North Andover, MA: Merrimack Valley Textile Museum, 1980), 11-12.

²³ Paul E. Rivard, *A New Order of Things: How The Textile Industry Transformed New England* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2002), 31.

Boardman's linen textile sales suggest that a clear division of type and quality between domestically produced textiles and store-bought textiles did not always exist. In 1784-85 and 1797-98, his customers purchased large amounts of utilitarian linen textiles alongside British broadcloth and chintz. Even in the case of common linen and cotton textiles, the labor, equipment, and expertise required to produce such textiles at home generally outweighed the cost of purchasing them from a store.²⁴ By 1810-11, linen sales dropped precipitously while calico sales nearly doubled from their 1797-98 levels, indicating that store-bought printed cotton textiles had largely taken the place of linen in common clothing.

Table 3. Linen Textile Types Sold By Year

	1784-85		1797-98		1810-11	
TYPE	yards	prices*	yards	prices	yards	prices
buckram	20.8	1/8 – 1/10	5.5	2/	--	--
cambric	16.1	8/ – 11/	9.3	6/ – 16/	10.1	2/9 – 6/3
diaper**	--	--	--	--	5.1	2/6
holland	27	2/ – 4/10	2.5	2/ – 2/8	10.1	2/3 – 2/6
lawn	23.6	4/8 – 11/4	9.7	2/3 – 10/4	--	--
linen	480.2	2/2 – 4/7	352	2/ – 4/10	44.5	2/2 – 8/1
oilcloth**	--	--	--	--	12.3	3/8 – 4/
shirting**	11.3	3/3	10.5	3/4 – 3/6	61.8	2/10 – 4/
tow cloth	271.8	1/2 – 1/8	421	1/8 – 2/6	88	1/ – 2/9
TOTAL***	839.5		800		152.7	

* prices reflect range in shillings/pence

** denotes textile that may or may not be linen

*** total does not include possible linen textiles

Silk Textiles

The customers who shopped at Boardman's store primarily bought serviceable textiles suitable for sturdy clothing. Not surprisingly, Boardman sold significantly fewer silk textiles than those of wool, cotton, or linen (table 4). Silk textiles were among the more expensive fabrics sold at Boardman's store: their prices, roughly

²⁴ Greene, 64-65.

between seven and twelve shillings per yard, were similar to the prices of better quality wool, cotton, and linen textiles. Boardman also sold a few less-expensive silk textiles such as sarcenet, a lightweight fabric that cost between three and four shillings per yard in 1784-85, the same price as a yard of linen. However, such textiles did not offer the warmth and durability of wool, nor the washability of cotton and linen, thereby making them impractical choices for the daily garments of farmers and tradespeople. Occasional purchases of several yards of taffeta and lustring show that the wives and daughters of a few of New Milford's families (including the Boardmans—Elijah's sister and wife both sat for portraits by Ralph Earl in elegant silk gowns) could afford the luxury of a silk gown.

Boardman typically sold short lengths of silk textiles that could accommodate small articles of clothing and accessories rather than full suits of clothes. Three-quarter-yard lengths of mode and taffeta, frequently bought along with bonnet paper and wire, were clearly intended for the fashionable silk bonnets of this period.²⁵ Gauze, an inexpensive, open-weave fabric, was one of the most commonly purchased silk textiles in 1784-85. This diaphanous fabric, also typically sold in short lengths, was favored for women's fine accessories such as caps and lappets, sleeve ruffles, and handkerchiefs.²⁶ Much like linen textiles, sales of silk fabric declined in 1797-98 and 1810-11 as cotton textiles became more fashionable even for more formal clothing.

²⁵ John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 39, fig. 18.

²⁶ Santina M. Levey, *Lace: A History* (Leeds, UK: W.S. Maney & Son, 1990), 74.

Table 4. Silk Textile Types Sold By Year

	1784-85		1797-98		1810-11	
TYPE	yards	prices*	yards	prices*	yards	prices*
crape**	--	--	0.3	3/6	8.3	6/ – 16/6
damascus**	3.8	8/8	--	--	--	--
florentine**	10	13/ – 19/6	26.8	4/10 – 6/	5.5	--
gauze	129.2	2/4 – 3/3	42.5	2/ – 3/10	4.1	2/ – 6/
leno**	--	--	0.5	2/6	5.3	--
lustring	53.2	8/7 – 9/6	40.8	8/ – 8/9	13.1	10/ – 14/
milanet**	15.5	1/4 – 1/8	1	1/4	14.9	1/6 – 2/
mode	57	6/1 – 8/	18.7	4/4 – 7/	2	7/ – 8/
pelong	0.8	5/	--	--	3.9	6/ – 13/
persian	8.2	12/ – 12/6	19.4	8/ – 10/	0.4	6/ - 9/9
plush**	5	5/ – 11/	36.1	6/ – 12/	--	--
sarcenet	10	3/ – 3/3	15		6.1	5/6 – 6/9
satin**	47	5/6 – 9/3	2.5	9/6 – 16/5	10.5	7/11 – 17/
taffeta	24	7/6 – 8/9	59.9	9/6 – 12/8	--	--
(taborine)	22.4	2/4 – 3/	--	--	--	--
taboret**	1.5	2/9	--	--	--	--
velvet**	100.6	5/9 – 33/4	23.7	5/6 – 10/6	61.8	4/9 – 9/
vesting	--	--	0.9	15/	1.8	8/3 – 16/
TOTAL***	309.8		196.6		39.4	

* prices reflect range in shillings/pence

** denotes textile that may or may not be silk; () = silk-wool mixture

*** total does not include possible cotton textiles; 1784-85 total includes 5 yd plush, 1797-98 includes 0.3 yd crape, 1810-11 total includes 1.5 yd florentine, all of which are specified as silk

Overall Textile Sales

The highest-selling textiles in all three years reflect the same patterns seen in sales of textile groups and types (table 5). Boardman's customers predominantly bought textiles in the middle to lower price ranges and of the sorts that would typically be found in the modest homes and wardrobes of farmers and tradesmen. Boardman sold large quantities of camblet, durant, and linen in 1784-85 when wool and linen textiles still made up the majority of men's and women's garments. Cotton-textile purchases increased steadily over the three years while sales in wool, silk, and linen textiles fell as technology advanced, fashions changed, and prices dropped.

Table 5. Highest-Selling Textile Types By Year

1784-85		1797-98		1810-11	
type	yards	type	yards	type	yards
linen	480.2	chintz (c)	497.9	calico (c)	623.1
calico (c)	285	tow cloth (l)	421	humhum (c)	364
camblet (w)	275.6	calico (c)	365.9	flannel (w)	236.4
tow cloth (l)	271.8	linen	352	muslin (c)	121
durant (w)	269.4	nankeen (c)	295.8	chintz (c)	109.1

(fiber type: c=cotton, l=linen, w=wool)

Calico sales in 1810-11 were significantly higher than sales of any other textile in all three years, portending the dominance of inexpensive printed cotton textiles among the dress of the middle and lower classes throughout the nineteenth century. Although it was not until the 1830s that the widespread use of cylinder-printing machines enabled American factories to produce millions of yards of these fabrics, by 1810-11 Boardman's customers were already avid consumers of calico.²⁷ The sales of calico in 1810-11, which surpassed those of any other textile type in earlier years, further suggests a growing reliance on store-bought textiles over those produced domestically.

Trimmings

Boardman offered an abundance of trimmings among the large selection of yard goods for sale at his store (table 6). His customers purchased far more ribbon than any other trimming during all three years. Sales of ribbon occasionally referenced their width, color, or end use (such as hair ribbon), suggesting that Boardman stocked many different types. They were relatively inexpensive embellishments—typically costing less than a shilling a yard—and thereby within the means of even his poor customers. Ribbons served both utilitarian and decorative functions in the late

²⁷ Greene, 47.

eighteenth century: men and women used ribbons to dress their hair, and women trimmed gowns, caps, hats, and bonnets with them as well. At a time when replacing garments and accessories was costly, his customers might have bought ribbons to update their wardrobes; a new set of ribbons could freshen up an old gown or bonnet. Their ribbon purchases also might have served a social function. A long tradition of exchanging ribbons as tokens of affection had existed in Europe, and evidence shows that this practice continued in rural America in the late eighteenth century.²⁸ The purchase of three yards of love ribbon by David Northrop on May 6, 1785, a type of ribbon used to attach small objects to sleeves or undergarments, suggests that some might have participated in these customs.²⁹

Boardman's customers also bought substantial quantities of lace in 1784-85 and 1797-98, listed simply as lace or bobbin (presumably referring to bobbin lace) in his daybooks. Lace was a fashionable trimming for women's garments and accessories in the late eighteenth century, and lace-making regions throughout Europe produced countless styles of lace ranging from exquisite accessories to lengths of simple narrow edging.³⁰ Boardman's daybooks do not specify the types of lace sold at his store, but their prices, from six pence to nearly five shillings per yard, indicate an assortment in quality, complexity, and width. Lace typically ornamented women's caps, sleeve ruffles, and handkerchiefs during the late eighteenth century. By 1810-11, young, unmarried women no longer wore caps and sleeve ruffles had fallen out

²⁸ Martin discusses the social and cultural meanings behind the exchange of ribbons as gifts. See Ann Smart Martin, *Buying Into the World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backcountry Virginia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 167-72.

²⁹ Boardman Daybook 4 (November 1784-June 1785), 6 May 1785, Elijah and Daniel Boardman Records, 2:2.

³⁰ Levey, 77-85.

fashion, which perhaps accounts for the drop in lace sales that year. Ribbon sales remained strong in 1810-11 however, as they continued to decorate women's hairstyles, hats, and bonnets in the early nineteenth century.

Table 6. Trimming Types Sold By Year

	1784-85		1797-9		1810-11	
TYPE	yards	prices	yards	prices	yards	prices
binding	247.4	2d - 7½d	18.7/139.3*	1½d - 2/6	12/49.5*	1d - 2/3°
bobbin	--	--	14*	6d	1/7***	5d - 8d
edging	42.5	4d - 1/6	69	9d - 2/6	--	--
ferret	1/8.3*	2d - 3d	1/59.8*	2d - 2/3°	12.3	2d - 8d
galloon	--	--	63	3d - 4d	4.9	4d
gimp	--	--	10	9d	--	--
lace	157.9	4d - 4/4	4/277.9*	4d - 3/8	19.3	2/3 - 12/
looping	9.5	1d	1/2/1.5/0.5**	2/2 - 6/6°	--	--
quality binding	106.3	2d - 3d	1/65.1*	2d	51	2d
ribbon	343.7	3d - 3/6	369.4	4d - 1/10	204.2	6d - 8/
tape	39.3	2d - 5d	29/73.8*	9d - 1/3°	25.5/2/6.5**	1d - 1/
taste	26	1½d - 3d	50	2d - 4d	5	2d - 6d

* pieces/yards

** looping in 97-98 = bunch/pieces/pounds/yards; tape in 10-11 = pieces/sticks/yards

*** pieces/bunches

° price range from yards to pieces

Note: Pieces and bunches were units of measure denoting several yards, although the specific length of each varied from one trimming or textile to another. The store sold some trimmings, such as looping, by the pound.

In addition to purchases of decorative ribbons and lace at Boardman's store, more utilitarian types of trimming included tape, binding, and edging. Some, such as taste and ferret, were often of silk; others were made from wool, cotton, or linen. Judging from the quantities purchased, such items served many functions in the households and wardrobes of Boardman's customers. They had a range of garment-related uses such as edge binding on shoes and petticoats, and ties on waistcoats, petticoats, aprons, and jackets. Tapes and bindings were probably also purchased for household uses such as ties and edging on drapery. It is unclear why the sales of these functional trimmings declined substantially in 1810-11; perhaps one of Boardman's

competitors offered better prices on these items or Boardman no longer stocked as much as he had previously.

Notions, Tools, and Materials

Elijah Boardman not only supplied his customers with the textiles and trimmings for garments and household textiles, but also with the notions and tools to make them. His customers purchased fastenings such as buttons, hooks and eyes, and buckles alongside yard goods for clothing. The hundreds of skeins and hanks of silk, thread, and twist sold at his store each year, along with needles, pins, thimbles, and scissors demonstrate that sewing was a regular activity within the households of his customers. While many households employed professional tailors and gownmakers to make more complex outer garments such as coats, breeches, and gowns, wives, daughters, and female servants also produced clothing.³¹ Skilled artisans often cut, fitted, and basted garments together, leaving the time-consuming work of stitching to their customers.³² The making of simple linen undergarments, accessories, and furnishing textiles such as bedding was typically done in the home, as well as the general maintenance of the household's apparel.³³ Whether simply mending or producing full garments, sewing was a daily task in the households of Boardman's customers.

³¹ The diaries and correspondence cited by Miller and Nylander reveal that the amount of clothing production undertaken by wives and daughters varied among households. Women who were adept at needlework often produced large quantities of their families' clothing at home, whereas other women preferred (and had the resources) to hire this work out to others. Marla Miller, *The Needle's Eye: Women and Work in the Age of Revolution* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), 65-66; Jane C. Nylander, *Our Own Snug Fireside: Images of the New England Home 1760-1860* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 151-60.

³² Miller, 84.

³³ Nylander, 148-62.

Boardman's customers also regularly purchased tools and materials used in various aspects of textile production. Regular sales of dyestuffs and mordants such as indigo, logwood, copperas, and alum in all three years indicate that domestic production of textiles continued even with the proliferation of inexpensive store-bought textiles. Boardman also sold tools and materials for fiber processing and spinning, although the rate of these sales declined over the decades as factories began to take over this work. Customers purchased more wool cards, used in the preparation of wool fibers for spinning, in 1784-85 than in 1797-98, and bought even fewer in 1810-11. The establishment of carding mills throughout the New England countryside at the turn of the nineteenth century relieved many rural households of the tedious labor of hand carding wool, which could instead be sent out to the carding mill.³⁴ Entries in Boardman's 1810-11 daybook debited several accounts for wool carded at a local mill, showing that his customers availed themselves of this service for wool roving that they then spun into yarn at home.³⁵ Purchases of cotton wool (raw cotton fiber) for spinning into knitting yarn were also most frequent in 1784-85 prior to the establishment of cotton spinning factories in New England during the 1790s.³⁶ By 1810-11, Boardman's customers preferred skeins of spun cotton yarn to cotton wool.

Garments and Accessories

Some eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century shopkeepers advertised inventories of various ready-made garments.³⁷ Judging from his daybooks, Boardman

³⁴ Rivard, 18.

³⁵ Boardman Daybook 29 (August 1810-June 1811), 7 June 1811, Elijah Boardman Accounts, 3:20.

³⁶ Rivard, 12.

³⁷ These New York shopkeepers and merchants advertised women's stays and petticoats, men's and women's cloaks, embroidered gowns, spencers, and pantaloons. Hugh Henderson advertisement, *Independent Journal*, 1 September 1784, New York, NY; John Turner, Jr. advertisement, *New-York*

did not carry many, if at times, any, finished garments in his store. However, in December 1784, Boardman did sell a pair of satinet breeches “part worn” to Nehemiah Negro...a few weeks later he sold a pair of old velvet breeches to Isaac Merwin.³⁸ Later that week, Sherman Noble returned a pair of leather breeches to the store.³⁹ It is notable that two of the garments were second-hand; perhaps Boardman sold these items on consignment or even from his own wardrobe. In this period, second-hand clothing was a commodity of some value that could be traded for cash or goods; Boardman might have accepted these articles as payment from his customers.⁴⁰

In all three years, Boardman sold items referred to as “vest patterns” in his daybooks. The exact nature of these items is unclear, as commercial paper patterns did not come into use until later in the nineteenth century.⁴¹ Perhaps the vest patterns were lengths of fabric with embroidered or printed motifs following the lines of a vest, several examples of which still exist in museum collections. Textile types such as cassimere, marseilles, or swansdown occasionally described the vest patterns that Boardman sold, although they were never listed as embroidered or printed. Did “vest pattern” simply mean a patterned textile intended for a vest? An inventory of Boardman’s store taken in 1793 documents several “muslin bord’d [bordered] vest

Daily Gazette, 28 April 1789, New York, NY; Cargo of brig *Amazon* advertisement, *Mercantile Advertiser*, 21 October 1801, New York, NY. Accessed from America’s Historical Newspapers database on 31 August 2015, http://infoweb.newsbank.com.ezproxy.bpl.org/iw-search/we/HistArchive?p_product=EANX&p_action=timeframes&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=O5FI52AIMTQ0MjkzOTk5My41MzUyNDQ6MToxMzoxOTluODAuNjUuMTE2&p_clear_search=yes&d_refprod=EANX&.

³⁸ Boardman Daybook 4, 22 December 1784, 3 January 1785.

³⁹ Boardman Daybook 4, 8 January 1785.

⁴⁰ Beverly Lemire, “Consumerism in Preindustrial and Early Industrial England: The Trade in Secondhand Clothes,” *Journal of British Studies* 27, no. 1 (January 1988): 8.

⁴¹ Joy Spanabel Emery, *A History of the Paper Pattern Industry: The Home Dressmaking Fashion Revolution* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 22.

shapes,” as well as one of mock cassimere and one of silk without borders in his stock.⁴² The use of “shape” and “bord’d” in their description suggests that such items had some sort of outlined shape rather than being merely patterned yardage.

Newspaper advertisements show that other eighteenth-century shopkeepers sold breeches, jacket, and gown patterns.⁴³ While these listings show that “patterns” were not limited to vests, they offer little conclusive information regarding the specifics of such items.

Most of the finished goods that Boardman sold were accessories of various sorts, ranging from commonplace brown hemp work gloves to expensive strings of gold beads (table 7). As with their textile purchases, some of his customers indulged in costly luxury items while most sought out more practical goods. These sales also reflect the changing fashions of the period. In the early 1780s, women wore decorative aprons of fine materials as fashion accessories.⁴⁴ Boardman sold both lawn and gauze aprons in the 1784-85, but none in 1797-98 and 1810-11. By that time, decorative aprons had largely fallen out of fashion. At end of the eighteenth century, shawls became popular accessories to the new fashion of lightweight, neoclassical-style

⁴² Stock of D&E Boardman, Boardman Invoice Book, p. 226 (vol. 2, 1793-1802), The Hon. Elijah Boardman Papers, 1762-1825, Series III: Folder 119, New Milford Historical Society, New Milford, CT.

⁴³ John Kean advertisement, *The Freeman’s Journal: or, The North American Intelligencer*, 11 July 1781, Philadelphia, PA; Evan Runyan advertisement, *The New Jersey Gazette*, 6 February 1782, Trenton, NJ. Accessed through America’s Historical Newspapers database on 31 August 2015, http://infoweb.newsbank.com.ezproxy.bpl.org/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p_product=EANX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=I67P59RPMTQ0MzAzMjQwNi4yMDk4MjA6MT0xMzoxOTIuODAuNjUuMTE2&p_action=timeframes&p_queryname=15&d_hlTerms=&d_customSearchFields=0&d_locations=&d_languages=&d_locations_abbrev=&d_locchecks=&d_dates=&d_datestext=&d_datatype=&d_publication=&d_publicationHistory=&f_lochistory=reset&f_datchistory=reset&d_collections=

⁴⁴ Linda Baumgarten, John Watson, and Florentine Carr, *Costume Close-Up: Clothing Construction and Pattern, 1750-1790* (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1999), 47.

gowns.⁴⁵ Boardman sold many shawls in 1797-98 and 1810-11, some of which were described as “cambric,” “chintz,” “cotton,” or “muslin.” Perhaps some of his most expensive shawls were the highly esteemed Kashmir shawls imported from India or the European copies thereof. Fashionable women of the period prized these fine wool shawls with their distinctive woven patterns; the women of New Milford’s first families likely also adopted this fashion.⁴⁶

Table 7. Accessories Sold By Year

TYPE	1784-85		1797-98		1810-11	
	units	prices	units	prices	units	prices
aprons	7	7/ – 9/9	--	--	--	--
strings of beads	--	--	45	3d – 50/	--	--
buckles	114	6d – 4/4	8	1/6 – 2/8	--	--
eardrops	--	--	1	2/6	--	--
fans	19	11d – 6/	26	5d – 20/	18	7d – 2/
gloves	40	2/6 – 8/	60	2/2 – 9/	32	2/6 – 9/
handkerchiefs	208	7d – 9/6	198	2/9 – 15/2	58	1/8– 10/
hats	82	1/ – 36/	63	3/9 – 34/	36	5/ – 34/
mittens	--	--	24	1/6 – 3/	13	1/1 – 3/
mitts	15	2/4 – 5/7	9	1/6 – 6/10	--	--
necklaces	--	--	2	8/ – 9/	--	--
pocket handkerchiefs	34	1/6 – 2/8	84	1/10 – 2/10	26	1/6 – 2/3
shawls	--	--	67	3/4 – 16/	36	2/4 – 18/
shoes	18	1/6 – 6/	24	6/ – 9/	43	1/5 – 9/
socks	--	--	--	--	1	4/6
stockings/hose	70	4/4 – 19/6	85	5/6 – 18/	26	4/9 – 9/8
suspenders	--	--	--	--	11	3/ – 10/
watch seals	6	1/ – 2/6	--	--	--	--

Boardman’s customers purchased more handkerchiefs in all three years than any other accessory. Women wore handkerchiefs about their shoulders and men tied

⁴⁵ Fukai, 116.

⁴⁶ *Ratti and Paisley* (New York: Fashion Institute of Technology, 1986), chapter III.

them around their necks in place of cravats or stocks.⁴⁷ They came in many different colors, fabrics, and designs. Boardman's best-selling handkerchiefs in all three years were the bandano (later bandana) handkerchiefs from India, which were colorful silk or cotton squares with resist-dyed designs.⁴⁸ He also sold silk barcelona handkerchiefs imported from Spain, as well as ones of linen, gauze, cambric, muslin, cotton, and silk. For many of the country folk who shopped at Boardman's store, store-bought handkerchiefs might have been one of the few ornaments to adorn their otherwise coarse, plain clothing.

Boardman's customers might have donned handkerchiefs that had travelled from the other side of the globe, but some of the shoes and hats they purchased at his store were of more local origin. His invoice books indicate that Boardman sourced some of these items from New Milford artisans such as Josiah Lockwood, who sold an assortment of hats to the store in the 1790s and 1800s. Possibly some of the ladies' hats he sold in 1810-11 were straw hats made locally as well; straw braiding and hat making had become thriving cottage industries in New England's agricultural regions by the early nineteenth century.⁴⁹ Boardman also appears to have stocked shoes made by several local shoemakers in addition the thirteen pairs of "lyn shoes" recorded in his 1793 inventory, which probably came from the shoemaking center of Lynn, Massachusetts.⁵⁰ Boardman's store was not exclusively an outlet for textiles and dress-

⁴⁷ Smaller handkerchiefs used in the modern sense were referred to as pocket handkerchiefs in the period. Boardman sold both types at his store and distinguished between the two in his daybooks.

⁴⁸ Montgomery, 154.

⁴⁹ Caroline Sloat, "'A great help to many families': Straw Braiding in Massachusetts Before 1825," in *House and Home: The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings 1988*, ed. Peter Benes (Boston: Boston University, 1990), 90-96.

⁵⁰ Stock of D&E Boardman, p. 76; According to historian Nancy Rexford, Lynn shoemakers were already producing eighty thousand pairs of shoes by 1768. Nancy E. Rexford, *Women's Shoes in America, 1795-1930* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2000), 9.

related goods sourced from distant lands, but one where his customers could also acquire items produced in their own neighborhood.

Conclusion

Country dry-goods stores were places where customers could acquire all manner of textiles and dress-related goods. Elijah Boardman's store was no exception: within its confines New Milford's residents could purchase many of the items needed to appoint their wardrobes and their households. The rolls of tow cloth and humhum that sat alongside the bolts of silk velvet and superfine broadcloth attest to the fact that Boardman's customers sought textiles that were commonplace and utilitarian as well as those that were fashionable and luxurious. Most of their textile purchases at his store were of practical, inexpensive types suited to the needs of the modest households that made up the majority of New Milford's population. The finer, more-expensive textiles Boardman sold attest to the prosperity of some of his customers and their desire for elegant and fashionable fabrics for their clothing and homes.

While Boardman continued to sell a wide range of textiles over this period, their distribution shifted drastically from wool, linen, and silk fabrics in 1784-85 to cotton fabrics in 1810-11. New technologies developed in the 1780s and 1790s extended the availability of cotton textiles to the middling and lower orders of society, while changing fashion silhouettes at the turn of the century strengthened the demand for them across all classes. These changes are evident in the purchases made by Boardman's customers, who acquired cotton textiles in ever-increasing quantities in 1797-98 and 1810-11.

In addition to textiles, Boardman's customers bought a variety of trimmings and accessories to embellish and update their garments. These items also sold in many types and at varying price points, allowing even his more humble customers to ornament themselves with store-bought goods. While some of these things, such as handkerchiefs, came from distant lands, Boardman also provided business for the local artisans who made some of the hats and shoes that he sold to his customers.

Boardman's store also provided the tools and materials needed to produce textiles and clothing. Alongside finished yard goods, his customers bought cards, cotton wool, and dyestuff with which to manufacture textiles at home. These purchases demonstrate that domestic textile production continued even as store-bought textiles became more affordable. However, changes in the types of tools and materials purchased between 1784-85 and 1810-11 reflect the increasing mechanization of many textile-related processes even within the realm of home manufacturing. Whether they donned homemade or store-bought textiles, Boardman's customers produced and maintained much of their clothing and household textile items, as seen in the large quantities of buttons, thread, pins, and needles they bought.

The textile and dress-related goods that Boardman's customers purchased reveal much about their tastes as consumers and how these tastes evolved over a period of great changes in the material world of textiles and clothing. In addition to documenting what people bought, his daybooks also recorded who made the purchases. The following chapter takes a closer look at the people who bought these goods, how often they purchased them, and how much they acquired to broaden our understanding of the consumer experience at Boardman's store.

Chapter Seven

Elijah Boardman's Customers and Their Purchasing Patterns

On October 19, 1784, Apphia and Mabel Ruggles went on an extensive shopping excursion to Boardman's store. The young women, aged 29 and 23, were the unmarried daughters of Lazarus Ruggles, a prosperous farmer and businessman.¹ Accompanied by their father, Apphia and Mabel made the several-mile journey from their farm on the outskirts of New Milford to Boardman's store, where they charged £11.3s worth of textiles, trimmings, notions, and accessories to their father's account.² Among the items that the women purchased that day were 7¾ yards of lustring and 3 yards of green sarcenet, both lightweight dress silks that were presumably intended for a fine new gown and petticoat. They also acquired 23½ yards of ribbon, 4 yards of lace, and 10 yards of narrow edging with which to trim their gowns, caps, and hats. A stylish chip hat and three gauze handkerchiefs were also part of the Ruggles' order. This was not Mabel and Apphia's only visit to the store that week: the previous day the two women bought 6 yards of calico, four ostrich feathers, and two pairs of purple gloves to round out their fashionable ensembles.³

Apphia and Mabel Ruggles' shopping trips were not the typical experience of the majority of Boardman's customers, most of whom did not spend in an entire year the amount that the Ruggles spent in one day. Their transactions do represent one end of the wide spectrum of purchases made in Boardman's store, which ranged from

¹ Elizabeth Mankin Kornhauser, *Ralph Earl, The Face of the Young Republic* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), 202, 208; Samuel Orcutt, *History of the Towns of New Milford and Bridgewater, Connecticut, 1703-1882* (Hartford, CT: Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1882), Google e-book, 300.

² Kornhauser, 206; Boardman Daybook 3 (May-November 1784), 19 October 1784, Elijah and Daniel Boardman Records, 2:1, Elijah Boardman Papers, Litchfield Historical Society, Litchfield, CT.

³ Boardman Daybook 3, 18 October 1784.

luxury goods like silk velvet, beaver hats, and strings of gold beads, to more prosaic items, such as coarse tow cloth, papers of pins, and woolen mittens. The same two days that Apphia and Mabel splurged on fancy goods, other customers made small purchases of a few darning needles, a pocket handkerchief, and some cotton wool for spinning into yarn.⁴ Boardman's store provided New Milford's residents with a wide array of textiles and dress-related goods to meet both consumer desires and utilitarian household needs, but who were his customers and what were their shopping habits?

This chapter identifies the types of customers who shopped for textiles and dress-related goods at Boardman's store. It explores the networks of consumers often involved in acquiring store-bought goods by considering the participants who made these purchases in addition to the account holders. A profile of Boardman's thirty most frequent customers follows, which draws from their vital statistics and financial records. These customers' textile purchases are examined in depth to better understand their acquisition of store-bought textiles. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the purchases of women and non-white individuals represented among Boardman's account holders. These transactions offer insights into the consumer experience beyond that of the white, male account holders who dominated Boardman's daybooks.

Account Holders, Purchasers, and Deliveries

Between the beginning of June 1784 and the end of May 1785, over 650 different account holders made textile and apparel-related purchases at Boardman's store. During that same period in 1797 and 1798, this number reached 700. Over the slightly shorter period documented between mid-August 1810 and the end of June

⁴ Boardman Daybook 3, 18-19 October 1784.

1811, more than 400 accounts were charged in such transactions. In all three years, close to three-quarters of the accounts had three or fewer transactions per year during which textiles and dress-related goods were purchased. The relative infrequency of such purchases indicates the likelihood that Boardman's customers also shopped at the other stores in New Milford, possibly travelling further afield to Litchfield or Hartford for some of their textile needs. Some of these customers simply might not have had the means to purchase many store-bought goods at Boardman's store or elsewhere, instead sourcing textiles and dress-related goods from local producers or making them at home.

In contrast, the account of Homer Boardman, Elijah's brother, was charged for fifty textile and dress-related transactions in 1797-98 and sixty-five such transactions in 1810-11. It is possible that Homer and his household shopped almost exclusively at his brother's store because of this family connection; his account may therefore provide a more complete picture of a household's annual consumption of store-bought textiles and dress-related goods. See Appendices C and D for a complete record of these transactions. However, as one of New Milford's wealthiest residents, Homer Boardman probably acquired more store-bought goods than many of his neighbors. Based on the amounts and types of textiles charged to the accounts of Boardman's other most frequent customers, they, too, acquired such goods through other channels. Other commercial histories reveal early American consumers to be educated and skilled shoppers, often going to great lengths to acquire the best goods at the best

prices.⁵ Most likely, purchases made at Boardman's store only represent a portion of his customers' overall acquisition of textiles and dress-related goods.

Boardman's customers purchased textiles and dress-related goods in every month of each year. The peak months and the slowest months of these purchases varied among the three years (figs. 10-12). In 1784-85, August and November had the highest numbers of transactions, closely followed by September. The fewest transactions took place in January and February of that year. In 1797-98, November and December were the busiest months, again closely followed by September, whereas the slowest months were February and July. In 1810-11, December 1810 and June 1811 were peak months, while March and June were slack months. This variability indicates that purchases of textiles and dress-related goods did not necessarily follow a set seasonal pattern. However, in all three years, purchases in November were among the highest three months of sales, likely owing to the recent harvests that would have provided New Milford's farmers with ample produce to exchange for goods at Boardman's store. The fall holiday of Thanksgiving might have occasioned the acquisition of new or updated clothing and also might have contributed to the uptick in sales that month.⁶ The winter months of February and March were among the slowest three months of sales in 1784-85, 1797-98, and 1810-11. During these slack months in the agricultural cycle, Boardman's customers might not have had surpluses to trade.

⁵ Ellen Hartigan-O'Connor, *The Ties That Buy: Women and Commerce in Revolutionary America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 129.

⁶ The celebration of Thanksgiving and Christmas holidays during this period varied by region, and probably even by household. Nylander provides ample evidence that many New Englanders observed a Thanksgiving holiday long before its official designation later in the nineteenth century, although Christmas was not commonly observed in New England at this time. Jane C. Nylander, *Our Own Snug Fireside: Images of a New England Home, 1760-1860* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 8, 261-82.

Winter weather conditions likely made travel to his store more difficult during this time as well.

Figure 10. Number of transactions by month in 1784-85.

Figure 11. Number of transactions by month in 1797-98.

Figure 12. Number of transactions by month in 1810-11

Textile-related transactions were charged to a number of different account holders, including businesses, public entities (the town and the state), and individuals. Business-account transactions were either business purchases, such as the 150 pounds of rags purchased by the paper mill Stone & Deming on July 10, 1797, or personal transactions debited to a business account, such as the purchase of 1 yard of crape gauze charged to Hine & Booth by Miss Hine on December 26, 1797.⁷ A few purchases were charged to the Town of New Milford or the State of Connecticut, presumably as poor relief for individuals whose living expenses were absorbed by public funds.⁸ On November 24, 1810, the town's account was charged for 3¾ yards of red flannel and two skeins of thread "for a shift for Elizabeth Davenport pr directions of selectmen."⁹

Most of the accounts charged for textiles and dress-related goods were individual accounts held by men. Only a small fraction of account holders were women, ranging from approximately 6% in 1784-85 to around 10% in 1797-98, and 9% in 1810-11. Judging from the purchases made on individual accounts, most were household accounts under the name of the household's head. Whether accounts belonged to businesses, municipalities, or male or female individuals, they only document who was responsible for the debt. The account names do not reveal who

⁷ Boardman Daybook 7 (March-September 1797), 10 July 1797, Elijah Boardman Accounts, 3:6; Boardman Daybook 8 (October 1797-March 1798), 26 December 1797, Elijah Boardman Accounts, 3:7.

⁸ The questionnaire sent to all Connecticut cities and towns at the turn of the nineteenth century on behalf of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences included a question about the number of poor in each municipality and the cost of maintaining them. The responses reveal that each town contained at least a few individuals who received public assistance for clothing and other expenses. Elijah Allen, "Cornwall," in *Voices of the New Republic, Connecticut Towns 1800-1832, Volume II: What We Think*, eds. Howard R. Lamar and Carolyn C. Cooper (New Haven: The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2003), 99.

⁹ Boardman Daybook 29 (August 1810-June 1811), 24 November 1810, Elijah Boardman Accounts, 3:20.

accompanied the account holder to the store and possibly selected the goods, but only who paid for them.

Purchases made by other individuals in the absence of the account holders are more revealing of the networks of consumers involved in acquiring textiles and dress-related goods at Boardman's store. These transactions were recorded with the purchaser(s) next to the account name, such as "Lazarus Ruggles pr Apphia and Mabel."¹⁰ The number of separate-purchaser transactions only represent a fraction of the overall transactions made each year: numbering approximately 178 in 1784-85, 400 in 1797-98, and 375 in 1810-11. Many factors could account for the increase in these transactions from 1784-85 to 1797-98 and 1810-11; perhaps as Boardman established long-standing relationships with his customers over the years, both he and his account holders were more willing to entrust purchases to third parties. Most of the purchasers buying textiles and dress-related goods under other account names were family members, wives being the most common among this group, followed by daughters and sons. Other household members, such as servants and apprentices also occasionally made purchases on household accounts, as seen in notations of "pr girl" or "pr apprentice." Women outnumbered men as household-related purchasers of textile and dress-related goods by approximately two to one in all three years. This indicates women's greater involvement in making household textile purchases in the absence of the account holder. However, this number represents only a fraction of the textile-related purchases made at Boardman's store, the majority being made in the presence of the (male) account holder.

¹⁰ Boardman Daybook 3, 19 October 1784.

A number of transactions involved purchasers who were outside the family/household group. Sometimes the relationship between the purchaser and the account holder is clear, as in the case of Reed Garlick and Clark Blackney, two of New Milford's tailors, who regularly made purchases charged to other accounts. On June 12, 1784, Reed Garlick purchased 1½ yards of black satinnet, 1 yard of black durant, 1½ dozen buttons, 1 skein silk, and 2 hanks twist for Abner Gunn, for whom Garlick was probably making some breeches and a vest.¹¹ On November 22 and 23, 1810, Clark Blackney purchased 3/16 yard of brown coating, 3/16 yard of black tabby velvet, and 2 skeins of thread, charged to Homer Boardman's account "for Asher's greatcoat."¹² Typically, customers supplied the cloth and notions when they engaged tailors and seamstresses to make clothing. In these instances, Garlick and Blackney acted as proxies by making these purchases for the account holders. Purchases made by proxy demonstrate that shopping for textiles and dress-related goods was sometimes a collaborative act that extended beyond the household group. Entrusting such purchases to another person meant relying on their judgment in selecting the correct goods at the store. As tailors, Garlick and Blackney had knowledge of textiles that would have made them trustworthy proxies for purchasing these costly items.

In other cases, customers bought items for themselves on another account, perhaps as payment for services or goods they had provided the account holder. Textiles and dress-related goods thus served as a form of currency between the account holder and the purchaser. Marvin Canfield bought 5/16 yard of red broadcloth

¹¹ Boardman Daybook 3, 12 June 1784.

¹² Boardman Daybook 29, 22-23 November 1810.

“for himself” and debited it to Orange Merwin’s account on September 17, 1810.¹³

The recipient of the goods purchased in these transactions was only infrequently specified, making it difficult to discern those who were acting as proxies for the account holders from those who were charging their own purchases to another account as payment. The 5½ yards of fine calico purchased by Sally Fisher on July 31, 1784, and charged to David Northrop’s account might have been for her own use, or she might have selected it on his behalf for Northrop’s wife, Rachel.¹⁴

Even without a clear understanding of who the recipient was, transactions involving a purchaser hint at the networks of consumers who were involved in acquiring textiles and dress-related goods at Boardman’s store. Other studies of consumption patterns have shown that these networks could be quite complex, involving extended family as well as friends, neighbors, and servants.¹⁵ On September 22, 1797, James Terrill Jr.’s account was debited for a purchase made by Gideon Platt’s wife’s sister for ½ yard of vellum mode and 1 bonnet paper.¹⁶ The acquisition of bonnet-making supplies by this unnamed woman transverses familial relationships with her sister and brother-in-law to a neighborhood relationship between Gideon Platt and James Terrill Jr. Possibly, she was a hat maker buying supplies for a bonnet that she was making for someone in Terrill’s household. She might also have purchased these goods for her own use as payment for other work done for the Terrills. Gaps in our knowledge of the exact relationship between James Terrill Jr., Gideon Platt, and his sister-in-law limit the conclusions that can be drawn from this transaction, but

¹³ Boardman Daybook 29, 17 September 1810.

¹⁴ Boardman Daybook 3, 31 July 1784.

¹⁵ Hartigan-O’Connor, 131-32.

¹⁶ Boardman Daybook 7, 22 September 1797.

suggests an intricate web of connections through which some of Boardman's customers made their purchases.

Transactions that involve deliveries reveal another aspect of the collaboration among household and neighborhood networks in the textile and dress-related purchases made at Boardman's store. Like those involving a secondary purchaser, these exchanges only represent a small portion of the overall transactions that took place within each year, but they occurred regularly enough to note. Delivery transactions were recorded in the daybooks along with the items purchased as "del'd David Green pr order" or simply "del'd your daughter."¹⁷ These individuals might have acted as couriers by bringing requests from the account holders, recorded as a "verbal order" in the daybooks, to the store and returning with the purchased goods. As deliverers of goods to the account holders, they appear to have much the same function as the proxy shoppers, yet their roles were recorded differently. While the daybooks list some immediate family members as deliverers rather than purchasers, most of the deliverers apparently were not related to the account holders, as indicated by their different last names. The regular notation of "pr order" or "pr direction" also suggests that the deliverers were acting on specific instructions from the account holder rather than choosing the goods themselves. Deliverers were perhaps more limited in their agency than the purchasers in that they simply fulfilled requests and transported goods, whereas purchasers might have had more input in selection if they were not buying the goods for themselves.

¹⁷ Boardman Daybook 3, Ezra Noble, 16 September 1784; Boardman Daybook 8, Thomas Clark, 17 May 1798.

Delivery transactions also might have been instances in which the account holder purchased goods and then had them delivered to someone else. As seen in Chapter Five, store credit was commonly given as payment from one account to another in exchange for goods or services. The account holders perhaps purchased goods at the store to pay the recipients. Alternately, the recipient might have been employed by the account holder to make clothing from the delivered goods. The three yards of muslin charged to Homer Boardman's account on September 14, 1797, that was "del'd Anne Platt by her direction" could have been sent to her in payment or could have been material with which Anne Platt was to make a gown for one of Homer's young daughters.¹⁸ Regardless of the final recipient of the purchased items, delivery transactions further attest to the sometimes complicated and communal process through which New Milford's residents obtained store-bought textiles and dress-related goods.

Boardman's Most Frequent Customers

While most of Boardman's customers bought textiles and dress-related goods only intermittently at his store, some of his customers were quite regular in their purchasing habits, making monthly, weekly or even daily visits to acquire all sorts of items. In the following section, a selection of Boardman's most frequent customers is examined in detail. A sample group of ten account holders with the highest number of recorded debit transactions were selected from 1784-85, 1797-98, and 1810-11 for this analysis.¹⁹ Public records supplied information about the account holder's age, marital status, household size, and tax rates. This information, presented in tables 8 through

¹⁸ Boardman Daybook 7, Homer Boardman, 14 September 1797.

¹⁹ This number reflects repeat visits rather than total number of items purchased. Account holders for whom no biographical information was available were eliminated from the sample group.

10, provides a profile of the customers who regularly bought textiles and dress-related goods at Boardman's store.

The vital statistics of Boardman's most frequent customers are consistent with prevailing socioeconomic patterns. Men held the majority of these accounts. Nearly 80% of the account holders within this group were married, indicating that men with wives and children were more regular consumers of store-bought textiles and dress-related goods than single men. The average age of these customers was 41.8 in 1784-85 (ranging from 29-60), 34.5 in 1797-98 (ranging from 23-53), and 34.8 in 1810-1811 (ranging from 21-45). According to Jackson Turner Main's study of Connecticut's colonial population, men between the ages of 30 and 60 were consistently accumulating wealth and expanding their households, and thus likely would be the most active consumer group.²⁰ Men in their 30s and 40s with growing families and resources made up the majority of Boardman's most frequent customers. However, this group is not entirely homogenous: the few outliers among them—the young, single men and women who also frequented Boardman's store—demonstrate that individuals in other life stages were also active consumers of textiles and dress-related goods.

New Milford tax lists from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries provide a sense of the financial standing of the customers within this group. The many exemptions allowed by Connecticut's tax regulations during the period make the lists an imprecise measure of wealth, but do allow for a rough estimation of economic status. Unsurprisingly, most of these customers are among New Milford's middling or

²⁰ Jackson Turner Main, *Society and Economy in Colonial Connecticut* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 136-39.

Table 8. 1784-85 Most Frequent Customers' Vital and Financial Statistics

Name	Age	Married	Children	Taxes (1787)*	Visits	Total Expenditure
Thomas Hayes	40	yes	?	£79.18.6	28	£5.15.9
Ezra Merchant	41	?	?	£32.0.0	27	£8.2.9
Lazarus Ruggles	44	yes	12	£60.19.9	24	£39.14.10
Zadoc Noble	60	yes	9	?	21	£8.13.5½
Sherman Boardman	56	yes	5	£215.10.6	20	£18.14.10
Samuel Bostwick Jr.	29	no	0	£84.11.0	19	£12.16.9
Abner Gunn	31	yes	0	£149.10.6**	19	£8.17.0
David Northrop	38	yes	6	£156.6.9	18	£14.15.7
Daniel Everitt	36	yes	3	£85.3.9	18	£10.11.15
Aaron Payne	43	yes	6	£118.13.6	17	£11.10 5½

*Earliest year for which tax records were available.

** Taxes owed jointly with brother

Table 9. 1797-98 Most Frequent Customers' Vital and Financial Statistics

Name	Age	Married	Children	Taxes (1797-98)	Visits	Total Expenditure
Homer Boardman	32	yes	3	\$340.34	50	£21.12.1
Josiah Lockwood	31	yes	3	\$112.56	34	£24.12.2½
Thomas Hayes	53	yes	?	\$317.47	27	£9.18.9½
Stephen Merwin	45	yes	6	\$502.45	27	£15.13.5
Stanley Griswold	33	yes	2	?	25	£11.3.2
Truman Marsh	29	yes	?	?	23	£11.10.10
Asa Baldwin	28	no	0	\$107.34	22	£6.5.10½
Stephen Hine	43	yes	5	\$353.15	20	£11.10.10
Uriah Sanford	28	no	0	\$205.70**	18	£21.11.10½
John Beecher	23	yes	0	\$394.83	18	£9.17.0

**Taxes owed jointly with brother

Table 10. 1810-11 Most Frequent Customers' Vital and Financial Statistics

Name	Age	Married	Children	Taxes (1810)	Visits	Total Expenditure
Homer Boardman	45	yes	6	\$234.69	64	£30.16.7½
Angus Nicholson	23	?	?	\$35.00	32	£3.6.4½
Josiah Lockwood	44	yes	4	\$268.24	27	£6.9.½
Abigail Totman	22	no	0	?	26	£13.19.3½
Orange Merwin	44	yes	3	\$308.46	23	£19.2.7½
Charles Boardman	21	no	0	\$10.00	23	£20.15.9½
Daniel H. Ferris	39	yes	6	\$182.29	20	£9.16.½
Nathaniel Buckingham	35	yes	4	\$120.56	13	£5.13.3
William Hallock	44	yes	7	\$229.42	13	£7.1.11
Ezra Noble	31	yes	1	\$133.46	10	£10.16.1½

wealthy households.²¹ Several of their names were among the first and second ranks on an 1802 list that recorded seating in the town's Presbyterian church, which was organized according to wealth based on tax assessments.²² Individuals seated within the first and second ranks were New Milford's most prosperous residents. Although both rich and poor alike shopped for textiles and dress-related goods at Boardman's

²¹ Main provides a general guide to interpreting early tax lists as follows: individuals assessed between £0-10 were poor; £10-19 were marginal; £19-30 were self-sufficient; £30-100 were "middle class." Main, 116.

²² Orcutt, 260-64.

store, many of his most frequent customers had the financial resources that enabled them to live well beyond a subsistence level and spend freely on consumer goods.

Despite the relative socioeconomic homogeneity of this customer group, the annual expenditures of the individual accounts on textiles and related items varied widely within each year. The top customers within this group spent £39.14.10, £24.12.2½ and £30.16.7½ respectively in 1784-85, 1797-98, and 1810-11. The lowest expenditures were £5.15.9, £6.5.10½, and £5.13.3.²³ The average expenditures for each year, £13.19.3 in 1784-85, £14.13.10½ in 1797-98, and £12.15.9½ in 1810-11, are notably similar, suggesting that Boardman's customers did not drastically increase their spending on textiles and dress-related goods at his store over the decades.²⁴ Whether their overall expenditures on store-bought textiles changed over time is uncertain without knowledge of what these customers purchased elsewhere, yet this sample indicates that their spending patterns remained fairly consistent at Boardman's store.

The number of visits during which customers bought textiles and dress-related goods did not always directly correlate with the accounts' annual expenditures on these items. Lazarus Ruggles' account records £39.14.10 worth of goods purchased during twenty-four visits in 1784-85, and Sherman Boardman's account indicates £18.14.10 spent during twenty visits that same year. Thomas Hayes' account shows only £5.15.9 worth of goods bought during 28 visits in 1784-85, while Ezra Merchant's account has charges for only £8.2.9 worth of goods during twenty-seven

²³ Boardman continued to record purchases using pounds, shillings, and pence in his daybooks even after the introduction of the U.S. dollar in 1792.

²⁴ Six weeks of entries missing from the 1810-11 daybook likely account for the slight decrease in average expenditure during this year.

visits. In 1797-98 and 1810-11, several accounts that had lower total expenditures on textiles and dress-related goods also show these purchases being made during many visits. The range in the total amounts spent on such goods among Boardman's most frequent customers indicates that some distributed many small purchases over numerous visits, presumably while purchasing other items. A range of consumer habits emerges even among this small group of customers, revealing the diversity of habits in buying textiles and dress-related goods at Boardman's store.

Textile Purchases and Their End Uses

Although all of Boardman's most frequent customers bought many kinds of dress-related goods, purchases of yard goods were by far the most prevalent. See appendices B, C, and D for complete records of their purchases. The number of textile types purchased on each account reveals that households and individuals acquired a variety of textiles at Boardman's store for numerous purposes. The amounts and types purchased indicate the possible end uses of the textiles these customers bought, such as garments, accessories, or household textile items. This section looks more closely at the textile purchases of these customers to better understand how households and individuals consumed store-bought textiles.

Textiles served many practical and ornamental functions in the lives of Boardman's customers. As clothing, textiles protected and adorned their bodies, expressing the status, occupation, and personal tastes of the wearer while also shielding them from the elements. Household textiles added warmth, comfort, and decoration to homes as bedding, drapery, and table linens. In other forms, textiles were vital tools in the activities of an agricultural community, whether as storage sacks for

grains or straining cloth for milk. In most cases, we can only conjecture the end uses of the textiles purchased at Boardman's store based on type. Occasionally, purchases specified end uses, such as curtain calico and drapery, indicating that Boardman's customers bought textiles for their homes as well as textiles for clothing at his store. However, many of these fabrics were used both as apparel and furnishing textiles, making it difficult to determine whether a purchase of russell was destined for a gown or for curtains.

Amount of yardage offers more insights into the end uses of textiles purchased at Boardman's store. Some furnishing textiles required greater yardage than garments; even a modest set of bed curtains required more fabric than a suit of clothes. Most of the longer textile lengths that Boardman's customers bought, which typically ranged from 5 to 7 yards, would have sufficed for garments. Thus, Aaron Payne's purchase of $6\frac{3}{4}$ yards of cloth on July 5, 1784, was probably intended for the coat, vest, and breeches of a suit, while Abigail Totman's purchase of a 6-yard length of calico on February 9, 1811, could be adequate material for a simple, neoclassical-style gown.²⁵

Many textile items required less yardage than suits of clothes or drapery. Various components of men's and women's ensembles needed only a few yards of fabric, such as shirts and shifts, breeches and trousers, coats, petticoats, and short gowns. Children's clothing could be made from smaller amounts as well. Shorter textile lengths might also have been intended for certain household items such as bedding, table linens, and window curtains. The 2 yards of linen charged to Stephen Hine's account on June 6, 1797, might have been stitched into a shirt or some

²⁵ Boardman Daybook 3, 5 July 1784; Boardman Daybook 29, 9 February 1811.

pillowcases, whereas the 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ yards of calico purchased several days later by John Beecher might have found its way into a short gown for his wife or a pieced quilt.²⁶ In some instances, the amount and type of textile purchased unambiguously point to its end use. Ezra Merchant bought 3 yards of corduroy on November 29, 1784; this sturdy fabric was no doubt used for a coat, breeches, or trousers.²⁷

For certain garments and accessories, textile lengths of 1 yard or less would have been sufficient. Angus Nicholson purchased $\frac{3}{4}$ yard of fulled flannel on November 28, 1810, which was enough fabric to make him a warm winter vest.²⁸ The short lengths of silk textiles such as taffeta and mode, acquired along with bonnet papers and wire on numerous accounts, clearly indicate their being intended ladies' bonnets. Customers who bought small pieces of cambric, measuring $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ yard, could have used the fabric for shirt ruffles or caps. The common practice of repairing and refreshing existing garments—replacing worn areas such as cuffs and collars—also required only small pieces of fabric. According to the daybook entry, the 3/16-yard length of fine blue cloth purchased on Daniel Everitt's account on November 15, 1784, was intended for a "cape," a term used in the period to refer to a collar.²⁹

Fabric requirements for garments and furnishings also varied based on textile widths, which differed widely among textile types. Items made from broadcloth, woven to widths between 54 and 63 inches, needed less yardage than those made from

²⁶ Boardman Daybook 7, 6 June 1797, 12 June 1797.

²⁷ Boardman Daybook 4 (November 1784-June 1785), 29 November 1784, Elijah and Daniel Boardman Records, 2:1.

²⁸ Boardman Daybook 29, 28 November 1810.

²⁹ Boardman Daybook 3, 15 November 1784; Linda Baumgarten, John Watson, and Florentine Carr, *Costume Close-Up: Clothing Construction and Pattern, 1750-1790* (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation 1999), 104.

other wool textiles that were woven in narrower widths.³⁰ Cotton textiles were manufactured in 1-yard (36 inches) and 1-ell (46 inches) widths.³¹ Linen came in standard widths from $\frac{3}{4}$ yard (27 inches) to $\frac{5}{4}$ yards (45 inches).³² Silk textiles were typically quite narrow, approximately 19½ to 21 inches wide, although some were available at $\frac{3}{4}$ -ell, or 35-inch, widths.³³

Changing fashions also affected textile needs. Early nineteenth-century women's gowns were slimmer than their eighteenth-century counterparts, and the open-robe style that necessitated a coordinating petticoat had fallen out of fashion. Men's styles followed this trend as well: the narrower and shorter coats and vests worn in 1810-11 also required less yardage than those from 1784-85. Aside from fashion considerations, the costliness of textiles called for extreme economy in cutting throughout this period. Garments were frequently cut along opposing grainlines and pieced together to maximize yardage, practices that allowed a skillful hand to eke out a garment from surprisingly little fabric.³⁴

Boardman's customers purchased textiles in a wide range of lengths, from $\frac{1}{4}$ -yard pieces of gauze to 15-yard lengths of tow cloth, but the majority of textiles were bought in relatively short lengths. More than half the textile lengths purchased by twenty-nine of the thirty most-frequently charged accounts were less than or equal to 3 yards. At least one-third of the textiles purchased annually by twenty-one accounts measured less than or equal to 1 yard in length. While all the customers in this group

³⁰ Florence Montgomery, *Textiles in America, 1650-1870* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007), 177.

³¹ Barbara Johnson's album of textile swatches contains a variety of cotton textiles in both widths. See Natalie Rothstein, ed., *A Lady of Fashion: Barbara Johnson's Album of Styles and Fabrics* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), album page 25.

³² Baumgarten, 58.

³³ Rothstein, 29-30.

³⁴ Baumgarten, 7.

intermittently purchased textile lengths greater than 3 yards, these purchases generally represent less than one-third of an account's annual textile consumption at Boardman's store. Even his best customer, Homer Boardman, who purchased approximately 129 yards of textiles in 1810-11, bought more than twice as many small textile lengths measuring 1 yard or less (30) than those measuring over 3 yards (14).

The prevalence of short textile lengths suggests that a large portion of Boardman's customers' store-bought textiles were used for smaller household textile items and clothing, accessories, and repairs to existing garments. They likely updated their wardrobes and furnishings piecemeal by refreshing an ensemble with a new vest or bonnet and replacing household textiles as they wore out. Remaking and repairing garments to extend their lives over several years and for subsequent wearers was a well-documented practice, even within households that could afford more luxurious textiles.³⁵ Boardman's most frequent customers only occasionally made purchases of textile lengths sufficient for a new suit or gown, indicating the relative rarity of acquiring new clothing even among New Milford's more prosperous residents.

In addition to buying textiles in numerous short lengths, Boardman's regular customers annually bought many types of textiles. The average number of textile types purchased per account was thirteen in 1784-85, and eleven in both 1797-98 and 1810-11. The distribution of textile types follows the general pattern of textile sales at Boardman's store. Among this group, wool and linen textiles were acquired in the greatest varieties in 1784-85, followed by silk and then cotton. In 1797-98 and 1810-11, wool and cotton textiles led, followed by linen and, lastly, silk. By 1810-11, the

³⁵ Marla Miller, *The Needle's Eye: Women and Work in the Age of Revolution* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), 77-78.

variety of cotton textiles surpassed that of any other textiles purchased by this group of customers.

During all three years, even his customers who bought relatively little yardage overall availed themselves of the varied stock of textiles available at Boardman's store and purchased an assortment of different textiles. In 1784-85, Nathan Elliot bought less than 24 yards of textiles, but these purchases were distributed among eight different types. Similarly, Stanley Griswold bought approximately 13 yards total of six textile types in 1797-98, while Angus Nicholson purchased roughly 14 yards total of six textile types in 1810-11. Almost all of these customers purchased both utilitarian textiles and better-quality apparel textiles. The diversity of textile purchases within each account indicates that Boardman's customers acquired store-bought textiles for an array of purposes.

The textiles purchased by this group of customers also reflect the life stages of the account holders. Most of Boardman's regular customers were heads of households containing family members (and possibly servants) of various ages and genders. Their textile purchases, which included coating and broadcloth for fathers and sons and muslin and calico for mothers and daughters, demonstrate the mixed textile needs of such households. However, not all of Boardman's customers shopped for large families. The textile purchases made by Charles Boardman, who worked as Elijah's clerk in 1810-11, were in keeping with the needs of an unmarried man without a wife and children to clothe. Of the fifteen textile purchases he made that year, more than half were wool textiles suitable for men's garments. His other purchases included enough holland, linen, and nankeen for two shirts and a vest. Not surprisingly, Charles

did not buy any of the printed cotton textiles used for women's clothing. In contrast, Abigail Totman, a young, single woman who patronized Boardman's store in 1810-11, bought nine pieces of calico. She purchased textile types commonly found in a woman's wardrobe, but did not buy any fabrics for men's garments.

Female Customers

The bill that Apphia and Mabel Ruggles ran up in October 1784 was charged to their father's account. The notation of their names next to their absent father's, in addition to the feminine items they selected, provide the only evidence of their presence in the store. Most of the women who shopped at Boardman's store remain invisible, only emerging from the background in the absence of male account holders. The role of women as customers in early American stores has come under much debate because contemporary recordkeeping typically documented male account holders and not the women who often accompanied them. However, a small number of women did hold their own accounts at Boardman's store, offering a glimpse of their habits as consumers of store-bought textiles and dress-related goods.

In keeping with the overall patterns at the store, only a small portion of female account holders regularly purchased textiles and dress-related items. Most female account holders made three or fewer textile- or dress-related transactions during 1784-85, 1797-98, and 1810-11. Even among the most-frequently charged women's accounts, substantially fewer transactions took place than on the most-frequently charged men's accounts. Boardman's female account holders also might have bought textiles and dress-related goods on other male accounts. Apphia and Mabel Ruggles' purchases were occasionally charged to an account under their own names, although

they also made purchases on their father's account. Like most of Boardman's customers, these women probably shopped elsewhere; therefore these transactions only represent a portion of their overall consumption of such items. Their lower rates of purchasing may also indicate that female account holders, who were typically widows or single women, had fewer resources than men and were thus more limited as consumers of store-bought goods.

The annual purchases of a sample group of five women, selected from the accounts with the highest number of repeat visits, show that female account holders' purchasing patterns were similar to those of male account holders. See appendix E for a complete record of these transactions. They, too, bought a variety of items, including textiles, trimming, notions, and finished goods. Textiles made up the largest annual expenditure of dress-related goods on most women's accounts; they also generally purchased textiles in short lengths and a variety of types. The distribution of textiles is also comparable: female customers bought more wool, linen, and silk textiles in 1784-85 and 1797-98 than 1810-11. Their purchases of cotton textiles steadily increased over the three years and, by 1810-11, were by far the most commonly acquired textiles. Unsurprisingly, certain items such as buckram and buttons, which were used primarily in men's garments during this period, are notably absent from most women's accounts. Overall, the goods purchased on women's accounts do not differ substantially from those purchased on men's accounts, which were mostly household accounts held by men with wives and daughters. These similarities suggest that women were actively involved in making purchases of textiles and dress-related goods

on household accounts, selecting many of the same goods as women with accounts in their own names.

An account of particular interest is that of Abigail Totman, one of Boardman's most frequent customers in 1810-11. Abigail made 65 trips to his store from August 1810 through June 1811, during which she purchased almost 60 yards of fabric, 12¾ yards of ribbon, 23 skeins of thread, 7 skeins of silk, 4 pairs of shoes, 2 shawls, 1 pair of sleeves, 1 pair of stockings, and 1 fan, as well as various other items. Abigail's purchases far surpassed that of other female account holders and would have more than adequately provided the makings of well-dressed young woman's wardrobe. Five of her textile purchases, which included calico, chintz, muslin, russell, and bombaset, exceeded 5 yards in length, each supplying enough fabric for a gown. Like her fellow customers, Abigail also bought a number of short textile lengths: more than half her purchases measured 2 yards or less. Certain textiles are absent from her purchases, such as plain linen or cotton textile lengths with which to make undergarments like shifts and under-petticoats. This indicates that despite her regular patronage of Boardman's store, Abigail also relied on other sources for her textile needs.

Very little is known about Abigail Totman and her life in New Milford. No evidence of her birth, marriage, or death survives in the town's public records, or of any other Totmans living in New Milford during this period. One source suggests that Abigail Totman married Ammi Dayton Trowbridge of New Milford sometime in 1811, and moved with him to Ohio shortly thereafter.³⁶ Based on this information, she was a young, unmarried woman during the months that she shopped at Boardman's

³⁶ Ancestry.com, "Ammi Dayton Trowbridge," <http://person.ancestry.com/tree/4471705/person/-1126896261/facts> (accessed June 2, 2015).

store. Perhaps she supported herself by sewing for others in the town, a common occupation for women at this time.³⁷ Abigail's purchases at the store might have been supplies used for her work. On the other hand, she might have been accumulating a wardrobe and household textiles with which to begin her married life. Although most aspects of Abigail Totman's existence are shrouded in mystery, the record of her regular presence in Boardman's store provides a tantalizing glimpse into her life.

While we are left to speculate about the conditions surrounding Abigail's purchases—for whom these goods were intended and how she afforded them—her shopping habits reveal an avid consumer of textiles and dress-related goods. Abigail paid many visits to Boardman's store, often making purchases several times a week. In January 1811, her account was charged for textiles and dress-related goods on eleven different days. On January 9th, Abigail bought a skein of thread, returning the next day to acquire a pair of scissors and needles. Two days later, on January 12th, she purchased 5½ yards of russell. January 15th found Abigail at the store again for a length of tape and some more needles, and yet again on the 18th for ¼ yard of pink cambric and 2 yards of ribbon. During the following week and a half, Abigail made five more trips to the store to purchase morocco shoes, ribbon, thread, muslin, and checked cotton.³⁸ Shopping at Boardman's store was a regular occurrence in Abigail's life during 1810-11; her almost daily visits during some weeks to purchase a few small items at a time seem to go beyond necessity, implying a recreational element to her shopping.

³⁷ Miller, 57-58.

³⁸ Boardman Daybook 29, January 1811.

Another woman named Anna Reed also shopped regularly at Boardman's store in 1810-11, purchasing textiles and dress-related goods on 47 visits that year. Anna's purchases were more modest than Abigail's: she bought only 17¼ yards of fabric during this time compared to Abigail's 57¾ yards. Her overall annual expenditure on textiles and dress-related goods was likewise only £5.4.9½, but she was one of Boardman's most frequent customers in 1810-11. New Milford public records do not provide any information about Anna Reed, although a Reed family did live in the town at the time. Possibly Anna and Abigail were contemporaries and friends. The two women often made purchases on the same day, with one woman's transactions immediately following the other in Boardman's daybook. Did Abigail assist Anna in selecting a pair of kid gloves on January 24th while she purchased ¾ yard of ribbon?³⁹ Perhaps they spent time choosing ribbons together the previous week after they both paid for shoe repairs done by David Buell.⁴⁰ For Abigail and Anna, shopping might have been a social activity during which the young women enjoyed each other's company while browsing through Boardman's wares.

Slaves and Non-White Customers

On September 17, 1784, the account of Pompy Negro was charged for a silk handkerchief, several lengths of fabric including calico, durant, gauze, linen, and satin, bonnet paper, 1 yard of black ribbon, and a pair of shoe buckles.⁴¹ The previous week, Ceasar Scipio bought a fan and 1 yard of ribbon.⁴² Members of New Milford's non-white community, both free and enslaved, shopped regularly at Boardman's store,

³⁹ Boardman Daybook 29, 24 January 1811.

⁴⁰ After several other customers were helped that day, both women's accounts were charged again for several lengths of ribbon. Boardman Daybook 29, 18 January 1811.

⁴¹ Boardman Daybook 3, 17 September 1784.

⁴² Boardman Daybook 3, 10 September 1784.

purchasing the same types of textiles and dress-related goods as his white customers. Stores such as Elijah Boardman's were places in which individuals from all ranks of society, from the town's wealthiest residents to its poor laborers, servants, and slaves, could observe and select from the same assortment of goods, provided that they were armed with cash, good credit, or a tradable commodity.⁴³ The participation of slaves and free non-whites in the expanding consumer-goods marketplace of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, well documented in other regions, is also evident in the purchases made by New Milford's non-white residents at Boardman's store.⁴⁴

Most of the purchases made on accounts that can be identified as belonging to non-white customers occurred in 1784-85.⁴⁵ See appendix F for a complete record of these purchases. Both slaves and free non-whites lived in New Milford during this time, although the slave population diminished in the late eighteenth century as several New Milford households emancipated their slaves in the 1780s and 1790s. While some records allowed for the identification of a few account holders as either enslaved or free based on the date of their emancipation, the status of most is unknown.⁴⁶ The surname "Negro" all but disappears from the transactions in Boardman's daybooks from 1797-98 and 1810-11: only two accounts under that name were present in 1797-98 and none in 1810-11. Former slaves eventually might have taken on other surnames, making them difficult to identify from other customers in later years.

⁴³ Hartigan-O'Connor, 11.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 164; Martin, 173-86.

⁴⁵ Many of these account holders have last names such as "Negro" or "Darkie", or Roman names often given to slaves such as Ceasar, Scipio, and Pomp [Pompeii]. New Milford town records identify other customers as slaves or free non-whites.

⁴⁶ Kathleen Zuris, *New Milford, Connecticut Emancipation Records Transcribed from Town Clerk Land Records* (New Milford, CT: Bostwick Typing Service, 2006): 31-32.

Whether enslaved or free, we know little about the conditions under which these customers lived. Jackson Turner Main suggests that a subsistence level of living was the norm for Connecticut's free non-whites and former slaves in the eighteenth century.⁴⁷ Those who were free might have owned and farmed small plots of land and possibly practiced a trade, as did Nathaniel Darkie, a hatter whose account was credited for nine hats that he sold to Boardman on July 22, 1784.⁴⁸ Like New Milford's other residents, the non-white population likely acquired store-bought goods through agricultural surpluses, labor, or trading domestically manufactured products. Some slaves also had means to purchase goods with income earned during free time allotted to them by their masters.⁴⁹ Although many among this population likely were marginalized members of the community, their presence as customers demonstrates their inclusion in the commercial activities taking place at Boardman's store.

Despite their limited financial circumstances, the non-white men and women who shopped at Boardman's store in 1784-85 purchased an assortment of textiles and dress-related goods. Like Boardman's other customers, most account holders (the majority of whom were men) bought such goods only a few times during that year. Their textile purchases also follow the prevailing pattern of short lengths in a variety of types. Many of these, such as gauze, milanet, lawn, and cambric were appropriate for fine women's accessories. They bought a few fabrics, such as the 1½ yards of calico and the 2 yards of serge purchased by Scipio Negro in March and April 1785, that would have been sufficient for individual garments such as a short gown or a

⁴⁷ Main, 184-85.

⁴⁸ Ibid.; Boardman Daybook 3, 22 July 1784.

⁴⁹ Martin, 176.

coat.⁵⁰ Most textile purchases were intended for smaller items; none of the lengths exceeded 3 yards, and most were less than 1 yard.

Other purchases made by Boardman's non-white customers reflect their desire and ability to consume goods beyond the merely utilitarian. They bought small bits of decoration, such as lengths of ribbon and lace, to ornament garments and accessories. Pompy's purchase of satin and bonnet paper provided the materials for a silk bonnet for one of the women in his household. Peg Negro Canfield, a slave, bought a soufflé gauze handkerchief, along with 5/16 yard of gauze lappeting to trim a cap in August 1784.⁵¹ Naomi Negro, also slave, was charged a balance on a lawn apron in February 1784.⁵² While masters generally provided slaves with basic wardrobes, Peg and Naomi chose to supplement theirs with store-bought accessories. In buying small tokens of finery, these slave women acquired the same sorts of fashionable adornments as the wives and daughters of the local gentry. Their ability to exercise choice as consumers also afforded them a certain degree of independence.⁵³

Conclusion

Almost every single day that Boardman's store was open in 1784-85, 1797-98, and 1810-11, his customers bought textiles and dress-related goods, ranging from a few buttons and a skein of thread to the makings of an elegant new outfit. Through a closer look at the people behind these purchases and their patterns of acquisition, an equally diverse spectrum of individual experiences emerges. These experiences,

⁵⁰ Boardman Daybook 4, 18 March 1785, 8 April 1785.

⁵¹ Boardman Daybook 3, 26 August 1784.

⁵² Boardman Daybook 4, 18 February 1784.

⁵³ Hartigan-O'Connor and Martin discuss the empowerment that participation in the marketplace offered otherwise disenfranchised slave populations. Hartigan-O'Connor, 164; Martin, 174-77.

viewed both in the aggregate and as distinct instances, reveal much about the ways in which the people of New Milford consumed such store-bought goods.

Most of the accounts on which textiles and dress-related goods were purchased belonged to men, but the individuals found on the peripheries of these accounts identify other people involved in the transactions. Wives, children, and occasionally servants, bought goods on household accounts. People outside the household unit acquired textiles and dress-related goods on other accounts for themselves as payment for services rendered. Some customers, such as tailors, made purchases on behalf of the account holders by acting as proxies. Boardman's daybooks show that the acquisition of textiles and dress-related goods often involved networks of individuals connected through household, neighborhood, or business relationships.

The majority of Boardman's customers only infrequently bought textiles and dress-related goods at his store. They acquired these goods from his store during all months of the year, but their purchasing rates increased during the late fall in conjunction with the harvest and holiday season, and fell during the slow winter months of poor weather. Many of his customers probably patronized the town's other stores, seeking better prices and/or different selections, while some simply could not afford to acquire many store-bought items. Boardman's most regular customers were typically, although not exclusively, prosperous men in their 30s or 40s with families. These account holders had the resources to make frequent purchases to meet the needs of their growing households.

The textile purchases of Boardman's most-frequent customers demonstrate that individual households sought store-bought textiles for a variety of purposes. Accounts

were charged for a range of textile types with which to appoint both wardrobes and homes. Over the years, the distribution of textile types shifted as individual account holders responded to changing fashions and technological advancements with the acquisition of more cotton textiles. Throughout this period, these customers mostly bought textiles in shorter lengths of 3 yards or less. This pattern reflects the economical practices of refurbishing and repairing garments and household-textile items that prevailed at a time when fabrics were relatively costly commodities.

The purchases of textiles and dress-related goods made by female and non-white account holders at Boardman's store follow similar patterns to those made by white, male account holders. Factors of gender or race do not appear to have substantially impacted the selection of these store-bought goods. However, the experience of shopping at the store might have played different roles in the lives of these customer groups. The shopping habits of some of his young female customers illustrate the social and recreational aspects of buying textiles and dress-related goods. For the enslaved customers, acquiring such goods afforded them the opportunity to exercise independence of choice as consumers. These customer groups demonstrate both the sociability and empowerment associated with shopping for textiles and dress-related goods that many of Boardman's customers no doubt experienced to some degree.

Chapter Eight Conclusion

In 1800, Elijah Allen of Cornwall, Connecticut, wrote the following about the household industry in his town:

The Lady...is excited with alacrity to take the Distaff in her Hand in the Winter & Spring, & to teach her Daughters by her example as well as her precept, That Gold, Pearls, Silk and Embroidery are the Fruits of Industry...That, the greater proficiency they make with the Distaff and the Needle; the more Cows they are likely to Milk, & in consequence of that, the greater Quantities of Butter and Cheese will be sent to Market for Cash...and that the Remainder of the Amount of the Property, by them acquired in the aforesaid Ways will be prudently laid out in purchasing other acquisitions to increase their Wealth, and in the Necessaries for Family Use & in the Elegancies of Superb Dress, to Enrobe them with, and thereby (if possible) make their persons appear more Elegant, Amiable and Admirable.¹

In all its flowery prose, Allen's response to the questionnaire sent to all of the state's towns and cities by the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Science in the late 1790s describes the very same exchanges taking place just twenty miles to the south at Elijah Boardman's store. The transactions that fill the pages of Boardman's daybooks demonstrate how the residents of New Milford acquired both the "necessaries for family use" and the "elegancies of superb dress" at his store. These records, which document the people and wares that passed through Boardman's store, reveal the wide spectrum of experiences that his customers had with store-bought textiles and dress-related goods.

Typical of the many rural communities throughout New England in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the small town of New Milford was home to a population that included members of the wealthy country gentry along

¹ Elijah Allen, "Cornwall," in *Voices of the New Republic, Connecticut Towns 1800-1832, Volume I: What They Said*, eds. Christopher P. Bickford, Carolyn C. Cooper and Sandra L. Rux (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2003), 99.

with humble slaves and laborers. The region's bountiful agricultural and industrial activities employed many of its residents. Others worked in trades, providing their neighbors with goods of local manufacture. The various labors of New Milford's residents, rich and poor alike, allowed them to acquire consumer goods at the several stores in the town. While records from the rest of these stores have not survived, the extensive collection of Elijah Boardman's account books provides many insights into his customers and the purchases they made at his store.

Elijah Boardman's dry-goods store served the residents of New Milford for nearly forty years from 1781 to 1819. For this study, a selection of three years of daybooks from this period, 1784-85, 1797-98, and 1810-11, encompass the beginning, middle and end of a time of great prosperity for American merchants and shopkeepers. In cities, towns, and villages across America, these traders connected consumers with vast assortments of wares from production centers around the globe. At country stores like Elijah Boardman's and those of his contemporaries John Hook and Samuel Rex, customers exchanged agricultural surpluses and domestically produced items for a variety of goods. Textiles and apparel items made up a substantial portion of this trade in consumer goods.

The textiles and dress-related goods purchased by Boardman's customers during these years comprised both the "necessaries" and "elegancies" available at a country store. They reflect the needs of a community made up of farmers and tradesmen, who more regularly acquired inexpensive and practical items such as linen textiles, cotton stockings, and wool hats over extravagant silk fabrics, gold beads, and gilt fans. However, intermittent purchases of such finery indicate that

some desired the trappings of fashionable and genteel living. Most of Boardman's customers, rich and poor alike, practiced a certain degree of economy in their textile purchases. This is evident in their tendency to acquire short lengths with which to repair and refurbish garments and household textiles, or even update ensembles with new accessories and trimmings.

This selection of Boardman's daybooks also coincides with a period of monumental changes in textile manufacturing technologies and in fashion. The fabric purchases at Boardman's store reflect these changes with an increase in cotton textile sales during 1797-98 and 1810-11. By 1810-11, cotton textile sales far surpassed those made of any other fiber. Lightweight cotton dress goods suited the neoclassical fashions of the turn of the nineteenth century and became more affordable owing to advancements in industrial yarn production. As a result, cotton also began to replace flax in the utilitarian textiles sold at Boardman's store. The dominance of cotton textiles, which would continue to gain momentum in the following decades, is already evident in the hundreds of yards of calico and humhum acquired by Boardman's customers in the early nineteenth century.

While Boardman gave the residents of New Milford access to an array of goods obtained from distant industrial centers, his store was also a source of supplies for local manufacturing. His customers bought tools and materials with which to make textiles at home alongside their purchases of finished yard goods. He also offered important services to local artisans. In addition to providing local shoemakers and hatters with tools and materials, Boardman's store was an outlet through which to sell their wares. Store credit served as a method of payment

even in direct exchanges of goods and labor between tradespeople and their customers.

Patterns of acquisition also emerge from Boardman's daybooks. Overall, most of his customers individually only made a few purchases of textiles and dress-related goods each year. This suggests that many also shopped elsewhere and that some could not afford to acquire many store-bought textiles at all. Their rates of purchasing followed seasonal patterns consistent with agricultural cycles and holidays that occasioned gift-giving and new clothes.

Looking beyond the goods recorded in the daybooks brings into focus the individuals who bought textiles and dress-related goods at Boardman's store. Most of the accounts belonged to white, male heads of households, but the actual purchases of these items often involved other people of varying relationships to the account holders. Acquiring goods at Boardman's store sometimes encompassed extended networks of family, neighbors, and business; individuals within these networks purchased goods both for themselves and on behalf of the account holders.

Although the accounts of white, married men prevailed in the pages of Boardman's daybooks, women and non-white individuals—both enslaved and free—also numbered among the account holders at his store. Their purchases of textiles and dress-related goods demonstrate many of the same needs, desires, and habits of Boardman's other customers, suggesting that these purchases were not always determined along lines of gender or race. The purchasing patterns of these

customer groups also illustrate the aspects of sociability and empowerment involved in shopping at Boardman's store.

The scope of this project allowed only for a selective analysis of the Boardman account books, but the depth and breadth of this collection presents many opportunities for further research. Examination of additional daybooks could provide a more nuanced picture of the changes in textile and dress-related purchases that took place between 1784 and 1811. Broadening the period of study to include the daybooks from the later 1810s could offer insights into how these changes continued to evolve in later years. Boardman's other account books, such as his ledgers, may contain additional information about his customers and their purchases, and could potentially clarify some of the ambiguities found in the daybooks. Boardman's invoice books and business correspondence document his supply chains, a topic that has received relatively little attention in commercial histories, but also warrants further inquiry.

The customers who shopped at Boardman's store are another subject that calls for additional research. Expanding the study of vital statistics and financial standings to include a larger sample of customers would further refine a study of this nature. Focusing on several well-documented customers and following their purchases over many years could yield insights on how patterns of consumption changed with lifecycles. More information on who Boardman's customers were and how they lived would enhance our understanding of the role that store-bought textiles and dress-related goods played in their lives.

Elijah Boardman's daybooks reveal many aspects of purchasing textiles and dress-related goods at a country store in a rural New England town. The thousands of transactions recorded in these pages show the variations and juxtapositions that existed in such purchases, as well as how they changed over time. One community's interactions with a significant commodity emerge through this collection of individual occurrences. The purchases of yards of cloth, skeins of thread, and pairs of shoes that took place daily at Elijah Boardman's store thus become part of the mosaic of local experiences that make up the history of textiles and clothing in early America.

Appendix A:
Glossary of Textile Types Sold at Elijah Boardman's Store

Legend: LB = Linda Baumgarten; SG = Susan Greene; HL = Hallie Larkin; FM = Florence Montgomery; SQ = Sally Queen; MP = Mary Brooks Picken; OED = Oxford English Dictionary; NR = Natalie Rothstein; PT&RM = Phyllis Tortora & Robert Merkel

Baize: Heavy, fulled woolen textile with a napped finish. **Apparel uses:** men's garments; garment linings **Household uses:** table coverings. (LB 110, HL 4, FM 152)

Bombaset (bombazet): Plain- or twill-weave worsted textile. **Apparel uses:** men's and women's garments. **Household uses:** drapery. (FM 172, SQ 12)

Buckram: Coarse, open, plain-weave textile. Made of linen or hemp in eighteenth century. Heavily sized for stiffness. **Apparel uses:** interlining in coat fronts and collars. (FM 181, PT&RM 77)

Broadcloth: Plain-weave woolen textile with a fulled and napped finish. Woven on a wide loom to widths of 54-63 inches. **Apparel uses:** men's garments, women's cloaks and riding habits. **Household uses:** drapery. (FM 177-79, SQ 13)

Calico: Cotton textile originally imported from India but also produced in Europe beginning in seventeenth century. Often printed. Could also refer to the plain white cotton textile used for printing. **Apparel uses:** women's garments and accessories; men's banyans and house caps; handkerchiefs; children's gowns. **Household uses:** drapery. (SG 77, FM 184, NR 204)

Camblet: Plain-weave worsted textile. Could be mixed with silk or mohair. Could be plain or patterned by brocading, stamping, or calendaring. **Apparel uses:** men's and women's garments. **Household uses:** bed curtains and upholstery. (FM 188-89)

Calimanco: Worsted textile. Could have woven or calendared patterns. Glazed finish. **Apparel uses:** men's and women's garments, women's shoes. **Household uses:** drapery, quilted coverlets. (FM 185-87)

Cambric: Fine, plain-weave linen textile. Typically white. **Apparel uses:** shirts, shifts, women's caps and aprons, handkerchiefs, sleeve and shirt ruffles, neck stocks. (HL 16, FM 187)

Cassimere (kerseymere): Soft, medium-weight, woolen twill-weave textile. Could be mixed with silk, cotton, or mohair. **Apparel uses:** men's and women's garments
Furnishing uses: drapery (FM 192)

Chintz: Cotton textile with painted or printed pattern. Often had a glazed finish. Originally imported from India but also produced in Europe beginning in the seventeenth century. **Apparel uses:** women's garments, men's banyans and house caps. **Household uses:** drapery. (FM 200)

Cloth: Fulled woolen textile of varying widths. Also shorthand for broadcloth. **Apparel uses:** men's garments, women's cloaks and riding habits. **Household uses:** drapery.

Coating: Thick woolen textile with a long napped finish. **Apparel uses:** men's coats, waistcoats and greatcoats, women's petticoats and cloaks. (HL 4, FM 201-03)

Corduroy: Cotton textile woven with cut-pile ribs running in warp direction. **Apparel uses:** men's garments. (FM 205-06, SQ 33)

Crape: Lightweight, plain-weave silk or wool textile. Yarns were spun with a hard twist to achieve a crinkle effect when woven. **Apparel uses:** millinery trimmings such as veils, women's gowns in early nineteenth century; women's mourning attire. (FM 207, PT&RM 146)

Damascus (damask): Worsted or silk textile with reversible woven pattern achieved with contrasting warp-float and weft-float twill weave. **Apparel uses:** men's and women's garments, women's shoes. **Household uses:** Drapery and upholstery. (FM 213-14)

Diaper: Linen or cotton textile woven in a diamond or twilled-check pattern. **Apparel uses:** women's petticoats, men's waistcoats and breeches. **Household uses:** table linens and bed curtains. (HL 18, FM 218, PT&RM 172)

Dimity: Twill-weave cotton textile. Often woven in striped, corded, or figured patterns. Typically white. **Apparel uses:** women's petticoats, men's waistcoats and breeches, children's clothing. **Household uses:** bedding (HL 18, FM 218-19)

Drapery: Lightweight worsted or part-worsted textile. **Apparel uses:** men's and women's garments. **Household uses:** drapery (FM 309)

Durant: Lightweight, plain-weave worsted textile with a glazed finish. **Apparel uses:** men's garments. (FM 229)

Ferret: Type of ribbon, tape, or binding. Could be cotton or silk. **Apparel uses:** trimming or edging on garments. **Household uses:** drapery. (FM 237)

Flannel: Plain- or twill-weave woolen textile. Soft and loosely woven with a slightly napped finish. **Apparel Uses:** men's garment linings, drawers, shirts, waistcoats, jackets; women's shifts, petticoats, shortgowns. (SH&KM 30, HL 5, FM 238, PT&RM 222)

Florentine: Twill-weave worsted or silk textile. Could be woven in striped or figured patterns. May also refer to a lightweight silk taffeta originally woven in Florence. **Apparel uses:** men's waistcoats, women's shoes. (FM 238-39, PT&RM 227)

Forest cloth: Coarse, inexpensive broadcloth. **Apparel uses:** men's garment linings. (FM 242)

Frieze: Coarse woolen textile with a napped finish. **Apparel uses:** men's jackets and overcoats. (FM 234)

Fustian: Group of linen-cotton textiles. Also referred to a coarse, linen-cotton or cotton textile. **Apparel uses:** men's and women's garments. **Household uses:** drapery. (FM 244-45, SQ 35)

Galloon: Tape or ribbon of wool, cotton, or silk. **Apparel Uses:** Decorative trim on uniforms and livery; binding for men's and women's garments and shoes. **Household uses:** upholstery binding. (FM 245)

Gauze (leno): Sheer, open-weave textile in which pairs of warp yarns cross each other between each weft yarn. Could be plain, striped, or patterned. Generally silk. **Apparel uses:** women's accessories. (HL 26, FM 246, 276, SQ 18)

Gingham: Plain-weave cotton textile with printed or woven patterns of colored stripes or checks. **Apparel uses:** men's and women's garments. (SG 64-65, HL 8, FM 247, ads)

Holland: Medium-fine, plain-weave linen textile. Could be solid, striped, or checked. **Apparel uses:** men's shirts, waistcoats, jackets, and coats; women's shifts, petticoats, gowns, aprons. (HL 16, FM 258, SQ 27)

Humhum: Thick, plain-weave cotton textile. **Household uses:** toweling. (FM 262)

Jean: Twill-weave linen-cotton textile. By late eighteenth century could be all cotton. **Apparel uses:** men's and women's garments. (HL 17, FM 271)

Kersey: Coarse, twill-weave woolen textile with a fulled finish. **Apparel uses:** men's garments and overcoats. (FM 272-73)

Lasting (everlasting): Dense, twill-weave worsted textile. Could be patterned or plain. **Apparel uses:** men's garments and women's shoes. (FM 235-36)

Lawn: Fine, plain-weave linen textile. Typically white. **Apparel uses:** Men's shirt ruffles and neck stocks; women's aprons, handkerchiefs, caps, sleeve ruffles. (HL 16, FM 275, SQ 25)

Linen: Family of textiles made from flax. Variety of weaves and grades. Wide-ranging apparel and household uses. (FM 277)

Looping: Trimming for hats and garments. (OED)

Lustring: Lightweight, ribbed, plain-weave silk textile. Crisp hand achieved through stretching and heating warp before weaving or with sizing. Could be woven with stripes or patterns. **Apparel uses:** men's and women's garments, women's bonnets. (HL 21, FM 283-85)

Marseilles: Double-cloth textile with woven patterns imitating quilting. Generally cotton. **Apparel uses:** men's waistcoats and women's petticoats. (FM 291-92)

Milanet*: Possibly a type of sheer netting used for women's accessories.

Mode: Lightweight silk textile with a glossy finish. **Apparel uses:** women's cloaks and bonnets. (MP 225, OED)

Moreen: Worsted textile with a calendared finish. **Apparel uses:** women's gowns and petticoats. **Household uses:** upholstery (SH&KM 31, HL 7, FM 301-3)

Muslin: Lightweight, plain-weave cotton textile of a fine grade. Could have woven stripes or figured patterns. Originally imported from India, but also manufactured in Europe by the late eighteenth century. **Apparel uses:** women's aprons, caps, handkerchiefs, sleeve ruffles, turn-of-century gowns. (FM 304-7; SQ 37)

Nankeen: Plain-weave cotton textile. Originally produced in China from a yellow type of cotton. Also manufactured in Europe by mid-eighteenth century in a variety of colors.

Apparel uses: men's garments and women's petticoats. **Household uses:** pillows. (FM 308)

Oilcloth: Cotton or linen textile waterproofed with compound of vegetable oils, clay filler, gums, and pigments. Various utility uses. (MP 236, PT&RM 393)

Pelong: Satin-weave silk textile. Could be woven with stripes or figured patterns. Originally imported from China. **Apparel uses:** women's gowns and petticoats. (FM 318)

Persian: Lightweight silk textile. **Apparel uses:** women's garments, garment linings. **Household uses:** Drapery lining. (FM 321-23)

Plush: Velvet textile with a long cut-pile surface. Could be wool, mohair, or silk. **Apparel uses:** men's garments. **Household uses:** upholstery. (FM 325-26)

Quality Binding: Worsted, cotton, or silk binding tape. **Apparel uses:** Garment and shoe binding. **Household uses:** carpet binding (nineteenth century). (FM 33)

Rateen: Thick, twill-weave woolen textile. Also a general term applied to coarse woolen cloths with a variety of finishes. **Apparel uses:** men's garments, garment linings. **Household uses:** upholstery. (FM 331)

Ratinet: Lightweight, twill-weave woolen textile. **Apparel uses:** garment linings. **Household uses:** drapery. (FM 331)

Royal Rib*: Possibly a variety of corduroy. **Apparel uses:** men's garments.

Russell: Worsted textile with a woven pattern. **Apparel uses:** women's gowns, petticoats, and shoes; men's banyans. **Household uses:** drapery and upholstery. (FM 336-37)

Sarcenet: Lightweight, plain- or twill-weave silk textile. Soft and drapable. **Apparel uses:** men's garment linings, women's gowns and petticoats. (FM 339, NR 205)

Sateen: Textile woven with long weft floats. Often cotton. (FM 339)

Satin: Textile woven with long warp floats. Could be silk or wool. **Apparel uses:** men's and women's garments. (FM 339-40, SQ 23)

Satinet: Lightweight satin-weave textile. Could be cotton, wool or cotton-warp/wool-weft mix. Often striped. **Apparel uses:** women's gowns (FM 342)

Say: Lightweight, twill-weave woolen textile. **Apparel uses:** garment linings. (FM 342-43)

Seersucker: Plain-, twill-, or satin-weave textile with rippled stripes achieved through looser tension on some warp yarns. Could be cotton or silk-and-cotton mix. **Apparel uses:** men's and women's garments. **Household uses:** drapery. (FM 343-44)

Serge: Twill-weave wool textile with worsted warp and woolen weft. Could be embossed. **Apparel uses:** men's and women's garments, garment linings. **Household use:** drapery. (FM 344-45)

Shag: Heavy worsted textile with a long napped finish. **Apparel uses:** men's garments and women's petticoats. (FM 345-46).

Shalloon: Lightweight, twill-weave worsted textile. Could be glazed. **Apparel uses:** garment linings, women's gowns. (FM 346-47)

Swansdown: Woolen-silk blend textile. **Apparel uses:** men's waistcoats. (FM 354)

Stuff: General term for worsted textiles. (FM 353-54)

Taborine (tabyrean): Silk and worsted textile, similar to moreen. (FM 358)

Taboret: Stout silk or worsted textile. Woven with shaded patterns and stripes. **Household uses:** upholstery. (FM 357-58)

Taffeta: Medium-weight, plain-weave silk textile. **Apparel uses:** garment linings, women's garments and bonnets. **Household uses:** draperies, bedspreads. (FM 359-60)

Tammy: Lightweight, plain-weave worsted textile. Often glazed. **Apparel uses:** garment linings, women's garments. **Household uses:** drapery, straining cloth. (FM 360)

Taste: Narrow silk ribbon used for edge binding. (OED)

Thickset: Type of fustian or velvet. Could be cotton or worsted. **Apparel uses:** men's garments. (FM 363)

Tow cloth: Coarse linen textile woven from short tow fibers. (PT&RM 585)

Velvet: Textile with cut-pile surface. Could be silk, wool, or cotton. **Apparel uses:** men's garments. **Household uses:** table coverings, upholstery. (FM 370)

Vesting: Textiles intended for men's vests. Variety of fiber types and patterns. (FM 372)

Wildbore: Plain-weave worsted textile. Thicker and more tightly woven than tammy and without glazed finish. **Apparel uses:** men's and women's garments. (FM 374)

*textiles found in the Boardman daybooks but not referenced in any secondary sources

Appendix B: 1784-85 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

Boardman	Sherman	date	purchaser	delivery	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item
6/15/1784					D	7.0.8	9/	15.375	yd			lustring
6/15/1784					D	0.8.0		1		black	barcelona	handkerchief
6/15/1784					D	0.10.6	14/	0.75	lb			indigo
7/6/1784					D	0.0.7		1	skein			silk
7/14/1784					D	0.0.8		1	paper			pins
7/30/1784					D	0.6.9		1			felt	hat
8/10/1784					D	0.3.2½	12/9	0.25	yd		fine	lawn
8/10/1784					D	0.0.7		1	skein			silk
8/10/1784					D	0.0.9	6d	2.5	yd			ribbon
8/10/1784					D	0.0.8	4d	2	hanks			twist
8/10/1784					D	0.6.4½	1/5	4.5	yd	white		lace
8/10/1784					D	0.1.7	3/2	0.25	yd			linen
9/21/1784					D	0.15.10	6/4	2.5	yd			satinet
9/21/1784					D			1	doz		small	buttons
9/21/1784					D	0.0.11		3			large	buttons
9/21/1784					D	0.0.10		1	hank			silk
9/22/1784					D	0.7.4	1/4	1	yd			tow cloth
9/22/1784					D		6/	1	yd			serge
9/22/1784					D	0.4.3	2/10	1.5	yd	blue		linen
9/22/1784					D	0.0.6	2d	3	skeins			thread
9/27/1784					D	0.4.0	6/4	0.625	yd			satinet
10/5/1784					D	0.0.3		1.5	yd		quality	binding
10/19/1784					D	0.2.8		1				pocket handkerchief
10/20/1784					D	0.4.6		1	pair		beaver	gloves
10/28/1784					D	0.7.6		1		black	large	handkerchief
11/15/1784					D	0.0.9	1/	0.75	yd	green		ribbon
12/15/1784					D	0.0.6	2d	3	skeins			thread
12/15/1784					D	0.2.6	2/6	1	yd			linen
1/21/1785					D	2.6.7	3/7	13	yd			jean
3/11/1785					D	0.8.0	1/4	6	lb		sole	leather
3/18/1785					D	0.6.8	2/8	2.5	lb		cotton	wool
4/2/1785					D	0.0.7		1	skein			silk
4/27/1785					D	1.1.11	3/10	5.5	yd		fine	russell
4/27/1785					D	0.19.5	3/10	5.0625	yd			linen

Appendix B: 1784-85 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

5/12/1785	John	D	0.2.7	2/3	1.125	yd	black	durant
5/12/1785	John	D	1.1.3	4/3	5	yd		satinet
5/12/1785	John	D	0.0.4		1	hank		twist
5/12/1785	John	D	0.1.1		2	skeins		silk
5/12/1785	John	D	0.0.10		2.5	doz	vest	buttons
5/12/1785	John	D	0.0.3	1d	3		large	buttons
5/12/1785	John	D	0.6.8		1	pair	worsted	hose

Appendix B: 1784-85 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

Bostwick	Samuel Jr.	delivery	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item
date	proxy									
6/29/1784			D	0.6.0		1	pair		hemp	hose
7/30/1784			D	0.1.10		0.5	yd			linen
7/30/1784			D	0.0.7		1	skein			silk
7/30/1784			D	0.0.6	2d	3	skeins			thread
8/3/1784			D	0.1.0		1	skein			twist
8/3/1784			D	0.0.7		0.25	yd	black		durant
8/3/1784			D	0.0.9		15				buttons
8/3/1784			D	0.7.2		1	pair	white	linen	hose
8/3/1784			D	0.14.11		2.5	yd			satinet
8/19/1784	John		D	0.7.1		1.75	yd			linen
8/19/1784	John		D	0.1.0	2d	6	skeins			thread
8/19/1784	John		D	0.2.6		1				pocket handkerchief
8/19/1784	John		D	1.0.9		5.75	yd			linen
8/19/1784	John		D	0.0.3		2	yd			taste
8/24/1784	Lettis		D	0.3.0		1	pair		wool	cards
8/24/1784	Lettis		D	0.1.8		0.5	yd	black		gauze
9/2/1784			D	0.1.1		2	yd		narrow	ribbon
9/2/1784			D	0.1.4		1	pair		shoe	buckles
9/2/1784			D	0.0.7		0.375	yd	white		milanet
9/13/1784			D	0.0.7			to amount			taffeta
9/13/1784			D	0.2.9	1/10	1.5	yd	black		durant
9/13/1784			D	0.0.8		2	yd	black		milanet
9/13/1784			D	0.0.4		1				bonnet paper
9/13/1784			D	0.2.0	2/8	0.75	yd	black		gauze
9/13/1784			D	0.5.8	7/6	0.75	yd			mode
9/17/1784			D	0.0.8		1	skein	green		silk
9/17/1784			D	0.0.2		1	yd			binding
9/17/1784			D	0.1.2		0.5	yd	green		durant
9/21/1784			D			1			beaver	hat
11/2/1784			D	0.1.4	8d	2	doz			buttons
11/8/1784			D	0.0.10	2d	3	skeins			thread
11/8/1784			D	0.6.0		1			velvet	cape
11/8/1784			D	0.1.5		2	hanks			silk
11/8/1784			D	0.3.6	2/4	1.5	yd	brown		linen

Appendix B: 1784-85 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

11/8/1784	D	0.5.0	2/8	3	yd	blue	fine	shalloon
11/8/1784	D	2.14.8¼	17/6	3.125	yd	blue		cloth
11/8/1784	D	0.4.6	2/	2.5	doz	yellow		buttons
11/13/1784	D	0.3.0		1.5	nails	blue		cloth
11/27/1784	D	0.0.5	2d	2.5	yd			shoe binding
12/11/1784	D	0.0.4½		7				buttons
1/8/1785	D	0.2.2		1	doz		vest	buttons
1/8/1785	D			1	skein			silk
1/8/1785	D	} 0.1.0		1	stick			twist
1/8/1785	D	0.1.1½	½d	3			large	buttons
1/8/1785	D	0.0.8		3			large	buttons
1/8/1785	D	0.1.4		1	doz		vest	buttons
1/15/1785	D			1.5	doz		plated	buttons
1/19/1785	D	0.0.10	1/8	0.5	yd			buckram
1/19/1785	D	0.0.9	4½d	2	hanks			twist
1/19/1785	D	0.2.0	8d	3	skeins			silk
1/19/1785	D	2.19.0	29/6	2	yd	scarlet		cloth
1/22/1785	D	0.3.7½	2/5	1.5	yd			linen
1/22/1785	D	0.3.1	2/8	14			coat	buttons
1/22/1785	D	0.6.6		1			silk velvet	cape
5/10/1785	D	0.2.8 ½		1	pair		shammy	gloves

Appendix B: 1784-85 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

Everitt	Daniel	date	proxy	delivery	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item
6/11/1784					D	0.1.10½		0.75	yd	black		durant
6/11/1784					D	0.0.8		1	doz			buttons
6/11/1784					D	0.1.0		1	hank			silk
6/11/1784					D	0.0.2	2d	1	skein			thread
6/11/1784					D	0.13.0	4/10 ½	32			gilt coat	buttons
6/11/1784					D	0.1.5	2/10	0.5	yd			gauze
6/11/1784					D	1.1.1½		1.5	yd	black		florentine
6/14/1784					D	0.0.5½		1				button
6/22/1784					D	0.0.8		1	skein	green		silk
6/29/1784					D	0.16.8	1/8	10	yd	whitened		tow cloth
6/29/1784					D	0.0.10		0.5	yd			milanet
7/30/1784					D	0.0.8		1	hank			silk
7/30/1784					D	0.0.4	2d	2	skeins			thread
7/30/1784					D	0.0.4½		1	hank			twist
7/30/1784					D	1.8.2		2	yd	black		florentine
7/30/1784					D	0.0.2		2	doz			pins
7/30/1784					D	0.11.11		2	pair		cotton	stockings
7/30/1784					D	0.0.7		0.25	yd			durant
7/31/1784					D	0.3.6		1.5	yd	brown		linen
7/31/1784					D	0.0.8		1	doz			buttons
7/31/1784					D	0.0.3		3			large	buttons
8/20/1784	wife				D	0.5.5		1	pair			shoes
10/1/1784					D	0.5.0	6/8	0.75	yd			lasting
10/5/1784					D		10d	1	pair			heels
10/5/1784					D	1.5.0	1/8	15	yd	white		tow cloth
10/9/1784					D	0.3.6	1/2	3	doz		coat	buttons
10/9/1784					D	0.1.4	7d	26			vest	buttons
10/9/1784					D	0.3.6	2/4	1.5	yd	brown		linen
10/29/1784					D	0.0.4½		1	hank			twist
10/29/1784					D	0.18.0	8d	1.5	yd	green	pile	shag
10/29/1784					D	0.1.0		1.5	doz		vest	buttons
10/29/1784					D	0.0.8	8d	1	skein			silk
11/15/1784					D	0.0.4	36/	6	yd	blue	small	buttons
11/15/1784					D	0.6.9		0.1875			fine	cloth (for cape)

Appendix B: 1784-85 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

11/15/1784	D	0.1.1½	3	hanks		twist
11/15/1784	D	0.3.3	3	doz		buttons
11/17/1784	D	0.2.5	0.75	yd	yellow	flannel
11/17/1784	D	0.6.6	1			handkerchief
11/27/1784	D		0.25	yd	green	baize
11/30/1784	D	0.2.0	0.5	yd	green	baize
12/7/1784	D	0.0.8	1	doz		buttons
12/14/1784	D	0.8.0	1	skein		silk
12/14/1784	D	0.8.3	0.6875	yd		persian
1/11/1785	D	0.0.4	1	hank		twist
1/11/1785	D	0.1.6	0.25	yd	white	satin

A. Platt

Appendix B: 1784-85 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

Gunn	Abner	date	proxy	delivery	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item
6/5/1784					D	0.0.2	2d	1	skein			thread
6/5/1784					D	0.0.5	2d	2.5	yd			binding
6/10/1784	wife				D		7d	1	skein			silk
6/12/1784	R. Garlick				D	0.8.3		1.5	yd	black		satinet
6/12/1784	R. Garlick				D	0.2.1		1	yd	black		durant
6/12/1784	R. Garlick				D	0.0.10½	2d	1.5	doz			buttons
6/12/1784	R. Garlick				D	0.0.7		1	skein			silk
6/12/1784	R. Garlick				D	0.0.3		2	hanks			twist
7/17/1784	wife				D	0.15.9		4.5	yd	green		moreen
7/27/1784				Asa Reed	D	0.2.6			toamount			cambric
8/16/1784	wife				D	0.2.5	18d/yd	1	ps			tape
9/6/1784	wife				D	0.2.4		1	pair		worsted	gloves
11/2/1784					D	0.1.4	8d	2	papers			pins
11/16/1784					D	1.13.4	10/3	3.25	yd			coating
11/16/1784					D	0.0.8	4d	2	hanks			twist
11/16/1784					D	0.2.0	8d	3	doz		basket	buttons
11/16/1784					D	0.1.3	8/6	0.5	yd			shalloon
1/3/1785					D	0.0.8		2	hanks			twist
1/3/1785					D	0.1.4	8d	2	doz		vest	buttons
1/3/1785					D	0.0.4		3			large	buttons
2/5/1785					C			1	pair			shoes
2/9/1785					C							soling pair of shoes
2/9/1785					C	0.7.6		1	pair			shoes
2/22/1785					D			2	lb		cotton	wool
2/28/1785					C			5	pair			shoes
3/3/1785					C		8d	9	pair			shoe heels
3/11/1785					D	0.4.6	6/	0.75	yd			satinet
3/11/1785					D	0.0.10	2d	5	yd			shoe binding
3/11/1785					D	0.7.6	5/	1.5	yd	light		calico
4/12/1785	wife				D			0.5	lb		cotton	wool
4/16/1785					D	0.0.4		1	hank			twist
4/16/1785					D	0.15.2	2/2	7	yd	brown		linen
4/16/1785					D	0.0.5		1	lb			copperas
4/18/1785					D		4d	3	hanks			twist

Appendix B: 1784-85 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

4/18/1785	D	0.10.6	4/6	28		plated	buttons
4/18/1785	D	0.4.8	4/4	14			buttons
4/18/1785	D	0.14.2 ³ / ₄	5/5	2.625	yd		satinet
4/18/1785	D	0.19.6	4/4	4.5	yd		satinet
4/18/1785	D	0.2. ¹ / ₂	7d	3.5	doz	vest	buttons
4/18/1785	D	0.0.6	1d	6		large	buttons
4/18/1785	D	{0.3.6	1/8	1.5	yd		tammy
4/18/1785	D	0.2.4	7d	4	skeins		silk
4/25/1785	D	0.0.4		2	skeins		thread
4/25/1785	Miss Comstock	0.0.2		1	skein	cambric	thread
4/25/1785	Miss Comstock	0.0.10 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂ d	7	yd		taste
4/25/1785	Miss Comstock			1	paper		pins
4/25/1785	Miss Comstock	{ 0.0.10		1			thimble
4/25/1785	Miss Comstock	0.5.0		1.1875	yd	dark	calico
4/25/1785	Miss Comstock	0.1.7 ¹ / ₂	4/4	0.375	yd		satinet
4/25/1785	Miss Comstock	0.0.4		2	yd		tape
4/25/1785	Miss Comstock	0.1.0	8d	1.5	yd	black	ribbon
4/25/1785	Miss Comstock	0.3.11 ¹ / ₂	10/6	0.375	yd		cambric
4/25/1785	Miss Comstock	0.12.6 ¹ / ₂	3/7	3.5	yd		linen
4/25/1785	Miss Comstock	0.0.5	2d	2.5	yd		binding
4/25/1785	Miss Comstock	0.0.10	2d	5	skeins		thread
4/25/1785	Miss Comstock	0.1.2	1/2	1	yd	purple	ribbon
4/25/1785	Miss Comstock	0.1.5	8 1/2d	2	yd		ribbon
4/25/1785	Miss Comstock	1.17.7 ³ / ₄	4/4	8.6875	yd	black	lace
4/25/1785	Miss Comstock	0.6.6		1	pair	wide	hose
4/25/1785	Miss Comstock	0.11.3	5/	2.25	yd	worsted	lawn
4/30/1785	Miss Comstock	0.4.0		1	pair	plated	shoe buckles
B. Ingersoll	D		10/6	0.25	yd		cambric
apprentice	D				bunch		wire
wife	D	0.0.3		0.75	yd	plain	gauze
wife	D	0.1.9 ³ / ₄	2/5	1	skein		thread
wife	D		3/7	3.5	yd		linen
wife	D	0.12.6 ¹ / ₂		1.5	yd		shoe binding
wife	D	0.0.2	1/1	1.5	yd		ribbon
wife	D	0.1.7 ¹ / ₂		1	skein	black	silk
wife	D	0.0.7		1		gauze	half handkerchief
5/21/1785	D	0.1.7		1			

Appendix B: 1784-85 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

5/21/1785	wife	D	0.0.9	1/6	0.5	yd	milanet
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Appendix B: 1784-85 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

Hayes	Thomas	date	proxy	delivery	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item
6/11/1784					D	0.8.4	1/8	5	yd			tow cloth
7/23/1784					D	0.2.10¾		1	pair			buckles
8/4/1784					D			5	yd			jean
8/4/1784					D			1	doz			buttons
8/4/1784					D	}0.13.0		1	hank			thread
8/31/1784	wife				D	0.1.4		1			chip	hat
9/28/1784					D			2	oz			indigo
10/28/1784					D			1	paper			pins
10/30/1784					D	0.0.4		2	yd			binding
11/1/1784					D	0.3.6	2/9	2	yd		quality	shalloon
11/1/1784					D			1	stick			twist
11/1/1784					D			1	skein			silk
11/1/1784					D	} 0.1.6		1	skein			thread
11/1/1784					D	1.6.8	13/4	2	yd	blue		cloth
11/1/1784					D	0.1.8		14			coat	buttons
11/8/1784					D	0.2.10½	7/6	0.375	yd			mode
11/8/1784					D	0.2.0	1/4	1.5	yd			ribbon
11/10/1784					D	0.0.10		0.125	yd	blue		serge
11/10/1784					D	0.0.11	7/6	0.125	yd			mode
11/10/1784					D	0.0.8		1	skein			silk
11/17/1784					D	0.8.3	6/	1.375	yd	blue		serge
11/17/1784					D	0.3.6	2/4	1.5	yd			shalloon
11/17/1784					D	0.0.11	4d	1	hank			twist
11/17/1784					D	0.0.8	1/4	0.5	yd			ribbon
11/20/1784	A. Lines				D			0.25	yd	blue		serge
11/26/1784					D	0.0.4		1	hank			twist
11/26/1784					D	0.1.4		1	doz			buttons
12/6/1784					D			1	hank			twist
12/7/1784					D	0.15.2	8/8	1.75	yd	blue		cloth
12/7/1784					D	0.0.4½		1	hank			twist
12/7/1784					D	0.0.4	2d	2	skeins			thread
12/7/1784					D	0.1.4	1/4	14			coat	buttons
12/8/1784					D			0.25	yd	blue		cloth
12/8/1784					D	0.0.7		9			small	buttons

Appendix B: 1784-85 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

12/11/1784	D	0.1.2		1	doz	coat	buttons
12/16/1784	D			0.25	yd		linen
1/1/1785	D	0.2.0	2/	1			pocket handkerchief
1/4/1785	D	0.7.6	3/	2.5	yd	check	flannel
2/2/1785	D	0.0.8	8d	1	paper		pins
2/15/1785	D	0.0.11½		3 1/2	lb		logwood
3/23/1785	D			1	yd	check	linen
4/14/1785	D	0.1.8		1		souffle	handkerchief
5/2/1785	D	0.0.10		1	pair		buckles
5/14/1785	D			2.5	yd		lasting
5/14/1785	D			15			buttons
5/23/1785	D		4/10	1.5	yd		calico

Appendix B: 1784-85 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

Merchant	date	proxy	delivery	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item
Ezra	6/3/1784			D	0.9.2		1.75	yd			calico
	6/10/1784			D	0.0.2	2d	1	skein			thread
	6/14/1784			D	0.4.0			balance			handkerchief
	6/23/1784			D	0.0.8	4d	2	yd			ribbon
	9/17/1784			D	0.0.9	9d	1	paper			pins
	9/20/1784			D	0.3.6		4	oz			indigo
	9/23/1784			D	0.0.7		1	skein			silk
	9/23/1784			D	0.0.8		2			gauze	lappets
	9/23/1784			D	0.1.6		1	pair			shears
	9/23/1784			D	0.0.9		0.25	yd		souffle	gauze
	9/23/1784			D	0.0.4	2d	2	skeins			thread
	10/28/1784			D	0.2.6	1/3	2			chip	hats
	10/30/1784			D	0.0.5		1	pair		sleeve	buttons
	11/24/1784	Benjamin Bostwick		D	0.4.0	5/4	0.75	yd			lawn
	11/24/1784	Benjamin Bostwick		D	0.3.4½	4/3	0.75	yd			satinet
	11/24/1784	Benjamin Bostwick		D	0.2.0		1	doz		hair	pins
	11/24/1784	Benjamin Bostwick		D	0.0.10	2d	5	yd			binding
	11/24/1784	Benjamin Bostwick		D	0.4.3	2/10	1.5	yd	black		gauze

Appendix B: 1784-85 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

11/24/1784	Benjamin Bostwick	D	0.2.0	8d	3	yd	ribbon
11/27/1784	Daniel	D	0.11.3	4/6	2.5	yd	satinet
11/27/1784	Daniel	D	0.0.8		1	doz	buttons
11/27/1784	Daniel	D			1	skein	silk
11/27/1784	Daniel	D			3		buttons
11/27/1784	Daniel	D	0.5.8		1	pair	hose
11/27/1784	Daniel	D	0.2.10		1		pocket handkerchief
11/27/1784	Daniel	D	0.3.11		1	pair	buckles
11/29/1784	Daniel	D	0.15.0	5/	3	yd	corduroy
11/29/1784		D			1	skein	silk
11/29/1784		D	} 0.0.11		1	hank	twist
11/29/1784		D	0.0.8		1	doz	buttons
11/29/1784		D	0.0.5	2d	2.5	yd	shoe binding
12/4/1784		D	0.10.8	2/8	4	lb	wool
12/22/1784		D	0.2.3	1/6	1.5	yd	tow cloth
12/22/1784		D	0.0.7		9		buttons
12/22/1784		D	0.13.9	11/	1.5	yd	cloth
12/27/1785		D	0.0.7		3	yd	binding
1/31/1785	Daniel B.	D	0.15.10	6/4	2.5	yd	serge
2/1/1785	Daniel B.	D	0.15.10	6/4	2.5	yd	serge
2/16/1785		D	0.0.10	3d	3.25	yd	binding
3/3/1785		D		5/	2		handkerchiefs
3/3/1785		D	} 1.18.6	4/9	6	yd	calico
3/16/1785		D	0.0.10	2d	5	yd	shoe binding
3/21/1785		D	0.0.4½		1	hank	twist
3/21/1785		D	0.1.4	8d	2	doz	buttons
3/21/1785		D	0.1.3		1	doz	buttons
3/28/1785		D	0.0.4	2d	2	skeins	thread
4/7/1785	Wm Noble	D	0.0.7		1	skein	silk
4/7/1785	Wm Noble	D	0.1.0	8d	1.5	doz	buttons
4/11/1785		D	0.0.8	1/8	0.375	yd	buckram
4/11/1785		D	0.4.7½	3/1	1.5	yd	ratinet
4/16/1785		D		3/	0.1875	yd	ratinet
4/16/1785		D	0.3.0	8d	4.5	lb	flax
5/2/1785	Lizzy	D		2/5	0.125	yd	gauze
5/13/1785		D	0.2.0	2/8	0.75	yd	shalloon

Appendix B: 1784-85 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

Noble	Zadoc	proxy	delivery	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item
6/3/1784				D	0.1.2		1	yd			binding
6/3/1784				D	0.3.9			yd			lasting
6/5/1784				D	0.1.4		1			satin	hat
6/5/1784				D	0.5.3½	7/1	0.75	yd		chip	mode
6/5/1784				D	0.0.6		1	doz			needles
6/5/1784				D	0.0.9		1	paper			pins
6/5/1784				D	0.0.2		1				thimble
6/5/1784				D	0.18.11	8/5	2.25	yd			taffeta
6/12/1784				D	0.15.11½	3/9	4.25	yd			linen
6/12/1784				D	0.0.8	2d	4	skeins			thread
6/18/1784				D	0.11.10½	3/11½	3	yd		fine	linen
6/18/1784				D	0.6.9		0.5	yd			cambric
6/25/1784				D	0.2.2		2	yd			ribbon
7/7/1784				D	0.0.7		3	yd		quality	binding
8/2/1784				D	0.1.7½		1	pair		shoe	buckles
8/9/1784	daughter			D	0.5.0	2/6	2			ostrich	feathers
8/9/1784	daughter			D	0.4.0	2/8	1.5	yd		spotted	gauze
8/9/1784	daughter			D	0.2.8	2/8	1	yd		souffle	gauze
8/9/1784	daughter			D	0.3.3	1/1	3	yd			ribbon
8/9/1784	daughter			D	0.0.3		2	yd			taste
8/17/1784				D	0.1.4	2/8	0.5	yd		spotted	gauze
8/17/1784				D	0.0.8	4d	2	yd		narrow	ribbon
8/17/1784				D	0.0.11	1/10	0.5	yd			buckram
9/18/1784				D	0.2.11	2/11	1	yd	white		gauze
9/18/1784				D	0.3.0	1/	3	yd	white		ribbon
9/18/1784				D	0.1.0	4d	3	yd		narrow	ribbon
9/18/1784				D	0.0.7½		0.375	yd			milanet
9/18/1784				D	0.3.11½			toamount			satin
9/18/1784				D	0.11.3	7/6	1.5	yd			mode
9/27/1784				D	0.6.6	13/	0.5	lb			indigo
9/27/1784				D	0.0.6		1	doz			needles
10/14/1784	Miss Hunt			D	0.2.0	2/8	0.75	lb		cotton	wool
10/14/1784	Miss Hunt			D	0.0.7½	3d	2.5	yd		quality	binding
11/17/1784				D	0.0.11		10			small	buttons

Appendix B: 1784-85 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

Northrop	David	proxy	delivery	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item
date											mode
6/5/1784				D			2	yd	black		durant
6/8/1784				C (returned)	0.6.3	2/1	3	yd	black		thread
6/8/1784				D	0.1.0	2d	6	skeins		fine	binding
6/8/1784				D	0.0.8	2d	4	yd		quality	lasting
6/12/1784			Widow Welch	D	0.1.8½	4/6	0.375	yd	black		binding
6/12/1784			Widow Welch	D	0.0.3¾		2.5	yd			buttons
6/12/1784				D	0.1.6		1.25	doz			lace
6/12/1784				D	0.1.4		1	yd	white		spectacles
7/31/1784				D	0.2.2		1	pair			calico
7/31/1784	Miss Weber			D	1.11.2	5/8	5.5	yd			silk
8/12/1784	Sally Fisher			D	0.0.8	8d	1	skein			silk
8/12/1784				D	0.0.7	7d	1	skein			ribbon
8/26/1784				D	0.0.3		1	yd			wire
9/4/1784	Widow Welch			D	0.0.2		1	bunch			gauze
9/4/1784				D	0.2.8		1	yd	black	linen	hose
9/4/1784				D	0.6.8	6/8	1	pair			buckles
9/4/1784				D	0.3.0	3/	1	pair		plated	handkerchief
9/4/1784				D	0.6.0		1		black	silk	thread
9/4/1784				D	0.1.0	2d	6	skeins			lace
9/4/1784				D	0.3.4	1/4	2.5	yd	white		tow cloth
9/4/1784				D	0.15.4½	1/6	10.25	yd			jean
9/4/1784				D	0.12.0	3/	4	yd			tow cloth
9/4/1784				D	0.15.0	1/8	9	yd			pins
9/4/1784				D	0.0.8		1	paper			hat
9/8/1784				D	0.7.0		1	yd		wool	ratinet
9/27/1784				D	0.7.1	2/10	2.5	yd			silk
9/27/1784				D	} 0.1.9		1	skein			buttons
9/27/1784				D	0.0.5		2			small	buttons
9/27/1784				D	0.9.0	4/6	2	doz		plated	buttons
9/27/1784				D	0.0.7		1	skein			silk
9/27/1784				D	0.2.2		1	yd	brown		linen
9/27/1784				D	2.17.9	33/	1.75	yd			cloth
9/27/1784				D	0.0.8	4d	2	hanks			twist

Appendix B: 1784-85 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

9/29/1784	D	0.0.8		0.375	yd	buckram
9/29/1784	D	0.0.11	2/4	0.375	yd	linen
11/9/1784	D	0.5.6	2/9	2	yd	lace
11/9/1784	D	0.5.7½	7/6	0.75	yd	satin
11/9/1784	D	0.9.0	1/6	6	yd	camblet
11/24/1784	D	0.0.11		1.5	doz	buttons
11/24/1784	D	0.0.1		0.5	yd	binding
12/13/1784	D	0.1.2		1.5	doz	buttons
12/13/1784	D	0.2.0	3d	3	sticks	twist
4/23/1785	D	0.0.5	2d	2.5	yd	shoe binding
4/26/1785	D	0.4.8	2/4	2	yd	durant
4/26/1785	D			1	hank	twist
4/26/1785	D	0.1.6		2	skeins	silk
4/26/1785	D	0.0.7		6		buttons
4/26/1785	D	0.12.3	1/9	7	yd	tow cloth
4/26/1785	D	0.15.6	5/2	3	yd	satinet
5/6/1785	D	0.0.6½		0.375		catgut
5/6/1785	D	0.0.8		1	skein	silk
5/6/1785	D	0.3.3		3	yd	ribbon
5/6/1785	D	0.1.11½	2/7	0.75	yd	gauze
5/6/1785	D	0.3.3		1	yd	gauze
5/6/1785	D	0.0.6½		0.375		catgut
5/19/1785	D	0.0.8	8d	1	paper	pins
5/19/1785	D	0.5.5	4/4	1.25	yd	calico
5/31/1785	D	0.0.4½	1/6	0.25	yd	milanet
5/31/1785	D	0.15.0	3/4	4.5	yd	moreen
5/31/1785	D	0.5.6		1		handkerchief
5/31/1785	D	0.2.0	2/	1		fan

Appendix B: 1784-85 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

Payne	Aaron	proxy	date	delivery	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item
7/5/1784					D		1/3	6.75	yd			cloth
8/12/1784					D			1	skein			silk
8/23/1784				Robert Brown	D	0.5.3		1		black	silk	handkerchief
8/23/1784				Robert Brown	D	0.10.8	2/8	4	yd			jean
8/23/1784				Robert Brown	D	0.0.7		1	skein			silk
8/23/1784				Robert Brown	D	0.1.9		1	yd	green		durant
8/24/1784				Stephen Ferriss	D	0.2.3		1			kenting	handkerchief
8/24/1784				Stephen Ferriss	D	0.13.9	2/6	5.5	yd		check	linen
8/24/1784				Stephen Ferriss	D	0.7.0		1			wool	hat
9/27/1784					D	1.9.9	2/10	10.5	yd			linen
9/27/1784					D	0.1.0	2d	6	skeins			thread
10/16/1784					D	2.0.0	20/	2		white		hats
11/1/1784					D	0.3.0		1	yd	white		gauze
11/1/1784					D	0.0.8		1	skein			silk
11/17/1784					D	0.0.4		1	doz			molds
1/12/1785					D	0.0.8	8d	1	doz		small	buttons
1/12/1785					D	0.1.4		14			large	buttons
1/12/1785					D	1.10.0	6/	5	yd			corduroy
1/12/1785					D	0.1.2		6			large	buttons
1/12/1785					D	0.4.6	4 1/2d	12	hanks			twist
1/12/1785					D	0.2.6	1/3	2	doz		small	buttons
1/12/1785					D	0.2.0	8d	3	skeins			silk
1/12/1785					D	0.16.0		6	yd	white		flannel
1/12/1785					D	1.14.0	2/10	12	yd			shalloon
1/22/1785	son				D	0.0.7		10			vest	buttons
1/22/1785	son				D	0.2.7 1/2	1/3	2	doz		vest	buttons
1/22/1785	son				D	0.1.3		6			large	buttons
1/22/1785	son				D	0.1.3	1d	15			vest	buttons
2/2/1785					D	0.0.11		0.5	yd			buckram
2/2/1785					D		8d	2	skeins			silk
2/2/1785					D	} 0.3.2 1/2	4 1/2d	5	hanks			twist
2/2/1785					D	0.1.9		10			small plated	buttons
2/2/1785					D	0.0.9		2			large	buttons
2/18/1785	son				D	0.0.8		1	skein			silk

Appendix B: 1784-85 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

3/15/1785	D	0.0.9	1	paper		pins
3/19/1785	D		1	hank		twist
3/19/1785	D	} 0.0.10	9		mohair	buttons
3/29/1785	D		1			comb
5/2/1785	D	0.6.6	3	yd	brown	holland
5/2/1785	D	0.2.8	1	yd		holland
5/4/1785	D	0.1.0	1.5	yd	black	ribbon
5/4/1785	D	0.0.2	1	pair	sleeve	buttons
	son					
	son					

Appendix B: 1784-85 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

Ruggles date	Lazarus proxy	delivery	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item
6/7/1784			D	0.4.6		0.375	yd			lawn
6/7/1784			D	1.2.9		4.5	yd			lasting
6/7/1784			D	0.6.5		1			silk	handkerchief
6/7/1784			D	0.7.7		1	pair			thread
6/7/1784			D	0.2.11½		1.875	yd			tammy
6/7/1784			D	0.1.4		2	skeins	black		silk
6/7/1784			D	0.5.7		1	pair		silk	mitts
6/7/1784			D	0.2.9		1	yd			linen
6/7/1784			D	2.16.7		2	yd		best	taffeta
6/7/1784			D	0.0.6	3d	2	hanks			twist
6/7/1784			D	0.1.7	1/7	1	yd			tammy
6/7/1784			D	0.2.6¾		0.75	yd	black		gauze
6/7/1784			D	0.0.3	1d	2			large	buttons
6/7/1784			D	0.1.4	1/2	14			coat	buttons
6/7/1784			D	0.0.8		1	skein	black		silk
6/7/1784			D	0.3.4	2/8	2	yd	brown		shalloon
6/7/1784			D			1	skein			silk
6/7/1784			D	} 0.1.0		1	hank			twist
6/7/1784			D	0.0.9		0.375	yd			buckram
6/7/1784			D	0.1.0	6d	2			vest	buttons
6/10/1784			D	0.1.6		0.125	yd			lawn
6/10/1784			D	0.8.0		1	skein			silk
7/22/1784			D	0.3.3		1	pair			cards
8/2/1784			D	0.6.6		0.5	lb			indigo
8/28/1784	son		D	0.1.9		15			small & large	buttons
8/28/1784	son		D	0.2.2		1	yd	black		durant
8/28/1784	son		D	1.7.0		4.5	yd			satinet
8/28/1784	son		D			1	skein			silk
8/28/1784	son		D	} 0.1.10		2	hanks			twist
9/1/1784			D	0.11.4½		3	yd			linen
9/1/1784			D	0.0.6	2d	3	skeins			thread
9/1/1784			D	0.1.5½		2	yd			ribbon
9/2/1784			D	7.10.0	150/	1				cloth
9/2/1784			D	4.1.3	32/6	2.5	yd		bolting fine	cloth

Appendix B: 1784-85 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

9/2/1784	D	0.5.8	1.5	yd	white	coat	ratinet
9/2/1784	D	0.5.8	14				buttons
9/2/1784	D	0.0.8	1	skein			silk
9/2/1784	D	0.0.4	1	hank			twist
9/2/1784	D	0.0.8	0.375	yd			buckram
9/2/1784	D	0.4.0	0.25	yd			cambric
9/2/1784	D	0.2.10	0.75	yd	white		ratinet
9/3/1784	D	0.1.9	0.75	yd	brown		linen
10/11/1784	D	0.0.7	1	pair		knee	buckles
10/11/1784	D	0.6.2	4	yd			lace
10/19/1784	D	0.9.7	5.75	yd	white	wide	ribbon
10/19/1784	D	0.2.0	1.5	yd	black		ribbon
10/19/1784	D	0.5.6½	4.75	yd	black		ribbon
10/19/1784	D	0.2.4	4	yd	black	narrow	ribbon
10/19/1784	D	0.0.10½	3	yd	black	narrow	ribbon
10/19/1784	D	0.1.3	4.5	yd	white		ribbon
10/19/1784	D	0.0.3	0.0625	yd	white		saracen
10/19/1784	D	0.9.9	3	yd	green		saracen
10/19/1784	D	0.3.9	1.25	yd			gauze
10/19/1784	D	0.0.5	0.25	yd			milanet
10/19/1784	D	0.5.1½	3			souffle gauze	handkerchiefs
10/19/1784	D		4	skeins			thread
10/19/1784	D	} 0.1.0	1	doz		shirt	buttons
10/19/1784	D	1.1.0	7	yd			linen
10/19/1784	D	3.13.7½	7.75	yd			lustring
10/19/1784	D	1.19.0	3	ps			nankeen
10/19/1784	D	0.1.6	3	pairs			heels
10/19/1784	D	0.3.8	1	yd			linen
10/19/1784	D	0.5.0	1	pair		cotton	hose
10/19/1784	D	0.4.0	0.5	yd	black		taffeta
10/19/1784	D	0.3.6	0.25	yd			lawn
10/19/1784	D	1.7.6	2	ps			nankeen
10/19/1784	D	0.3.9	10	yd		narrow	edging
10/19/1784	D	0.2.2	3	skeins		silk	silk
10/19/1784	D	0.1.3	1			chip	hat
10/19/1784	D	0.1.4	4	doz			molds

Appendix B: 1784-85 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

10/19/1784	Apphia & Mabel	D	0.1.10	6½d	3		hat	pins
10/19/1784	Apphia & Mabel	D	0.0.10	2d	2	bunches		wire
10/19/1784	Apphia & Mabel	D	0.7½	2/6	0.25	yd		linen
11/22/1784		D	0.0.8	2d	4	skeins		thread
11/22/1784		D	0.1.8	1/8	1		cloth	cover
11/22/1784		D		1d	3		large	buttons
11/22/1784		D	0.0.8	8d	1	doz	vest	buttons
11/22/1784		D	0.0.8		0.25	yd		durant
11/22/1784		D	0.0.5		1	hank		twist
11/22/1784		D	0.8.8	4/4	2	yd		satinet
11/22/1784		D	0.0.11	8d	16		vest	buttons
11/22/1784		D	0.1.6½	1/4	14		coat	buttons
11/22/1784		D	0.6.0	2/8	2.25	yd		shalloon
11/22/1784		D	1.3.6	11/9	2	yd	brown	cloth
11/22/1784		D	0.0.8	8d	1	skein		silk
11/22/1784		D	0.0.9	4½d	2	hanks		twist
11/26/1784	Isaac Hitchcock	D	0.7.0	2/4	3	yd		shalloon
11/26/1784	Isaac Hitchcock	D	0.3.10½	2/7	1.5	yd		shalloon
11/26/1784	Isaac Hitchcock	D	0.2.11	2½d	14			buttons
11/26/1784	Isaac Hitchcock	D	0.1.0	8d	1.5	yd	hair	ribbon
11/27/1784		D	0.1.1	4/4	0.25	yd		satinet
11/27/1784		D	0.0.2½	1/8	0.125	yd		buckram
11/27/1784		D	0.2.2½	11/9	0.1875		brown	cloth
11/30/1784		D	0.0.6	2d	3	skeins		thread
11/30/1784		D	0.0.7		1	skein		silk
11/30/1784		D	0.0.3	1d	3	pair		hooks & eyes
11/30/1784		D	0.0.9		0.5	yd		tow cloth
12/27/1784		D	0.0.8		1	paper		pins
4/14/1785	Robert	D	0.2.0		0.375	yd		linen
4/26/1785		D	0.1.10	1/1	20		twist	buttons
4/26/1785		D	0.1.2	4d	3.5	doz	vest	buttons
4/26/1785		D	0.1.2	7d	2	skeins		silk
4/27/1785		D	0.1.9	2/4	0.75	yd		durant
4/27/1785		D	0.0.4½	4½d	1	hank		twist
4/30/1785		D	0.14.0	7/6	2		wool	hats
5/11/1785		D	0.13.0	6/6	2	yd	blue	serge

Appendix C: 1797-98 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

Baldwin	Asa	purchaser	delivery	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item
6/2/1797	Eli			D	0.04		0.5	lb			alum
6/27/1797				D	0.29		0.25	lb			indigo
8/15/1797	mother			D	0.05		1	skein			silk
9/25/1797				D	0.09	6d	1.5	yd		hair	ribbon
10/27/1797				D	0.10		1	doz			buttons
10/27/1797				D	0.47	3/8	1.25	yd			flannel
10/27/1797				D	0.04		1	stick			twist
10/27/1797				D	0.06		1	skein			silk
10/27/1797				D	0.12.0		1				vest pattern
11/1/1797				D	0.17.10½	6/6	2.75	yd		kersey	cloth
11/28/1797				D	0.69	2/3	3	yd			wildbore
11/28/1797				D	0.20	1/	2			hair	combs
12/2/1797				D	0.20		1	oz			thread
12/2/1797				D	0.05		1	skein			silk
12/6/1797				D	0.68		2.5	yd	red		baize
1/22/1798				D	0.29		1	pair			mittens
1/27/1798				D	0.76	5/	1.5	yd			calico
1/27/1798				D	0.5.10	2/10	2.5	yd			muslin
1/29/1798				D	0.4.1½	3/9	1.5	yd			linen
1/29/1798				D	0.10	6d	2	skeins			silk
1/29/1798				D	0.03 1/2		6				buttons
1/31/1798	mother			D	0.16		1	pair			mittens
1/31/1798	mother			D	0.03		3	yd			tape
2/9/1798				D	0.0.10		1	pair			scissors
2/10/1798				D	0.1.1		1	paper			pins
2/15/1798				D	0.7.6		1			silk	handkerchief
3/1/1798	sister			D	0.3.7½	4/10	0.75	yd			dimity
3/10/1798		brother		D			14			coat	buttons
3/10/1798		brother		D	} 0.2.6		4			vest	buttons
3/12/1798				D	0.6.½	4/10	1.25	yd			dimity

Appendix C: 1797-98 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

3/13/1798	D	0.1.5	2/10	0.5	yd	linen
3/13/1798	D	0.0.6	6d	1	ps	bobbin
3/13/1798	D	1.16.0	4/6	8	yd	chintz
3/16/1798	D	0.0.4		4		buttons
5/29/1798	D	0.9.0		1	pair	stockings
5/29/1798	D	0.8.4	9/6	0.875	yd	silk
5/29/1798	D	0.3.9	3/	1.25	yd	linen
5/29/1798	D	0.0.4		1	stick	twist
5/29/1798	D	0.0.6		1	skein	silk
5/29/1798	D	0.0.3		1	doz	molds
5/29/1798	D	0.0.2		1	skein	thread

Appendix C: 1797-98 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

Beecher	John	purchaser	delivery	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item
6/12/1797				D	0.1.0		1	paper			pins
6/12/1797				D	0.3.4		1	pair		wool	cards
6/12/1797				D	0.1.8		2	yd			edging
6/12/1797				D	0.4.10	3/6	1.375	yd			calico
6/12/1797			Anne	D	0.0.6		3	yd			binding
6/12/1797				D	1.3.10	3/8	6	yd			russell
6/12/1797				D	0.0.5		1	skein			silk
8/4/1797				D	1.2.0		1			ladies'	hat
8/4/1797				C	1.7.1	2/2	12.5	yd			tow cloth
8/28/1797				D	0.2.9		0.25	lb			indigo
8/31/1797				D	0.4.0	2/8	1.5	yd			shalloon
9/12/1797				D	0.1.0	8d	1.5	lb			alum
9/12/1797				D	0.0.2	4d	0.5	lb			copperas
9/25/1797	daughter			D	0.0.2		4				needles
10/9/1797				D	0.0.10	5d	2	skeins			silk
10/9/1797				D	0.14.8	3/8	4	yd	white		flannel
10/9/1797				D	0.2.8	12/4	3.9375	yd			taffeta
10/28/1797				D	0.0.4		1	lb			copperas
10/30/1797				D	0.1.6		1	string			beads
11/25/1797				D	0.0.7		1	doz		vest	buttons
12/9/1797				D	0.0.10	2d	5	pair			hooks & eyes
12/9/1797				D	0.0.3		1	pair		sleeve	buttons
2/10/1798				D	0.2.0	1/4	1.5	doz		gilt	buttons
2/10/1798				D	0.0.4		1	stick			twist
3/8/1798	daughter			D	0.0.4		1	doz			needles
4/5/1798				D	0.5.6		0.5	lb			indigo
4/17/1798				D	0.0.4	2d	2	skeins			thread
4/17/1798				D	0.11.0	3/8	3	yd			linen
4/30/1798				D	0.0.8		1	yd		hair	ribbon
5/8/1798				D	0.5.6	4/	1.375	yd			calico

Appendix C: 1797-98 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

5/8/1798	D	0.6.6	1		bandano	handkerchief
5/18/1798	D	0.10.3	3	3/5	yd	linen
5/18/1798	D	0.8.3	3	2/9	yd	nankeen
5/18/1798	D	0.0.6	2		doz	molds
5/18/1798	D	0.0.4½	1.5		yd	galloon
5/18/1798	D	0.0.4	1		stick	twist
5/18/1798	D	0.0.3	2		skeins	thread
5/18/1798	D	0.1.5	3		skeins	silk
5/18/1798	D	0.6.3	1		pair	stockings

Appendix C: 1797-98 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

5/18/1798	D	0.14.0		1		marseilles	vest pattern
5/18/1798	D	1.10.0	20/	1.5	yd		cassimere
5/18/1798	D	0.2.7½	7/	0.375	yd	black	velvet
5/22/1798	C (returned)	0.6.3		1	pair		stockings
							son

Boardman Homer

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Appendix C: 1797-98 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

10/16/1797	D	0.9.9	6/6	1.5	yd	flannel
10/16/1797	D	0.0.4		1	stick	twist
10/16/1797	D	0.0.8		8		buttons
11/4/1797	D	0.8.5	4/10	1.75	yd	calico
11/4/1797	D	0.13.10	3/3	4.25	yd	flannel
11/9/1797	D	0.6.0	4/	1.5	yd	linen
11/9/1797	D	1.11.6	4/6	7	yd	chintz
11/11/1797	D	0.5.0	3/2	1.5	yd	flannel
11/11/1797	D	0.0.4		2	skeins	thread
11/11/1797	D	0.5.7½	2/3	2.5	yd	humhum
11/14/1797	D	0.2.9		1	ps	lace
11/25/1797	D	0.16.3	3/3	5	yd	flannel
11/30/1797	D	0.5.4	2/8	2	yd	camblet
11/30/1797	D	0.0.2		1	skein	thread
12/1/1797	D	0.2.9		1	yd	camblet
12/2/1797	D	0.1.1		1	paper	pins
12/2/1797	D	0.0.3		0.5	paper	pins
12/6/1797	D	0.0.9		1	ps	tape
12/6/1797	D	0.0.10	5d	2	skeins	silk
12/6/1797	D	0.4.3	2/10	1.5	yd	linen
12/6/1797	D	0.8.4	3/3	2.25	yd	flannel
12/14/1797	D	0.7.6	2/6	3	yd	edging
12/14/1797	D	0.2.4½	6/4	0.375	yd	muslin
12/16/1797	D	0.1.6	1/	1.5	doz	buttons
12/16/1797	D	0.0.9		1	doz	buttons
12/16/1797	D	0.0.6	2d	3	doz	buttons
12/18/1797	D	0.1.8		5	sticks	twist
12/18/1797	D	0.3.4		1	yd	baize
12/18/1797	D	0.2.3		0.75	yd	ratinet
12/18/1797	D	0.1.8	4d	5	sticks	twist
12/19/1797	D	0.12.0		1	yd	broadcloth
12/21/1797	D	0.2.6		1	remnant	chintz

John Butler
John Butler
John Butler

Amie Platt
Amie Platt
Amie Platt

Samuel

Appendix C: 1797-98 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

12/23/1797		Urane	D	0.5.5	2/2	2.5	yd		lace
12/27/1797	Ezra		D	0.6.6		1		bandano	handkerchief
1/2/1798			D	0.3.0		1	yd		shalloon
1/8/1798			D	0.5.7½	3/3	1.75	yd	yellow	flannel
1/12/1798	Anna Platt		D	0.1.3		20			buttons
1/19/1798			D	0.8.6		1	pair	black	stockings
2/5/1798	Miss Ferrand		D	0.1.10	11d	2	yd	love	ribbon
2/13/1798			D	0.1.0		2	lb		redwood
2/24/1798	E. Peet		D	1.18.3	4/6	8.5	yd		chintz
3/12/1798	Ezra		D	0.1.0	6d	2	yd		ribbon
3/22/1798			D	0.1.0		1	paper		pins
3/28/1798	wife		D	0.5.3	3/10	1.375	yd		calico
3/28/1798	wife		D	0.1.0		1	pair		scissors
3/31/1798			D	0.10.0		1			shawl
3/31/1798			D	0.9.9	3/	3.25	yd		lace
4/14/1798			D	0.0.6		1	skein		silk
4/14/1798			D	0.0.4		1	stick		twist
4/17/1798			D	0.5.9	3/4	1.5	yd	blue	ratinet
4/18/1798			D	0.3.10		1	yd		ratinet
4/19/1798			D	0.6.0	3/	2	yd		humhum
5/1/1798	wife		D	0.12.6	2/6	5	yd		calimanco
5/3/1798		Anne Fenn	D	0.0.2		1	skein		thread
5/3/1798		Anne Fenn	D	0.5.6	3/2	1.75	yd		calico
5/3/1798		Anne Fenn	D	0.4.4	2/2	2	yd		lace
5/18/1798	Ezra		D	0.0.5		1	skein		silk

Appendix C: 1797-98 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

Griswold	Stanley																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																		
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Appendix C: 1797-98 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

Hayes	Thomas	date	purchaser	delivery	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item
		6/15/1797			D	0.5.5	1/8	3.25	yd			nankeen
	wife	6/20/1797			D	0.1.0		1	paper			pins
	wife	6/20/1797			D	0.3.4		1	pair			cards
	wife	6/20/1797			D	0.7.0		1			bandano	handkerchief
		7/18/1797			D	0.5.6	2/9	2			muslin	handkerchiefs
		7/29/1797			D	0.2.0		1	yd			gauze
		8/3/1797			D	0.1.6		2	oz			indigo
		8/3/1797			D	0.0.6		1	stick			pomatum
		8/11/1797			D	0.0.9		1	oz			indigo
		8/22/1797			D	0.1.0	6d	2	oz			pins
		8/31/1797			D	0.0.6		1	yd		hair	ribbon
		9/4/1797			D	0.6.6	2/	3.25	yd			fustian
		9/5/1797			D	0.8.3		0.75	yd			satin
		9/5/1797			D	0.0.4		1	yd			ferret
		9/5/1797			D	0.2.0.		1	yd			gauze
		9/5/1797			D	0.2.6	2/	0.25	yd	black		gauze
		9/5/1797			D	0.10.8	8/4	2	pair	black	worsted	hose
		9/5/1797			D	0.2.1	5d	5	yd		mourning	ribbon
		9/5/1797			D	0.1.½	5d	2.5	yd			ribbon
		9/5/1797			D	0.0.5		1	skein			silk
		9/8/1797			D	0.0.5		1	skein			silk
		9/13/1797			D	0.0.9		1	oz			indigo
		10/6/1797			D	0.9.6		1	yd			muslin
		10/27/1797			D	0.0.10	5d	2	skeins			silk
		10/27/1797			D	0.4.6	3/	1.5	yd			linen
		10/27/1797			D	3.7.8	4/10	14	yd			calico
		10/28/1797			D	0.9.6		1	pair	black	silk	gloves
		11/1/1797			D	1.3.3	15/6	1.5	yd	black		cassimere
		11/1/1797			D	0.0.4		1	stick			twist
		11/1/1797			D	0.0.6		1	skein			silk

Appendix C: 1797-98 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

11/1/1797	D			1	doz	small	molds
11/1/1797	D			3		large	molds
11/20/1797	D	} 0.0.4		1	yd	hair	ribbon
11/24/1797	D	0.0.8		2	yd	hair	ribbon
11/30/1797	D	0.1.0	6d	1.5	lb		logwood
12/5/1797	D	0.0.5		1	skein		silk
12/5/1797	D	0.0.6		1.5	doz		buttons
12/5/1797	D	0.1.0		1	stick		twist
12/5/1797	D	0.0.4		4	sticks		twist
12/7/1797	D	0.1.4		4	skeins		silk
12/8/1797	D	0.2.0	6d	4			buttons
12/8/1797	D	0.3.2½	1/10	1.75	doz		buttons
12/14/1797	D	0.1.6		1	doz		buttons
1/29/1798	D	0.0.9		1	pair		nippers
3/1/1798	D	0.1.1		1	paper		pins
5/24/1798	D	0.0.4		1	stick		twist
5/24/1798	D	0.0.6		1	skein		silk

Hine Stephen

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Appendix C: 1797-98 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

9/11/1797		D	0.0.8	2	sticks	twist
9/11/1797		D	0.0.6	1	skein	silk
9/11/1797		D	0.0.6	1	doz	molds
9/13/1797	M. Wilkinson	D	0.1.0	1	doz	buttons
9/14/1797		D	0.4.4½	3/6	yd	lace
9/25/1797	wife	D	2.10.0	20/	yd	cloth
9/25/1797	wife	D	0.6.0	1/6		scarlet
9/25/1797	wife	D	0.6.0		yd	skins
10/5/1797		D	0.3.0	3	yd	durant
11/30/1797		D	0.6.9	0.25	yd	broadcloth
12/11/1797		D	0.2.9	3	yd	humhum
12/11/1797		D	0.0.3	0.25	lb	indigo
12/12/1797		D	0.5.0	2	skeins	thread
2/21/1798	Wid. Wilkinson	D	0.0.4	3	yd	humhum
2/21/1798	Wid. Wilkinson	D	0.1.0	1	lb	copperas
3/3/1798		D	0.3.0	0.5	lb	alum
3/5/1798		D	0.2.12	0.25	lb	indigo
3/5/1798		D	0.0.3½	0.625	yd	satinet
3/26/1798		D	0.18.0	2.5	yd	shoe binding
4/18/1798	wife	D	0.2.3	2	ps	nankeen
4/18/1798	wife	D	0.1.4	0.75	yd	linen
4/18/1798	wife	D	0.5.6	1	oz	thread
4/18/1798	wife	D	0.6.6	1		hat
4/18/1798	wife	D	1.6.8	2		handkerchiefs
4/18/1798	wife	D	0.4.6	5	yd	muslin
4/18/1798	wife	D	0.5.6	2		pocket handkerchiefs
4/27/1798		D		0.5	lb	indigo

Appendix C: 1797-98 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

Lockwood Josiah	date	purchaser	delivery	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item
	6/8/1797			C	1.0.0		1			napped	hat
	6/8/1797			C	0.17.0		1				hat
	6/8/1797			C	1.16.0		1			castor	hat
	6/19/1797	Pitcher		D	0.10.7½	8/6	1.25	lb			verdigris
	6/19/1797	Pitcher		D	0.0.10	4d	2.5	lb			copperas
	6/26/1797	boy		D	0.2.6		1	piece			shoe binding
	6/26/1797	boy		D	0.0.2		1.25	yd			shoe binding
	6/26/1797	Pitcher		D	0.10.0	2/6	4	yd			linen
	6/29/1797			C	2.0.0	20/	2			ladies'	hats
	6/29/1797			C	0.12.0	10/	1				hat for William
	7/1/1797			C	0.7.6		1			felt	hat
	7/4/1797			C	0.7.6		1			felt	hat
	7/7/1797		Ruth	D	0.2.2		1	pair			gloves
	7/7/1797		Ruth	D	0.4.0	2/8	1.5	yd			calico
	7/10/1797			C	0.7.6		1				hat
	7/10/1797			D	0.10.0	5/4	1.875	yd			chintz
	7/10/1797			D	0.2.0	1d	2	yd			ribbon
	7/12/1797			C	0.14.0		1			napped	hat
	8/5/1797			D	0.15.0	10/	1.5	yd			coating
	8/5/1797			C	0.4.3		1			boy's	hat
	8/18/1797	boy		D	0.4.0	4d	12	lb			copperas
	8/18/1797	boy		D	2.8.4½		56	oz			verdigris
	8/22/1797			D	0.6.8	3/4	2	yd			linen
	8/22/1797			D	0.2.6		1	ps			shoe binding
	8/25/1797			D	0.16.0	8/	2	ps			galloon
	8/25/1797			D	0.5.0	2/6	2	yd			linen
	8/25/1797			D	0.0.6		1	skein			silk
	8/29/1797			D	0.1.0		1	doz			buttons
	8/29/1797			C	0.6.6		1			felt	hat
	8/29/1797			D	0.0.4		1	stick			twist

Appendix C: 1797-98 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

8/29/1797	D	0.12.0	1	yd	fine speckled forest cloth
8/29/1797	C	2.0.0	2		ladies' hats
9/1/1797	C	1.0.0	1	green	hat
9/7/1797	C	0.7.6	1		hat
9/27/1797	C	0.18.0	1		hat
9/27/1797	D	0.2.9	0.25	lb	indigo
10/5/1797	C	0.1.6			dressing hat
10/28/1797	D	0.14.7½	3	doz	hat linings
10/28/1797	D	0.3.9	0.5	gross	hat bands
10/28/1797	D	0.8.0	1	ps	galloon
10/28/1797	D	0.3.4	2		covers
10/28/1797	D	2.8.0	6	doz	hat linings
10/28/1797	D	0.1.9	1	ps	looping
10/28/1797	D	0.11.0	2		skins
10/31/1797	D		1	doz	molds
10/31/1797	D	} 0.0.4½	3		molds
10/31/1797	C	2.0.0	2		hats
10/31/1797	D	0.0.6	1	skein	silk
10/31/1797	D	0.0.4	1	stick	twist
10/31/1797	D	0.11.0	1	pair	stockings
10/31/1797	D	0.18.9	0.75	yd	broadcloth
10/31/1797	C	1.0.0	1		hat
11/2/1797	C	1.0.0	1		ladies' napped
11/2/1797	C	0.7.6	1		hat felt
11/2/1797	C	0.7.6	2		boy's felt hats
11/7/1797	C	1.0.0	1		hat ladies'
11/10/1797	D	0.3.6	1		raccoon skin
11/14/1797	D	0.10.0	4	yd	wildbore striped
11/14/1797	D	0.2.2	1		pocket handkerchief
12/2/1797	C	0.7.6	1		hat felt
12/5/1797	D	0.10.6	1	pair	stockings
12/6/1797	C	0.4.8	1		small felt hat

Appendix C: 1797-98 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

12/7/1797	D				80	lb		logwood
12/11/1797	D				2.75	lb		verdigris
12/15/1797	D		1.3.4½	8/6	1.5	yd		linen
12/15/1797	D		0.4.6	3/	1	ps		bobbin
12/15/1797	D		0.0.5		2			thimbles
12/15/1797	D		0.0.4	2d	1			hat
12/19/1797	C		1.16.0		2		castor	hats
12/19/1797	C		2.0.0	20/	2		ladies'	hats
1/2/1798	C		0.9.0		2		small felt	
1/4/1798	D		0.0.9		1	doz		buttons
1/12/1798	C		0.16.0	16/	1			hat
1/12/1798	D		0.8.0		1	ps		galloon
1/15/1798	D		0.6.3	3/4	1.875	yd		linen
1/19/1798	C		2.0.0		2		napped	hats
1/22/1798	C		0.7.6		1		wool	hat
1/22/1798	C		0.7.0		1		wool	hat
1/22/1798	C		0.5.0		1		wool	hat
1/23/1798	D		0.8.9		2.33	yd	white	flannel
1/29/1798	D		0.9.7	8/6	4	oz		verdigris
1/29/1798	D		0.2.0	4d	6	lb		copperas
2/8/1798	D		0.7.6		1		felt	hat
2/13/1798	D		0.3.8		1	pair		cards
2/14/1798	D		2.0.3	3¼d	129.5	lb		logwood
2/23/1798	D		0.3.0	1/6	2		cloth	covers
2/23/1798	C		0.1.6					brushing hats
2/27/1798	D		0.3.3	6/6	0.5	lb		looping
3/2/1798	C		0.7.8		1		men's	hat
3/2/1798	C		0.3.0	20/	3		men's	hats
3/2/1798	C		1.5.0	5/	5		boy's	hats
3/2/1798	C		7.0.0	20/	7		ladies'	hats
3/2/1798	D	Betsey Lewis	0.7.4	4/6	1.625	yd		chintz
3/5/1798	D		0.6.6		1		bandano	handkerchief
3/5/1798	C		3.8.0	34/	2		castor	hats

Appendix C: 1797-98 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

3/14/1798	D	0.12.0	3/	4	yd	fustian
3/19/1798	D	0.2.0	4d	6	lb	copperas
4/13/1798	D	0.2.2		2		hair combs
5/5/1798	C	0.14.0		1		hat
5/5/1798	C	0.12.0	6/	2		hats
5/5/1798	C	0.7.0	7/	1		hat
5/5/1798	C	0.15.0	7/6	2		hats
5/11/1798	D	0.3.6		1	pair	cards
5/11/1798	D	0.2.6	3/4	0.75	yd	linen
5/30/1798	D	1.0.8	2/11	7	yd	linen
5/30/1798	D	0.4.2	2/6	0.66	ps	shoe binding
5/30/1798	D	0.2.0	8d	3	doz	hat bands

Cook Fitch
Cook Fitch

Appendix C: 1797-98 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

Marsh	Truman	date	purchaser	delivery	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item
7/12/1797					D	0.6.6		1	pair		women's	shoes
7/29/1797			wife		D	0.6.6		1	pair		women's	shoes
9/11/1797					D	0.12.9	5/8	2.25	yd			satinet
9/11/1797					D	0.0.5		1	skein			silk
9/11/1797					D	0.0.4		1	stick			twist
9/11/1797					D	0.0.6		0.25	yd	brown		linen
9/11/1797					D	0.0.8		0.25	yd	black		lining
9/26/1797					D	0.0.6		3	skeins			thread
9/26/1797					D	0.1.0		2	doz			molds
9/26/1797					D	0.1.9½		0.75	yd			fustian
9/26/1797					D	0.1.1		2	sticks			silk
9/26/1797					D	0.3.4	2/8	1.25	yd	black		durant
9/26/1797					D	0.2.6	2/	1.25	yd	brown		holland
9/26/1797					D	0.3.6	2/4	1.5	yd	green		baize
9/26/1797					D	0.5.0	3/4	1.5	yd			flannel
10/14/1797					D	0.5.10	3/4	1.75	yd	red		flannel
11/4/1797	Mrs. Carter				D	0.1.1½	9d	1.5	yd			ribbon
11/4/1797	Mrs. Carter				D	0.0.6		1	skein			silk
11/4/1797	Mrs. Carter			Mrs. Carter	D	0.0.4		1	stick			twist
11/6/1797				Mrs. Carter	D	0.0.5		1	skein			silk
11/6/1797				Mrs. Carter	D	0.6.6		1	pair		ladies'	shoes
11/11/1797			wife		D	0.6.6		1	pair			shoes
11/11/1797			wife		D	0.5.3	3/6	1.5	yd	white		lace
11/11/1797			wife		D	0.10.6	2/4	4.5	yd	black		lace
12/6/1797					D	0.4.1	3/3	1.25	yd	red		flannel
12/16/1797					D	0.9.0	14/6	2			chintz	shawls
1/8/1798			wife		D	0.13.6	3/	4.5	yd	black		moreen
1/8/1798			wife		D	0.5.1½	3/5	1.5	yd			calico
1/8/1798			wife		D	0.0.5	5d	1	skein			silk
1/8/1798			wife		D	0.2.10	1/5	2	pairs			scissors

Merwin Stephen

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Appendix C: 1797-98 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

11/23/1797		D	0.0.5		1	paper	pins
12/2/1797		D	0.2.0		1	yd	gauze
12/2/1797		D	0.0.3	2d	2.5	yd	taste
12/2/1797		D	0.18.0	9/	2	pairs	gloves
12/6/1797	son	D	0.0.8		1	lb	alum
12/6/1797	son	D	0.1.2		1		hat band
12/6/1797	son	D	0.10.6		1	pair	stockings
12/14/1797		D	0.3.9		1	yd	gauze
12/14/1797		D	0.0.3		2	yd	tape
12/14/1797		D	0.9.0		1		pocketbook
12/29/1797		D	0.0.8		2	sticks	twist
1/2/1798		D	0.3.0	2/	1.5	doz	buttons
1/2/1798		D	0.7.8	3/10	2	yd	ratinet
1/2/1798		D	0.0.10	1d	10		buttons
1/2/1798		D	0.0.6		1	doz	buttons
1/3/1798		D	0.3.6	7/	0.5	yd	velvet
1/3/1798		D	0.2.9	5/6	0.5	yd	velvet
1/3/1798		D	0.2.3	1/6	1.5	doz	buttons
1/3/1798		D	0.0.4		1	stick	twist
1/3/1798		D	0.1.0	6d	2	skeins	silk
1/11/1798		D	0.3.9		1	yd	gauze
1/23/1798		D	0.0.6		1	doz	buttons
2/10/1798		D	0.4.9		1		shawl
3/19/1798		D	0.0.6	3d	2	strings	beads
3/19/1798		D	0.12.0	6/	2		handkerchiefs
4/5/1798	wife	D	0.5.6	11/	0.5	lb	indigo
4/5/1798	wife	D	0.1.4	8d	2	yd	ribbon
4/5/1798	wife	D	0.0.6	3d	2	yd	binding
4/5/1798	wife	D	0.0.6	2d	2	skeins	thread
4/5/1798	wife	D	0.2.0	5/8	0.375	yd	satinet
4/20/1798		D	0.0.2		2		buttons
4/20/1798		D	0.5.3	14/	0.375	yd	cambric

Appendix C: 1797-98 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

4/20/1798	D	1.10.9	3/5	9	yd	linen
4/20/1798	D	0.1.0	8d	1.5	doz	buttons
4/20/1798	D	0.0.8		2	sticks	twist
4/20/1798	D	0.6.1½	1/9	3.5	yd	nankeen
4/20/1798	D	0.0.9	1½d	6	skeins	thread
5/17/1798	D	1.0.0		1		hat
5/18/1798	D	0.0.11		0.25	yd	linen
5/18/1798	D	0.1.8	10d	2	yd	ribbon
5/30/1798	D	1.10.4	4/4	7	yd	chintz
5/30/1798	D	0.0.6		2	yd	galloon
5/30/1798	D	0.0.5		1	skein	silk
					napped	
					love	

Sanford Uriah

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Appendix C: 1797-98 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

1/9/1798		D	3.11.3	9/6	7.5	yd	elastic
1/9/1798		D	1.2.6	12/	1.875	yd	shag
1/12/1798	Blackney's boy	D	0.0.6		1	skein	silk
1/13/1798		C (returned)			1.75	yd	elastic
1/13/1798		D	0.0.6		1	ps	bobbin
2/17/1798		D	0.1.6		2.25	yd	ribbon
5/5/1798		D	0.4.1½	7/	0.625	yd	velvet
						black	

Appendix D: 1810-11 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

Boardman	Charles										
date	purchaser	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item		
8/21/1810	D	D	0.0.4		2	skeins			thread		
8/21/1810	D	D	0.1.2	2/4	0.5	yd			nankeen		
9/24/1810	D	D	0.3.4	4/6	0.75	yd			bombaset		
9/25/1810	D	D	0.12.0						coat altered by David Hull		
9/25/1810	D	D	0.0.6		0.125	yd			broadcloth		
10/10/1810	D	D	0.12.1		5	yd			humhum		
10/10/1810	D	D	0.2.9		0.5	yd			linen		
10/10/1810	D	D	0.0.4		2	skeins			thread		
10/20/1810	D	D	0.0.9	1/	0.75	yd	black		ribbon		
11/3/1810	D	D	2.5.6	11/4½	4	yd	blue		frieze		
11/5/1810	D	D	0.0.4		1	stick			twist		
11/5/1810	D	D	0.0.11			to amount			molds		
11/5/1810	D	D	0.3.4½		1.5	yd	brown		holland		
11/5/1810	D	D	0.1.1½		3	skeins	black		silk		
11/5/1810	D	D	0.0.6		3	skeins			thread		
11/7/1810	D	D	0.2.0		0.1875	yd	blue		frieze		
11/10/1810	D	D	0.15.0						greatcoat made by C. Blackney		
11/19/1810	D	D	0.12.0						shoes made by Ezra Noble		
12/14/1810	D	D	0.1.10						drawers made by Mrs. Thayer		
12/14/1810	D	D	0.3.6						shoes soled by Lyman Keeler		
1/19/1811	D	D	1.4.9	9/	2.75	yd		fulled	flannel		
1/21/1811	D	D	0.0.9	2/	0.375	yd	brown		tow cloth		
1/21/1811	D	D	0.0.4		2	skeins			thread		
1/21/1811	D	D	0.0.10		2	skeins	black		silk		
1/22/1811	D	D	0.6.6						pantaloons made by C. Blackney		
2/23/1811	D	D	0.12.0					morocco	shoes made by Ezra Noble		
2/26/1811	D	D	0.0.2			to amount			molds		
2/26/1811	D	D	6.17.9		3.625	yd	blue		broadcloth		
2/26/1811	D	D	0.4.9½		1.25	yd	yellow		flannel		
2/26/1811	D	D	0.6.3	2/6	2.5	yd	brown		holland		

Appendix D: 1810-11 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

2/26/1811	D	0.1.9	5	skeins	black	silk
2/26/1811	D	0.0.10	5	skeins		thread
2/26/1811	D	0.0.8	2	sticks		twist
3/1/1811	D	0.1.4½	0.25	yd		linen
3/2/1811	D	1.9.6				suit made by C. Blackney
3/15/1811	D	0.0.2	1	skein		thread
3/16/1811	D		8	skeins		thread
3/16/1811	D	} 0.7.3	6			needles
3/16/1811	D		1	pair		suspenders
3/27/1811	D	0.4.6	0.5	yd	fulled	flannel
3/27/1811	D	0.0.5	1	skein	black	silk
3/30/1811	D	0.16.0				boots foxed by Lyman Keeler
4/16/1811	D	0.12.0			calfskin	shoes made by Ezra Noble
4/16/1811	D	1.8.½				coat, vest, pantaloons
						^ made by C. Blackney

Orinda
Orinda

Appendix D: 1810-11 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

Boardman	Homer	date	purchaser	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item
8/21/1810	Edmund			D	0.1.6		1	skein			yarn
8/23/1810				D	0.4.0	8/	0.5	yd			linen
9/5/1810	wife			D	0.1.6		1	lb		cotton	wool
9/18/1810				D	0.1.8	24/	1	oz			indigo
9/27/1810	Orinda			D	0.7.0	8/	0.875	yd			dimity
9/27/1810	Asher			D	0.2.10		0.1875	yd	black		crape
9/27/1810	Orinda			D	0.3.0	3/	1	pair			scissors
9/27/1810	Orinda			D	0.1.3	1/3	1	pair			scissors
10/3/1810	wife			D	0.2.0		1	yd			ribbon
10/3/1810	wife			D	0.1.5½	1/2	1.25	yd			ribbon
10/3/1810	wife			D	0.1.0		1	ps			tape
10/3/1810	wife			D	0.4.4		1	pair		leather	gloves
10/3/1810	wife			D	1.8.0	4/	7	yd		twilled	chintz
10/3/1810				D	0.0.4		1	stick			twist
10/3/1810				D	0.0.4	8d	0.5	lb			alum
10/3/1810	Asher			D	0.3.9		1	pair		beaver	gloves
10/4/1810	Harriet			D	0.0.6		1	skein			silk
10/4/1810	Harriet			D	0.10.9		1	pair			silk
10/4/1810	Harriet			D	0.2.6	4/	0.625	yd		c.	muslin
10/4/1810	Harriet			D	1.6.0	4/	6.5	yd			calico
10/4/1810	Harriet			D	0.2.6	5/	0.5	yd			linen
10/10/1810	wife			D	0.3.4		1				vest pattern
10/10/1810	wife			D	0.1.3		1	remnant			humhum
10/12/1810	Harriet			D	0.0.6		1	skein			silk
10/16/1810	M. Blackney			D	0.0.2		1	doz			molds
10/16/1810	M. Blackney			D	0.0.5		1	skein	black		silk
10/16/1810	Asher			D	0.0.4		0.5	lb			alum
10/16/1810	Asher			D	0.0.5½	1/10	0.25	yd			milanet
10/17/1810	Harriet			D	0.0.6	4/	0.125	yd		c.	muslin
10/25/1810				D	0.0.6		1				cotton ball

Appendix D: 1810-11 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

10/29/1810	D	0.1.6	1	lb	cotton	wool
11/2/1810	D	1.3.4	7	yd		bombaset
11/2/1810	D	0.1.0	2	skeins		silk
11/3/1810	D	0.1.0	0.25	yd	c.	shirting
11/3/1810	D	0.6.9	4.5	lb	cotton	wool
11/3/1810	D	0.3.0	0.5	yd	c.	muslin
11/6/1810	D	0.0.7	1	oz		pins
11/6/1810	D	0.1.6	1	skein		yarn
11/9/1810	D	0.0.5	1	skein	black	silk
11/16/1810	D	0.2.2	0.5	yd		flannel
11/16/1810	D	0.0.4	1	stick		twist
11/16/1810	D	0.0.6	1	skein		silk
11/20/1810	D	0.0.6	2	skeins		thread
11/20/1810	D	0.0.10	2	skeins	black	silk
11/20/1810	D	0.0.8	2	sticks		twist
11/20/1810	D	2.5.0	4.5	yd	brown	coating
11/20/1810	D	1.2.9	1.375	yd	blue	broadcloth
11/20/1810	D	0.1.6	0.25	yd		forest cloth
11/21/1810	D	0.1.0	1	ps	wide	tape
11/21/1810	D	0.0.8	1	ps	narrow	tape
11/22/1810	D	0.1.11	0.1875	yd	brown	coating
11/23/1810	D	0.1.8½	0.1875	yd	black	velvet
11/23/1810	D	0.0.4	2	skeins		thread
11/23/1810	D	0.2.0	2	ps	wide	tape
11/26/1810	D	0.0.7	1	oz		pins
11/26/1810	D	0.0.4	1	stick		twist
12/11/1810	D	0.2.0	0.5	yd		chintz
12/12/1810	D	0.1.0	1.5	lb		alum
12/13/1810	D	0.14.7	7	yd		calico
12/14/1810	D	0.0.5	1	skein	black	silk
12/17/1810	D	0.0.8	1	ps		tape
12/17/1810	D	0.1.0	1	paper		pins

Appendix D: 1810-11 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

12/27/1810	Harriet	D	0.0.4½		1.5	yd	ferret
12/27/1810	Harriet	D	0.1.8	8d	2.5	yd	ribbon
2/9/1811	Harriet	D	0.4.0		1	yd	calico
2/12/1811	Harriet	D	0.0.6		1	skein	silk
2/12/1811	Harriet	D	0.0.10		0.25	yd	shirting
2/21/1811	Orinda	D	0.0.7		0.25	yd	humhum
3/1/1811	Eunice	C	0.4.7½	9d	9	oz	flax
3/4/1811	Harriet	D	0.7.4	2/3	3.25	yd	calico
3/5/1811	Asher	D	0.0.6		1.25	lb	logwood
3/5/1811	Asher	D	0.0.3	6d	0.5	lb	copperas
3/5/1811	Asher	D	0.0.8		1	ps	tape
3/5/1811	Asher	D	0.0.7		0.25	yd	baize
3/15/1811	Asher	D	0.0.7	1/	7		buttons
3/15/1811	Asher	D	0.0.10	5d	2	skeins	silk
3/15/1811	Asher	D	1.7.8	20/	1.375	yd	broadcloth
3/15/1811	Asher	D	0.0.4		1	stick	twist
3/15/1811	Asher	D	0.0.2		1	skein	thread
3/20/1811	Harriet	D	0.1.8	10d	2	yd	ribbon
3/21/1811	wife	D	0.14.1	2/3	6.25	yd	calico
3/21/1811	wife for Asher	D	0.5.7½	2/3	2.5	yd	humhum
3/21/1811	Harriet	D	0.0.10	10d	1	yd	ribbon
3/22/1811	wife	D	0.5.1	2/3	2.25	yd	calico
4/1/1811	Asher	D	0.1.2	2/4	0.5	yd	humhum
4/3/1811	Capt. Bostwick	D	0.1.6	1/6	1	lb	wool
4/8/1811		D	0.0.6	1/	0.5	paper	pins
4/8/1811		D	1.5.3	8/6	2.5	yd	flannel
4/11/1811		D		2d	1	doz	molds
4/13/1811		D	0.2.9	5/6	0.5	yd	linen
4/16/1811		D	0.4.0	4/	1	yd	oil cloth
4/20/1811	black girl	D			1	lb	logwood
4/29/1811	Anna Granger	D	0.3.3		1		shawl
5/2/1811	Asher	D		7/3	1	yd	muslin

Appendix D: 1810-11 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

5/2/1811	Asher	D	{0.7.11	8d	2	yd	c.	ferret
5/3/1811	wife	D	0.7.11	2/3	3.5	yd	pink	calico
5/4/1811	Asher	D	0.7.0	7/	1	pair		suspenders
5/17/1811	Harriet	D	0.5.6	7/3	0.75	yd		muslin
5/23/1811		D	1.2.6	2/3	10	yd		nankeen
5/23/1811		D	0.2.1	10d	2.5	doz	pearl	buttons
5/27/1811	Asher	D	0.3.6		1	pair	beaver	gloves
5/28/1811		D	0.4.3		1	yd		linen
5/28/1811		D	0.0.9		1	stick		tape
5/28/1811		D	0.0.6		1	doz		needles
5/30/1811	Harriet	D	2.2.9	4/9	9	yd	cotton	cambric
5/30/1811	Harriet	D	0.0.4		1	yd	black	ribbon
5/30/1811	Harriet	D	0.0.5	5d	1			cotton ball
5/30/1811	Harriet	D	0.19.0	1/7	18	yd		humhum
5/31/1811	Tamar Purdy	D	0.2.11	1/8	1.75	yd		calico
5/31/1811	Tamar Purdy	D	0.3.6	2/	1.75	yd		calico
6/3/1811	Asher for himself	D	0.14.2	2/10	5	yd	black	bombaset
6/3/1811	Asher for himself	D	0.0.6		1.5	doz		molds
6/3/1811	Asher for himself	D	0.0.5		1	skein	black	silk
6/3/1811	Asher for himself	D	0.9.6		1			vest pattern
6/3/1811	Asher for himself	D	0.0.2		1	doz		molds
6/3/1811	Asher for himself	D	0.2.1	1/8	1.25	yd		humhum
6/3/1811	Asher for himself	D	0.0.6		1	skein		silk
6/3/1811	Asher for himself	D	0.0.5		1			cotton ball
6/5/1811	Blackney for Asher	D	0.1.1	2/2	0.5	yd	brown	linen
6/5/1811	Blackney for Asher	D	0.0.2		1	skein		thread
6/5/1811	Blackney for Asher	D	0.0.9	2/10	0.25	yd		bombaset
6/5/1811	Blackney for Asher	D	0.0.7		0.25	yd		tow cloth
6/5/1811	Blackney for Asher	D	0.0.5		1	skein	black	silk
6/8/1811	Orinda	D	0.7.0		1	pair	ladies' cotton	hose
6/12/1811	Harriet	D	0.4.0		1	ps		curtain paper
6/12/1811	Harriet	D	0.14.0	7/	2	pairs	white	stockings

Appendix D: 1810-11 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

6/13/1811	Asher	D	0.16.6	2/9	6	yd		calico
6/13/1811	Harriet	D	0.4.0		1		half wh silk	handkerchief
6/15/1811	wife	D	0.0.8		1			fan
6/20/1811		D	0.8.0	4/	2	yd	check	linen
6/25/1811	wife	D	0.17.1	3/6	4.875	yd		calico
6/27/1811	Harriet	D	0.1.1	4d	3.25	yd	white	ferret
6/27/1811	Harriet	C (returned)	0.7.1	3/6	4.875	yd	twilled	calico
6/27/1811	Harriet	D	0.4.3		1	yd		linen
6/27/1811	Harriet	D	0.0.7		0.5	yd		nankeen

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Appendix D: 1810-11 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

5/22/1811	wife	D	0.1.8		1	yd	milanet
5/22/1811	wife	D	0.0.10	8d	1.25	yd	ribbon
5/22/1811	wife	D	0.2.6	2/	1.25	yd	ribbon
5/22/1811	wife	D	0.1.4	8d	2	yd	ribbon
5/22/1811	wife	D	0.11.5	13/	0.875	yd	pelong
5/22/1811	wife	D	0.7.6	2/	3.75	yd	calico
6/1/1811		D	0.8.6	2/10	3	yd	shirting
6/1/1811		D	0.0.5		1		cotton ball
6/11/1811		C	0.1.6	4d	4.5	lb	rag
6/12/1811	wife	D	0.18.0	6/	3	yd	crape
6/12/1811	wife	D	0.0.5		1	skein	black
6/15/1811		D	0.2.0		1	yd	black
							calico

Appendix D: 1810-11 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

Ferriss	Daniel H.	date	purchaser	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item
8/20/1810	Daniel H.	8/20/1810	daughter	D	0.0.3			balance on			milanet
8/31/1810		8/31/1810		D	0.10.0	1/8	6	yd	blue		nankeen
8/31/1810		8/31/1810		D	0.0.10	5d	2	skeins	black		silk
8/31/1810		8/31/1810		D	0.5.5	2/2	2.5	yd			humhum
8/31/1810		8/31/1810		D	0.0.4		2	skeins			thread
8/31/1810		8/31/1810	John Ferriss	D	0.0.6		1	doz			buttons
9/3/1810		9/3/1810	John Sharp	D	0.7.0		1			bandana	handkerchief
9/3/1810		9/3/1810	John Sharp	D	0.4.6		1			cotton	handkerchief
9/6/1810		9/6/1810	wife	D	0.8.0		1	pair		morocco	shoes
9/6/1810		9/6/1810	wife	D	0.9.9	2/2	4.5	yd			humhum
10/3/1810		10/3/1810	boy	D	0.7.0		1			wool	hat
10/10/1810		10/10/1810	wife	D	0.0.4		8			shirt	buttons
10/10/1810		10/10/1810	wife	D	0.4.0	8/	0.5	yd		spidernet	muslin
11/20/1810		11/20/1810	David	D	0.1.0	8d	1.5	doz			buttons
11/23/1810		11/23/1810	daughter	D	0.0.6		1	skein			silk
11/23/1810		11/23/1810	daughter	D	0.0.4		1	stick			twist
11/23/1810		11/23/1810	daughter	D	0.0.8		1	doz			buttons
12/8/1810	George McGerry	12/8/1810	John	D	0.3.4	2/6	16		black		buttons
12/8/1810		12/8/1810	John	D	0.0.10	5d	2	skeins			buttons
12/8/1810		12/8/1810	John	D	0.0.4		1	stick			silk
12/12/1810		12/12/1810	John	D	0.6.0	2/	3	yd			twist
2/9/1811		2/9/1811	wife	D	0.8.4	3/4	2.5	yd			humhum
2/9/1811		2/9/1811	wife	D	0.3.10		1	yd	yellow	cotton	shirting
2/9/1811		2/9/1811	wife	D	0.3.0	1/6	2	skeins		cotton	flannel
3/12/1811		3/12/1811		D	0.4.0	2/	2	yd			yarn
3/12/1811		3/12/1811		D	0.3.0	1/6	2	skeins		cotton	humhum
3/19/1811		3/19/1811	George McGerry	D	0.3.9		1	pair		beaver	yarn
3/27/1811		3/27/1811	George McGerry	D	0.3.9		1	pair		beaver	gloves
4/10/1811		4/10/1811	wife	D	0.6.0	24/	0.25	lb		s.	gloves
4/10/1811		4/10/1811	wife	D	0.0.4	4d	1	stick			indigo
				D							twist

Appendix D: 1810-11 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

4/27/1811	daughter	D	0.6.0	8/	0.75	yd	black	mode
4/27/1811	daughter	D	0.0.11	1/10	0.5	yd		milanet
4/27/1811	daughter	D	0.0.5		1	skein	black	silk
4/27/1811	daughter	D	0.15.0		1	yd	black	crape
4/27/1811	daughter	D	0.7.0		1	pair	black	hose
5/4/1811		D	0.14.0	8/	1.75	yd		muslin
5/4/1811		D	0.8.0		1	pair	white	stockings
5/22/1811	daughter	D	0.0.4		0.125	yd	green	baize
5/22/1811	daughter	D	0.6.10		1	yd		muslin
5/22/1811	daughter	D	0.9.5	2/10	3.5	yd		dimity
5/22/1811	daughter	D	0.0.6		2	skeins		silk
5/22/1811	daughter	D	0.3.0		1	pair		gloves
5/22/1811	daughter	D	0.0.10½		1.5	yd		ribbon
5/22/1811	daughter	D	0.2.0		1		ivory stick	fan
5/22/1811	daughter	D	0.1.1		1	paper		pins
5/22/1811	daughter	D	0.0.5		1	skein	black	silk
5/22/1811	daughter	D	0.13.4	2/8	5	yd		calico

Hallock	William								
date	purchaser	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item
8/23/1810		D	0.2.0	4/	0.5	y ^d	black		muslin
9/20/1810		D	0.1.0	6d	2	lb			copperas
10/22/1810		D	0.0.6		1			wooden	comb
11/17/1810		D	0.0.4		1	stick			twist
11/17/1810		D	0.1.11	7/	4.5	y ^d	drab		velvet
11/17/1810		D	0.1.0		2	skins			silk
11/17/1810		D	0.1.1			to amount			buttons
1/11/1811		D	1.4.0		1				double wheel
1/16/1811	Russell	D	1.13.0	8/	4.125	y ^d		fulled	flannel
1/16/1811	Russell	D	0.3.1½	2/4	16				buttons
1/16/1811	Russell	D	0.0.4		1	stick			twist
1/23/1811		D	0.1.4	1/4	1	doz			buttons
1/23/1811		D	0.0.8	4d	2	sticks			twist
3/6/1811		D	0.2.0		1	y ^d			calico
3/26/1811		C	0.13.9	10d	16.5	lb			flax
4/8/1811		D	0.0.6		1	lb			copperas
4/13/1811		D	0.1.2		1	pair			scissors
4/13/1811		D	0.2.9		0.5	y ^d		c.	muslin
4/23/1811	Mrs. Nicholson	D	0.0.6		3	skins			thread
6/3/1811		D	0.0.9	1/6	0.5	y ^d			milanet
6/3/1811		D	0.1.10		1			bandana	handkerchief
6/3/1811		D	0.1.6		1	skain		cotton	yarn
6/3/1811		C	0.2.½	4d	8	oz			rag
6/3/1811		D	0.0.9	6d	1.5	doz			needles
6/3/1811		D	0.2.8	1/4	2	y ^d	pink		ribbon
6/3/1811		D	0.0.10	5d	2	skins	black		silk
6/3/1811		D	0.10.0	2/	5	y ^d			calico
6/3/1811		D	0.10.0	2/	5	y ^d			calico
6/3/1811		D	0.19.6	3/3	6	y ^d			chintz
6/3/1811		C	0.2.9½	9d	16	oz			flax

Appendix D: 1810-11 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

6/3/1811	D	0.6.10½	5/6	1.25	yd	white	sarcenet
6/12/1811	D	0.8.4	1/2	7.5	yd		humhum
6/12/1811	D	0.1.8	1/4	1.25	yd		ribbon

Barbary Nicholson

Appendix D: 1810-11 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

Lockwood	Josiah										
date	purchaser	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item		
8/18/1810	Charles	D	0.0.5		1	skein	black		silk		
9/5/1810		D	0.0.4		1	stick			twist		
9/5/1810		D	0.0.4	6d	8				buttons		
9/10/1810	Anne	D	0.1.11	1/6	1.25	lb			cotton		
9/12/1810		D	0.1.6		1	lb			cotton		
9/12/1810		D	0.0.2	6d	4				buttons		
9/22/1810	wife	D	0.3.6	2/4	1.5	yd			calico		
9/24/1810	Anna	D	0.1.0	2/	0.5	yd			milanet		
9/24/1810	Anna	D	0.0.5		1	skein	black		silk		
9/29/1810	Miss Nicholson	D	0.0.11	8d	1.375	yd			ribbon		
10/4/1810	Mrs. Hubbell	D	0.13.0	2/2	6	yd			calico		
10/10/1810	Daniel	D	0.2.3		1	ps			shoe binding		
10/18/1810	Anna	D	0.3.9	2/6	1.5	yd			ribbon		
10/18/1810		C	0.8.6		1			wool	hat		
10/18/1810		C	0.5.6		1			wool	hat		
10/18/1810		C	0.6.0		1			wool	hat		
10/18/1810		C	0.7.0		1			wool	hat		
10/18/1810		C	0.9.0		1			wool	hat		
10/18/1810	Anna	D	0.12.6	4/	3.125	yd		twilled	chintz		
10/26/1810		D	0.1.1	2/2	0.5	yd			calico		
11/6/1810		D	0.0.6		1				cotton ball		
11/6/1810		D	0.0.6		1	doz			needles		
11/28/1810		C	0.6.0		1			wool	hat for George		
11/28/1810		C	0.6.0		1			wool	hat for Henry		
11/28/1810		C	0.6.0		1			wool	hat for Augustine		
12/1/1810		C	0.18.0		3			wool	hats		
12/5/1810		D	0.0.4		1	stick			twist		
12/5/1810		C	0.9.0		1			wool	hat		
12/5/1810		D	0.3.0	1/6	2	doz			buttons		
12/7/1810		D	0.3.0	1/6	2	doz			buttons		

Appendix D: 1810-11 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

Merwin	Orange	date	purchaser	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item
8/20/1810		D		0.1.0	6d	2	lb				copperas
8/20/1810		D		0.1.4	8d	2	lb				alum
9/1/1810	Canfield	D		0.2.10		1	pair				suspenders
9/8/1810		D		0.1.4		1				hair	comb (damaged)
9/8/1810		D		0.3.0	2/	1.5	yd				calico
9/17/1810	Marvin Canfield	D		0.6.7	21/	0.3125	yd		red		broadcloth
9/17/1810	Marvin Canfield	D		0.8.9	2/6	3.5	yd		white		tow cloth
10/15/1810		D		3.6.0	22/	3	yd		blue		kerseymere
10/15/1810		D		0.1.1			to amount				buttons
10/15/1810		D		2.2.0	10/6	4	yd		brown		coating
10/15/1810		D		0.2.3	1/6	1.5	lb				cotton
10/15/1810		D		0.1.0	8d	1.5	lb				alum
10/15/1810		D		0.0.8		1	paper				pins
10/15/1810		D		0.1.0		1	paper			large	pins
10/15/1810		D		0.15.4½	2/3	6.75	yd				calico
10/15/1810		D		0.11.11	1/10	6.5	yd				calico
10/15/1810		D		0.7.0		1				bandana	handkerchief
10/15/1810		D		0.0.4		2	skeins				thread
10/15/1810		D		1.6.0	6/6	4	yd			c.	muslin
10/15/1810		D		0.4.4	4/4	1	yd			b.	muslin
10/15/1810		D		0.1.0		2	skeins				silk
10/15/1810		D		0.9.5	2/6	3.75	yd				humhum
10/17/1810		D		0.9.4	4/8	2	yd			red	flannel
10/22/1810		D		0.1.9	2/3	0.75	yd		brown		holland
10/25/1810	Miss Nicholson	D		0.0.2		1	skein				thread
10/25/1810	Miss Nicholson	D		0.0.4½	6d	0.75	yd				ribbon
10/25/1810	Miss Nicholson	D		0.3.0	2/	1.5	yd				ribbon
10/25/1810	Miss Nicholson	D		0.7.0	4/8	1.5	yd				lace
10/27/1810	Hetty	D		0.0.8		1	lb				alum
11/3/1810	wife	D		0.6.9	4/6	1.5	yd			fine thread	lace

Appendix D: 1810-11 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

11/17/1810	D	0.16.11	6/9	2.5	yd		coating
11/17/1810	D	0.11.11	4/4	2.75	yd	red	flannel
11/17/1810	D	0.4.0	2/	2	yd		calico
11/22/1810	D	0.1.0		1	paper		pins
11/30/1810	D	0.3.0		1	pair		mittens
11/30/1810	D	0.1.8		1		cotton	handkerchief
12/13/1810	D	0.1.4	8d	2	doz		buttons
12/13/1810	D	0.0.8		2	sticks		twist
12/13/1810	D	0.0.3		0.5	doz		needles
12/17/1810	D	0.0.5		1	ps		bobbin
12/17/1810	D	0.9.2	1/10	5	yd		humhum
12/17/1810	D	0.0.2		1	skein		thread
12/17/1810	D	0.0.5		1	skein	black	silk
1/7/1811	D	0.2.8	2/	16			buttons
1/7/1811	D	0.0.9		1	doz		buttons
1/7/1811	D	0.1.0		3	sticks		twist
1/7/1811	D	0.10.0	5/	2	yd	black	satinet
1/31/1811	D	0.0.10		2	skeins	black	silk
1/31/1811	D	0.6.6		1		bandana	handkerchief
2/25/1811	C	10.13.7	9d	284.75	lb		flax
4/4/1811	D	0.4.9½	3/10	1.25	yd	yellow	flannel
4/15/1811	C	0.2.1	13/	13	oz		flax
5/11/1811	D	0.1.4				cambric	muslin
5/11/1811	D	0.12.10	2/6	5.125	yd		diaper
5/11/1811	D	0.0.1	1d	1	yd		shoe binding
5/11/1811	D	0.8.0	2/	4	yd		calico
5/11/1811	D	0.0.4	4d	1		brass	thimble
5/22/1811	D	0.1.0		1	paper		pins
5/25/1811	D	0.2.3		5	lb		logwood
5/25/1811	D	0.7.1½	4/9	1.5	yd	c.	muslin
5/25/1811	D	0.1.0	6d	2	lb		copperas
5/25/1811	D	0.0.6		4	yd		shoe binding

Appendix D: 1810-11 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

5/25/1811	sister	D	0.2.7½	1/2	2.25	yd		humhum
5/25/1811	sister	D	0.0.4		2	yd	quality	binding
5/25/1811	sister	D	0.1.1		1	paper		pins
5/25/1811	sister	D	0.2.4	2/4	1		cotton	shawl
5/25/1811	sister	D	0.2.11	1/8	1.75	yd		calico
5/25/1811	sister	D	0.1.4		2	lb		alum
5/25/1811	sister	D	0.0.5		1	skein	black	silk
5/31/1811	father	D	0.2.4		1		cotton	shawl
5/31/1811	father	D	0.0.2		1	doz		molds
6/26/1811	sister	D	0.0.6		1	skein		silk
6/26/1811	sister	D	0.0.5		1			cotton ball
6/26/1811	sister	D	0.1.8	2d	10	yd	quality	binding
6/26/1811	sister	D	0.1.1		1	paper		pins
6/26/1811	sister	D	0.1.6	5d	3	yd		ribbon
6/26/1811	sister	D	0.0.5	2d	2.5	yd		ferret
6/28/1811		D	0.6.9	12/	0.5625	yd	windsor	lace

Appendix D: 1810-11 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

Nicholson	Angus										
date	purchaser	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item		
8/25/1810		D	0.1.0		6	skeins			thread		
8/29/1810		D	0.5.5½	4/10	1.125	yd	yellow		flannel		
9/12/1810		D	0.2.0	4/	0.5	yd			oil cloth		
9/19/1810		D	0.2.7½	2/1	1.25	yd			humhum		
11/2/1810	Horace	D	0.4.6	2/3	2	ps			shoe binding		
11/28/1810		D	0.5.3	7/	0.75	yd		fulled	flannel		
12/18/1810		D	0.9.0	4/6	2	yd		pressed	flannel		
12/20/1810		D	0.2.0		12	skeins			thread		
1/25/1811		D	0.3.8	2/5	1.5	yd	brown		cloth		
2/2/1811	Hull	D	0.1.10½	6/	0.3125	yd			forest cloth		
3/2/1811		D	0.6.9	2/3	3	yd	green		baize		
3/28/1811	Horace	D	0.1.6		18	yd			shoe binding		
4/18/1811		D	0.0.5		1	skein	black		silk		
5/4/1811		D	0.3.9		1	pair		beaver	gloves		
5/14/1811		D	0.2.6	4/	0.625	yd			oil cloth		
5/23/1811		D	0.2.3		6	skeins			silk		
5/24/1811		D	0.0.6		1	skein			silk		
5/28/1811		D	0.10.6		3	yd			oil cloth		

Appendix D: 1810-11 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

Noble	Ezra	date	purchaser	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item
8/20/1810				D	0.3.6		3.5	lb			flax
8/21/1810	Amasa Smith bill			D	2.5.6	13/	3.5	yd		fine fulled	flannel
8/21/1810	Amasa Smith bill			D	0.0.6		1	skein			silk
8/21/1810	Amasa Smith bill			D	0.2.10	2/3	1.25	yd	brown		holland
8/21/1810	Amasa Smith bill			D	0.4.6	3/	1.5	doz			buttons
9/7/1810				C	0.11.0		1	pair		calfskin	shoes
10/10/1810				D	0.5.6	2/	2.75	yd			humhum
10/15/1810				C			1	pair			shoes (for Wm. Boardman)
11/19/1810				C	0.12.0		1	pair			shoes
11/24/1810				D	0.18.9	15/	1.25	yd	mixed		broadcloth
11/24/1810				D	0.0.2			to amount			molds
11/24/1810				D	0.3.7	2/10	1.25	yd	red		flannel
11/24/1810				D	0.7.6		1				vest pattern
11/24/1810				C	1.4.0		1	pair			boots (for E. Boardman)
11/24/1810				D	1.18.6	14/	2.75	yd	black		cassimere
12/17/1810				C	0.12.0		1	pair			shoes (for E. Boardman)
1/19/1811				C	0.10.0		1	pair			boots (for Augustine)
1/26/1811				C	2.2.0		1	pair			boots (for Wm. W. Boardman)
1/26/1811				D	0.2.8	1/4	2	yd			humhum
2/11/1811				D	0.9.0	12/	0.75	yd	black		cassimere
2/11/1811				D	0.4.9	3/10	1.25	yd	yellow		flannel
2/11/1811				D	0.0.5		1	skein	black		silk
2/11/1811				D	0.0.2		1	doz			molds
2/23/1811				C	0.12.0		1	pair		morocco	shoes (for C. A. Boardman)
3/25/1811				D	0.5.6	1/10	3	yd			humhum
4/16/1811				C	0.12.0		1	pair		calfskin	shoes (for C. A. Boardman)
4/18/1811				C			1	pair		calfskin	shoes (for Stanley)
6/19/1811	Henry Jackson			D	0.6.10½	5/6	1.25	yd	white		sarcenet
6/19/1811	Henry Jackson			D	0.0.3		1	bunch			wire
6/20/1811				D	0.5.8		1	ps			nankeen

Appendix D: 1810-11 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

6/21/1811	D	0.1.2	1	yd	plain	nankeen
6/21/1811	D	1.15.7½	4.75	yd		coating
6/21/1811	D	0.0.5	14		large	molds
6/21/1811	D	0.1.7½	0.75	yd	b.	linen
6/21/1811	D	0.1.6	3	skeins		silk
6/21/1811	D	0.0.6	3	skeins		thread

Appendix D: 1810-11 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

Totman	Abigail										
date	purchaser	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item		
8/22/1810		D	0.1.0	2/	0.5	yd			chintz		
8/23/1810		D	0.1.6		1			hair	comb		
8/27/1810		D	0.0.4		2	skeins			thread		
8/29/1810		D	0.2.3	4/6	0.5	yd		jaconet	muslin		
8/29/1810		D	0.0.4		2	skeins			thread		
8/29/1810		D	0.0.2		1				thimble		
9/3/1810		D	0.3.3		1	pair		piknet	sleeves		
9/10/1810		D	0.0.6		0.75	yd			ribbon		
9/14/1810		D	0.0.2		1	skein			thread		
9/20/1810		D	0.4.4	2/2	2	yd			humhum		
9/21/1810		D	0.0.4		2	skeins			thread		
9/27/1810		D	0.0.2		1	skein			thread		
9/27/1810		D	0.0.2		1			buff	thimble		
10/6/1810		D	0.5.9		1				shawl		
10/26/1810		D	0.0.4½	6d	0.75				ribbon		
10/27/1810		D	0.0.2		1	skein			thread		
11/1/1810		D	0.0.7		1	oz			pins		
11/5/1810		D	0.18.10	3/4	6.25	yd		B.G.	bombaset		
11/5/1810		D	0.0.6		1	skein			silk		
11/5/1810		D	0.1.3	2/6	0.5	yd	white		tow cloth		
11/6/1810		D	0.1.2		1	yd			ribbon		
11/9/1810		D	0.0.3		0.5	yd			ribbon		
11/10/1810		D	0.9.0		1	pair			shoes made by Samuel Bell		
11/24/1810		D			1	pair		calfskin	shoes		
11/26/1810		D	0.1.0		1	ps			tape		
11/26/1810		D	0.0.2		1	skein			thread		
12/7/1810		D	0.8.9	5/	1.75	yd		pressed	flannel		
12/7/1810		D	0.0.2		1	skein			thread		
12/14/1810		D	0.9.0		1			chintz	shawl		
12/14/1810		D	0.0.6		1	skein			silk		

Appendix D: 1810-11 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

12/14/1810	D	0.0.4	1			thimble
12/15/1810	D	0.1.0	1	paper		pins
12/17/1810	D	0.4.0	1	pair	leather	gloves
12/25/1810	D	0.2.3	1	yd		calico
12/26/1810	D	0.3.0	2/	yd		calico
12/31/1810	D	0.1.6	2/	yd		humhum
1/3/1811	D	0.0.6	1			cotton ball
1/9/1811	D	0.0.2	1	skein		thread
1/10/1811	D	0.2.0	1	pair		scissors
1/10/1811	D	0.0.3	0.5	doz		needles
1/12/1811	D	0.13.9	2/6	yd		russell
1/12/1811	D	0.3.6				shoes soled by Samuel Bell
1/15/1811	D	0.0.8	1	ps		tape
1/15/1811	D	0.0.1	1			needle
1/18/1811	D	0.1.0	0.25	yd	pink	cambric
1/18/1811	D	0.2.0				soling shoes
1/18/1811	D	0.1.6	2	yd		ribbon
1/19/1811	D	0.5.10	2.5	yd		ribbon
1/19/1811	D	0.0.2	1	skein		thread
1/19/1811	D	0.1.0	0.25	yd	I.	muslin
1/21/1811	D	0.8.0	1	pair	morocco	shoes
1/24/1811	D	0.1.0	0.75	yd		ribbon
1/28/1811	D	0.0.2	1	skein		thread
1/29/1811	D	0.3.0	1.5	yd	check	cotton
2/7/1811	D	0.5.5	2.5	yd		humhum
2/9/1811	D	0.12.6	6	yd		calico
2/9/1811	D	0.0.6	1	skein		silk
2/11/1811	D	0.0.8	0.25	yd		tow cloth
2/11/1811	D	0.0.2	1	skein		thread
2/14/1811	D	0.1.1	0.5	yd		calico
2/15/1811	D	0.0.5	1	skein	black	silk
2/28/1811	D	0.1.4	0.75	yd		calico

Appendix D: 1810-11 Most Frequent Customers' Transactions

2/28/1811	D	0.2.3	1	yd	remnants	calico
2/28/1811	D	0.4.3	2		black	humhum
3/5/1811	D	0.0.5	1	skein		silk
3/5/1811	D	0.4.6	1/6	skeins	cotton	yarn
3/11/1811	D	0.1.3	1		wooden	comb
3/27/1811	D	0.4.4	1	yd		leno
4/2/1811	D		2d	skein	black	thread
4/5/1811	D	0.8.0	1	pair		shoes
4/8/1811	D	0.4.0	2	yd	calfskin	calico
4/11/1811	D	0.2.1	1	yd		calico
4/15/1811	D	1.19.11	7/3	yd	c.	muslin
4/15/1811	D	0.2.3	4/6	yd		linen
4/15/1811	D	0.0.8	4	skeins		thread
4/18/1811	D	0.1.0	2	yd		ribbon
4/30/1811	D	0.2.0	1/4	yd		ribbon
4/30/1811	D	0.0.2	2d	skein		thread
5/22/1811	D	0.17.11	3/3	yd		chintz
5/22/1811	D	0.0.6	1	skein		silk
5/27/1811	D	0.0.2	1	skein		thread
5/27/1811	D	0.1.2	2/2	yd		linen
5/27/1811	D	0.7.0	1	pair	cotton	stockings
5/28/1811	D	0.0.8	1			fan
6/6/1811	D	0.0.9	1		hair	comb
6/11/1811	D	0.4.4	2/2	yd		calico
6/12/1811	D	0.0.5	1	skein	black	silk
6/15/1811	D	0.0.9	1	ps		tape
6/18/1811	D	0.5.0	4/	yd		linen
6/22/1811	D	0.2.2	4/4	yd		leno
6/25/1811	D	0.10.8	2/10	yd		dimity

Appendix E: 1784-85, 1797-98, 1810-11 Most Frequent Female Customers' Transactions

Baldwin		Lois									
date	purchaser	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item		
11/6/1784		D	0.8.6		4.5	yd	green		durant		
11/8/1784		D	0.1.6	2/	0.75	yd	green		durant		
12/16/1784		D	0.0.6	2d	3	yd		quality	binding		
12/16/1784		D	0.7.7		3.25	yd	red		drapery		
12/27/1784		D			1				handkerchief		
1/27/1785		D	0.2.8	2/8	1	lb		cotton	wool		
2/3/1785		D	0.0.8	2d	4	yd			shoe binding		
2/3/1785		D	0.0.6		1	skein			silk		
2/3/1785		D	0.14.3	3/2	4.5	yd	black		moreen		
2/4/1785		D	0.1.2		1	yd	purple		ribbon		
3/18/1785		D	0.2.3	3/	0.75	yd	red		sarcenet		
5/4/1785		D	0.0.2		1	skein		silk	thread		
5/4/1785		D	0.6.3	4/2	1.5	yd	dark		calico		
Bostwick		Tamar									
date	purchaser	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item		
1/6/1785	Lois Bostwick	D	} 0.1.3						pins		
8/19/1784		D		2/6	1.125	yd		check	linen		
8/19/1784		D	} 0.3.0		1	skein			thread		
8/23/1784		D	0.3.9	2/6	1.5	yd		check	linen		
8/23/1784		D	0.0.2		1.125	yd			shoe binding		
8/28/1784		D	0.2.3 ½	10d	2.75	oz			indigo		
6/3/1784		D	0.0.4	2/10	0.125	yd			fustian		
9/2/1784		D	0.1.10		0.25	yd			lawn		
9/2/1784		D	0.4.3		0.375	yd			lawn		
9/2/1784		D	0.0.6	2d	3	skeins			thread		
10/25/1784		D	0.0.11		1.25	yd			ribbon		
11/30/1784		D	0.7.10 ½	10/6	0.75	yd			cloth		
12/8/1784		D	0.0.2		1	skein			thread		
12/8/1784		D	0.0.4 ½		1	hank			twist		
12/11/1784		D	0.0.2		1	skein			thread		

Appendix E: 1784-85, 1797-98, 1810-11 Most Frequent Female Customers' Transactions

12/22/1784		D	0.1.3	3/4	0.375	yd	linen
12/22/1784		D	0.0.2		1	skein	thread
1/6/1785	Lois Baldwin	D			1	skein	silk
1/6/1785	Lois Baldwin	D	0.1.4	3/6	0.375	yd	lasting
1/6/1785	Lois Baldwin	D	0.0.4		2.5	yd	binding
1/6/1785	Lois Baldwin	D	0.0.5	1/8	0.25	yd	tow cloth
1/22/1785		D	0.0.5	2d	2.5	yd	binding
2/22/1785		D	0.16.6	1/	1.5	yd	cloth
3/14/1785		D	0.0.8	5/	0.125	yd	lawn
4/25/1785		D	0.3.8	3/3	1.125	yd	jean
5/20/1785		D	0.10.8	2/8	4	yd	cloth
5/20/1785		D	0.1.0		6	skeins	thread
5/21/1785		D	0.0.2		1	skein	thread
5/24/1785		D		2/8	0.375	yd	cloth
Susanna							
	purchaser	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	type
7/3/1784		D	0.1.5		1	pair	shears
10/28/1784		D	0.0.6	1/	0.5	lb	alum
4/8/1785		D			1	lb	wool
7/3/1784		D	0.0.11			to amount	gauze
Anna							
	purchaser	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	type
3/28/1785		D	0.1.0	2d	6	skeins	thread
3/28/1785		D	0.5.4	2/8	2	lb	wool
3/28/1785		D	0.2.6		0.25	yd	cambric
4/5/1785		D	0.6.0		1		handkerchief
4/14/1785		D	} 0.2.6	2d	2.5	yd	binding
4/14/1785		D		6d	1	skein	silk
4/14/1785		D		4/3	0.375	yd	satinet
4/27/1785		D	0.2.8	2/8	0.75	yd	gauze
4/27/1785		D	0.5.0	2/6	2	yd	gauze
4/30/1785		D		4d	1	yd	ribbon

Appendix E: 1784-85, 1797-98, 1810-11 Most Frequent Female Customers' Transactions

5/19/1785	D	0.7.1 ½	4/9	1.5	yd	calico
Scott	Sally					
6/23/1784	D	0.5.6		1	pair	shoes
9/30/1784	D	0.0.10	3/4	0.25	yd	sarcenet
9/30/1784	D	0.1.5	5/6	0.25	yd	satin
9/30/1784	D	0.1.3		0.5	yd	gauze
9/30/1784	D	0.0.4		1		bonnet paper
1/4/1785	D	0.0.2		1	skein	thread
1/4/1785	D	0.7.10	2/6	3.125	yd	drapery
3/12/1785	D	0.9.4	4/8	2	yd	calico
Carrington	Penelope					
12/28/1797	D	0.0.2		1	skein	thread
10/27/1797	D	0.0.5		1	skein	silk
10/27/1797	D	1.9.0	4/10	6	yd	calico
12/2/1797	D	0.0.6	3d	2	yd	ferret
12/2/1797	D	0.0.5		1	skein	silk
12/2/1797	D	0.3.0		1	yd	linen
12/12/1797	D	0.0.2		1	skein	thread
12/12/1797	D	0.0.9	5/8	0.125	yd	lawn
12/12/1797	D	0.1.6		1	pair	mitts
3/6/1798	D	0.3.0	4/	0.75	yd	linen
5/28/1798	D	0.6.3		1		handkerchief
	D	0.2.2		1		pocket handkerchief
Garlick	Lucy					
7/22/1797	C	0.7.3			balance on	cloth
7/28/1797	D	0.1.1	5/8	3	nails	satinet
8/11/1797	D	0.0.3		2	skeins	thread
12/22/1797	D	1.2.6	3/	7.5	yd	calico
12/22/1797	D	0.5.1 ½		1.75	yd	flannel

Appendix E: 1784-85, 1797-98, 1810-11 Most Frequent Female Customers' Transactions

12/22/1797		D	0.0.8		14		vest		buttons
2/28/1798	father	D	0.2.4		0.625	yd		gauze	
Gaylord	Sarah								
6/5/1797		D	0.3.0	total	1.5	yd		gauze	item
6/5/1797		D	0.1.3	5d	3	skeins		silk	
6/5/1797		D	0.1.0		1	paper		pins	
6/5/1797		D	0.1.8	4d	5	yd		ribbon	
6/5/1797		D	0.3.8		1	pair		cards	
7/6/1797		D	0.2.2		1	pair		gloves	
7/8/1797	daughter	D	0.8.6		3	lb	cotton	wool	
7/8/1797		D	0.0.3		0.5	lb		alum	
7/8/1797		D	0.0.3		3	yd		taste	
9/8/1797		D	0.0.4	4d	1	yd	narrow	ribbon	
9/8/1797		D	0.1.1	4/4	0.25	yd	vellum	mode	
9/8/1797		D	0.0.5		1	skein		silk	
9/25/1797	son	D	0.1.8		1	yd	black	ribbon	
9/25/1797	son	D	0.2.9		4	oz		indigo	
10/18/1797		D	0.4.9	9/6	0.5	yd		muslin	
10/27/1797	son	D	0.8.6		1			vest pattern	
10/27/1797	son	D	0.1.0		1	doz		buttons	
10/27/1797	son	D	0.0.4		1	stick		twist	
11/1/1797		D	5.7.4	7/8	14	yd	blue	silk	
11/1/1797		D	0.1.0	6d	2	skeins		silk	
11/1/1797		D	0.1.1		1	paper		pins	
11/1/1797		D	0.1.6	3/	0.5	yd		calico	
11/1/1797		D	1.9.0	4/10	6	yd		calico	
12/1/1797		D	0.1.0		1			comb	
12/4/1797		D	0.1.4	8d	2	yd	hair	ribbon	
5/30/1798	son	D	0.9.0		1	pair	fine patent	stockings	

Appendix E: 1784-85, 1797-98, 1810-11 Most Frequent Female Customers' Transactions

Kline	date	purchaser	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item
Sally	3/1/1798		D	0.2.2		1				pocket handkerchief
	3/1/1798		D	0.0.4			to amount			taste
	3/1/1798		D	0.0.6		1	string			beads
	3/1/1798		D	0.1.6		1	string			beads
	3/1/1798		D	0.6.6		1			bandano	handkerchief
	3/12/1798		D	0.0.6		1	paper			pins
	3/27/1798		D	0.11.1	3/2	3.5	yd	white		flannel
	3/29/1798		D	0.15.0	3/3	4.625	yd	green		moreen
	4/16/1798		D	0.14.3	3/	4.75	yd			moreen
	5/5/1798		D	0.0.6	6d	1	yd			ribbon
	5/5/1798		D	0.6.6		1	pair			shoes from S. Chittenden
	5/19/1798		D	0.2.4		1	yd			tow cloth
	5/23/1798		D	0.6.9	4/2	1.625	yd			calico
Elizabeth										
	8/3/1797		D	0.7.6	3/	2.5	yd		check	cloth
	8/12/1797		D	0.3.4		1				shawl
	8/14/1797		D	0.0.5 ½		7	oz			logwood
	10/25/1797		D	0.1.2	2/4	0.5	yd	green		baize
	10/30/1797		D	2.2.6	17/	2.5	yd	scarlet		cloth
	10/30/1797		D	0.0.10		1	yd			ribbon
	11/10/1797		D	0.7.10 ½	3/6	2.25	yd			flannel
	11/15/1797		D	0.3.4	2/8	1.25	yd			sarcenet
	12/5/1797		D	0.6.0		1	pair			shoes made by J. Peck
	12/8/1797		D			1	pair			shoes made by E. Gunn
	1/5/1798		D			2	pair		leather	shoes
	1/5/1798		D	} 0.12.0		1	pair		cloth	shoes
	1/8/1798		D	0.2.0						mending shoes by J. Park
	1/10/1798		C (returned)	0.6.0		1	pair		leather	shoes
	2/9/1798		D	0.6.0		1	pair		leather	shoes

shoes mended by S. Chittenden Jr.

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Appendix E: 1784-85, 1797-98, 1810-11 Most Frequent Female Customers' Transactions

12/8/1810	D	1.1.9	4/3	5.125	yd	pressed	flannel
Brown	Sibyl						
10/16/1810	Robert	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	item
11/9/1810	Robert	D	0.0.6	1/	0.5	paper	pins
11/16/1810		D	0.7.0		1		handkerchief
12/5/1810	Robert	D	0.0.3		0.5	doz	needles
1/31/1811		D	0.0.2		1	set	pins
1/31/1811		D	0.2.0	1/4	1.5	yd	ribbon
1/31/1811		D	0.2.4 ½	4/9	0.5	yd	linen
2/20/1811		D	1.4.0	3/	8	yd	chintz
4/29/1811		D	0.0.6		1	skein	silk
4/29/1811		D	0.0.2	2d	1	skein	thread
4/29/1811		D	0.3.0	2/	1.5	yd	ribbon
4/29/1811		D	0.3.0	6/	0.5	yd	leno
6/3/1811	C		3.12.0		\$12		jacket
Reed	Anna						
8/23/1810		debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	item
8/24/1810		D	0.0.6		1		bonnet paper
9/11/1810		D	0.0.4		2	skeins	thread
9/21/1810		D	0.0.2		1	skein	thread
10/12/1810		D	0.0.2		1	skein	thread
10/30/1810		D	0.0.6	4/	0.125	yd	muslin
11/6/1810		D	0.0.2		1	skein	thread
11/10/1810		D	0.0.4 ½		0.75	yd	ribbon
11/23/1810		D	0.8.0		1	pair	shoes made by Samuel Bell
11/27/1810		D	0.0.4		1		thimble
11/27/1810		D	0.0.5		1	skein	silk
11/28/1810		D	0.2.1	5/6	0.375	yd	flannel
11/28/1810	C		0.5.0		1	pair	stockings
11/28/1810		D	0.0.6		1	skein	silk
11/28/1810		D	0.2.0		1	skein	thread
11/28/1810	D		0.0.9	6d	1.5	yd	ribbon

Appendix E: 1784-85, 1797-98, 1810-11 Most Frequent Female Customers' Transactions

12/1/1810	D	0.2.0	1	yd	humhum
12/3/1810	D	0.1.4	1	yd	ribbon
12/5/1810	D	0.7.0	1	pair	shoes
12/14/1810	D	0.15.0	5	yd	morrocco
12/14/1810	D	0.0.6	1	yd	chintz
12/14/1810	D	0.0.6	0.25	yd	ribbon
12/18/1810	D	0.7.6	1	yd	humhum
12/22/1810	D	0.1.6	0.75	pair	shoes
12/28/1810	D	0.2.0	1	yd	calico
1/1/1811	D		2.5	yd	humhum
1/7/1811	D	0.2.1	1	yd	flannel
1/10/1811	D	0.0.5	10	pair	scissors
1/10/1811	D	0.0.5	1	skain	buttons
1/12/1811	D	0.1.5 ½	2.5	yd	silk
1/15/1811	D	0.0.10	1	yd	ribbon
1/16/1811	D	0.0.2	1	skain	pocket handkerchief
1/18/1811	D	0.2.0			thread
1/18/1811	D	0.3.4 ½	2.25	yd	soling shoes
1/18/1811	D	0.1.8	1.25	yd	ribbon
1/18/1811	D	0.0.7	0.75	yd	ribbon
1/21/1811	D	0.0.4	0.25	yd	ribbon
1/24/1811	D	0.4.0	1	pair	gloves
1/29/1811	D	0.2.6	1.25	yd	cotton
1/29/1811	D	0.0.6	0.25	yd	cotton
2/11/1811	D	0.0.8	1	ps	tape
2/25/1811	D	0.0.2	1	skain	thread
2/28/1811	D	0.2.0	1	yd	calico
2/28/1811	D	0.3.0	2		humhum
3/20/1811	D	0.2.2	1		pocket handkerchief
3/23/1811	D	0.0.2	1	skain	thread
3/23/1811	D	0.0.9	0.25	yd	calico
4/1/1811	D	0.0.2	1	skain	thread

date	purchaser	debit/credit	total	unit price	quantity	unit	color	type	item	Shannon	
										date	total
4/1/1811	D	0.0.6	1	sk	0.0.6	1	sk	0.0.6	1	sk	0.0.6
4/5/1811	D	0.1.9	0.75	yd	0.1.9	0.75	yd	0.1.9	0.75	yd	0.1.9
4/8/1811	D	0.0.4	2	sk	0.0.4	2	sk	0.0.4	2	sk	0.0.4
4/10/1811	D	0.1.3	0.5	yd	0.1.3	0.5	yd	0.1.3	0.5	yd	0.1.3
4/16/1811	D	0.1.0	2	yd	0.1.0	2	yd	0.1.0	2	yd	0.1.0
4/25/1811	D	0.0.3	1	pair	0.0.3	1	pair	0.0.3	1	pair	0.0.3
4/27/1811	D	0.5.6	1	pair	0.5.6	1	pair	0.5.6	1	pair	0.5.6
4/29/1811	D	0.3.3	1	pair	0.3.3	1	pair	0.3.3	1	pair	0.3.3
5/2/1811	D	0.4.0	1	pair	0.4.0	1	pair	0.4.0	1	pair	0.4.0
5/14/1811	D	0.0.6	1	pair	0.0.6	1	pair	0.0.6	1	pair	0.0.6
5/20/1811	C (returned)	0.4.0	1	pair	0.4.0	1	pair	0.4.0	1	pair	0.4.0
5/24/1811	D	0.2.1	1.25	yd	0.2.1	1.25	yd	0.2.1	1.25	yd	0.2.1
6/6/1811	D	0.0.9	1	paper	0.0.9	1	paper	0.0.9	1	paper	0.0.9
6/15/1811	D	0.0.6	0.5	paper	0.0.6	0.5	paper	0.0.6	0.5	paper	0.0.6
12/19/1810	D	0.1.8 ½	4/6	yd	0.1.8 ½	4/6	yd	0.1.8 ½	4/6	yd	0.1.8 ½
12/19/1810	D	1.1.0	6/	yd	1.1.0	6/	yd	1.1.0	6/	yd	1.1.0
4/22/1811	D	0.1.0	0.25	yd	0.1.0	0.25	yd	0.1.0	0.25	yd	0.1.0
4/22/1811	D	0.2.0	4/	yd	0.2.0	4/	yd	0.2.0	4/	yd	0.2.0
4/22/1811	D	0.8.0	1/4	pair	0.8.0	1/4	pair	0.8.0	1/4	pair	0.8.0
5/2/1811	D	0.0.4 ½	9d	yd	0.0.4 ½	9d	yd	0.0.4 ½	9d	yd	0.0.4 ½
5/4/1811	D	0.0.10	2/2	yd	0.0.10	2/2	yd	0.0.10	2/2	yd	0.0.10
5/23/1811	D	0.0.6	1	sk	0.0.6	1	sk	0.0.6	1	sk	0.0.6
5/23/1811	D	0.19.6	3/3	yd	0.19.6	3/3	yd	0.19.6	3/3	yd	0.19.6
6/8/1811	D	0.3.6	2/	yd	0.3.6	2/	yd	0.3.6	2/	yd	0.3.6
6/8/1811	C	0.13.6	20	runs	0.13.6	20	runs	0.13.6	20	runs	0.13.6
11/10/1810	D	0.9.0	1	pair	0.9.0	1	pair	0.9.0	1	pair	0.9.0
8/22/1810	D	0.1.0	2/	yd	0.1.0	2/	yd	0.1.0	2/	yd	0.1.0

Appendix E: 1784-85, 1797-98, 1810-11 Most Frequent Female Customers' Transactions

8/23/1810	D	0.1.6	1	skeins	hair	comb
8/27/1810	D	0.0.4	2	yd	jaconet	thread
8/29/1810	D	0.2.3	0.5	skeins		muslin
8/29/1810	D	0.0.4	2	pair		thread
8/29/1810	D	0.0.2	1	yd	piknet	thimble
9/3/1810	D	0.3.3	1	yd		sleeves
9/10/1810	D	0.0.6	0.75	skein		ribbon
9/14/1810	D	0.0.2	1	yd		thread
9/20/1810	D	0.4.4	2/2	skeins		humhum
9/21/1810	D	0.0.4	2	skein		thread
9/27/1810	D	0.0.2	1	yd		thread
9/27/1810	D	0.0.2	1	yd		thimble
10/6/1810	D	0.5.9	1	yd	buff	shawl
10/26/1810	D	0.0.4 ½	0.75	oz		ribbon
10/27/1810	D	0.0.2	1	yd		thread
11/1/1810	D	0.0.7	1	yd		pins
11/5/1810	D	0.18.10	6.25	yd	B.G.	bombaset
11/5/1810	D	0.0.6	1	skein		silk
11/5/1810	D	0.1.3	0.5	yd	white	tow cloth
11/6/1810	D	0.1.2	1	yd		ribbon
11/9/1810	D	0.0.3	0.5	yd		ribbon
11/24/1810	D		1	pair	calfskin	shoes
11/26/1810	D	0.1.0	1	ps		tape
11/26/1810	D	0.0.2	1	skein		thread
12/7/1810	D	0.8.9	1.75	yd	pressed	flannel
12/7/1810	D	0.0.2	1	skein		thread
12/14/1810	D	0.9.0	1	skein	chintz	shawl
12/14/1810	D	0.0.6	1	skein		silk
12/14/1810	D	0.0.4	1	paper		thimble
12/15/1810	D	0.1.0	1	pair	leather	pins
12/17/1810	D	0.4.0	1	yd		gloves
12/25/1810	D	0.2.3	1	yd		calico

Appendix E: 1784-85, 1797-98, 1810-11 Most Frequent Female Customers' Transactions

3/11/1811	D	0.1.3	1	wooden	comb
3/27/1811	D	0.4.4	1	leno	
4/2/1811	D		1	black	thread
4/5/1811	D	0.8.0	1	pair	shoes
4/8/1811	D	0.4.0	2	yd	calico
4/11/1811	D	0.2.1	1	yd	calico
4/15/1811	D	1.19.11	5.5	yd	muslin
4/15/1811	D	0.2.3	0.5	yd	linen
4/15/1811	D	0.0.8	4	skeins	thread
4/18/1811	D	0.1.0	2	yd	ribbon
4/30/1811	D	0.2.0	1.5	yd	ribbon
4/30/1811	D	0.0.2	1	skein	thread
5/22/1811	D	0.17.11	5.5	yd	chintz
5/22/1811	D	0.0.6	1	skein	silk
5/27/1811	D	0.0.2	1	skein	thread
5/27/1811	D	0.1.2	0.5	yd	linen
5/27/1811	D	0.7.0	1	pair	stockings
5/28/1811	D	0.0.8	1		fan
6/6/1811	D	0.0.9	1	hair	comb
6/11/1811	D	0.4.4	2		calico
6/12/1811	D	0.0.5	1	black	silk
6/15/1811	D	0.0.9	1	ps	tape
6/18/1811	D	0.5.0	1.25	yd	linen
6/22/1811	D	0.2.2	0.5	yd	leno
6/25/1811	D	0.10.8	3.75	yd	dimity

Appendix F: 1784-85 Non-White Customers' Transactions

date	account holder	purchaser	delivery	debit/credit	total	quantity/goods/unit price
6/15/84	Betty Negro			D	0.0.9	¼ yd gauze (3/)
6/15/84	Betty Negro			D	0.0.2	1 skeleton wire (2d)
10/2/84	Betty Negro			D	0.0.8	⅜ yd milanet (1/8)
12/11/84	Betty Negro			D	0.0.4	1 pair sleeve buttons
9/10/84	Cesar Scipio of New Fairfield			D	0.1.10	1 fan
9/10/84	Cesar Scipio of New Fairfield			D	0.0.4	1 yd ribbon
8/12/84	Heber Negro		J. Stilson	D	0.7.4½	3 yd linen (2/5½)
8/12/84	Heber Negro		J. Stilson	D	0.0.1½	1 skein thread (1½d)
9/6/84	Heber Negro	wife		D	0.0.9	½ yd milanet
11/30/84	Heber Negro			D	0.3.2	1 pair shoe buckles
9/6/84	Heber Negro	wife		D	0.1.0	⅜ yd souffle gauze
9/6/84	Heber Negro	wife		D	0.2.3	¾ yd white gauze
9/6/84	Heber Negro	wife		D	0.0.2	1 skein thread
12/14/84	Jacob Negro			D		1 large hank twist (8d)
12/14/84	Jacob Negro			D	} 0.1.0	6 large buttons (4d)
11/2/84	Jeruel Phillips			D	0.2.0	1½ yd wide black ribbon
11/2/84	Jeruel Phillips			D	0.0.8	1 skein silk
9/6/84	Nancy Gratis			D	0.0.9	1 yd ribbon
2/18/85	Naomi Negro			D	0.3.0	balance on lawn apron
11/1/84	Nathan Peet			D	0.1.9	1 pair shoe buckles
8/30/84	Nathan Peet	wife		D	0.1.1	14 coat buttons
6/4/84	Nathaniel Darkie			C		3 wool hats
7/9/84	Nathaniel Darkie			D	0.7.4	2 doz hat linings (3/8)

Appendix F: 1784-85 Non-White Customers' Transactions

7/9/84	Nathaniel Darkie	D	0.2.0	2 doz buttons (1/)
7/22/84	Nathaniel Darkie	C		9 felt hats
8/3/84	Nathaniel Darkie	D	0.6.4½	fustian
11/6/84	Nehemiah Negro	D	0.3.5	1 pair shoe buckles
12/22/84	Nehemiah Negro	D	0.12.0	1 pair satinet breeches part worn
8/24/84	Peg Negro	D	0.1.6	1½ yd ribbon (1/)
8/24/84	Peg Negro	D	0.3.2	1 1/16 yd souffle gauze
8/24/84	Peg Negro	D	0.0.8	¾ yd milanet
8/26/84	Peg Negro Canfield	D	0.1.0	5/16 yd gauze lappeting
8/26/84	Peg Negro Canfield	D	0.1.8	1 souffle gauze handkerchief
8/26/84	Peg Negro Canfield	D	0.0.4	¼ yd black milanet
8/26/84	Peg Negro Canfield	D	0.0.4	1 comb
8/26/84	Peg Negro Canfield	D	0.0.7	3 yd quality binding
9/6/84	Peg Negro Canfield	D	0.1.0	3 gauze lappets (1/)
10/5/84	Pomp Freeman	D	0.2.4	1 pair worsted mitts
10/5/84	Pomp Freeman	D	0.0.6	3 yd binding (2d)
9/17/84	Pompy Negro	D	0.5.6	1 yd satin
9/17/84	Pompy Negro	D	0.1.11	⅝ yd black gauze
9/17/84	Pompy Negro	D	0.0.7	1 skein silk (7d)
9/17/84	Pompy Negro	D	0.0.4	1 bonnet paper (4d)
9/17/84	Pompy Negro	D	0.0.1	1 sheet paper (1d)
9/17/84	Pompy Negro	D	0.6.10	1 silk handkerchief
9/17/84	Pompy Negro	D	0.5.4	2 yd linen (2/10)
9/17/84	Pompy Negro	D	0.0.9	1 pair shoe buckles
9/17/84	Pompy Negro	D	0.2.4	¾ yd pink durant (3/2)
9/17/84	Pompy Negro	D	0.0.4	⅛ yd white souffle gauze (2/8)
9/17/84	Pompy Negro	D	0.1.0	1 yd black ribbon
9/17/84	Pompy Negro	D	0.3.4½	¾ yd calico

Appendix F: 1784-85 Non-White Customers' Transactions

9/17/84	Pompy Negro	D	0.1.3	5/8 yd durant
9/8/84	Reuben Phillips	D	0.6.6	1 wool hat (6/6)
9/1/84	Robert Starr Negro	D	0.3.9	1/2 yd lawn (7/6)
9/1/84	Robert Starr Negro	D	0.2.1/2	1 1/4 yd lace (1/7 1/2)
9/1/84	Robert Starr Negro	D	0.3.4	2 ostrich feathers (1/8)
9/1/84	Robert Starr Negro	D	0.0.4 1/2	1/4 yd black milanet
9/1/84	Robert Starr Negro	D	0.0.9	1/4 yd white gauze
6/15/84	Scipio Negro	D	0.5.6	1 black barcelona handkerchief
6/24/84	Scipio Negro	D	0.6.9	1 felt hat
8/18/84	Scipio Negro	D	0.1.4	1 1/4 yd black ribbon (1/)
8/21/84	Scipio Negro	D	0.3.3	1 pair plated buckles
9/7/84	Scipio Negro	D	0.3.3	3 yd pink ribbon
12/1/84	Scipio Negro	D	0.2.2	1 pair shoe buckles
12/3/84	Scipio Negro	D	0.1.3	1 pair knee buckles
12/4/84	Scipio Negro	D		1 silk handkerchief
1/14/85	Scipio Negro	D	0.1.8 1/2	1/2 yd linen
1/14/85	Scipio Negro	D	0.0.2	1 skein thread (2d)
2/23/85	Scipio Negro	D	0.0.2	1 skein thread (2d)
2/24/85	Scipio Negro	D	0.7.6	1 pair black breeches
2/28/85	Scipio Negro	D	0.1.7	1 1/4 yd red ribbon (1/3)
3/6/85	Scipio Negro	D	0.3.10	1 pair shoe buckles
3/18/85	Scipio Negro	D		2 yd black serge (5/8)
4/8/85	Scipio Negro	D		1 1/2 yd calico (4/4)
11/16/84	Scipio Negro	D		1 pair buckles
11/27/84	Scipio Negro	D	0.5.9	1 black handkerchief (5/9)
11/27/84	Scipio Negro	D	0.4.4	1/2 yd cambrick (8/8)
11/27/84	Scipio Negro	D	0.1.11	2 1/2 yd black ribbon

Peter Q.
 Abigail Bostwick
 Abigail Bostwick
 Abigail Bostwick

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