

1. General Assembly (Recorded Laws), T.B.H. No. B, Hall of Records, Annapolis, folios 112-117.
2. Anne Arundel County Register of Wills (Orphans Court Proceedings), 1777-1816, Hall of Records, Annapolis, folios 11, 28-29.
3. Anne Arundel County Register of Wills (Orphans Court Proceedings), 1797-1805, folio 31.
4. Anne Arundel County Register of Wills (Orphans Court Proceedings), 1795-1811, folio 170.
5. Anne Arundel County Register of Wills (Receipts and Indentures), 1796-1827, Hall of Records, Annapolis, folio 97.
6. Municipal Archives, City of Baltimore, Bureau of Legislative Reference, ms. 1801 [164], Feb. 15, 1816.
7. Executive Department, Proceedings of the Council, 1799-1807, Hall of Records, Annapolis, folio 427; Executive Department, Proceedings of the Council, 1807-1813, folio 10.
8. Executive Department, Proceedings of the Council, 1799-1807, folio 428.
9. Randall and Dobbin Account Book, 1748-1807, ms. 679, manuscripts division, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.
10. Rosamond Randall Berne and John Henry Scarff, *William Buckland, 1734-1774: Architect of Virginia and Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1958), pp. 149, 150.
11. One such inventory was done by John Shaw and William Goldsmith on June 2, 1798, for the estate of John Stewart. Anne Arundel County Register of Wills (Original Inventories), Box No. 35, Folder No. 45, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
12. Anne Arundel County Register of Wills (Original Inventories), Box No. 35, Folder No. 5.
13. Chancery Court Papers 4226, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

John Shaw's Annapolis

John Shaw arrived in Annapolis in or around 1763, a young man of eighteen, son of a carpenter and trained as a cabinet-maker in the Scottish city of Glasgow.¹ To date we know no reason for his emigration to America or to Maryland. However, the Maryland tobacco trade had established strong commercial ties between Annapolis and Glasgow, and Shaw may have had a connection, family or otherwise, that prompted his move to Annapolis.

Annapolis in 1763, though a prosperous colonial town, was not so fertile a field for entering the cabinetmaking trade as would have been the more populous Philadelphia and New York to the north or Charleston to the south. The population of Annapolis in 1763 numbered just over one thousand persons.² As the colonial capital in a plantation society, it served as the seat of government, legal center, and entrepôt for the export of such local commodities as grain, lumber, and tobacco, and the import of a plethora of English-made goods.

Primarily because of its central location within the province, the small settlement on the Severn River called Arundelton had become in 1694 the new capital of Maryland, replacing St. Mary's City at the southern tip of the colony. Under the leadership of a new royal governor, Sir Francis Nicholson, the development and laying out of the town was both imaginative and innovative. Derived from Sir Christopher Wren's grand design for a new London after the great fire of 1666, Nicholson's street plan was radial in form [see fig. 1]. On the highest elevation overlooking the harbor, on two circles somewhat apart, were to be built the State House and the Anglican church. From these two focal points radiated the principal streets of the town.

If John Shaw did indeed arrive in Annapolis Harbor directly from Glasgow or some other British port, his first impression of Annapolis would have been that it seemed more a garden village than a center of government, law, and trade. The ramshackle second State House of 1704, eventually to be demolished in 1772, and the first St. Anne's Church, also built in 1704 [see fig. 13], would have appeared in the distance slightly elevated above the buildings between them and the harbor. In addition to a radial plan, Nicholson had also predetermined where his citizenry should live and work. To the north of the town, removed from the harbor, an area later called Bloomsbury Square was laid out in lots for craftsmen and small tradesmen. The waterfront was reserved for the offices, warehouses, ropewalks, and customhouses



Fig. 13. *Church Circle, Annapolis, 1794*, attributed to C. Milbourne. Watercolor on paper, 10 x 16½ in. The Hammond-Harwood House Association, Annapolis. St. Anne's Church (1791) appears at left center with the State House dome in the background.

essential to a lively maritime trade. Activities such as tanning or brewing that would be odiferous were relegated to the more distant outskirts of the town. Remaining were the more choice lots near Church and State Circles, and on the eastern and western fringes of the town. Here, by the time of Shaw's arrival, had been built some splendid town houses. In the next decade an even more impressive group of mansions, as well as a new State House (see fig. 16), would further enhance the architectural scene. The houses were like those set in the plantation countryside of southern Maryland or the Eastern Shore, but in Annapolis such houses faced the street and were placed on ample lots affording space at the rear for gardens, stables, and other appurtenances.

The single most valuable piece of Annapolis real estate at the time of Shaw's arrival, or for that matter throughout the eighteenth century, was the property of Charles Carroll of Annapolis at the foot of Duke of Gloucester Street. Here a large house of the late 1720's at the water's edge was to be further developed and periodically enlarged throughout the eighteenth century.¹ Another significant dwelling, no longer existing, was built on Spa Creek about 1730 by Benjamin Tasker. An abortive attempt in 1742 to erect a suitable mansion for Governor Thomas Bladen had left by 1762 a roofless ruin north of the State House, but the cityscape had otherwise been enriched by such fine domestic structures as the Edmund Jennings House (ca. 1742), later to be remodeled for the Governor's Mansion, the Daniel Dulany House

(ca. 1740), the Stephen Bordley House (ca. 1726), and the Dr. William Stephenson House (1739) now called the Ogle House, to name only the more exceptional houses built before 1750.

The indigenous Annapolis architectural style had its roots in the prosperous Patuxent River valley of Prince George's County as well as in the South and West River areas of southern Anne Arundel County. The surviving Town Hall at Londontown on the South River dates from about 1747. Its building and possible design have long been associated with a William Brown, cabinetmaker and master-builder, who also kept an inn at Londontown. Brown was also the joiner for the Dr. Upton Scott House begun in 1763 on Shipwright Street.⁴ Its all header-bond brick facade, five bays, and projecting central pavilion echo the Londontown Town Hall. The Scott House was the first, and is perhaps the finest surviving, Annapolis town house of the 1760's and 1770's in overall quality and quantity of carved woodwork. The Ridout House on Duke of Gloucester Street is nearly contemporaneous in date with Dr. Scott's house and must have been finished by about 1765 too. The massive Brice House (1767; see fig. 2) and the nearby Paca House (ca. 1765) complete this remarkable group of Annapolitan domestic buildings that had just been completed or were under construction during John Shaw's early years in Annapolis—a group related in style and unequalled in pre-Revolutionary America.

Horatio Sharpe, Maryland's colonial governor from 1753 to 1769, had long rented a residence in Annapolis from Edmund Jennings. However, in 1763 he assembled a parcel of land across the Severn River near the earlier settlement of Providence. Here Sharpe by 1765 had built White Hall, a pleasure pavilion with a giant portico, the first in America, and lavishly carved interior woodwork as well as equally elaborate plaster cornices and moldings. The architect was Joseph Horatio Anderson, who also designed the third Maryland State House of 1772 (see figs. 14 & 15). William Buckland and his shop may have executed the intricate wood carvings, but there are other possibilities among the master-builders and carvers working in Annapolis at the same time.

William Buckland had moved his family to Annapolis in 1772, but he had been in and out of Maryland and the capital many times in the previous decade. What, if any, involvement he might have had with the Upton Scott, Ridout, Brice, or Paca Houses has not yet been determined. We do know that Buckland worked on the Chase-Lloyd House (see fig. 17) intermittently from 1771-1774, with another "undertaker," William Noke, often in charge.⁵ The culmination of the Annapolis town house style, as well as of Buckland's career there before his death in 1774, is to be found in the Hammond-Harwood House of 1773-1774. Here, perhaps for the first time in Annapolis, Buckland was both architect and builder.

What were the prospects then in the midst of this flurry of building for an ambitious young cabinetmaker newly arrived from Scotland? Doubtless established Annapolis cabinetmakers, as well as relative newcomers like John Shaw, would have been called upon to provide some of the furnishings needed for these imposing homes. However, their lot may have been more difficult than we might imagine for reasons that will be explained below.

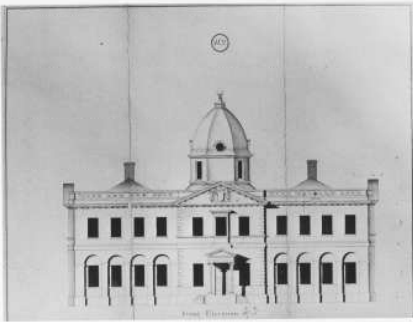


Fig. 14. Front elevation.

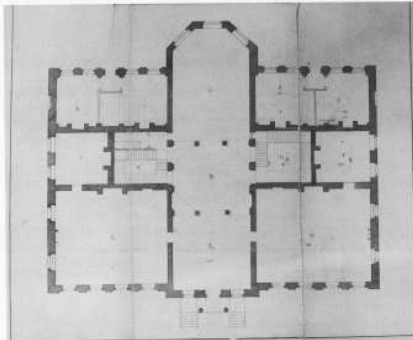


Fig. 15. Floor Plan
Architectural Drawings for the Maryland State House by Joseph Horatio Anderson, ca. 1773. John Wink Garnett Collections, Special Collections Division, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore

It must be emphasized that Annapolis was a small town—not a city—although it was the seat of government, the economic, cultural, and social center of the province. Even so, the few towns, often county seats, of the Eastern and Western shores were mere villages when compared to Annapolis, small as it was. Only inland Frederick and

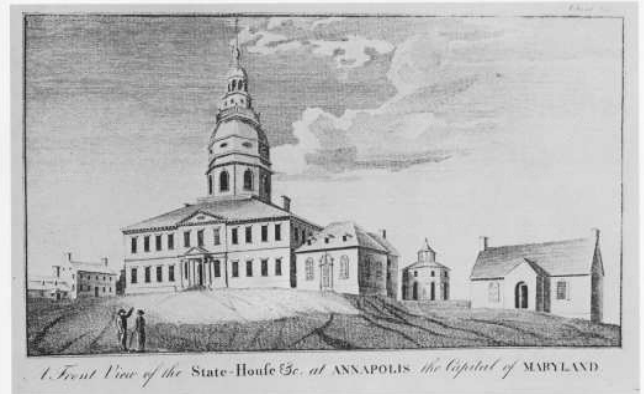


Fig. 16. "A Front View of the State House etc. at Annapolis the Capital of Maryland" from the *Columbian Magazine*, February, 1789. Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore

Baltimore equaled Annapolis in size on the eve of the Revolution. Not until after the war would Baltimore emerge as the one significant urban area on the Chesapeake. When compared, for example, to the counties west of Philadelphia or Boston, the area surrounding Annapolis was sparsely settled and remarkably devoid even of villages. St. Mary's, Calvert, and Charles Counties in southern Maryland, their once fertile lands depleted by tobacco, had a population that had scarcely increased from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Settlers in those counties had sought in a repeated pattern of resettlement new lands first in Prince George's, then Anne Arundel, and later the more western Howard County when it was formed from Anne Arundel County. Only Prince George's County, south of Annapolis, remained an important economic and sociopolitical center until the Revolution.

The established plantation and agrarian economy of Maryland which, by its very system, discouraged the development of urban areas (except for the occasional courthouse town or port of entry) was, in the last half of the eighteenth century, largely confined to southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore and not found in the less developed lands of the Western Shore and northern perimeter of the Chesapeake Bay. Western Maryland, particularly Frederick County, would be settled predominantly by people of German or Scottish-Irish origins who migrated south from Pennsylvania along the Great Eastern Road. Baltimore, although established as early as 1729, began its great period of growth and development only on the eve of the Revolution. Economically, politically, and socially, pre-Revolutionary Baltimore was neither much

related to, nor in competition with, Annapolis; its emergence and growth after the Revolution coincided with the decline of Annapolis. All of this is to indicate that the potential market for the wares of a mid-eighteenth-century Annapolis cabinetmaker was limited when compared to the opportunities afforded by larger metropolitan areas such as Philadelphia, New York, or Boston.

Perhaps the most important factor to be considered in this discussion of John Shaw, or any other contemporary Annapolis cabinetmaker, was the high volume of British goods imported to the Chesapeake Bay region. Those commercial patterns and way of life, begun in the seventeenth century, continued until trade almost ceased with the advent of the Revolution. It would undoubtedly have been easier to have furniture made by a local cabinetmaker than to order it sight unseen through a factor in London, but the truth is that the Annapolis gentry probably preferred English merchandise, and attached a certain prestige to it. If dissatisfied with the quality of the Annapolis product, they could have ventured to Philadelphia for fine furniture, but delivery by sea from a London port would have been no less trouble than overland transport from Philadelphia.

There are only a few recorded references of Annapolitans buying Philadelphia furniture. For instance, in 1783 James Nourse of Virginia rented Acton, a house built by Philip Hammond. Nourse wrote in his diary that Hammond's fiancée eloped with another man while Hammond was in Philadelphia buying furniture for his new house.⁸ An examination of Annapolis port of entry records between 1756 and 1775 reveals that relatively little furniture came to Annapolis from Newport or Boston. Windsor chairs, however, were imported from Philadelphia in quantity.⁷

On the other hand, the documentation for the importation of English furniture and other luxury household goods is staggering. Perhaps the finest colonial record of this kind is to be found in the much-quoted letter and order books of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, preserved in The New York Public Library.⁸ The orders span the years from 1771 to 1833. In 1771 a complete suite of furnishings was ordered for a room, either in the Carroll House in Annapolis or Doughoregan Manor, Howard County, that included "Two handsome gilt carved girandoles. . . One fashionable sofa and suit, of twelve chairs do[ne] in the newest taste. . . [and] Two pier glasses. . ." Also ordered at the same time was "a very good eight day clock in a neat plain mahogany case." This clock still exists; it is of a straightforward design, as are many other pieces of furniture both English and American that are known to have been owned by Carroll.⁹ His instructions to his London agent to procure furniture of a solid kind with "no superfluous carving about them" indicates Carroll's personal predilection, whether it tells us something about a more general Annapolitan taste for plainness in furnishing can only be hazarded.¹⁰ However, there is a type of surviving "Annapolis school" furniture, some of it ascribed to Shaw and Archibald Chisholm, that is indeed plain. Do these pieces represent actual commissions received by Shaw and other Annapolis cabinetmakers in the 1760's and 1770's, or were they perhaps made to fill utilitarian needs and purchased when the client could not wait for an order to be shipped from England?

What then were the furnishings of these exceptional Annapolis houses of the period, or for that matter, such important plantation houses as the Lloyds' Wye House in Talbot County on the Eastern Shore? Were they predominantly of English origin with a smattering of Annapolis-made pieces, some plain and utilitarian, and a few others of more elaborate style and finish?

In 1947 The Baltimore Museum of Art mounted an exhibition of *Baltimore Furniture: The Work of Baltimore and Annapolis Cabinetmakers from 1760 to 1810*.¹¹ As an addendum to the exhibition and the catalogue were seventeen pieces of furniture: ten chairs, five dressing tables, and two high chests, in the Chippendale style and believed to be of Maryland origin. Twenty years later, in 1968, another catalogued exhibition entitled *Maryland Queen Anne and Chippendale Furniture of the Eighteenth Century* was held at the Museum. Seventy-six pieces of furniture were included, along with revised listings of Maryland cabinetmakers and clockmakers. Regrettably, in the ensuing thirty years since the first exhibition, only a few new discoveries have been made that would allow us to attach the name of a known cabinetmaker to an existing piece of Maryland Chippendale-style furniture.¹²

The documents and records have seemingly been exhausted, but future research may perhaps refine the differences between Chippendale furniture made in Annapolis and Baltimore. The author has suggested that for a brief period just before the Revolution, there existed in Annapolis a group of craftsmen capable of creating under the supervision of a gifted cabinetmaker a piece of high-style Chippendale furniture.¹³ The master carvers and joiners who created the many splendid Annapolis interiors seem also to have lent their hands to the carving of some furniture. There are perhaps ten dressing tables and high chests that, with an equal number of chairs and a few clocks, can be said to represent this more elaborate Annapolis furniture which can be differentiated from the high-style furniture being made by Gerard Hopkins and others in Baltimore in the last decades of the eighteenth century. A high chest in the collection of The Baltimore Museum of Art typifies this small group of high-style Chippendale furniture ascribed to Annapolis.¹⁴

John Shaw had been in Annapolis for eight years before he is documented as a cabinetmaker. Because he advertised imported British furniture for sale in his shop, in the early years of collecting American furniture some antiquarians thought that his labeled furniture was of English origin. This was before the secondary woods in those pieces were analyzed and found to be of native varieties. The sideboard [cat. no. 38] made for the Randall family in 1797 has drawers whose secondary woods are white oak [often used in English cabinetmaking], but in the interior casing other indigenous woods—yellow pine and tulip poplar—are much in evidence. In 1771 he had provided James Brice, for his new house on Prince George Street, two mahogany dining tables, one dozen mahogany chairs, two card tables, and a pier glass.¹⁵ By 1772 Shaw was in partnership with fellow Annapolis cabinetmaker Archibald Chisholm, and they repaired numerous pieces of furniture for Brice. This furniture would presumably have been in the style of Thomas Chippendale.¹⁶

The earliest examples of furniture attributed to Shaw and Chisholm, or Shaw alone, and included in this exhibition are in a transitional style, moving from Chippendale to the more classical designs of George Hepplewhite; many details are also found on labeled John Shaw furniture of the 1790's. The card table (cat. no. 4) and the bookcase (cat. no. 5), probably a section of an original desk-and-bookcase, all bearing the Shaw and Chisholm label, represent the partners' earliest extant documented work (1773). In researching and assembling furniture for the exhibition, it was hoped that documented examples of John Shaw's work in the style based on the designs of Thomas Chippendale with carved ornament as well as pre-Revolutionary in date would be found. There are several possibilities based on long Annapolis provenances. A surviving pair of side chairs, obviously part of a larger set made for a member of the Chew family, West River, Anne Arundel County, has been suggested as an example of his early work.¹⁷ The carved anthemion motif found on the back splat is a recurring element in other side chairs now thought to have been made in Annapolis.¹⁸ The carved corner blocks of the front legs of the Chew family side chair are related to similarly carved corner blocks on a Pembroke table with a related provenance that has been attributed to John Shaw (cat. no. 2). But it has not been possible to substantiate the attribution of these chairs or other pieces in a variety of forms as the work of John Shaw. Furthermore, it would be an injustice to other cabinetmakers known to have been plying their trade in Maryland's capital before the Revolution.

After labels on furniture, advertisements in the *Maryland Gazette*, first published in Annapolis in 1745, are the primary sources for the identification of Annapolis cabinetmakers.¹⁹ A few more names have been gleaned from land and Probate Court records. Fewer than thirty Annapolis cabinetmakers placed notices in the *Maryland Gazette* from 1745-1810; most of these cabinetmakers advertised only once or twice, whether because they worked only a few years at their trade or moved elsewhere cannot be ascertained. In 1775, when the population of Annapolis was just 1,326 persons, only six cabinetmakers are recorded as working in Anne Arundel County: John Shaw, Archibald Chisholm, Gilbert and Joseph Middleton, Charles Belt, and William Slicer.²⁰ This meager number is not consistent with, for example, a New England port town of the same size. One must therefore assume that imported English products were still a predominant share of the furniture market.

However, in addition to Shaw, there were other cabinetmakers who seem to have been prominent, even though no surviving signed, labeled, or documented pieces can be ascribed to any of them. John Anderson, who worked in Annapolis from 1746 to 1759, advertised in the *Maryland Gazette* on October 21, 1746: "Cabinet Maker and Carver, late from *Liverpool*, makes Chairs, Tables, Desk, Bureaus, Dressing Tables, Clock cases, and all Kinds of Furniture. . . ." William Slicer first appeared in the *Maryland Gazette* on June 1, 1769, when he informed the public that he made a wide range of household articles, "all constructed in the most neat and fashionable Manner, viz. Desks, Book-Cases, Escritoirs, Bureaus, Card Chamber, Parlour and Tea-Tables, Easy-Arm, Parlour and Chamber Chairs, Corner Settees, Clock-Cases, Couches, Dumb-Waiters, Tea Boards, Bottle-Boards and Bedsteads, &c. &c. &c." Gilbert Middleton worked with both Shaw and



Fig. 17. The Chase-Lloyd House, Annapolis, begun in 1769 by Samuel Chase and finished ca. 1774 by Edward Lloyd IV, is typical of the fine town houses built in Annapolis in the 1760's and 1770's. The architects William Noke and William Buckland were responsible for its design and completion. (Photograph © M. E. Warren, Annapolis)

Chisholm in 1776.²¹ His brother or nephew Joseph continued to work as a cabinetmaker in Annapolis until at least 1794. These cabinetmakers, along with Shaw and Chisholm, and with the exception of John Anderson who died in 1759, would seem to have been responsible for the furniture believed to have been made in Annapolis in the 1760's and 1770's.

Among the other cabinetmakers working in the pre-Revolutionary period were Gamaliel Butler who first advertised in the *Maryland Gazette* of April 4, 1754, and Philip Williams, on October 12, 1769. In 1760 Henry Crouch, "CARVER, from LONDON," announced in the January 31 paper his presence in Annapolis. A mantel and ship carver, Crouch was dead by 1762 [*Maryland Gazette*, January 7, 1762], the year before Shaw's presence in the town is known. In 1769 Hercules Courtenay, another "CARVER AND GILDER FROM LONDON," had a shop in Annapolis as well as on Front Street in Philadelphia [*Maryland Gazette*, October 12, 1769].

By the 1770's few cabinetmakers, other than Shaw and Chisholm, placed advertisements in the *Maryland Gazette*. However, the newspaper for February 24, 1774, carried the following announcement:

Just imported from LONDON, and to be sold by the subscriber, A Parcel of healthy indentured servants, among which are some valuable tradesmen, consisting of carpenters, cabinet-makers, sawyers, shoemakers, blacksmiths, tailors, gunsmiths, bricklayers. . . .

Unfortunately, the names of those servants engaged in cabinetmaking were not recorded. To the extent that they would transfer styles and construction techniques from London to Annapolis, they would have had some influence on local practice. By 1783, in the tax list of the Annapolis Hundred, only Shaw and Chisholm are listed as cabinetmakers.²²

The last two decades of the eighteenth century comprised the most important period of production in the John Shaw shop. His only likely competition, except for that posed by the habitual custom of such Maryland families as the Carrolls and the Lloyds to order furniture and other household goods from abroad, was that offered by his former associate Archibald Chisholm, Joseph Middleton, and William Slicer. Joseph Middleton, the only other Annapolis cabinetmaker whose furniture labels have been found [cat. no. 13], is believed to have been trained by Shaw, for his labeled desk is very similar to Shaw's work. Only once did Middleton advertise in the *Maryland Gazette*, and then only as a cabinet and chairmaker (August 14, 1794), although he is presumed to have worked in Annapolis during the last thirty years of the century. So it would seem to be Shaw, Chisholm, and Middleton, and their trained journeymen and apprentices who were most responsible for the plain Annapolis style of furniture that persisted well into the nineteenth century.²³

The craftsmen working in Annapolis would seem to have been a versatile group. In addition to making furniture, it was not uncommon to find cabinetmakers of every economic and social stratum doing repair and carpentry work as well as engaging in other business enterprises. Such diversification enabled them to adjust to changing economic conditions. The wide range of their activities allowed them not only to supplement their incomes and contribute to the general prosperity of the cabinetmaking community, but to claim prominent places in the larger community. The climate was ripe for this sort of upward social and economic mobility in Annapolis.

Shaw's income as revealed on the 1783 tax list is comparable to the merchant John Randall's.²⁴ Chisholm's net worth was almost twice that of Shaw's in that year, perhaps because he had been established in business longer.²⁵ Shaw's prominence in the community is discussed in another section of this catalogue.

When George Washington resigned his commission as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army at Annapolis in December of 1783, furniture styles were already changing from those of Thomas Chipendale to the new neoclassic designs of George Hepplewhite and Thomas Sheraton, among others. It is in this post-Revolutionary period that John Shaw began to label the furniture produced in his shop. To date there are fifty known pieces of furniture bearing his label or

documented, of which twenty-three are included in this catalogue. On these labels, along with the often inscribed dates, there are initials which we presume to be of journeymen (or possibly apprentices) who worked in Shaw's shop. The labeled pieces of furniture exhibit characteristic designs, ornament, scale, materials, and construction techniques that have led to other firm attributions of furniture to John Shaw, his shop, or his partnership with Chisholm. Considering the declining economic importance and modest size of post-Revolutionary Annapolis, as well as the odds against survival of furniture from the late eighteenth into the twentieth century, the sheer number of extant labeled and/or attributed Shaw examples of this period is nothing short of astounding.

Newspaper advertisements and other documentary evidence, as has been noted, demonstrate the range of furniture forms produced in the Shaw shop: side, arm, and easy chairs and sofas; breakfast, card, and tea tables; sideboards, serving and dining tables; chests of drawers, desks, desk-and-bookcases, secretaries; linen presses, bedsteads, crib-bedsteads and cradles; cellarettes, billiard tables, tall case clocks, and firescreens. With the possible exception of billiard tables, this was the usual production of a large cabinetmaking shop of the period. Included in this exhibition or catalogued as firmly attributed examples are one or more of all the above mentioned forms except an easy chair, tea table, dining table, crib-bedstead or cradle, and firescreen. One wonders if the surviving numbers of a particular furniture form accurately reflect the actual stock available in Shaw's inventory. If that is the case, sideboards, side chairs, breakfast or Pembroke tables, card tables, chests of drawers, and desk-and-bookcases were certainly the preferred items, either in the numbers produced wholesale, so to speak, or to a customer's order.

The important body of extant John Shaw furniture dates from 1790-1801, and many of the pieces are labeled, dated, and initialed. Their stylistic format—plain silhouette, little or no carved ornament, repeated moldings, restrained use of inlays—underscores their conservative design. Only two pieces, a card table [cat. no. 37] labeled and dated 1796 and a desk-and-bookcase [cat. no. 51], truly reflect the new Federal style and are atypical of the Shaw shop but akin to what was being produced in Baltimore, except for the table's ovoid spade feet and molded top edge. The oval eagle inlay at the top of each table leg was probably made in Baltimore rather than Annapolis. At the inception of this exhibition it was hoped that more pieces of furniture in the true Federal style might be attributed to Shaw and thus help bridge the cabinetmaking gap between Annapolis and Baltimore. Although unfortunately none were discovered, it is possible that some examples will eventually be identified.

The inlaid bellflowers hanging from a loop that appear on each leg of the Wye House billiard table [cat. no. 52] are doubtless Baltimore in origin. A fine cylinder-fall desk-and-bookcase in the Winterthur Collection has in its cornice inlaid leaf paterae identical in all respects to the inlay in the skirt of a John Shaw sideboard table [cat. no. 24].²⁶ The inlaid eagle on the cylinder fall is closely related to that on the front of the desk Shaw is believed to have made for the Speaker of the Maryland House of Delegates [cat. no. 61]. Could this cylinder-fall desk have been made in early nineteenth-century Annapolis under the

aegis of John Shaw? Or are the identical or similar inlays only the result of Shaw's purchasing them from a Baltimore inlay maker?

Shaw, as he grew older, may have been unwilling or unable to adapt, in the early years of the new century, first to the fully developed Federal style and then to the newer Empire styles. He continued to make furniture in his earlier conservative mode. One wonders if he ever even opened a volume of Thomas Sheraton.

Yet Shaw was not unlike Annapolis at the turn of that century. The town, though still the seat of government, experienced an economic decline and was eclipsed by the new port city of Baltimore. The important Georgian houses still dominated the Annapolis cityscape and little, if any, new Federal architecture appeared. Undoubtedly some of the high-style Federal furniture that has been attributed to Baltimore was actually produced in Annapolis but, by and large, by the opening decades of the nineteenth century, Annapolis had become a stylistic backwater. The center of cabinetmaking moved west along with the population and economic power to Baltimore, dominant in its position at the head of the Chesapeake Bay.

However, John Shaw, the preeminent cabinetmaker of Annapolis, has left us a superb legacy in a body of furniture that represents the finest design and craftsmanship equal to the best in American decorative arts.

WILLIAM VOSS ELDER III

1. Lu Bartlett, "John Shaw, cabinetmaker of Annapolis," *Antiques*, Feb. 1977, p. 163.
2. Edward C. Papenfuss, *In Pursuit of Profit: The Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the American Revolution, 1763-1801* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), p. 14.
3. The building of this house and its contents is discussed in William Voss Elder III, "The Carroll House in Annapolis and Doughoregan Manor," *Anywhere So Long As There Be Freedom: Charles Carroll of Carrollton, His Family & His Maryland* (exhibition cat.), BMA, 1975.
4. Deposition of Dr. Upton Scott on the building of St. Anne's Church states that William Brown was also responsible for the carpenter's and joiner's work in Scott's house in Annapolis. Chancery Court Papers 2942, Folder No. 1, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

5. Rosamond Randall Beirne and John Henry Scarff, *William Buckland, 1714-1774: Architect of Virginia and Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1958), p. 86.
6. The diary of James Nourse, privately owned, is quoted in Rosamond Randall Beirne and Edith Rossiter Bevan, *The Hammond-Harwood House and its Owners* (Annapolis: Privately Printed, 1954), p. 15. Recent research has shown that Nourse lived at Acton, not at the Hammond-Harwood House as Beirne suggests.
7. Gregory R. Weidman, "Furnishing the museum rooms of the William Paca House," *Antiques*, Jan. 1977, p. 170.
8. The New York Public Library, Arents Collection, S0787.
9. The New York Public Library, Arents Collection, S0787, Oct. 26, 1771.

10. Other excellent documentation for the importation of English goods and furniture to America is found in the Lloyd Papers, ms. 2001, and the Letterbooks of Dr. Charles Carroll and his son Charles Carroll the Barrister, ms. 2008, both in the Maryland Historical Society. The Letterbooks of Charles Carroll the Barrister have been reprinted in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Sept. 1936 through Sept. 1943.
11. BMA, *Baltimore Furniture: The Work of Baltimore and Annapolis Cabinetmakers from 1760 to 1810*, Feb. 21-Apr. 6, 1947.
12. William Voss Elder III, BMA, *Maryland Queen Anne and Chippendale Furniture of the Eighteenth Century*, Mar. 5-Apr. 14, 1968.
13. William Voss Elder III, "Maryland furniture, 1760-1840," *Antiques*, Feb. 1977.
14. Elder, "Maryland furniture," ill. p. 356, pl. 1.
15. James Brice's Ledger, 1767-1801, M 1207, Hall of Records, Annapolis, folio 30a.

16. Bartlett, p. 363.
17. Elder, "Maryland furniture," ill. p. 355, fig. 3.
18. For examples, see *Baltimore Furniture*, pp. 174, 175, nos. 111, 112, ill.
19. The first compilation of these cabinetmakers was made by Dr. Henry I. Berkeley, "A Register of the Cabinet Makers and Allied Trades in Maryland, as Shown by the Newspapers and Directories, 1746 to 1820," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Mar. 1930.
20. Papenfuss, p. 14. The number six has been derived from advertisements and announcements in the *Maryland Gazette* and various documents in the Hall of Records, Annapolis. Because certain of the cabinetmakers mentioned advertised or are documented before and after 1775, we have assumed their work continued.
21. *Maryland Gazette*, June 20, 1776.
22. Papenfuss, p. 252.

23. William Ross, apprenticed to Shaw in 1784, advertised as a cabinet and chairmaker in the *Maryland Gazette*, June 23, 1791. William Sizer, primarily a chairmaker, also worked in Annapolis throughout the period. Other late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Annapolis cabinetmakers were John Bullen, Isaac Holland, William Seton, Henry Thompson, and Washington and William Tuck.
24. Randall had also been apprenticed in Virginia to William Buckland as a cabinetmaker-joiner (1765-1771). Luke Beckwith, "William Buckland Reconsidered: Architectural Carving in Chesapeake Maryland, 1771-1774," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, Nov. 1983, p. 44.
25. Papenfuss, pp. 257, 261.
26. Charles F. Montgomery, *American Furniture: The Federal Period* (New York: Viking Press, 1966), p. 236, ill. p. 237, fig. 194, p. 39, fig. 126.