

- Eusebius of St. Saviour Southwark ccw [citizen and weaver],” apprenticed to Mary Gabell, December 7, 1761, “Apprenticeships and Admissions to Freedom, 1737-65,” 167, Ms. 4657A/5, both Archives of the Worshipful Company of Weavers, Guildhall Library.
40. Alfred Plummer, *The London Weavers' Company, 1600-1970* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 77-78. Elizabeth Sweet also was apprenticed for thirty pounds to Mary Gabell, “Apprenticeships and Admissions to Freedom, 1737-65,” 167, Ms. 4657A/5, Archives of the Worshipful Company of Weavers, Guildhall Library.
 41. “Apprenticeships and Freedoms, 1709-21,” 29, Ms. 4657 A/3, Archives of the Worshipful Company of Weavers, Guildhall Library.
 42. “Apprenticeships and Admissions to Freedom,” 5, 7, 11, 24, 83, Ms. 4657 A/2, Archives of the Worshipful Company of Weavers, Guildhall Library.
 43. “Apprenticeships and Admissions to Freedom,” October 20, 1676, 72, Ms. 4657 A/2, Archives of the Worshipful Company of Weavers, Guildhall Library.
 44. Court Minute Book, February 12, 1721, Ms. 4655/12, Archives of the Worshipful Company of Weavers, Guildhall Library.
 45. Trial of William Eastman (1769), Proceedings of the Old Bailey, ref.: t17691206-31, www.oldbaileyonline.org.
 46. Trial of Henry Stroud, Robert Cambell, Anstis Horsford (1771), Proceedings of the Old Bailey, ref.: t17710703-59, www.oldbaileyonline.org.
 47. “The Weavers Complain against the Masters of the Hall, Tune of, *Mother Let Me Marry*,” n.d. (c. 1724-27), Calico Papers, A.1.3 No. 64, Archives of the Worshipful Company of Weavers, Guildhall Library.
 48. *Directions for the Breeding and Management of Silk-Worms. Extracted from the Treatises of the Abbe Boissier de Sauvages, and Pullein. With a Preface Giving Some Account of the Rise and Progress of the Scheme for Encouraging the Culture of Silk, in Pennsylvania, and the Adjacent Colonies* (Philadelphia, 1770), iii.
 49. Samuel Pullein, *The Silkworm: A Poem in Two Books Written by Marcus Hieronymus Vida and Translated into English* (Dublin?, 1750), 35.
 50. Sabina Ramsey, letter to the American Philosophical Society’s Silk Society. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 29, 1770.
 51. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 8, 1770.
 52. Adrienne Hood, *The Weavers Craft: Cloth, Commerce, and Industry in Early Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).

53. Cotton Mather, *Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion; or, The Character and Happiness of a Vertuous Woman: In a Discourse Which Directs the Female Sex How to Express the Fear of God in Every Age and State of Their Life; and Obtain Both Temporal and Eternal Blessedness* (Cambridge, MA, 1692), 9.
54. Deborah Norris Logan (1761-1839) describing Susanna Wright, quoted in Elizabeth Meg Schaefer et al., *Wright’s Ferry Mansion: The Collection* (Columbia, PA: Von Hess Foundation, 2005), 277.
55. See Zara Anishanslin, “Unraveling the Silk Society’s Directions for the Breeding and Management of Silk-Worms,” *Common-place* 14, no. 1 (October 2013), www.common-place.org.
56. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 29, 1770.
57. *Ibid.*
58. Quoted in Harriott Horry Ravenel, *Eliza Pinckney* (New York, 1896), 239.
59. *Ibid.*, 254.
60. *Ibid.*, 240.
61. Pullein, *The Culture of Silk*, 147.
62. *Ibid.*, 151.
63. Susan Scott Parrish, *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2006), 207; Clarissa Campbell Orr, “Queen Charlotte, ‘Scientific Queen,’ ” in *Queenship in Britain, 1660-1837: Royal Patronage, Court Culture and Dynastic Politics*, ed. Clarissa Campbell Orr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 236-66.
64. Parrish, *American Curiosity*, 207.
65. Charles Norris to Susanna Wright, April 19, 1759, quoted in Schaefer et al., *Wright’s Ferry Mansion*, 52-53.

8. Anne Shippen Willing, 1710-1791

1. Joseph Shippen to Abigail (Grosse) Shippen, Philadelphia, June 5, 1711, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 24 (1900): 259.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Shippen and Willing genealogy is taken from: Randolph Shipley Klein, *Portrait of an Early American Family: The Shippens of Pennsylvania across Five Generations* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1975); Alexander Du Bin, *Willing Family and Collateral Lines of Carroll-Chew-Dundas-Gyles-Jackson-McCall-Moore-Parsons-Shippen* (Philadelphia:

- Historical Publication Society, 1940); Shippen Papers, Edward Shippen Burd Papers, J. Francis Fisher Papers, Cadwalader Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
4. Ruth Plimpton, *Mary Dyer: Biography of a Rebel Quaker* (Boston: Branden, 1994); Adrian Davies, *The Quakers in English Society, 1655-1725* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
 5. Du Bin, *Willing Family and Collateral Lines of Carroll-Chew-Dundas-Gyles-Jackson-McCall-Moore-Parsons-Shippen*, 4.
 6. Will of Edward Shippen, dated "6mo 2 1712," proved August 5, 1712, Department of Records, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Cathryn J. McElroy, "Furniture in Philadelphia: The First Fifty Years," *Winterthur Portfolio*, vol. 13, *American Furniture and Its Makers* (1979): 61-80. On Quaker consumption and display, see Emma Jones Lapsansky and Anne A. Verplanck, eds., *Quaker Aesthetics: Reflections on a Quaker Ethic in American Design and Consumption* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).
 7. Peter Cooper, *The South East Prospect of the City of Philadelphia*, circa 1720, Library Company of Philadelphia.
 8. Mary Maples Dunn and Richard Dunn, "The Founding, 1681-1701," in *Philadelphia: A 300 Year History*, ed. Russell Frank Weigley (New York: Norton, 1982), 11. On Philadelphia's social and material development over time, see George W. Boudreau, *Independence: A Guide to Historic Philadelphia* (Yardley, PA: Westholme, 2012).
 9. Thomas Holme, *Portraiture of the City of Philadelphia* (London, 1683).
 10. Francis Daniel Pastorius, *Umständige geographische Beschreibung der allerletzt erfundenen Provinz Pennsylvania* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1700), trans. as *Circumstantial Geographical Description of the Lately Discovered Province of Pennsylvania, Situated in the Farthest Limits of America, in the Western World in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707*, ed. Albert Cook Myers (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), 360-411.
 11. Franz Louis Michel to John Rudolf Ochs, May 20-30, 1704, in William J. Hinke, ed. and trans., "Letters Regarding the Second Journey of Michel to America, February 14, 1703 to January 16, 1704, and His Stay in America till 1708," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 24, no. 1 (January 1916): 294.
 12. "Wilderness" is put in quotation marks on the first mention to denote that although colonists so termed the land around Philadelphia, it was, in fact, no such thing. On relationships between Native Americans and early

- European American colonists in Pennsylvania, see Peter Rhoads Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York: Norton, 2008); James Hart Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: Norton, 1999); and William A. Pencak and Daniel K. Richter, eds., *Friends and Enemies in Penn's Woods: Indians, Colonists, and the Racial Construction of Pennsylvania* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2004).
13. Gottlieb Mittelberger, *Journey to Pennsylvania in the Year 1750, and Return to Germany in the Year 1754: Containing Not Only a Description of the Country According to Its Present Condition, but Also a Detailed Account of the Sad and Unfortunate Circumstances of Most of the Germans That Have Emigrated, or Are Emigrating to That Country*, trans. Carl Theodor Eben (Philadelphia, 1898), 49-50.
 14. Franz Louis Michel to John Rudolf Ochs, May 20-30, 1704, in Hinke, ed. and trans., "Letters Regarding the Second Journey of Michel to America," 294.
 15. Pastorius, *Circumstantial Geographical Description*, 381.
 16. Alexander Hamilton, *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744*, ed. Carl Bridenbaugh (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1948), 20.
 17. Roberdeau Buchanan, *Genealogy of the Descendents of Dr. William Shippen: The Elder, of Philadelphia; Member of the Continental Congress* (Washington, DC, 1877), 4.
 18. See, for example, correspondence between Shippens, Willings, and Greenoughs, in the David Stoddard Greenough Papers, Ms. N-1335, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
 19. Klein, *Portrait of an Early American Family*, 37; Edgar P. Richardson, *American Paintings and Related Pictures in the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1986), 28.
 20. Pastorius, *Circumstantial Geographical Description*, 381.
 21. Stephen Hague, *The Gentleman's House in the British Atlantic World, 1680-1780* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
 22. Jasper Yeates remembering Edward Shippen in 1764, quoted in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 24 (1900): 266.
 23. S. N., *A Concordance to the Holy Scriptures: With the Various Readings Both in Text and Margine. In a More Exact Manner Than Hath Hitherto Been Extant*

- (Cambridge: John Field, 1662), copy signed "Edward Shippens Book" and then "Ann Story" and "Ann Shippen," Library Company of Philadelphia.
24. Charles Willing, Will, dated July 28, 1750, proved 1754, will no. 146, Department of Records, Philadelphia.
 25. "Bond of William Hellier," box 2, Willing Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
 26. William Shippen to Thomas Willing, London, July 3, 1773, box 5, Willing Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
 27. Howard C. Rice Jr., ed. and transl., *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782 by the Marquis de Chastellux* (1786; reprint Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 134.
 28. Elizabeth Willing Powel to Mrs. William Fitzhugh, July 1786, quoted in David W. Maxey, "A Portrait of Elizabeth Willing Powel (1743-1830)," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 96, no. 4 (July 1, 2006).
 29. [Sir Richard Steele], *The Ladies Library*, 4th edn., vol. 2 (London, 1732), 22, 84.
 30. *Ibid.*, 116.
 31. On the political acumen and salon-like sociability of Anne Shippen Willing's daughters and granddaughters, see Susan Branson, *Those Fiery Frenchified Dames: Women and Political Culture in Early National Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *This Violent Empire: The Birth of an American National Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2010); Amy Hudson Henderson, "Furnishing the Republican Court: Building and Decorating Philadelphia Homes, 1790-1800" (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 2008).
 32. Anne Shippen Willing, "aged 28 years," baptized with son Charles, "aged five weeks," July 6, 1738, Register Book of Christ Church (Philadelphia), Marriage, Christenings and Burials I (Jan. 1, 1719-March 1750), 142, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
 33. Thomas Willing was made a burgess of Bristol on April 18, 1700, listing his occupation as mercer. In order to trade in Bristol, he would have had to become a burgess, suggesting his arrival in Bristol at that time. He was named as the patron of his son Charles, who became a burgess on August 3, 1731. Bristol Archives, electronic correspondence with the author, August 28, 2014.
 34. Hamilton, *Gentleman's Progress*, 193.

35. Thomas M. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1986); Charles Rappleye, *Robert Morris: Financier of the American Revolution* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2010); Burton Alva Konkle, *Thomas Willing and the First American Financial System* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937).
36. George Webb, "A Memorial to William Penn," in *The Genuine Leeds Almanack for the Year of Christian Account 1730* (Philadelphia, 1729). The poem is written throughout the almanac, with monthly pages as stanza headings.
37. Jessica Choppin Roney, *Governed by a Spirit of Opposition: The Origins of American Political Practice in Colonial Philadelphia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014).
38. Biography of Charles Willing, Founder and Trustee, 1740-49, University Archives, University of Pennsylvania, http://www.archives.upenn.edu/people/1700s/willing_chas.html; Charles Willing, Will.
39. Charles Willing to Thomas Greenough, February 1744, David Stoddard Greenough Papers, Ms. N-1335, box 4, Massachusetts Historical Society. On fertility and nursing patterns, see Susan E. Klepp, *Revolutionary Conceptions: Women, Fertility, and Family Limitation in America, 1760-1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).
40. Gary B. Nash, "Slaves and Slave Owners in Colonial Philadelphia," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 30 (April 1973): 223-56.
41. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 25, November 26, 1747.
42. Elizabeth Willing Powel, Will, May 22, 1819, Department of Records, Philadelphia; Mary Willing Byrd, Will, dated December 1813, transcribed in "The Will of Mrs. Mary Willing Byrd, of Westover, 1813, with a List of the Westover Portraits," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 6, no. 4 (April 1899): 348-354; advertisement for runaway slave, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 7, 1772.
43. "Copies of Memorandums Made by Matthew Pratt. In His Own Handwriting, and Given to Thomas Pratt, His Son, Being Incidents in the Family History. North America. Philda," in William Sewitzky, *Matthew Pratt: 1734-1805: A Study of His Work* (New York: New-York Historical Society, and Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1942), 20.
44. Charles Willson Peale, *Anne Shippen (Mrs. Charles) Willing*, c. 1772, Historical Society of Pennsylvania Collection, Atwater Kent Museum of

- Philadelphia History, Philadelphia; unknown maker, *A Representation of the Figures Exhibited and Paraded through the Streets of Philadelphia, on Saturday, the 30th of September, 1780*, pdcc00154, Historical Images of Philadelphia Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia.
45. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise*.
 46. Karin Wulf, *Not All Wives: Women of Colonial Philadelphia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000).
 47. Kathleen Wilson, *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 18-19.
 48. T. H. Breen, "The Meaning of 'Likeness': American Portrait Painting in an Eighteenth-Century Consumer Society," *Word and Image* 6 (Oct.-Dec. 1990): 325-50.
 49. See Aileen Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France, 1750 to 1820* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995); Ribeiro, *A Visual History of Costume in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Drama Book Publishers, 1983); Claudia Brush Kidwell, "Are Those Clothes Real? Transforming the Way Eighteenth-Century Portraits Are Studied," *Dress* 24 (1997): 3-15; Margaretta Lovell, *Art in a Season of Revolution: Painters, Artisans, and Patrons in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); and Ellen G. Miles, ed., *The Portrait in Eighteenth-Century America* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1993).
 50. Thomas Bluett, *Some Memoirs of the Life of Job, the Son of Solomon the High Priest of Boonda in Africa* (London, 1734), 10.
 51. Marcia Pointon, "Slavery and the Possibilities of Portraiture," in *Slave Portraiture in the Atlantic World*, ed. Agnes Lugo-Ortiz and Angela Rosenthal (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 41-69.
 52. In my analysis of 450 portraits of men and women painted by Charles Willson Peale, only 26 sitters, or slightly over 5%, wear patterned fabrics.
 53. John Singleton Copley, *Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Winslow, 1773*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
 54. Margaretta Lovell, "Copley and the Case of the Blue Dress," *Yale Journal of Criticism* 11, no. 1 (1998): 53-67.
 55. Sophia Cadwalader, *The Recollections of Joshua Francis Fisher* (N.p.: Privately printed, 1929), 86-87.
 56. Peale, *Anne Shippen (Mrs. Charles) Willing*; Matthew Pratt, *Anne Shippen (Mrs. Charles) Willing, 1786*, Philadelphia Landmarks Commission, Powel House, Philadelphia.

57. I am again indebted to Clare Brown of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London for the identification of this lace, which she believes is bobbin lace like that made in southern Netherlands, northern France, and England. Brown, electronic correspondence with the author, April 23, 2008.
 58. These portraits include ones by Robert Feke, Gustavus Hesselius, Matthew Pratt, and Charles Willson Peale.
 59. Kate Retford, "Patrilineal Portraiture? Gender and Genealogy in the Eighteenth-Century English Country House," in *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830*, ed. John Styles and Amanda Vickery (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press for the Yale Center for British Art and the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2006), 315-44.
 60. For the history of a colonial American woman merchant, see Patricia Cleary, *Elizabeth Murray: A Woman's Pursuit of Independence in Eighteenth-Century America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000).
 61. Thomas Bulfinch to Katherine Cooper, London, December 31, 1757, Bulfinch Family Papers, Ms. N-1960, box 1 (1720-1923), Massachusetts Historical Society.
 62. Benjamin Franklin to Deborah Read Franklin, February 19, 1758, www.franklinpapers.org.
 63. Thomas Willing to Anne Willing, October 31, 1754, J. Francis Fisher Papers, box 10 (misc.), folder 8, Cadwalader Collection, series IX, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
 64. For women's roles in furnishing early American households, see Amy Hudson Henderson, "A Family Affair: The Design and Decoration of 321 South Fourth Street," in Styles and Vickery, eds., *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America*, 267-91, and Henderson, "Furnishing the Republican Court."
9. "As I Am an American"
1. Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, May 3, 1749, Philadelphia Dancing Assembly Records, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Edward H. Hart, *Andrew Elliot's Philadelphia Odyssey: His Early Years, 1728-1764: The Story of a Young Scottish Merchant in America on His Way to Becoming a Royal Officer* (Unionville, NY: Royal Fireworks Press, 2001),

- 42-45, 3-4; Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, May 3, 1749, Philadelphia Dancing Assembly Records, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
4. Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, May 3, 1749, Philadelphia Dancing Assembly Records, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
 5. Joseph Shippen, Will, proved June 13, 1741, Department of Records, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, records his daughter's wealth.
 6. Bernard L. Herman, *Town House: Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780-1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2005), 38.
 7. Ibid.
 8. Feke also signed a portrait of Philadelphian Tench Francis Sr. (whose son later married Anne and Charles Willings' oldest daughter, Anne), that year. Of the approximately sixty known Fekes, the painter signed his name to only eleven accepted as genuine (his name is written on the back of two more).
 9. R. Peter Mooz, "The Art of Robert Feke" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1970), 57.
 10. Robert Feke, *Mrs. Benjamin Lynde (Mary Goodridge)*, 1748, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.
 11. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 2, 1752.
 12. Philip Livingston to Samuel Storke, December 5, 1739, Livingston Correspondence, Misc. Mss. V. 5, 99, New York State Library, Albany, NY.
 13. "Anna Maria Garthwaite" listed in *The Names and Descriptions of the Proprietors of Unclaimed Dividends on the Publick Funds, Transferrable at the South-Sea House: Which Became Due before the 31st December 1780, and Remained Unpaid the 31st of December 1790. With the Dates When the First Dividends Respectively Became Payable, and the Number of Dividends Due Published by Order of the Court of Directors of the South Sea Company* (London, 1791).
 14. Peter Baynton to Walter Nisbet, June 2, 1725, Peter Baynton Ledger and Letter Book, 1721-26, Ms. 907, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
 15. Natalie Rothstein, *Silk Designs in the Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London* (Boston: Bulfinch Press for the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1990), 320; Natalie Rothstein, "Silks for the American Market: 2," *The Connoisseur*, American edn. (Nov. 1967): 93.
 16. See, for example, T.391-1971, 21, 85, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
 17. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 8, 1741.

18. Advertisements by William Hopton and Thomas Smith, *South Carolina Gazette*, September 20, 1742.
19. See Jonathan P. Eacott, "Making an Imperial Compromise: The Calico Acts, the Atlantic Colonies, and the Structure of the British Empire," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 69 (October 2012): 731-62.
20. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 19, 1742; May 23, 1754.
21. Susan Klepp, "Revolutionary Bodies: Women and the Fertility Tradition in the Mid-Atlantic Region, 1760-1820," *Journal of American History* 85, no. 3 (December 1998): 910-945.
22. The Willings' eighth child, Abigail, was born in 1747.
23. The concept of creole in its eighteenth-century sense (a person of European or African descent born in the colonies) is useful for someone like Anne Shippen Willing, born in colonial North America. Susan Scott Parrish argues the same in *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2006), 16-17. On creole societies as potential sites of promise and/or degeneracy, see Christopher P. Iannini, *Fatal Revolutions: Natural History, West Indian Slavery, and the Routes of American Literature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2012); John Smolenski, *Friends and Strangers: The Making of a Creole Culture in Colonial Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); Leonard Sadosky et al., *Old World, New World: America and Europe in the Age of Jefferson* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010); and Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).
24. Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1993), 164.
25. Kimberly Alexander, *Georgian Shoe Stories from Colonial America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, forthcoming).
26. Peter Kalm, *Travels in North America: The English Version of 1770*, ed. Adolph B. Benson (New York: Wilson-Erickson, 1937).
27. *The Female Spectator*, vol. 4 (London, 1758), 47.
28. Robert Feke, *Mary Ward Flagg*, ca. 1749-50, oil on canvas, Redwood Library and Athanaeum, Newport, RI; Robert Feke, *Hermione Pelham (Mrs. John) Banister*, 1748, Detroit Institute of Arts.

29. Marion Tinling, ed., *The Correspondence of the Three William Byrds of Westover, Virginia 1684-1776*, vol. 1 (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press for the Virginia Historical Society, 1977), 341-42.
30. John Custis Letterbook, cited in Peter Martin, "Long and Assiduous Endeavors," in *British and American Gardens in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Robert P. Maccubbin and Peter Martin (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1984), 93-106.
31. *The Female Spectator*, vol. 4, 46; Charles Bridges, *John Custis IV*, 1735, Washington-Custis-Lee Collection, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, VA; Ivor Noël Hume, "Custis Square: The Williamsburg Home and Garden of a Very Curious Gentleman," *Colonial Williamsburg* 16, no. 4 (Summer 1994): 12-26.
32. Parrish, *American Curiosity*; Charles W. J. Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment: Thinking Geographically about the Age of Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).
33. Kalm, *Travels in North America*, 106.
34. Martha Logan to John Bartram, September 16, 1764, Gratz Collection, box 20, case 7, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
35. Gabriel Thomas, *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pennsylvania* (London, 1698), 43; Elizabeth McLean, "Town and Country Gardens in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," in Maccubbin and Martin, eds., *British and American Gardens*, 136-47.
36. Edward Shippen III to Edward Shippen IV, July 15, 1754, Shippen Papers, BSh62, 1753-61, American Philosophical Society.
37. See Peter Rhoads Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York: Norton, 2008); James Hart Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: Norton, 1999); and Joseph Solomon Walton, *Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Company, 1900).
38. William Allen witnessed the fight. Allen's recollection is cited in Norman S. Cohen, "The Philadelphia Election Riot of 1742," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 92, no. 3 (July 1968): 306-19, 313.
39. Patrick Spero, "Creating Pennsylvania: The Politics of the Frontier and the State, 1682-1800" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2009).
40. Anne Willing Francis to Thomas Willing, July 18, 1754, in Sophia Cadwalader, *The Recollections of Joshua Francis Fisher* (N.p.: Privately printed, 1929), 83.

41. Charles Willing to Thomas Willing, October [n.d.], 1754, Willing and Morris Letterbook, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
42. Anne Willing to Thomas Willing, March 23, 1750, J. Francis Fisher Papers, box 10, folder 8, Cadwalader Collection, series IX, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Her father, Charles Willing, also found this moniker appropriate, for he used the terms "Merchant and Indian" to refer to his son Thomas and daughter Anne in a letter he wrote to Thomas Willing, Philadelphia, August 6, 1754, Willing and Morris Letterbook, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
43. Anne Willing to Thomas Willing, March 23, 1750, J. Francis Fisher Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
44. Parrish, *American Curiosity*, 205-8.
45. Kenneth A. Lockridge, "Overcoming Nausea: The Brothers Hesselius and the American Mystery," *Common-place* 4, no. 2 (Jan. 2004), www.common-place.org.
46. The location of the Hesselius portraits of the Willings bequeathed in Charles Willing's will is unknown. Charles Willing, Will, dated July 28, 1750, proved 1754, will no. 146, Department of Records, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
47. Gustavus Hesselius, *Lapowinska*, 1735, and *Tishcohan*, 1735, both in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Collection, Atwater Kent Museum of Philadelphia History, Philadelphia.

10. *Hanging the Portrait*

1. Deed of sale, Edward Shippen, gentleman, to Charles Willing, merchant, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, January 13, 1745, Indenture Deed Book G #9, 25, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
2. The location of Robert Feke's 1746 portrait of Charles Willing (if it survives) is unknown. Feke, *Anne Shippen (Mrs. Charles) Willing*, 1746, 1969.0134 A, Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, DE.
3. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 3, 1747.
4. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 25, 1747.
5. The Willing Mansion is no longer extant. See a conjectural floorplan of it in George B. Tatum, *Philadelphia Georgian: The City House of Samuel Powel and Some of Its Eighteenth-Century Neighbors* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1976), 56; a photograph of the facade from the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 46 (1922): 9; John Glavin,

- "The Willing Mansion Historic Structure Report," Historic House Report, HHR2001.12, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia; and Inventory of Thomas Willing Estate, February 1821, Willing Family Papers, Balch Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The Willings' move to the house was announced in advertisements in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 3, 1747, and October 1, 1747.
6. Isaac Ware, *A Complete Book of Architecture* (London, 1767), 345-46, cited in Tatum, *Philadelphia Georgian*, 57. Ware's book was first published in 1735-36.
 7. Bernard L. Herman, *Town House: Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780-1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2005), 106.
 8. "Explanation of the Draughts of a House Proposed for a Merchant," dated 1724, bound into "Sir John Vanburgh's Designs for Kings Weston," Ref. 3 3746, Bristol Record Office, quoted in John Bold, "The Design of a House for a Merchant, 1724," *Architectural History* 33 (1990): 75-82, 79 (quotation).
 9. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 18, 1748.
 10. Inventory of Thomas Willing Estate, February 1821, Willing Family Papers, Balch Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
 11. For discussion of such different living spaces, and urban slavery in particular, see Gary B. Nash, "Slaves and Slave Owners in Colonial Philadelphia," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 30 (April 1973): 223-56; Maurie McInnis, "Raphaëlle Peale's *Still Life with Oranges*," in *Material Culture in Anglo-America: Regional Identity and Urbanity in the Tidewater, Lowcountry, and Caribbean*, ed. David S. Shields (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2009), 310-27; Bernard L. Herman, "Slaves and Servant Housing in Charleston, 1770-1820," *Historical Archaeology* 33 (1999): 88-101; Joyce D. Goodfriend, "Slavery in Colonial New York City," *Urban History* 35, no. 3 (2008): 485-96; Billy G. Smith, "Black Family Life in Philadelphia from Slavery to Freedom," in *Shaping a National Culture: The Philadelphia Experience, 1750-1820*, ed. Catherine E. Hutchins (Winterthur, DE: Winterthur Museum, 1994), 77-98; Edward T. Lawler Jr., "The President's House in Philadelphia: The Rediscovery of a Lost Landmark," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 126, no. 1 (January 2002): 5-95; and Denis J. Pogue, "Interpreting the Dimensions of Daily Life for the Slaves Living at the President's House and at Mount Vernon."

- Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 129, no. 4 (October 2005): 433-43.
12. Herman, *Town House*, 108.
 13. Fire insurance surveys exist for the Willing Mansion, 228 South Third Street, from 1762, 1810, and 1821, reproduced in Adam J. Kristol, Historic House Report, Willing House, HHR88.19, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia.
 14. Edward Shippen III to Edward Shippen IV, July 15, 1754, Shippen Papers, BSh62, 1753-61, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.
 15. I examined this desk when it was owned by Philip Bradley Antiques. My thanks to George Boudreau for accompanying me on the antiques hunt.
 16. Jennifer L. Anderson, *Mahogany: The Costs of Luxury in Early America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).
 17. Helen Park, "A List of Architectural Books Available in America before the Revolution," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 20, no. 3 (October 1961).
 18. Beatrice Garvan, *Philadelphia: Three Centuries of American Art* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1976), 11-12, 41-42; Edgar Wolf and Robert C. Smith, "A Press for Penn's Pump," *Art Quarterly* (Autumn 1961): 226-48.
 19. Herman, *Town House*.
 20. All quotations in this paragraph are from the letter of Charles Willing to John Wallis, Philadelphia, November 6, 1754, Willing and Morris Letterbook, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
 21. David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Herman, *Town House*.
 22. Stephen Hague, *The Gentleman's House in the British Atlantic World, 1680-1780* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
 23. Walter Ison, *The Georgian Buildings of Bristol* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952), 49.
 24. *Ibid.*, 24.
 25. Michael Jenner, "Mature Palladianism," in Andor Harvey Gomme et al., *Bristol: An Architectural History* (London: Lund Humphries, 1979), 143-62; Gordon Priest, *The Paty Family: Makers of Eighteenth-Century Bristol* (Bristol: Redcliffe Press, 2003); Eric Gollanek, "Empire Follows Art: Exchange and the Sensory Worlds of Empire in Britain and Its Colonies, 1740-1775" (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 2008).
 26. Gollanek, "Empire Follows Art."

27. *Ibid.*, 74.
28. *American Weekly Mercury*, January 25–February 3, 1743/4.
29. Thomas Willing to John Perks, December 25, 1754, Willing and Morris Letterbook, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
30. Thomas M. Doerffinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1986), 128.
31. "Reminiscences of Thomas Willing," February 4, 1786, Willing Family Papers, Collection 1521, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
32. The town in England is spelled without a "t" (Lichfield), but in eighteenth-century American use, it generally was spelled improperly (with the t in place, as "Litchfield").
33. Elizabeth Graeme Fergusson, "A Willing Commonplace Book," 1787–89, Manuscript Group 366, Graeme Parke Collection, 1743–1918, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Graeme Park, Horsham, PA. On Fergusson and the Lichfield willow, see Susan Stabile, *Memory's Daughters: The Material Culture of Remembrance in Eighteenth-Century America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004).
34. Charles Willing to Robert Hibbert, Philadelphia, July 30, 1754, Willing and Morris Letterbook, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
35. Jacques Bisson, *Anne Harrison (Mrs. Thomas) Willing, 1730–50*, Philadelphia Landmarks Commission.
36. See Herman, "Slaves and Servant Housing in Charleston"; Graham Russell Hodges, *Root and Branch: African Americans in New York and East Jersey, 1613–1863* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); and Leslie M. Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626–1863* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).
37. Tamara J. Walker, " 'He Outfitted His Family in Notable Decency': Slavery, Honor, and Dress in Eighteenth-Century Lima, Peru," *Slavery and Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies* 30, no. 3 (September 2009): 383–402, 391 (quotation); Natalie Zacek, "Rituals of Rulership," in Shields, ed., *Material Culture in Anglo-America*, 123.
38. Edward Shippen, Will, 1712, Liber C, folio 303, Department of Records, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
39. Thomas Willing to Coddington Carrington, August 4, 1756, Willing and Morris Letterbook, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

40. Charles Willing to Thomas Greenough, February 21, 1754, David Stoddard Greenough Papers, Ms. N-1335, box 5, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
41. Christina Snyder finds that black Seminoles at times purposely chose to perpetuate what we would assume were demeaning names like Pompey and Caesar. Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 234.
42. Toby L. Ditz, "Secret Selves, Credible Personas: The Problematics of Trust and Public Display in the Writing of Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia Merchants," in *Possible Pasts: Becoming Colonial in Early America*, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), 219–42.
43. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 5, 1750/51. Gary B. Nash discusses the reprint of the codes in *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720–1840* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 35–36.
44. Jill Lepore, *New York Burning: Liberty, Slavery, and Conspiracy in Eighteenth-Century Manhattan* (New York: Knopf, 2005).

11. *Emulating Colonists*

1. Unknown artist, *Mary Gray Newland Shippen*, c. 1750, no. 69.115, Newark Museum, Newark, NJ. The exact date of the portrait is unknown; though it is given as c. 1750 by the Newark Museum, it could have been commissioned as early as 1747. Its provenance makes it evident that the Edward Shippens themselves owned it.
2. Edward Shippen to James Logan, December 5, 1747, Shippen Papers, vol. 10, p. 3, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
3. *Ibid.*; Randolph Shipley Klein, *Portrait of an Early American Family: The Shippens of Pennsylvania across Five Generations* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975), 70–73.
4. Martha Gandy Fales, *Jewelry in America, 1600–1900* (New York: Antique Collectors' Club, 1995), 39–44.
5. See Margaretta Lovell, "Copley and the Case of the Blue Dress," *Yale Journal of Criticism* 11, no. 1 (1998): 53–67, and "The Empirical Eye: Copley's Women and the Case of the Blue Dress," in *Art in a Season of Revolution: Painters, Artisans, and Patrons in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 49–93.

6. See Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), and T. H. Breen, "Baubles of Britain: The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present* 119 (May 1988): 73-104.
7. Silk dress, fabric designed by Anna Maria Garthwaite and woven by Mr. Pulley, Spitalfields, England, 1742-43, altered c. 1840, originally owned by Christina Ten Broeck Livingston, 1944.60.1, Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, NY.
8. Cynthia A. Kierner, *Traders and Gentlefolk: The Livingstons of New York, 1675-1790* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992). Information on the Livingston dress is taken from the Smithsonian Object Files held at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, which has a Spitalfields silk taffeta dress made from the same silk design, with an ivory rather than a yellow ground. Like the Livingston dress, this one, designed in 1755 after a Garthwaite design, was originally worn in the eighteenth century and survived, passed along the generations. Both gowns were made from a 1742 Garthwaite design, no. 5981.10, Victoria and Albert Museum. Natalie Rothstein, *Silk Designs of the Eighteenth Century in the Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London* (Boston: Bulfinch Press for the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1990), 22. The pink silk with English provenance is at the Victoria and Albert Museum; the silk with Irish provenance is at the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin. Rothstein, *Silk Designs of the Eighteenth Century*, 47-48.
9. T.264-1966, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, a 1744 Garthwaite flowered silk design of British provenance, was altered in the 1780s so clumsily that curators suggest it was handed down to a maid. On second-hand clothing and class, see Beverly Lemire, "Consumerism in Preindustrial and Early Industrial England: The Trade in Secondhand Clothes," *Journal of British Studies* 27, no. 1 (January 1988): 1-24; John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).
10. Barry Schwartz, "The Social Psychology of the Gift," in *The Gift: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*, ed. Aafke E. Komter (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996).
11. William I. Roberts III, "Samuel Storke: An Eighteenth-Century London Merchant Trading to the American Colonies," *Business History Review* 39, no. 2 (Summer 1965): 147-70.
12. Aafke E. Komter, "Women, Gifts and Power," in Komter, ed., *The Gift*, 119-31; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "Hannah Barnard's Cupboard: Female Property

- and Identity in Eighteenth-Century New England," in *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America*, ed. Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel, and Frederika J. Teute (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1997), 238-73.
13. Margaretta Lovell, "Reading Eighteenth-Century American Family Portraits: Social Images and Self-Images," *Winterthur Portfolio* 22 (Winter 1987): 243-64.
14. Paula Findlen, "Commerce, Art, and Science in the Early Modern Cabinet of Curiosities," in *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen (New York: Routledge, 2002), 297-32.
15. Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, transl. Robin D. G. Kelley (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000); Susan Scott Parrish, *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2006), 9-10.
16. See Margaretta Lovell's lovely discourse on "visual quotation" in *Art in a Season of Revolution*, 77.
17. Kate Retford, "Patrilineal Portraiture? Gender and Genealogy in the Eighteenth-Century English Country House," in *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830*, ed. John Styles and Amanda Vickery (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press for the Yale Center for British Art and the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2006), 315-44; Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1993).
18. Edward Shippen to Thomas Willing, January 11, 1754, Edward Shippen Papers, B Sh62 (1753-61), American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.
19. On ideas about the threat of Native American violence in mid-eighteenth century western Pennsylvania, see Peter Rhoads Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York: Norton, 2008); James Hart Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: Norton, 1999); and William A. Pencak and Daniel K. Richter, eds., *Friends and Enemies in Penn's Woods: Indians, Colonists, and the Racial Construction of Pennsylvania* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2004).

20. Joseph Highmore, *Caroline Wilhelmina of Brandenburg-Ansbach*, 1727 or after, NPG D7913, National Portrait Gallery, London.
21. Valerie Steele, *The Fan: Fashion and Femininity Unfolded* (New York: Rizzoli, 2002), 9-14.
22. Pierre Rameau, *The Dancing-Master; or, The Art of Dancing Explained, Done from the French by J. Essex, Dancing Master* (London, 1744), 28.
23. David S. Shields, *Civil Tongues and Polite Letters in British America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1997), 145-58.
24. For discussion of the political ramifications of this cultural phenomenon, see Brendan McConville, *The King's Three Faces: The Rise and Fall of Royal America, 1688-1776* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).
25. Philadelphia Monthly Meeting Records, vol. 3, 1730-85, 145-46, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
26. Samuel Coates, "The Case of Hannah Lewis," in "Memorandum Book," 1, 3, American Philosophical Society.
27. *Ibid.*, 12, 7-8.
28. *Ibid.*, 12.
29. Edwin B. Bronner, "Quaker Landmarks in Early Philadelphia," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, new ser., 43, no. 1 (1953): 210-16. See also Nicholas Scull, *Map of Philadelphia*, 1762, and Philadelphia Monthly Meeting Records: Abstracts of Minutes, "22nd of 12th month 1750," 188, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
30. John Van Der Kiste, *King George II and Queen Caroline* (Stroud, UK: Sutton, 1997), 11; Christine Gerrard, "Queens-in-Waiting: Caroline of Anspach and Augusta of Saxe-Gotha as Princesses of Wales," in *Queenship in Britain, 1660-1837: Royal Patronage, Court Culture and Dynastic Politics*, ed. Clarissa Campbell Orr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 143-61; McConville, *The King's Three Faces*, 66.
31. "The Pictures of their Majesties King George II and Queen Caroline, beautifully drawn at length," announced in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 5, 1730.
32. Isaac Cousteil, "Woman's Prerogative: A Poem," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 28, 1737.
33. S. J. Shrubsole, *The Shippen Tankard* (New York: S. J. Shrubsole, 2008), has images of the tankard. Meyrick advertised his Philadelphia business in *American Weekly Mercury*, November 27, 1729. Anne Shippen Willing's old-

- est daughter, Anne, described it as "my small silver Tankard which has my invaluable mothers name on it." Anne Willing Francis, Will of 1812, Philadelphia, J. Francis Fisher Papers, Cadwalader Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
 34. The medallion portraits of the king and queen on the tankard are after engravings by Pieter van Gunst: *George II. King, of Great Britain France, and Ireland &c.*, c. 1727-31, RCIN 603827, and *Queen Caroline*, c. 1716-27, RCIN 603921, both Royal Collection Trust, London.
 35. An extremely useful distinction between "creole" and "hybrid" as the terms relate to colonial self-fashioning is in Robert Blair St. George's introduction in *Possible Pasts: Becoming Colonial in Early America*, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), 1-32. Early Americans at times felt positive about their creole identity, rather than merely fearful of its potential degeneracy. Cotton Mather, for example, described Harvard graduates as "shining criolians," quoted in John Szwed, "Measures of Incommensurability," in *Creolization as Cultural Creativity*, ed. Robert Baron and Ana Car (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2011), 20-31. I am indebted to Robert Baron for the reference.
 36. Gale Glynn, "Richard Meyrick: An English Engraver Working in Philadelphia," *Silver Studies* 19 (2005): 68; Frederick Bloemaert, *The Four Elements*, P8942, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
12. *Robert Feke, c. 1707-c. 1751*
1. Editor's note following the letter, "On an Academy for Drawing," *Gentlemen's Magazine*, July 1749, 319.
 2. Malachy Posthlethwayt, *The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce Translated from the French of the Celebrated Monsieur Savary* (London, 1751), 736.
 3. Alexander Hamilton, *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744*, ed. Carl Bridenbaugh (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1948), 101-2.
 4. Wayne Craven, *Colonial American Portraiture: The Economic, Religious, Social, Cultural, Philosophical, Scientific, and Aesthetic Foundations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 281.
 5. A note on Feke's presumed literacy: we can reasonably conjecture about his literacy based on his signature in Long Island survey records and on his

portraits, and his family's long history of literacy. There is no reason to think that Robert Feke the painter, son of a literate Protestant minister, was not taught to read and write like his father and generations of Fekes before them. In terms of his date of decease, in 1751, he was present at a Newport wedding. "Marriage Record of Joseph Cozzens, Son of Leonard Cozzens and Margaret, His Wife . . . (29th Day of the Sixth Month Called August in the Year 1751)," Friends Records no. 825, "The Marriages of Friends in Rhode Island Coloney with Some of Plimoth Colony in Dartmouth," 201, Vault A, Newport Historical Society, Newport, RI. By 1767, when his daughters listed him as a deceased mariner at their dual wedding, he had certainly died, but where and when is not certain. "Marriage of Phila and Sarah Feke," recorded in Friends Records no. 825, "The Marriages of Friends in Rhode Island Coloney with Some of Plimoth Colony in Dartmouth," October 15, 1767, Vault A, Newport Historical Society. Family lore about his career, life, and death is recorded in Feke Folder, Newport Historical Society; see especially the letter of March 6, 1879, from Ellen Townsend to "My dear brother" that says he died in Bermuda. Other biographical information on Feke (of varying degrees of verifiability) is found in William Carey Poland, *Robert Feke, the Early Newport Portrait Painter and the Beginnings of Colonial Painting* (Providence: Rhode Island Historical Society, 1907); W. Phoenix Belknap, "The Identity of Robert Feke," *Art Bulletin* 29, no. 3 (September 1947): 201-7; R. Peter Mooz, "The Art of Robert Feke" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1970); Henry Wilder Foote, *Robert Feke: Colonial Portrait Painter* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930); Mooz, "Colonial Art," in *The Genius of American Painting*, ed. John Wilmerding (New York: William Morrow, 1973), 1-80; and Mooz, "Robert Feke: The Philadelphia Story," in *American Painting to 1776: A Reappraisal*, ed. Ian M. G. Quimby (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press for the Winterthur Museum, 1971), 181-216. Notable recent scholarship on Feke consists of brief analysis of him included by Richard H. Saunders in *John Smibert: America's First Colonial Portrait Painter* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995); brief mentions of him by Margaretta M. Lovell in *Art in a Season of Revolution: Painters, Artisans, and Patrons in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); and a short chapter, "Robert Feke and the Formulation of the Colonial American Portrait Style," in Wayne Craven, *Colonial American Portraiture: The Economic, Religious, Social, Cultural, Philosophical, and Aesthetic Foundations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 281-95.

6. Robert Feke, *Self-Portrait*, c. 1741-45, no. 1970.499, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Robert Feke, *Self-Portrait*, c. 1750, finished by James Sullivan Lincoln, c. 1878, no. 1947.4.1, Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence.
7. Kathleen M. Brown, *Foul Bodies: Cleanliness in Early America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009). Margaretta Lovell discusses painters' need to present as gentlemen in *Art in a Season of Revolution*, 12.
8. Hamilton, *Itinerarium*, 101-2.
9. Robert Feke painted the heads of both himself and his wife (the companion portrait of Eleanor Cozzens Feke is also at the Rhode Island Historical Society). He also painted his own neck and upper tunic. It is unclear, however, how much he completed of the rest. Providence artist James Sullivan Lincoln finished the bodies and costumes in the late nineteenth century. Infrared examination has determined that Robert Feke's face, neck, and upper tunic are composed of different pigments than other parts of the portrait. It is believed that the composition is Feke's but it cannot be proven. Feke may have posed himself as an artist holding a palette in front of a canvas, or this may be Lincoln's invention. My thanks to Francis Frost for sharing his knowledge and thoughts about these portraits. See Frank H. Goodyear Jr., *American Paintings in the Rhode Island Historical Society* (Providence: Rhode Island Historical Society, 1974), 10-11. Feke is listed as a "mariner" in his daughters' marriage records. "Marriage of Phila and Sarah Feke," recorded in Friends Records no. 825, "The Marriages of Friends in Rhode Island Coloney with Some of Plimoth Colony in Dartmouth," October 15, 1767, Vault A, Newport Historical Society.
10. John Fitzhugh Millar, *The Buildings of Peter Harrison: Cataloguing the Work of the First Global Architect, 1716-1775* (Jefferson, NC: Macfarland, 2014); Carl Bridenbaugh, *Peter Harrison: First American Architect* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1949).
11. R. Peter Mooz conjectures that Feke may have worked as a tailor with his father-in-law. Mooz, "The Art of Robert Feke," 41.
12. Two of Feke's portraits are signed on the back. These are *Levinah "Phiany" Cock*, c. 1732, 1986.14, Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities, Cold Spring Harbor, NY, and *Isaac Royall and Family*, 1741, Historical and Special Collections, Harvard Law School Library, Cambridge, MA.
13. John Cox Jr., ed., *Oyster Bay Town Records*, vol. 1, 1653-1690 (New York: Tobias A. Wright, 1916), 474-75.

14. Captain David Peterson de Vries, *Voyages from Holland to America, A.D. 1632-1664*, transl. Henry C. Murphy (New York, 1853), 124-25.
15. My thanks to Michael LaCombe for sharing his research on seventeenth-century Oyster Bay and his ideas about landscape and possession. On Oyster Bay and colonial New York, see Faren Siminoff, *Crossing the Sound: The Rise of Atlantic American Communities in Seventeenth-Century Eastern Long Island* (New York: New York University Press, 2004); Michael Kamner, *Colonial New York: A History* (New York: Scribner, 1975); Patricia U. Bonomi, *A Factious People: Politics and Society in Colonial New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971); and Paul Bailey, *Long Island: A History of Two Great Counties, Nassau and Suffolk* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing, 1949). On Native American and European American communities and maritime culture, see Andrew Lipman, *The Saltwater Frontier: Indians and the Contest for the American Coast* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015).
16. Francis J. Bremer, *John Winthrop: America's Forgotten Founding Father* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Michael Parker, *John Winthrop: Founding the City upon a Hill* (New York: Routledge, 2013). For genealogy of Oyster Bay families, see Josephine C. Frost, ed., *Underhill Genealogy*, 6 vols. (N.p.: M.C. Taylor for the Underhill Society of America, 1932-80).
17. "A List of the Estates of ye Inhabitants of Oyster Baye for a Contry Rate, 29th Sept 1683," in Cox, ed., *Oyster Bay Town Records*, 691.
18. Records related to John Feke are in *ibid.*, 687, 625. For information on the Oyster Bay meetinghouse and construction of it, see Neil Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul: Violence, Metaphysics, and Material Life in the Huguenots' New World, 1517-1751* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005). The quotation is from a letter of "Elder Robert Feke" to Newport, dated November 29, 1741, cited in Isaac Backus, *A Church History of New England*, vol. 2, *Extending from 1690-1784* (Providence, 1784), 134.
19. Both Robert Feke the minister and Robert Feke the painter served as surveyors, which would not have been odd, as Robert the painter could have learned the trade from his father. Surveying records are found in Cox, ed., *Oyster Bay Town Records*, 396-98.
20. Hamilton, *Itinerarium*, 101-2.
21. *Ibid.*; Jay Coughtry, *The Notorious Triangle: Rhode Island and the African Slave Trade, 1700-1807* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981).
22. Hamilton, *Itinerarium*, 101-2.

23. Levinah "Phiany" Cock, c. 1732, 1986.14, Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities, and *Isaac Royall and Family, 1741*, Historical and Special Collections, Harvard Law School Library.
24. David de Sola Pool, *Etched in Stone: Early Jewish Settlers, 1682-1831* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), 471-74. On religious diversity in colonial New York, see Evan Haefeli, *New Netherland and the Dutch Origins of American Religious Liberty* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).
25. Hamilton, *Itinerarium*, 101-2.
26. On family connections between Rhode Island and Long Island Feke relatives, see Belknap, "The Identity of Robert Feke."
27. John Smibert, *The Bermuda Group (Dean Berkeley and His Entourage)*, 1728, reworked 1739, 1808.1, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, CT. Richard H. Saunders argues that Smibert influenced Feke: *John Smibert: Colonial America's First Portrait Painter* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995). Lovell agrees in *Art in a Season of Revolution*.
28. Hamilton, *Itinerarium*, 101-2.
29. *Ibid.*
30. There is a painting attributed to Feke, said to be painted in Bermuda c. 1750, *Dorcas Hall, née Durham*, Bermuda Historical Society. My thanks to Christina Charuhas for the information.
31. See, e.g. Charles Apthorp, Probate Inventory, dated January 1759, Suffolk County Probate Records no. 11871, Boston.
32. See Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 14-33; Ronald Paulson, *Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975); and Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Colonizing Nature: The Tropics in British Arts and Letters, 1760-1820* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), esp. 81-116.
33. Michael Zuckerman, "Identity in British America: Unease in Eden," in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, ed. Canny and Pagden (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 115-57. On anxieties in colonial portraiture, see Paul Staiti, "Character and Class," in *John Singleton Copley in America*, ed. Carrie Rebora et al. (New York: Harry N. Abrams for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995), 53-78.
34. Robert Feke, *Isaac Winslow*, c. 1748, 42.424, Museum of Fine Arts. Kate Haulman discusses the fashion in Winslow's portrait in *The Politics of*

- Fashion in Eighteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 97.
35. See Susan Scott Parrish, *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2006), 51-53, and Jack P. Greene, *Imperatives, Behaviors, and Identities: Essays in Early American Cultural History* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1992).
 36. Wardron Phoenix Belknap Jr., "Part I: The Identity of Robert Feke," in *American Colonial Painting: Materials for a History* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959), 3-35.
 37. Martin Brückner, *The Geographic Revolution in Early America: Maps, Literacy, and National Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2006), 16-27.
 38. W. J. T. Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," in *Landscape and Power*, 2nd edn., ed. W. J. T. Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 5-34.
 39. See John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Birmingham, *Landscape and Ideology*; and Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," 5-34.
 40. Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2000), 78-91.

13. *The Bermuda Group in Newport*

1. Alexander Hamilton, *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744*, ed. Carl Bridenbaugh (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1948), 101-2.
2. For discussion of artisans (including the Townsend family of cabinetmakers), and for the role of history painting in colonial art, see Margareta Lovell, *Art in a Season of Revolution: Painters, Artisans, and Patrons in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005). To place colonial artisans in a wider context, see Pamela H. Smith, *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

3. Peter Collinson to Cadwallader Colden, March 7, 1742, quoted in Alan W. Armstrong, ed., "Forget Not Mee & My Garden . . .": *Selected Letters, 1725-1768, of Peter Collinson, F.R.S* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2002), 96. On Bartram, see Nancy E. Hoffman and John C. Van Horne, eds., *America's Curious Botanist: A Tercentennial Reappraisal of John Bartram, 1699-1777* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2004).
4. Simon Gribelin engraved the print after Paolo de Mattheis. Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, "The Judgment of Hercules," in *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, vol. 3, ed. by Douglas Den Uyl (1737; reprint Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2001), 350.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, 365-66.
7. *Ibid.*, 371, 386.
8. *Ibid.*, 360.
9. David H. Solkin, *Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1993), 63.
10. Wayne Craven, *Colonial American Portraiture: The Economic, Religious, Social, Cultural, Philosophical, Scientific, and Aesthetic Foundations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 156-63.
11. Andrew Oliver, ed., *The Notebook of John Smibert* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1969), 10-11.
12. R. Peter Mooz, "Smibert's Bermuda Group—A Reevaluation," *Art Quarterly* 33 (Summer 1970): 147-57; Mooz, "The Art of Robert Feke" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1970), 11-16; Richard H. Saunders, *John Smibert: Colonial America's First Portrait Painter* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 113.
13. See Mooz, "Smibert's Bermuda Group," and Craven, *Colonial American Portraiture*, 281-84.
14. See Saunders, *John Smibert*, and David Bjelajac, *American Art: A Cultural History* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2005), 101-6.
15. George Berkeley, *A Proposal for the Better Supplying of Churches in Our Foreign Plantations and for Converting the Savage Americans to Christianity by a College to Be Erected in the Summer Island Otherwise Called the Isles of Bermuda* (London, 1725), in *Life and Letters of George Berkeley, D.D. Formerly Bishop of Cloyne; and an Account of His Philosophy. With Many Writings of Bishop Berkeley Hitherto Unpublished: Metaphysical, Descriptive, Theological*, ed. Alexander Campbell Fraser (Oxford, 1871), 215-31.