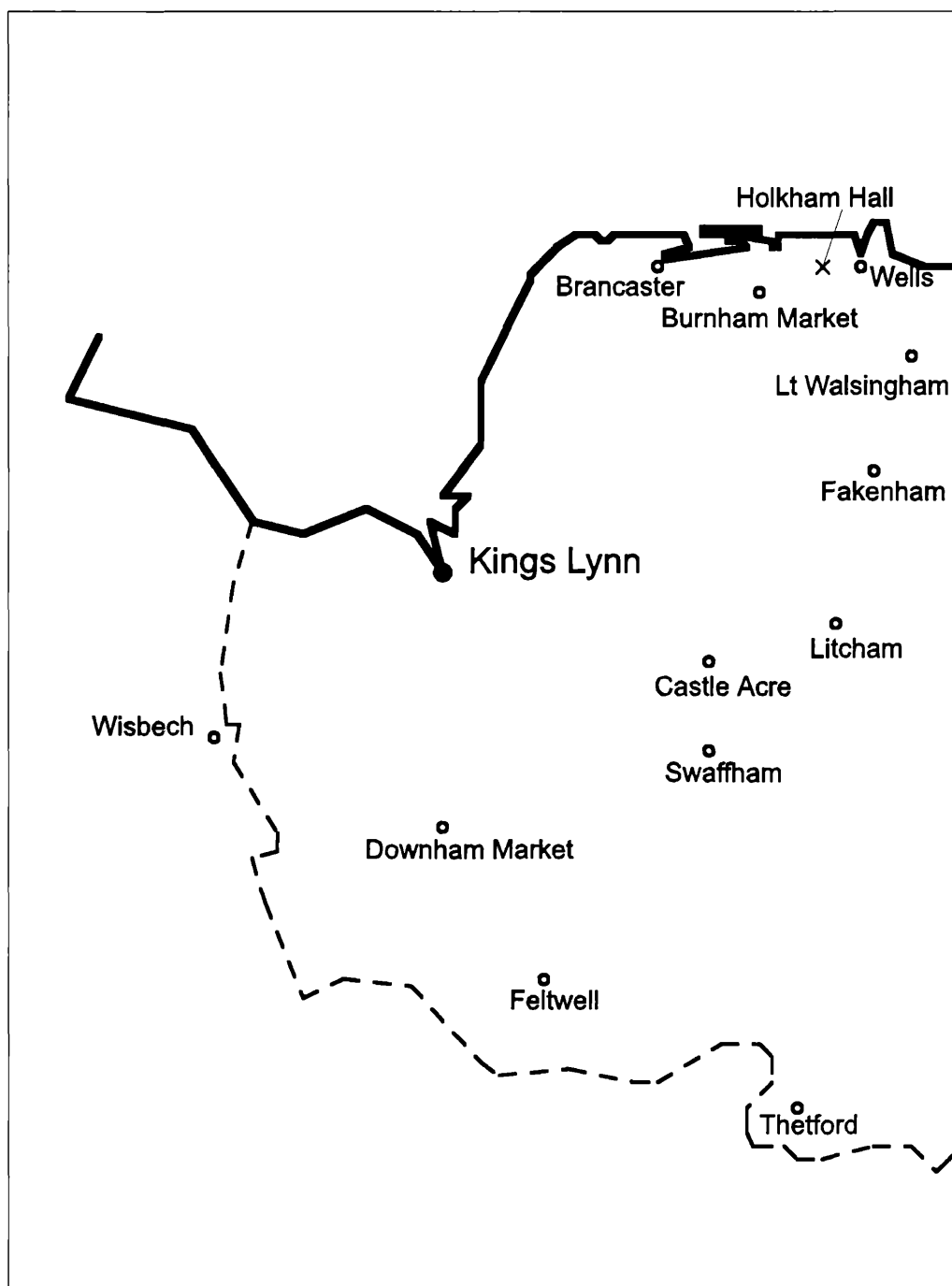


A
DICTIONARY
OF NORFOLK
FURNITURE MAKERS

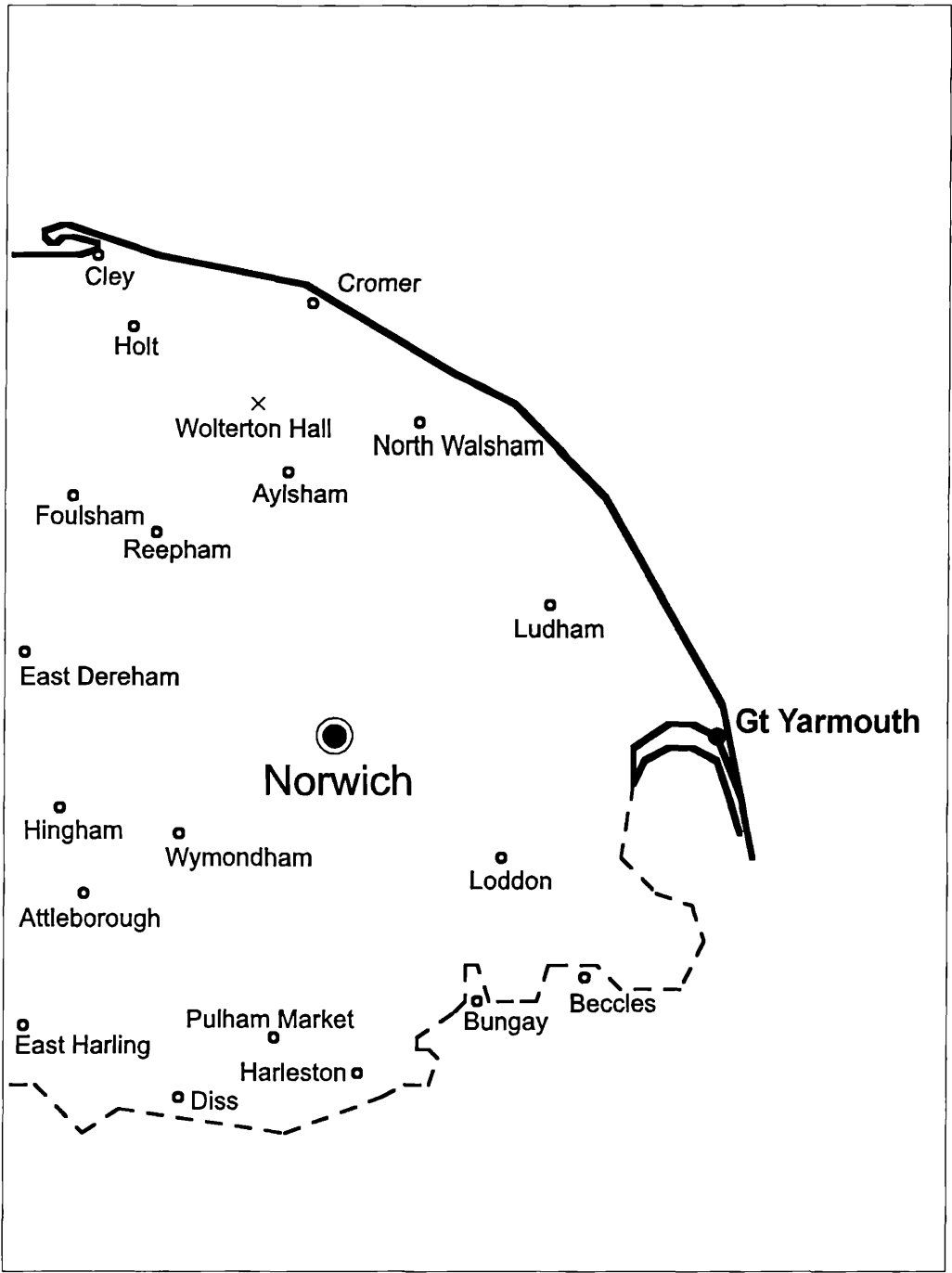
1700-1840

John Stabler

MAP OF WEST NORFOLK

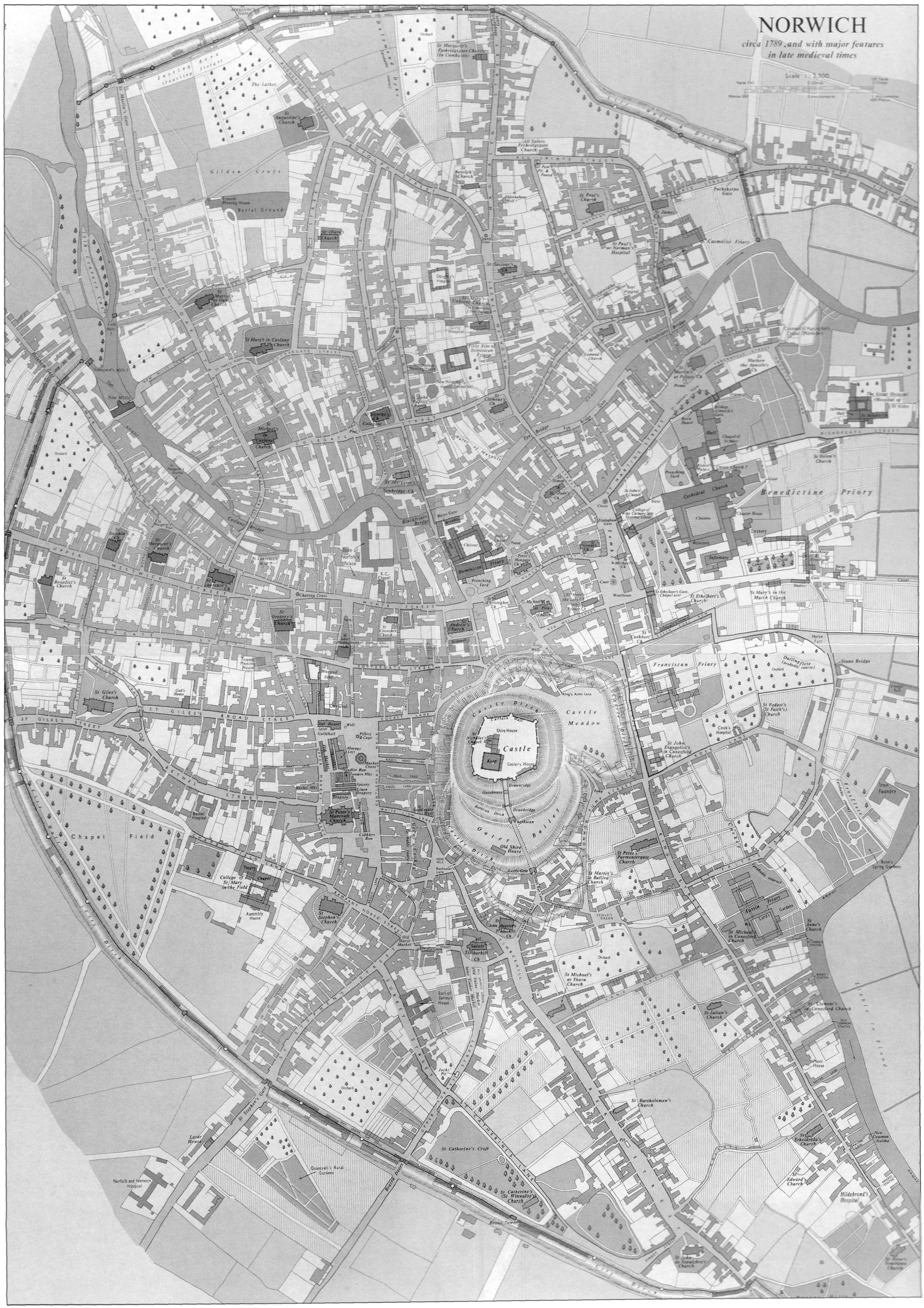


MAP OF EAST NORFOLK



circa 1789, and with major features in late medieval times

Scale 1 : 2,500.



INTRODUCTION

It is now twenty years since the publication of *The Dictionary of English Furniture Makers*.¹ That work opened up a vast new field of information, doing for furniture-makers what Colvin had done for architects and Gunnis for sculptors.^{2,3} However since then further sources of information have revealed gaps and duplications in the work. The present survey seeks to amend some of these for one county, Norfolk, and also to discuss some issues which have emerged in the course of navigating the associated documentation, particularly in relation to apprenticeship. The chosen time-frame is 1700–1840, and I have included any craftsman known to have been active between those dates. Where, also, I have material on these craftsmen from outside the chosen time limits, it has been included.

The survey is essentially based on documents rather than artefacts, so those looking for comprehensive new information on regional characteristics will probably be disappointed. Bernard and Gerry Cotton have made important inroads into this area and there is no doubt room for extension of their research, but the present work is not the place for it.⁴

Although the title of the survey defines Norfolk as the area of study I have taken the liberty of stretching the county's borders a little to include the neighbouring towns of Beccles, Bungay and Wisbech. The reason for this is that all three towns lie within the ambit of Norwich newspapers published during the survey period, and I felt it would be a pity to lose the information contained in advertisements from furniture-makers in these towns through excessive geographical dogmatism. There is some historical precedent for this in that Beccles and Bungay often appeared in Norwich directories. Wisbech, as capital of the Fens, has a more independent existence, being socially and economically remote from its county town of Cambridge and having more in common (as well as a traditional rivalry) with King's Lynn.

I have deviated from the practice of the *DEFM* to some extent in the trades that I have included. Rather than include turners only 'if there is evidence that they were actually involved in producing furniture' I have included them unless there is evidence that they were *not* involved in furniture-making, i.e. if they were documented in directories as bowl-turners or turners in ivory or metal. This undoubtedly means I will have included some turners who, rather than furniture, made bobbins, pegs for warping-boards and other turned parts for equipment used in worsted manufacture. Furniture-brokers, auctioneers and appraisers are only included where these trades are in addition to cabinet-making or upholstery. Joiners present more of a problem. At the beginning of our period most Norfolk furniture-makers called themselves joiners. As the practice of veneering and inlaying became more general they increasingly defined themselves as cabinet-makers, and as the eighteenth century advanced the term was adopted first in Norwich, King's Lynn and Yarmouth and eventually in the market towns. Cabinet-makers appear in the earliest Inland Revenue apprenticeship premium records in 1711 and 1712 in Norwich, King's Lynn and Yarmouth, but the first two craftsmen outside those towns classified as cabinet-makers were Peter Munford in East Dereham in 1743 and Richard Miller in Fakenham in 1756. By around 1770 most craftsmen who called themselves joiners in the three large towns appear to have been making fixed rather than mobile furniture in workshops (as

opposed to carpenters, who worked mainly on site) and from about this time I have excluded them unless they also called themselves cabinet-makers. I have not been rigid over the cut-off point for joiners in the smaller towns, but generally I have included them up to around 1800.

SOURCES

Newspapers

Norwich was one of the earliest cities to produce a weekly newspaper, with the *Norwich Mercury* in 1706, and the *Norwich Gazette* in 1722. Bound copies of most of the early newspapers were held by the Norwich City Library but a disastrous fire in 1994 destroyed some of the early numbers, leaving others in a damaged but usable state (plate 1).

Fortunately the British Library has copies of most of the newspapers and microfilm copies of these are available. Between the surviving Norwich Library originals (now held in the Norfolk Heritage Centre) and the British Library microfilms, therefore, although there are gaps, a substantial corpus of newspaper material survives.

At the core of the present work is a survey of this material, most of which was carried out by David Cubitt, a Norwich local historian, who was combing Norwich newspapers in the early 1990s and kindly agreed to provide me with any material he found on furniture makers. I have expanded and supplemented this material with searches of my own and the result is about 1300 newspaper extracts, mainly advertisements but also marriage and death notices and news items on bankruptcies and insolvencies, fires and thefts.

Registers of Freemen

The Corporation of Norwich and the Boroughs of King's Lynn and Great Yarmouth maintained registers of admission to the freedom and subsequent publication of these in book form provides an invaluable source of information on the completion of apprenticeships for the various trades and for admission by either purchase or patrimony.⁶

Poll Books

Until ballots became secret in the late nineteenth century the way freemen voted in general (and a few municipal) elections was logged in poll books. Norfolk Heritage Centre retains a particularly full supply of these, especially for Norwich itself, going back to 1710. The parish and, in the great majority of cases, the occupation of the freeman was recorded, making it possible to trace the lives of at least those craftsmen who voted.

A reminder of the fallibility of such records is provided in an introductory letter to the Norwich 1734 poll:

*We expect there will be some Mistakes found relating to Residence, caused partly by the Noise and Hurry which always attend a Poll, and partly by the Abbutments of the Parishes on one another; which the Voters themselves are sometimes ignorant of... L. & W. Goddard.*⁷

Directories

Trade directories for Norwich date back to 1783 and for the rest of Norfolk to 1791, in most cases giving both occupation and address.

Inland Revenue Apprenticeship Records

In 1709 the War of Spanish Succession was proving financially burdensome and the government, as ever creative in finding new sources of funding, introduced a tax on apprenticeship premiums. This, curiously, was combined with a tax on candles in Statute 8 Anne ch. 9: 'An Act for laying certain Duties upon Candles, and certain Rates upon Monies to be given with Clerks and Apprentices, towards raising her Majesty's Supply for the Year one thousand seven hundred and ten.' The tax was initially intended to last for 5 years but within a year was extended 'for ever'.⁸ For ever in this case lasted until 1804 when, following a few years of increasing laxity, the tax was repealed.⁹ However until the final years of the tax the Department of Inland Revenue kept meticulous records which are deposited in seventy nine volumes in the National Archive at Kew and recorded on microfilm. Volumes 41–72 cover 'The Country', as opposed to London. There are gaps, notably for 1725–1727, 1732–1739 and 1745–1749, but nevertheless the archive provides an invaluable resource, giving the names of the apprentice and master, the name of the parent in earlier entries, the trade or profession, the premium, the duration of the apprenticeship, the date and the tax. I have come across a handful of entries for Norfolk apprentices in the 'Town' (i.e. London) volumes of the archive, but have not undertaken a systematic search of these.

Alphabetical lists of both apprentices and masters from 1710 to 1774 were compiled from the Inland Revenue records by the Society of Genealogists in the 1930s and these are available on microfiche in major libraries, but of course they are only of use for looking up named individuals as opposed to undertaking a systematic search.

The tax was 2.5% for premiums under £50, and 5% for those above. These rates remained unchanged until the act was repealed in 1804. Payment was the responsibility of the master and if he failed to pay within a year the tax was doubled. A substantial proportion of apprentices were either paupers, whose premiums were paid by the parish, or charity apprentices, whose premiums were paid by the various charities set up for this purpose. Masters were not taxed on either pauper or charity apprentices. For obvious reasons these apprentices tended to be bound to masters of lower-status occupations who commanded smaller premiums, so it is unlikely that they featured significantly in the furniture-making trades, though no figures are available. As the Inland Revenue apprenticeship records peter out after 1804 I have used information gleaned from registers of apprenticeships held on microfiche at the Norfolk Heritage Centre for later entries. As the formal apprenticeship system was in decline these are not comprehensive.

Country House Archives

I have had access to the accounts of Wolterton Hall and Holkham Hall, both of which provide useful information on the employment of craftsmen both from the immediate neighbourhood and from Norwich.

The Correspondence of Edward Crane

In 1877 a Lancashire local historian, W.A. Abram, published a collection of letters spread over several numbers of the *Preston Guardian*, consisting of correspondence dating from a century earlier. The letters are those of Mrs Edward Crane, a Norwich widow, and her son Edward, sent to young Edward's Uncle Thomas Crane of Preston, brother of his deceased father. Edward became apprenticed at the age of 14 to a leading Norwich upholsterer, Henry Withers, subsequently worked as a journeyman in Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, and then set up business in Norwich.¹⁰ Extracts from the correspondence are included in the Appendix.

James Woodforde's Diary

Parson Woodforde's famous diary provides some useful insights into the Norwich furniture trade. Whereas we have previously had to rely on the somewhat arbitrary extracts provided by John Beresford in the five volume Oxford University Press edition, there is now a complete edition in the process of publication by the Parson Woodforde Society which at the time of writing has reached 1800 (Volume 16). Confusingly, the Norfolk volumes when originally published started again at volume 1, but as the series is being reprinted this anomaly is being eliminated, and the references quoted here are to the volumes in chronological sequence.

Trade Cards

Trade cards and bill-heads, as well as often being decorative, can be helpful in tracing the dates and addresses of craftsmen. I have made no distinction between trade cards and trade labels. Norwich City Library had a good selection of cards which were destroyed in the disastrous 1994 fire. Fortunately an enthusiast had photographed some of these cards and made copies available to the new library, including some for cabinet-makers and upholsterers, and these are reproduced here. In addition Christopher Gilbert had photocopies of some of the collection and kindly sent these to me when he retired. They suffer from the relatively poor quality of photocopiers of the time they were made, but I felt they were worth reproducing here as they are probably the only remaining representations of some trade cards. Several individuals (notably John Evan Bedford and Mike Hicks) have been very generous in supplying me with examples from their collections and auction houses have also been very helpful

Wills

Norfolk Record Society have produced a number of indexes of wills proved in the Consistory Court of Norwich in their annual publications, including three covering the period of this survey.¹¹ From these I have been able to refer to microfiches of probate register copies of the wills held in the Norfolk Record Office. From 1796 these often include an estimate of the value of the testator's personal property, added by the clerk when the will was sworn, so that death duties could be assessed. The phrase used was 'Effects sworn under £x' and the figure did not include real estate (freehold or copyhold).¹²

Fire Insurance

The Guildhall Library in London holds the registers of the Sun Fire Company, which was the largest of the eighteenth century fire insurance companies. I have used the *DEFM* as a source of information on who was insured, and obtained photocopies of entries from the Guildhall Library. A number of graphic newspaper reports of workshop fires are included in this survey, confirming the important role of fire insurance.

NORFOLK IN THE EIGHTEENTH & EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY: THE BACKGROUND

This is not the place to give a detailed history of Norfolk, but some bare outlines will probably be helpful for the reader who is not familiar with the county. In terms of economic activity we could divide the county into four levels: the city of Norwich; the major ports of King's Lynn and Great Yarmouth; the market towns and smaller ports; and finally the villages.

Norwich

At the beginning of our period Norwich was the second city of the nation, with a population around 30,000, some way ahead of the third city, Bristol, whose population was about 22,000.¹³ It still sat within its mediaeval walls and retained a long and proud ecclesiastical, commercial and cultural tradition. Its unassailable position as the capital of the weaving industry had been bolstered by immigration from the Low Countries, whose workers had brought a new expertise to the trade.

By 1801 Norwich's population had increased relatively modestly to 37,000, placing it tenth in the hierarchy of the largest towns and cities, and by the end of our period, it had lost its pre-eminence in the worsted trade to the factories of Yorkshire, while retaining a role in the luxury end of the market, notably in the making of shawls. It had diversified into shoe-making, brewing, banking and insurance and maintained its importance as the administrative, commercial, cultural and ecclesiastical centre of Norfolk.

The Major Ports: King's Lynn and Yarmouth

In 1700 Yarmouth was the seventh largest urban centre in England, with a population of c. 10,000,¹⁴ rising to 24,000 by 1841. It was the major east-coast port between Newcastle and London, importing coal and exporting corn. Its location on a peninsula, with the North Sea to the east and the estuary formed by the confluence of the Rivers Bure and Yare to the west gave it an extensive harbour well protected from the sea. It had the important advantage over its Suffolk neighbour, Lowestoft, that the latter had no harbour, so that vessels had to be beached and then loaded or unloaded at low tide. Apart from Yarmouth's general role as a sea-port it formed the major base for the east coast herring and mackerel fishing fleet. It became an important naval base during the Napoleonic Wars and by the early nineteenth century it was, like Cromer, beginning to develop as a seaside resort.

King's Lynn's population at the beginning of our period was somewhere in the region

of 8,000, doubling to just over 16,000 by 1841. It was the major port, not just for the western half of the county but, through the Great Ouse and its associated canals and cuts, for England's '12 most populous and richest counties'.¹⁵ It had a dynamic and prosperous mediaeval history and by the eighteenth century still boasted a considerable merchant class, whose architectural legacy survives in the houses lining Tuesday Market Place, King Street, Queen Street and Nelson Street. The merchants' interests lay in the import of corn and deal from the Baltic, wine from Portugal and (when we were not at war with her) France, sugar and rum from the Caribbean, tobacco from America and spices from the East as well as the coastwise trade in coal from the north-east. Corn constituted the main export, much of it to London. As the centre of a large agricultural area Lynn also held important cattle markets and annual fairs.

The Market Towns

Once we have discussed Norwich, Yarmouth and Lynn we find a dramatic reduction in the size of Norfolk towns. There was a diffusely-spread scattering of similarly-sized towns around the county acting as the commercial centres for the surrounding agricultural communities, where goods could be bought and sold at the weekly markets and where limited specialist services – tailors, drapers, dress-makers, coopers, shoe-makers, attorneys and sometimes cabinet-makers, were available (see map). Those on the coast with harbours, such as Brancaster, Wells, Blakeney & Cley, were also minor ports.

The Villages

Norfolk was, and remains, a farming county and even by 1841 about three-quarters of the 412,000 inhabitants lived in its 740 villages and market towns. Wheat and barley, sheep and cattle all played their part in the rural economy. In the south and east of the county much of the land was owned by yeoman farmers, working on a small scale, often without employees outside the immediate family. In the area north of Norwich, spinning and weaving provided an alternative to agriculture. Much of the land in the north and west of the county was owned by large landowners and let to tenant farmers whose workforce lived either in tied cottages on the estate or in overcrowded rented houses in the neighbouring villages and hamlets. Throughout the period agricultural labourers lived at subsistence level and, since much of the available work was seasonal, there were times when they were unable to find work.

Enclosure transformed the landscape during the period. The old mediaeval widely-dispersed strips in open fields gave way to compact hedged fields in individual ownership, making for more efficient management. Enclosure was a complex process and, although some parts of the county were largely enclosed by 1700, the peak period was during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1793–1815). The impetus generally came from the large landowners, among whom were the 2nd Viscount Townshend (1675–1738) at Raynham and Thomas William Coke (1752–1842) at Holkham, both of whom achieved national fame as pioneers of new agricultural methods including crop-rotation and soil improvement.

NORFOLK FURNITURE MAKERS: APPRENTICESHIP AND ENROLMENT

In 1622 an attempt was made to rationalise what had previously been a rambling and inefficient system of civic administration in Norwich, by passage of the Ordinances for Crafts.¹⁶ Instead of the previous seventy or eighty craft guilds, each controlled by two Masters, the crafts were divided into twelve Grand Companies, each headed by two Aldermen whose role was to ensure that the rules of the craft were adhered to. Each company comprised a disparate group of trades, headed by one of the larger trades, the theory being that these would give the smaller crafts a stronger voice. Joiners were included in Grand Company no. I, headed by the mercers; upholsterers and carpenters were in no. IV, headed by the apothecaries. One of the rôles of the companies was to regulate the management of apprenticeship. If an apprentice was not either the son of a freeman or a pauper paid for by his parish, the master was required to issue an indenture and within one month of it being sealed, pay the Foreign Receiver (a city officer) 13s 4d. Previous ordinances had specified that the term of an apprenticeship should be seven years, though this was often openly reduced to five or six years, and occasionally increased to eight years, without apparently incurring any penalties.

On expiry of the seven year term, if the apprentice wanted to be admitted to the freedom of the City, he was required to pay 1 shilling to the Town Clerk, 6d to the Chamberlain (treasurer), 6d to the Swordbearer, 8d to the Mayor's officers, 8d to the Ward officers and 10d to the Foreign Receiver. Freedom of the City conferred both the right to practise one's trade and the right to vote in parliamentary and civic elections. The latter led to abuses of the system as political activists in the city administration found ways of admitting people to the freedom in exchange for their votes. Furthermore aldermen were not always vigilant in ensuring that the rules controlling apprenticeship and enrolment in the freedom were obeyed. Consequently at an Assembly of the Chamberlain's Council held on 26th September 1727, the following Order was made:

*Whereas Many persons have heretofore obtained their Freedom at Assemblys And it has afterward Appeared to have been in a fraudulent manner having had no right thereto by Service, to the Great Damage of this Corporation and manifest prejudice of the severall trades of this City – For the preventing such Abuses for the future It is unanimously Agreed to and ordered by this Assembly that for the time to Come No person shall be Admitted a Freeman claiming by right of Servitude till the next Quarterly Assembly after such claime At the first of which he shall be examined by the Chamberlains Councill And at the Second Admitted If there appears no reason to the Contrary – And until such next Quarterly Assembly they shall not be molested in going on in their severall trades by the Officers of Such Trades.*¹⁷

The account book to which this Order forms a preface lists the admissions to the freedom over the next seventy nine years and shows the charges for admission of various craftsmen to the freedom, which is of some interest. All those who had served their apprenticeship paid 13s 4d. (a considerable increase since the Ordinance of Crafts of 1622), but those furniture-makers who purchased their freedom paid the following rates:

Chairmakers	£3
Joiners	£6
Carvers	£6/6s
Upholsterers	£15

This gives some indication of the relative status of the different crafts that, as we shall see, is supported by figures for apprenticeship premiums.

Age at Apprenticeship

I told her...that I was now eighteen years old, which was too late to go apprentice to a trade or clerk to an attorney...(Robinson Crusoe, Daniel Defoe).¹⁸

Robinson Crusoe (not the King's Lynn upholsterer; the other one) evidently considered that taking an apprenticeship at the age of eighteen was out of the question. Joan Lane suggests that, apart from pauper apprentices, 'most children were fourteen when apprenticed'.¹⁹ For a small proportion of the craftsmen in this survey we can deduce the age at which they were apprenticed. In most cases this is possible because their age is quoted in newspapers at the time of their death and we know the date at which they were bound from the Inland Revenue records. This may lead to an error of a year in the estimated age but it gives us a rough idea. What we find (figure 1) in this small sample is that fifteen is actually the peak age, with a spread from twelve to twenty three, twelve out of the thirty (40%) being sixteen or over when indentured.

Duration of Apprenticeship

...And that noe Freeman or other person of the said Trade & occupation within the said City or County thereof shall take any Apprentice for lesse time than for the term of seaven yeares according to the Lawes and Statutes of this Kingdome & Auntient Custome of this City heretofore used upon paine that every one who shall offend herein shall forfeite for every such offence Fortie shillings...(By-laws of Norwich Turners, 1685).²⁰

This quotation reiterates one of the commonest themes of the various Ordinances issued by the guilds, crafts and companies. The term of seven years was laid down in a 'Composition' issued by the governing body of the City in 1415, summarised by Millican as follows:

That any freeman, on taking an apprentice, should not do so for a term of less than seven years duration and that the indenture should be enrolled before the Mayor. At the end of the term the apprentice should be enfranchised on his paying one noble to the Chamber, one noble to the Sheriffs and six pence to the clerk for making the entry.²¹

If we go back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, apprenticeships of eight or nine years were common. Ben-Amos quotes a mean of 7.9 years for apprentices in Bristol

between 1600 and 1645.²² Kirkham is puzzled by the fact that apprentice carpenters in the sixteenth century commonly served eight or nine years and notes that provincial boys apprenticed in London tended to serve longer apprenticeships.²³ She also notes that ‘fees asked for extended apprenticeships were not on average higher than those asked for the traditional term and in some cases [were] lower’.

The explanation for the anomaly of longer apprenticeships is given by Rappaport when discussing sixteenth century London apprenticeships:

The first half of a term was worth more to the apprentice than to his master. An apprentice had a great deal to learn then but he was not yet skilled enough to do much more than menial tasks, and thus his master paid the bulk of the costs of his education during those years by providing him with room, board, and time spent training him. After several years, however, the scale began to tip in the other direction, for as an apprentice's skills developed his labour became increasingly valuable to his master. Consequently it was during the later years of the term that a master received the greatest compensation for teaching his apprentice a craft or trade.²⁴

The same economic relationship applied two centuries later, and it is hardly surprising that short apprenticeships often carried a higher premium. Ben-Amos, discussing sixteenth and seventeenth century practice, comments that apprentices migrating from the country to London were in many cases self-financing and had often served agricultural apprenticeships before moving, in order to save enough money for the premium. They were willing to serve a little extra time to keep the premium down. The fact that they had already served a few years’ agricultural apprenticeship explains why they were older than urban apprentices.²⁵ The same logic applies to Norwich as to London.

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, far from extended apprenticeships being the norm, the term was often less than seven years and shorter terms were openly quoted in indentures and in the Inland Revenue documentation, suggesting that no fines were imposed. Taking all the Norfolk furniture-making trades together and analysing the Inland Revenue figures for 1710–1771 and 1772–1808 yields the results shown in figure 2, which shows a progressive tendency for terms to decrease below the statutory seven years. In many other trades three or four years would have been long enough to acquire the necessary skills, and this applied particularly to the retail trades. Kirkham²⁶ quotes Campbell’s comments that

I now repeat once for all, as a Caution that can never be too much inculcated, that unless a Lad has a rational Prospect of setting up for himself in any of these Branches of the Retail Business, it is more than Madness to serve an Apprenticeship of seven Years.²⁷

The point Campbell is making here, though, is not so much that seven years is too long an apprenticeship for retail trades, but that before being indentured apprentices should ensure that they have the means to set up in business at the end of their term, or their seven years will have been wasted. It is nevertheless true that a mercer or linen-draper,

provided he was well-motivated, would be competent to practice his trade in much less than seven years. The cabinet-maker, on the other hand, had to master considerable manual and other skills before he would be safe to manage a workshop, and though he might not serve seven years, five or six years was quite usual in the later eighteenth century. The temptation was, of course, for the master to keep apprenticeship terms long so that, as discussed above, once the youth had learned the basic skills he could be used as a source of free labour. Robert Meen, a Norwich upholsterer with a somewhat forthright and idiosyncratic style of advertising, boasted:

*whoever please to employ me, may depend upon having their Work executed in a workmanlike Manner, and not have it fribbled over by a Shop full of Apprentices, as the Masters in this City have seldom less than three at a Time.*²⁸

This practice of course became routine in large late eighteenth and early nineteenth century cotton-mills and factories where apprenticeship simply became a euphemism for child labour.

Apprenticeship Premiums

The Inland Revenue apprenticeship records provide invaluable information on the premiums paid by the parents of non-pauper apprentices. The variation in premiums is wide, except for upholsterers, whose charges are relatively high and less varied than the other trades. I have averaged the figures for the different trades in Norwich, King's Lynn, Yarmouth and the rest of the county. To improve the statistical significance I have broken them down chronologically into two large groups rather than quote decennial figures. The groups cover the periods 1710-1769 and 1770-1808. The results are given in figure 3.

It is interesting to compare the figures with those produced by Pat Kirkham in a similar survey of London apprentices.²⁹ She divided her figures into decades and gave percentages without absolute numbers, so that direct comparisons are not possible, but in order to make a rough comparison, if we assume that there were equal numbers in each of her decades, we obtain the following figures (in pounds) for seven year apprenticeships:

	1711-1769	1770-1808
Cabinet-makers	17	25
Upholsterers	34	52
Carvers & gilders	15	27
Chair-makers	12	12

Of course the numbers in each decade were not equal, but in practice this is unlikely to make a difference of more than a pound or two to the figures.

It is clear that the premiums for London masters were on average not much above those for Norwich. Obviously the prestigious West End masters generally charged more. The upholsterer Thomas Waldron charged £250 in 1787 (He went bankrupt three years later, which may have something to do with it) but quoted premiums for Chippendale

were only £20, £42 and £20, so high prestige did not always mean a high premium. On the face of it, however, it is quite surprising that in Norwich, Paul Colombine was charging anything up to 70 guineas in the 1740s and '50s, whilst William Hallett in the West End of London was charging £30–£50. One can only assume that masters charged what the market would bear; wealthier parents were prepared to pay handsomely for their children to be trained by the best local masters and presumably did not see a London training as offering much of an advantage.

A surprising feature revealed by the figures is the high premiums for King's Lynn, especially for cabinet-makers in the 1770–1808 period. An average premium of £29, almost 50% higher than Norwich, double that for Yarmouth, and even higher than that for London, is difficult to explain. King's Lynn had its wealthy merchant class, but it is unlikely that they would have considered cabinet-making a primary choice of career for their offspring. Furthermore upholsterers' premiums, though high at an average of £42, were slightly lower than the Norwich premiums, so there does not seem to be any logical explanation.

I have already alluded to the fact that premiums charged by individual masters often varied quite widely. For instance Edward Thorne, the Norwich cabinet-maker, charged William Cook £25 in 1775 for a five year apprenticeship, Robert Watts £49 for a four year apprenticeship in 1779 and David Savory ten guineas for a seven year apprenticeship in 1784. Edward Crane, the Norwich upholsterer, took apprentices in 1788 and 1791 for seven year terms at £60 but charged £80 for a five year apprenticeship in 1793. Here we see an inverse relationship between duration of apprenticeship and size of premium and I have discussed above the reasons for this. It did not always apply, however, and it would seem that many masters simply charged what they thought the apprentice's parents could afford. To quote Lane, 'Premiums were essentially fixed at what the master thought he could persuade the parents to pay'.³⁰ There could be a considerable disparity between the premium requested and that actually paid, for instance James Lesley, a Wells cabinet-maker, advertised 'An Apprentice Wanted – To Prevent trouble, the premium is thirty guineas, and for six years',³¹ but he is only documented as taking two apprentices and in both cases the premium was £10 (for six years four months in one case and five years in the other).

It may also be that different skills were taught for different premiums. Kirkham suggests that the managerial side of running a business was included for the payment of higher premiums.³² It is also evident that exceptionally low premiums were paid on occasion. For example the King's Lynn cabinet-maker Jonathan Hales charged between sixteen guineas and £50, but in the case of the apprentice William Pike, in 1777, the premium was £1. Such very low sums, between five shillings and £2, were clearly 'peppercorn' premiums, charged as a mere formality either to friends and relations or in return for favours.

Outcome of Apprenticeships

My trawl through the Inland Revenue apprenticeship records yielded the names of 897 indentured apprentices. What happened to them? Those bound in Norwich, Yarmouth and King's Lynn who completed their apprenticeships should be documented in the relevant Freeman Registers. Having obtained their freedom most should also be recorded

in poll books, since one of the privileges of the freemen was the right to vote in general and municipal elections, though of course not all would exercise that right. Further evidence of completion of apprenticeship should be apparent in newspaper advertisements and trade directories. By logging those apprentices who are documented in one or more of these sources, we should arrive at a figure for successful completion of apprenticeships. The remarkable outcome of this exercise is that only 219 of the 897 apprentices are so documented, i.e. 24.4% of the total, leaving just over three-quarters of the apprentices unaccounted for. This discrepancy has been noted previously by Millican, who in a survey of all Norwich apprentices (dominated by worsted weavers) found that of 7,000 enrolled as apprentices between 1500 and 1752, only 1,500 (21%) took up their freedom.³³ Millican comments that the remainder ‘for various reasons never became citizens. Their ultimate fate makes interesting speculation’.

Howard, writing on Norwich craftsmen in wood from 1550 to 1750, also noted the phenomenon.³⁴ He observed not only that a high proportion of registered apprentices never became freemen, but that many freemen had never been registered as apprentices by the city authorities in the first place, despite apparently having trained in Norwich. Therefore as well as the disappearance of a large proportion of registered apprentices there was presumably a similar proportion of unregistered apprentices who also failed to become freemen, especially in the second half of the seventeenth century, when the City authorities were particularly lax in registering apprentices. To explain the failure of so many apprentices to become freemen Howard suggests failure to complete apprenticeship, moving away from Norwich and premature death as possible causes, but postulates that the major factor was their entering into the ranks of journeymen in the City on completion of their training without obtaining their freedom.

The disappearance of apprentices from the records is not confined to Norfolk, nor to the eighteenth century. Rappaport, in his survey of sixteenth century London, reported that only 41% of 44,169 apprentices completed apprenticeships begun between 1490 and 1599, and observed that the percentage varied little between different trades.³⁵ Ben-Amos reported that

*In Bristol throughout most of the sixteenth century, the proportions of those who stayed for their entire terms, and then proceeded to become town citizens, did not rise above a quarter of all those apprenticed. In some decades...they were not above a fifth of all those who had registered earlier as apprentices.*³⁶

It seems, then, that at least from 1500 to 1800 somewhere between 60% and 80% of apprentices in all trades, both in London and in the provinces, failed to obtain the freedom of the town or city in which they trained. This fact has been recognized by Corfield, Howard, Rappaport and Ben-Amos,³⁷ but is often not appreciated and is not even mentioned in Lane’s standard work on apprenticeship.³⁸ There are really only three possible explanations for the ‘disappearance’ of the majority of apprentices. Either they died, or they dropped out of apprenticeship, or they completed their training but failed to take up their freedom. Rappaport calculates that 10% of apprentices would have died during their servitude in sixteenth century London.³⁹ A high proportion of these would be plague victims, and the mortality in eighteenth century Norwich would have been much lower.

Let us consider the possibility that the disparity in the figures is due to a high proportion of apprentices dropping out. Apprentices were legally bound by the terms of their indentures and to drop out *legally* required formal recognition by the magistrates. Norwich Record Office includes a solitary example of a letter, dated 12th April 1774, from John Duckett, father of William, addressed to Robert Curson, cabinet-maker, who was the lad's master, notifying him that he was going before the justices at the next Quarter Sessions to request the discharge of his son from his apprenticeship "when you may Attend if you think proper and show Cause If you can why he should not be discharged".⁴⁰ Such requests were clearly uncommon. Ben-Amos states that in sixteenth and seventeenth century Bristol legal discharge accounts for less than 5% of 'lost' apprentices.⁴¹

Dropping out *illegally*, i.e. absconding, was of course well-recognized and several examples of newspaper notices requesting information on run-away apprentices are included in this survey. However the majority of such absconders were pauper apprentices, who were not common in the cabinet-making and upholstery trades. I have only found two examples of non-pauper apprentices running away: Sam Kirkman, who ran away from Christopher Pegg, joiner and cabinet-maker in 1773, and James Mills, who ran away from Michael Godman, cabinet-maker & chair-maker in 1790. In both cases they were seventeen months into their apprenticeships. The premiums were £10 and £12 respectively, and these would not be recovered by the parents if the apprentices failed to return. Wasting of the premium would in itself be a strong deterrent to defaulting on the indenture. The first four recorded apprentices of William Notley, Norwich upholsterer, had premiums of £50, £60, £63 and £63 and none of them is documented as having obtained his freedom. It is surely inconceivable that they would have squandered such high premiums.

Despite the deterrents to dropping out illegally, this is the explanation favoured by Rappaport, though we must remember that he is writing of sixteenth century London, not eighteenth century Norfolk. He calculates that 90% of apprentices were immigrants and writes:

*Where did they go? Since there is no evidence of large numbers of masterless men roaming the streets of Tudor London, most young men who never finished their apprenticeships must have gone home or elsewhere after receiving several years of valuable training in the capital.*⁴²

Ben-Amos draws the same conclusion:

*...a few of them remained in the town and turned to vagrancy and petty crime, risking being sent to Bridewell. Most of these youngsters left the town and returned to their home town or village, or turned elsewhere. The motives inducing them to depart from the town were many, but what was common to all was a reluctance to continue to work for their masters when they could use their skills to pursue their own ends.*⁴³

The hypothesis that apprentices simply returned to their home towns or villages to practice their trade without any formal recognition of their training cannot be proved or disproved, but at least in eighteenth century Norfolk it seems unlikely that this could

account for the majority of the disappearing apprentices. Upholsterers and carvers and gilders would be unlikely to find employment in villages or even in market towns. Cabinet-makers and chair-makers may have done so, but why are they not documented in newspaper advertisements or trade directories?

Dropping out of apprenticeship therefore, either legally or illegally, cannot account for the 75% of apprentices who 'disappear'. We are left with the alternative that they served their full term but failed to take up the freedom on completing their training and simply worked as journeymen either locally or elsewhere, as postulated by Howard (*v. supra*). They would thus save themselves the fees charged for registering the freedom, and they would be spared the risk of jury service, service to the militia and being appointed by the Corporation to serve as Constable or Poor Guardian. Penelope Corfield, in her thesis on the social and economic history of Norwich, puts it as follows:

*The freedom conferred civic rights...but it also rendered the holder liable for civic office, which could be onerous in terms of both time and money. There was therefore a strong tendency for practice to diverge from theory, as people evaded taking out the freedom, or, in some cases, disenfranchised themselves (compounding with a fee) to avoid taking office.*⁴⁴

Jocelyn Dunlop, in her seminal 1912 work on apprenticeship, acknowledged the phenomenon:

*Sometimes an apprentice did not attempt to take up his freedom immediately upon the expiration of his term. Possibly the expenses of his admittance caused him to hesitate, or he may have waited until there was an opportunity for opening his business. In some companies this delay on the part of apprentices was forbidden, and fines were imposed upon those who did not apply for the freedom within a certain period after their service had ended. Generally, however, the apprentice was ready enough to ask for his freedom. It was his master's duty to make him free.*⁴⁵

The implication here is that completion of apprenticeship without enrolment occurred but was uncommon. My figures suggest that, at least in eighteenth century Norfolk, it was very common. If I am correct we would expect a number of craftsmen, after some years working as non-free journeymen, to have decided to set up their own workshops and so to have had to apply late for their freedom. This does indeed prove to be the case. In contrast to those craftsmen who applied for the freedom immediately on completion of their apprenticeship we find others who delayed for years, for example:

Thomas Jarvis, Norwich up.,	completed apprenticeship	1789.	Free	1792.
Jay Bracey, Yarmouth up.,	"	"	1790.	Free 1795
John Alexander, Norwich cm.,	"	"	1797.	Free 1807.
Edward Wood, Norwich cm.,	"	"	1798.	Free 1807.
Thos. Cooper, King's Lynn up.,	"	"	1802.	Free 1810/11.
Nath. Partridge, Norwich cm.,	"	"	1809.	Free 1818.
James Girling, Norwich chm.,	"	"	1773.	Free 1791.
Thos. Munday, Norwich tur.,	"	"	1776.	Free 1783.

Howard, covering the period 1550–1750, comments ‘Many apprenticeships were never registered; a number who had been apprenticed earlier only appeared later after becoming masters of their own workshops.’⁴⁶

To summarise, therefore, the evidence suggests that up to 75% of craftsmen, on completion of their apprenticeship, opted to work as non-free journeymen. Some of these subsequently took up their freedom when they became masters themselves.

Eligibility for Admission to the Freedom

As in most towns and cities, there were four means of admission to the freedom in Norwich, Yarmouth and King’s Lynn: patrimony, servitude, purchase and gift. Admission by patrimony was open to any boy whose father was a freeman, except in King’s Lynn, which restricted admission to the first son, and then only after the father’s death.⁴⁷ It was essential that the boy’s father was a freeman at the time of the boy’s birth, and the Yarmouth Assembly Book includes a number of applications for the freedom which were rejected when the borough officials consulted the parish records and found that the applicant’s birth preceded the father’s admission to the freedom.

Admission by servitude required, at least in theory, a seven year apprenticeship to a master who himself had the freedom. This requirement dated back in the case of Norwich to publication of the *Book of Customs* in c. 1308 and was enshrined nationally in the 1563 *Statute of Artificers*,⁴⁸ which remained in force until it was repealed in 1814.⁴⁹ Admission by purchase was generally available to ‘foreign’ craftsmen, i.e. those who had served their apprenticeship elsewhere. At least in Norwich they were required to work in the City for a year and a day before becoming eligible. In King’s Lynn there were also merchants who paid large sums (up to £150) for their freedom as this exempted them from tolls.⁵⁰ Admission by gift was granted as an honour to distinguished visitors, such as members of the Royal Family and Lord Nelson.

On perusal of the various registers of freemen it is at first perplexing that so many craftsmen were admitted to the freedom by patrimony. Those following the same trade as their father presumably in effect served an apprenticeship within the family, but how did those following a different occupation learn their trade? The answer lies in a comparison of the names listed in the Inland Revenue apprenticeship records with those in the freemen registers. In thirty nine cases youths apprenticed to a master were admitted by patrimony, so that their apprenticeship is not documented in the freemen register. The reason for this is, of course, financial. As I understand it there was no charge for admission by patrimony in the eighteenth century, whereas a payment of 13s 4d was required for registration by servitude.

THE UPHOLSTERY TRADE IN NORFOLK

The term ‘upholsterer’, ‘upholster’ or ‘upholder’ covered a wide range of activities during the period covered by this study. In its narrow sense it covered the craft of making soft furnishings, notably beds, curtains and stuffed seat furniture. To quote Campbell:

He must handle the Needle so alertly as to sew a plain Seam, and sew on the Lace

*without Puckers; and he must use his Sheers so dextrously as to cut a Valence or Counterpain with a genteel Sweep, according to a Pattern he has before him.*⁵¹

The broader meaning of ‘upholsterer’ is also well-expressed by Campbell:

*I have just finished my House, and must now think of furnishing it with fashionable furniture. The Upholder is chief Agent in this Case: He is the Man upon whose Judgment I rely in the Choice of Goods; and I suppose he has not only Judgment in the Materials, but Taste in the Fashions, and Skill in the Workmanship. This Tradesman’s Genius must be universal in every Branch of Furniture...He employs Journeymen in his own proper Calling, Cabinet-Makers, Glass-Grinders, Looking-Glass Frame-Carvers, Carvers for Chairs, Testers, and Posts of Bed, the Woolen-Draper, the Mercer, the Linen-Draper, several Species of Smiths, and a vast many Tradesmen of the other mechanic Branches.*⁵²

We must remember, however, that Campbell is describing the London trade. Advertisements for Norfolk upholsterers suggest that they did not themselves employ an army of craftsmen in the allied trades but rather that they bought in materials and probably furniture for display in their show-rooms and for sale. Much of their merchandise was bought in London, and the phrase ‘...has just returned from London with a selection of...’ constantly recurs in their advertisements. They provided carpets and wallpaper and indeed included wallpapering among their skills, though this was presumably left to assistants. As in London, their taste and judgement were appreciated by clients, and this is no doubt what justified the higher scale of apprenticeship premiums which they charged. They seem to have aspired to a higher social status than the average cabinet-maker; George Gynne, Norwich upholsterer, went shooting with one of the Norfolk gentry, Press Custance, brother of James Woodforde’s squire, and to judge by Woodforde’s comments he seems to have shared some of the *arriviste* disposition that was attributed to London upholsterers such as William Hallett and John Cobb.

Upholstery was certainly a thriving business in Norfolk. If we compare figures for master upholsterers taking on apprentices between 1710 and 1760, based on Inland Revenue records, five were recorded in Wiltshire,⁵³ none in Warwickshire⁵⁴ and twenty two in Norfolk, including sixteen in Norwich. The absence of recorded upholstery apprenticeships in Warwickshire is mysterious, Birmingham being the fifth largest urban settlement in England in 1750, but it may be that Birmingham was one of the towns where, according to some sources, the whole framework of the apprenticeship system was breaking up.⁵⁵ That aside, it is clear that upholstery was a well-established and profitable business in Norwich and the larger Norfolk towns. To quote Mary Crane, writing in 1762, ‘It is here a very beneficial business, and great wages given to journeymen’ (See Appendix II). We have seen (figure 3) that master upholsterers charged at least double the apprenticeship premiums charged by cabinet-makers.

Relationship to the Worsted Trade

In the standard nineteenth century history of worsted manufacture, John James wrote:

*Between the years 1743 to that of 1763, Norwich reached the palmy, the highest state of its greatness, as the "chief seat of the chief manufacture of the realm".*⁵⁶

His statement, if inelegantly expressed, conveys something of the importance of the worsted weaving industry to Norwich. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the city was completely dominated by the worsted trade. If we take the years 1752–1759, just before the trade started to go into decline, there were 1126 admissions to the freedom.⁵⁷ Of these, 543 were worsted weavers and 98 were in related trades (hotpressers, woolcombers, throwsters, twisterers, dyers), giving a total of 641, or 57% of all admissions. Three cabinet-makers, eight joiners and six upholsterers were admitted in the same period. These figures give some indication of the overwhelming dominance of the worsted industry, and a scan through the poll-books shows that in some parishes there were hardly any freemen who were not weavers. The trade also pervaded the surrounding villages, where the handloom and the distaff and spindle provided the main source of income.

Norwich produced a bewildering variety of fabrics, some with names that are now difficult to relate to actual specimens of cloth. The market covered the globe, from Russia to the East Indies and from South America to China, traditionally supplied through London agents. One would expect that Norfolk upholsterers would source their materials locally, the dominant materials mentioned in advertisements being harrateens, cheneyes, moreens, linseys and linsey-woolseys. These are all varieties of worsted, in some cases interwoven with linen or silk. Worsted yarn is spun from long-staple wool fibres, mainly from Leicestershire and Lincolnshire sheep, which differentiates it from normal wool yarn which is spun from short-staple fibres.⁵⁸ Another difference is that, in contrast to woollen cloths, worsteds were not fullled or sheared.⁵⁹ Worsted production was confined to four centres: Stepney, Canterbury, the Woodland (East Suffolk & Essex) and East Norfolk (including Norwich) and according to Kerridge 'of these four only one, comprising Norwich, East Norfolk and their satellites, worked in worsted on a large scale'.⁶⁰ It would seem logical, therefore, for Norfolk upholsterers to obtain their materials from local suppliers, but evidence for this is surprisingly hard to come by. There is a single entry in the account books of Philip Stannard, owner of one of the largest Norwich worsted weaving establishments, referring to a sale to a local upholsterer:

12/2/1765 Sold Mr. Chas. Chapman	
1 ps Superfine Bed [sic] Damask 22 in. 30 yds 75s	£3-15-0
3 ps Do. No. 2. Rich Crimson 22 in. 30 yds 90s	£13-10-0
	£17 - 5-0 ⁶¹

One would have expected more such entries in an account book covering seven years, but this is the only one I have found, so it is possible that upholsterers actually found it more convenient to buy their Norfolk-made fabrics on their trips to London which feature so prominently in their advertisements. The same materials turn up in upholsterers' advertisements in other centres, for example Ralph Brown of Newcastle advertised that 'he has lately returned from London with a large assortment of paper-hangings, damasks,

moreens, harrateens, and cheneys, brocaded and plain Manchester strip'd furniture...⁶²

At least two Norwich upholsterers had their own looms. Perygrey Browne advertised that he was the 'Maker of Crewel and Yarning Died Ruggs, Blankets, Coverlets, Linsie-Woolsie for Aprons',⁶³ and when he left off trade he advertised the sale of 'several lombs fit for Rugs and Darnick, or any Broad Work'.⁶⁴ Similarly Andrew Feldegate advertised that he manufactured linsey-woolseys, woolseys, plush and other sorts of rug⁶⁵ and a loom was included in his sale of stock six years later.⁶⁶

CABINET MAKERS IN NORFOLK

The striking thing about Norfolk cabinet-makers is that they rarely seem to have practised their craft in isolation for long. Cotton has pointed out that cabinet-making and chair-making were closely associated in East Anglia, since most chairs had framed construction with mortise and tenon joints. The small separate group of turner-chair-makers will be discussed later.

Not only were Norfolk cabinet-makers involved in chair-making but often, after a few years they assumed the title of upholsterer as well. That is not to say that they actually practised the craft of upholstery themselves, but rather that as their trade expanded they became managers of their businesses rather than pure craftsmen, and they saw the development of upholstery as a natural extension of their business. Kirkham has eloquently reported how what she describes as the 'comprehensive manufacturing firm' developed in London,⁶⁷ and exactly the same thing happened on a smaller scale in Norwich. Thus John Freeman (2) was apprenticed to William Decaux (1) who was a cabinet-maker and chair-maker in 1770. Freeman was listed as a cabinet-maker in the 1791 directory, but by 1798 he was advertising as a cabinet-maker, chair-maker and upholsterer and in an 1801 advertisement he mentioned that he had engaged hands in these branches from London. Joseph Gray purchased his freedom as a cabinet-maker in 1815 but was soon managing an 'upholstery and cabinet manufactory' which operated on a very large scale. Similarly William Ansell, Richard and Joseph Bexfield, Robert Lane, Samuel Larrance, Edward Sutcliffe and many others who started as cabinet-makers subsequently advertised upholstery goods as well.

Such men were in effect entrepreneurs who were on the one hand managing a workshop, employing journeymen from a variety of trades, and on the other operating a ware-room where customers could view cabinet-work, soft furnishings and even carpets and wall-paper. These enterprises fit Campbell's description of the London upholstery trade rather than that of the traditional cabinet-maker, but the fact that in London it was usually an upholsterer running the business whilst in Norwich it was often a cabinet-maker probably made little difference to the character of the establishment.

A different approach was adopted by Samuel Martin, who was probably the leading Norwich cabinet-maker in the early nineteenth century. Instead of employing journeymen upholsterers he first of all in 1805 formed a partnership with John Smith, a master upholsterer, and they operated from Martin's premises at the foot of Surrey Street. The partnership lasted for eleven years. Following its dissolution in 1816 Martin made an agreement with Thomas Carver and William Tomlinson junior, upholsterers. In the

words of Carver & Tomlinson's advertisement:

*Cutler and Tomlinson beg most respectfully to acquaint their Friends and the Public, that any orders with which they may be favoured in the Cabinet Business will be executed in the best manner possible. C. and T. have agreed with S. Martin, of Surry-street, (late Martin and Smith) to do that part of the business for them: and any orders in the upholstery Business with which Mr. Martin may be favoured will equally oblige Cutler and Tomlinson.*⁶⁸

Thus the two businesses maintained their separate workshops, which were within a stone's throw of each other, but each benefited from the other's customer base. This sensible-sounding arrangement lasted until 1823 when the Cutler and Tomlinson partnership was dissolved.

A further trade taken up by several Norwich cabinet-makers was that of mahogany merchant. Newspaper advertisements for sales of stock in trade indicate that cabinet-makers held considerable reserves of timber, especially mahogany, which they stored in board, plank and veneer. It would be a natural step for them to take to offer excess timber for sale. James Kittle was a cabinet-maker who appeared as a mahogany dealer in the 1791 directory. Although his workshop was in the parish of St John Timberhill he had premises at St. Anne's Staithe in the parish of St Julian, which would be convenient for the reception of timber brought up the River Wensum from Yarmouth. John Norris (4) was advertising as a mahogany merchant by 1818 and Joseph Gray by 1822, but most of the expansion of cabinet-makers into the mahogany trade took place in the 1830s, when John Brown, William Freeman, Joseph Pigg and Perry St Quintin all took up the trade. Freeman, Pigg and St Quintin all had premises in St George Colgate, where they would have river access near Blackfriar's Bridge. Timber imported from the Caribbean and Central America was unloaded at Yarmouth for transport up the Yare and the Wensum to Norwich. For the river journey flat-bottomed boats with a maximum draught of three feet were necessary due to the shallowness of the Yare at Breydon Water, just inland from Yarmouth. According to White's 1845 *Directory*, the main vessels used were not Norfolk wherries but keels, vessels originally designed for transferring coal to colliers on the River Tyne.

One Norwich cabinet-making family, the Norrises, warrants special mention. The freemen registers enable us to record seven generations of this family working in the furniture trade, extending from before the opening to after the closing limits of this study, from John (1), a joiner who obtained his freedom in 1684 to Samuel (3), an upholsterer who became free in 1864 and in 1896 was still operating as a house furnisher, upholsterer and paper hanger from 2 & 4 Charing Cross and 22 St John Street according to Kelly's *Directory* for that year. Sixteen members of the family are documented, as shown in the family tree in Appendix I, including three joiners, ten cabinet-makers, one cabinet-maker and chair-maker, one cabinet-maker and upholsterer and one upholsterer, plus Mary Ann, the widow of James (1), who continued the business after his death in the mid-nineteenth century until her son Samuel took over.

CARVERS, GILDERS AND PICTURE-FRAME MAKERS IN NORWICH

There was a strong tradition of carving and gilding in Norwich, with two main schools, one started by Benjamin Jagger and the other by Jeremiah Freeman. Both became associated with the Norwich School of artists.

Jagger purchased his freedom in 1762, so presumably served his apprenticeship elsewhere. He trained Samuel Cushing sen., John Thirtle and Luke Parke. Jagger worked at Wolterton Hall and Parke at Holkham Hall, including gilding the exterior of the glazing bars. His accounts there totalled over £1100. Thirtle was a founder member of the Norwich Society of Artists, of which he became President in 1814.⁶⁹ After John Crome and John Sell Cotman he is considered the most important watercolourist of the Norwich School,⁷⁰ who 'delighted in town and river scenes around Norwich'.⁷¹

Jeremiah Freeman purchased his freedom in 1792, so again it is likely that he served his apprenticeship elsewhere. Like Benjamin Jagger he made picture frames and sold prints, and like John Thirtle he was a founder-member of the Norwich Society of Artists,⁷² becoming President in 1818. Trade cards and bill-heads give detailed descriptions of the range of his professional activities (plates 13, 14 & 15). He worked briefly at Holkham Hall and also at Felbrigg with his son William who followed him as gilder, picture frame maker and print-seller, as well as landscape artist. William's son William Philip Barnes, after apprenticeship to his father, in turn followed the same professions. Like John Thirtle, the Freemans must have found the income from their businesses a welcome addition to their more unpredictable earnings as artists.

One of William's apprentices, William Boswell, took over John Thirtle's gilding and framing business in Magdalen Street in 1839 and subsequently the Freeman business in London Road in 1870. Not himself an artist, Boswell became a well-known authority on the Norwich School, many of whose paintings passed through his hands and now bear his labels on their frames (plate 8). Successive generations of the family continued the business, moving to Tombland in 1930, finally closing in the late 1950s.⁷³

Another link between the Norwich School and the carving and gilding fraternity is provided by Robert Ladbroke junior, whose father, Robert Ladbroke senior, was a friend of John Crome (whose sister-in-law he married) and one of the best-known artists of the Norwich School.⁷⁴ Three other sons of Robert senior became artists but Robert junior became a carver and gilder as well as a picture dealer and restorer. There is no record of him serving a formal apprenticeship.

LOCATION OF THE FURNITURE TRADE IN NORWICH

Norwich's medieval ground plan remained virtually unchanged until late in the eighteenth century. The city wall and gates remained intact, and population growth was largely contained inside the wall by increased crowding within the existing housing stock. There was minimal development in the surrounding suburbs (or 'hamlets') until 1792 when the Corporation finally ordered the demolition of five of the gates, shortly to be followed by the rest.⁷⁵ This freed up communication with the surrounding areas and rapid development ensued in the suburbs of Heigham, Eaton, Lakenham and Pockthorpe

outside the walls in the early nineteenth century.

Until the crucial turning point of the demolition of the city gates, life and business were carried on in the thirty four parishes within the walls, twenty four of them south of the River Wensum and the other ten *ultra aquam* or 'over-the-water'. Figure 4 and its accompanying key shows the location of the parishes. The Cathedral Precinct is not strictly a parish, and St Michael at Thorn and St Clement are in two halves, which is why the figures come to thirty seven rather than thirty four. The site of a business was usually identified by its parish, and I have attempted in figures 5 & 6 to define the distribution of the different furniture trades by parish before and after 1800. To ensure consistency I made two rules: 1) Where the only known address is to a street rather than a parish, if that street crosses a parish boundary it is omitted from analysis. This particularly affects London Lane and Pottergate, which were popular sites for furniture-makers, so there is inevitably some under-representation of St Peter Mancroft, St Andrew and St John Maddermarket. 2) When a craftsman moves, each address is entered into the table, so some craftsmen have multiple entries.

Many cabinet-makers were also chair-makers and some craftsmen advertised as both cabinet-makers and upholsterers. In these cases it is usually clear from apprenticeship records, or from the wording of advertisements, which is the primary trade and this is the trade that I have entered in the tables.

Upholsterers

It is obvious from figures 5 & 6 that certain parishes were strongly favoured by the upholstery trade, and this is illustrated graphically in the maps shown in figures 7 & 8. In the eighteenth century St Peter Mancroft dominated, followed by the parishes adjacent to it: St John Maddermarket, St Andrew and St Stephen. These four parishes accounted for fifty nine out of the eighty six locations identified, that is 69%. St Peter Mancroft includes the Market Place, the hub of commercial activity within the City, and the shops facing onto it, together with those in the adjacent streets, such as Cockey Lane (later called London Lane and then London Street), Dove Lane and White Lion Lane, all of which were prime sites for businesses.

The years after 1800 showed a slight shift from St Peter Mancroft to St Stephen and a thinly-spread dispersal to more peripheral parishes within the city wall, but the dominance of the central parishes near the Market Place persisted (figure 8). Only two upholsterers opened up outside the city walls, in Lakenham.

Cabinet Makers

Cabinet-makers (and early eighteenth century joiners) were more widely dispersed than upholsterers, though St Peter Mancroft again predominated in the eighteenth century (figure 9). The sequence of parishes adjacent to the east-west section of the river was popular, particularly on the south side, and the concentration of craftsmen in this area grew stronger in the nineteenth century (figure 10). However the parish of St Stephen came to have the highest concentration of cabinet-makers. It was a fashionable residential area, which probably attracted much of the trade. The most dramatic increase in numbers after 1800 was in the hamlet of Heigham, however, which had no cabinet-makers before 1800 and twenty one between 1800 and 1840. Following destruction of the City gates extramural development was delayed by the Revolutionary and

Napoleonic Wars, but Heigham's population rose from 842 to 5396 between the censuses of 1811 and 1831.⁷⁶ Lakenham also saw rapid expansion, from 441 to 3810 in the same period, with a roughly proportionate increase in the number of cabinet-makers from none to nine. It would seem that the residents of the new houses in these suburbs wanted to buy their furniture locally, and this would account for the influx of cabinet-makers, though one wonders why the upholsterers remained in the City centre.

Turners

I have recorded thirty two turners in the eighteenth century and thirty five between 1800 and 1840. I have not produced maps for these, but there was not the same concentration in the central parishes as in the case of cabinet-makers and upholsterers. What is noticeable is that a high proportion were based 'over-the-water' in the northern parishes: thirteen out of thirty five before 1800 and twelve out of thirty two after. This was where the worsted weavers were mainly concentrated which supports my suggestion that many turners were supplying equipment such as bobbins for the weavers. One might have expected the manufacture of spinning-wheels to have constituted a significant part of their work, but in fact worsted yarn was spun using the more primitive distaff and spindle as it was difficult to spin on a wheel.⁷⁷ The only advertisement I have seen mentioning spinning-wheel making came from John Curtis of Wisbech.⁷⁸

Chair Makers, carvers and gilders

The numbers of chair makers, carvers and gilders are too small and addresses too widely-scattered for useful conclusions to be drawn.

DEBT, BANKRUPTCY AND INSOLVENCY

One of the hazards facing furniture-makers was that of falling into debt, and this appears to have been a common problem in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. We tend to think that living on credit is a modern phenomenon, but credit was absolutely fundamental to eighteenth century trade. Craftsmen obtained their materials on credit and their customers bought their products on credit. To quote the historian Peter Earle:

*The problems of the businessman's cash flow were made much greater by the ubiquity of credit. There was of course a cash basis to the economy but credit, often for very long periods, permeated every aspect of economic life. Goods were sold, both wholesale and retail, on credit; wages, commissions, taxes and rent payments were normally in arrears; even portions, legacies and dowries were normally paid long after they were due.*⁷⁹

It is small wonder that working in such an economic system it was easy to find oneself faced with unpayable debts.

The laws governing the fate of those falling into irrecoverable debt were complex and frequently-changing, but by and large there were three possible outcomes for someone who was unable to pay his debts: he could go bankrupt, he could be sent to gaol by his creditor as an insolvent debtor, or he could arrive at a compromise, known as a

composition, with his creditors.⁸⁰

Bankruptcy had the advantage to the debtor that it allowed him, without going to prison, to be discharged from all debts. A Commissioner was appointed to investigate creditors' claims. If he declared the debtor bankrupt assignees were appointed (initially by the Commissioner, but later by the creditors themselves) to document the debtor's assets and dispose of them, so as to pay off the creditors by declaring a dividend determined by the ratio of assets to debt. Four-fifths of the creditors (in number and value) could then grant the bankrupt a certificate of discharge, which protected his future property from former debts, allowing him to set up in business again.

Not everyone could qualify for bankruptcy. The Act of 1571 specified that only traders could become bankrupt, defining a trader as one who seeks 'his or her trade or living by buying or selling'.⁸¹ As time went on the definition of a trader gradually became more complex. A 1736 legal dictionary elaborated as follows:

*It is not Buying and Selling of Land, but of personal Things, that will make a Man liable to be a Bankrupt; nor is it Buying only, or Selling only, but both Buying and Selling. Every one that gets his Living by Buying and Selling in Trade and Merchandize, may come under the Denomination of a Bankrupt, upon his Failing therein.Farmers, Graziers, &c., are excepted out of the Statutes; as Buying and Selling is not their only or principal Means of Livelihood....An Inn-keeper is not within the Statutes, for though he buys Provision to be spent in his House, yet he doth not properly sell it, but utters it to his Guests at no certain Price...And a Taylor is not within the statute of Bankrupts, because he lives by Making of Garments, and not by Buying and Selling. A Shoe maker hath been adjudged within the Statutes, as he lives by his Credit in buying Leather, and selling it again in Shoes, &c. And Carpenters in London, Weavers, Dyers, Tanners, Bakers, Brewers, Vintners, &c may be Bankrupts: But Handicraftmen, Husbandmen, Labourers, &c. are not within the Statutes.*⁸²

The logic of excluding tailors from bankruptcy but not shoe-makers is not immediately apparent. It would seem that upholsterers generally qualified for bankruptcy but many cabinet and chair-makers did not. A common ruse was to add 'dealer and chapman' to their list of occupations, and one sees this phrase quite often in bankruptcy notices, for example in the *Norfolk Chronicle* of 21/7/1827:

Whereas A Commission of Bankruptcy is awarded and issued against Matthew Moneyment, of Swaffham, in the county of Norfolk, Cabinet Maker, dealer and chapman, and he being declared a Bankrupt...

A chapman is defined as 'a person who buys or sells'.⁸³ The same phrase was often employed by upholsterers, just to be on the safe side. An Act of Parliament of 1825 extended the range of occupations qualifying for bankruptcy, and included carpenters, but did not mention cabinet-makers or chairmakers.⁸⁴ The trader/non-trader distinction was not finally abolished until 1861.⁸⁵

Indications of bankruptcy in the press took various forms. Some notices simply announced the award of a Commission of Bankruptcy, as in the above case of Matthew Moneyment; others advertised the sale of the bankrupt's stock, tools and household

goods ‘by order of the assignees’. There is an element of pathos in some of these lists, for example the sale of Norwich cabinet-maker John Leeds Mason’s effects in 1832 included ‘50 feet deal, dog and kennel, water-butt, sawing stool, grind-stone, three iron rods for bed...’⁸⁶ A third type of notice announced the dividend payable to creditors following sale of the debtor’s assets. In all there are notices indicating nine bankrupt upholsterers and seven bankrupt cabinet-makers in this survey.

Those who were unable to have themselves declared bankrupt faced the possibility of being sued as insolvent debtors. By a procedure known as ‘arrest on mesne process’ a creditor could have the debtor imprisoned before trial for a debt as low as £2, though this was raised to £20 in 1827. The creditor could then keep the debtor in gaol indefinitely until the debt was paid. Of course, being unable to work the debtor could find it impossible to pay the debt and could find himself imprisoned, often in appalling conditions, for years if the creditor was prepared to pay for his food, which he was obliged to do.

Prisons became overcrowded with insolvent debtors, and humanitarian politicians made various attempts to have such prisoners discharged, culminating in Lord Redesdale’s 1813 Act establishing the Court for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors, which gave them a method of petitioning for release.⁸⁷ In Norwich the Court met at six-monthly intervals, with separate meetings for the County (Castle) and City Gaols and after 1828 petitioners for release were announced in the local newspapers. Between 1828 and 1840 I found nineteen cabinet-makers and one turner in the lists of petitioners. The National Archives records yielded a further four cabinet-makers and one carver between 1822 and 1826.⁸⁸ So at least twenty three cabinet-makers were in prison for debt in Norwich gaols between 1822 and 1840 (see figure 11). I have no knowledge of the extent of imprisonment during the rest of the period of this survey. There is no way of assessing whether cabinet-makers were more or less likely to be imprisoned for debt than other craftsmen, but the large numbers revealed here must indicate that prison was a very real threat.

The third option for an insolvent debtor was to arrange a private composition with his creditors. If the debtor was honest and it was clear to his creditors that he was not fraudulent, this offered them the best chance of retrieving a substantial proportion of the debt. In some cases the debtor would make a statement of his financial state to his creditors and offer to settle for so much in the pound. This was the method favoured by Defoe (who himself went bankrupt) since it avoided legal costs. He advocated acceptance of the debtor’s initial offer as the best option for both parties.⁸⁹ Alternatively assignees could be appointed and an indenture produced transferring the debtor’s stock and effects to them for disposal, with subsequent declaration of a dividend, allowing a proportional allocation to the creditors, as in the case of bankruptcy. Newspaper notices documenting the production of such indentures were common, and there are twenty three examples in the newspaper extracts quoted here (seventeen cabinet-makers, five upholsterers and a carver & gilder). It is not always clear, however, whether such notices refer to private compositions or Commissions of Bankruptcy, but I have assumed that if no Commission is mentioned the notice refers to a private composition. The various categories of indebted furniture-makers are listed in figures 11, 12 & 13.

TRADE DISPUTES

Occasionally indications of unrest surface in newspaper advertisements. One such was described by the author in a recent paper on William Sharpe of Norwich, cabinet-maker and chair-maker.⁹⁰ He had worked as a journeyman for Thorne and Leverington but decided to set up on his own in 1774. His former employers complained in an advertisement in *The Norwich Mercury* for 15/10/1774 that Sharpe had ‘made personal Application to some Persons (whom he knew were Customers of ours) for their Favors in his own behalf’. In a long and indignant reply to this accusation in the following number,⁹¹ Sharpe countered that he ‘took no other Method than what is generally made Use of by young Tradesmen, in distributing Hand Bills, to solicit public Favour’. Whether or not Sharpe was guilty of lobbying his former masters’ customers it is clear from the heat of the dispute that such poaching was considered to be an unacceptable practice. That there was nothing new about the practice is indicated by the comments of William Stout, a Lancashire grocer, who wrote that on setting up in business in the late seventeenth century he was careful to avoid ‘inviting any of my master’s or neighbour’s customers, which was a practice then much used, but by me always detested’.⁹²

One dispute between the masters and journeymen cabinet and chair-makers was recorded in a notice in the *Norfolk Chronicle* of 3/4/1771, which can be seen in the section on Richard Peete in the Index. The precise nature of the dispute is not stated, but the journeymen had evidently met to discuss a move by the masters to ‘ingross a few Privileges, enjoyed for Ages past’. Presumably these were privileges that the masters involved were withdrawing from the journeymen. Evidently Peete had not colluded with the other masters and in the notice the journeymen offer him their thanks.

In order to avoid potential disputes over the pay of journeymen *The Cabinet & Chair Makers’ Norwich Book of Prices* was published. No first edition is known to survive but a second edition was produced in 1801, copies of which survive in the Norfolk Heritage Centre and the Winterthur Museum, Delaware, USA.⁹³ Price books were useful as a means of regulating payment. A very detailed list of every aspect of cabinet-making was given, with prices quoted for each design feature. The book was closely modelled on *The Cabinet-makers’ London Book of Prices*, which was first published in 1788.⁹⁴ The Norwich volume comprises one hundred and sixty pages listing prices for features of cabinet-work, followed by thirty two pages giving prices for cross-banding, panelling, veneering, mouldings, etc. There then follows a separate section of seventy five pages of chair-makers’ prices.

According to the title-page the book was published ‘for the Company of Cabinet and Chair Makers’, presumably a journeymen’s trade society, and there was evidently a link with the Norwich Union insurance society, whose emblem is included as the frontispiece (plate 2), incorporating space for the craftsman’s membership number and name, and the words ‘With Hearts & Hands United’ and ‘Norwich Union Society for Insuring Chest & Tools’. The copy of the volume surviving in the Norwich Millennium Library is inscribed with the name of John Poole, cabinet-maker of Norwich and Diss.

Although the *Norwich Book of Prices* must have decreased the incidence of disputes between journeymen and masters, problems arose in the Napoleonic wars when the difficulty of importing timber resulted in price rises. On 12th May 1810 the journeymen

negotiated a 12% increase on the rates quoted in the book and a group of leading Norwich cabinet-makers inserted a notice in the *Norwich Mercury* of 19th May confirming their agreement to the terms. Acceptance of the new rates extended as far afield as Wisbech where John Curtis's advertisement of 17/4/1812 stated that 'two or three workmen in the above branches may have constant employ, by the Norwich book of prices, and the late advances thereon'.⁹⁵ As a result of the Peace of Paris of May 1814, some masters considered that the increased rates were no longer justified and they reverted to the old rates. A notice addressed to the masters in the *Norwich Mercury* of 10/12/1814 by the journeymen cabinet and chair-makers complained that the masters had broken the agreement despite the fact that the (transitory) peace had not resulted in a drop in timber prices. Benjamin Titter was singled out for criticism as one of the culprits and the full text of the advertisement will be found under his name in the Index. The notice goes on to issue the following threat:

we are therefore fearful, were you to follow his example, that the articles we manufacture must in a great degree be slighted, which the eye of the most minute Employer could not search out or discover, which would prove in a little time of great disadvantage both to you and the public in general, and we shall loose that credit which Norwich Workmen have for these last twenty years boasted of in the Cabinet and Chair Branch.

The Oxford English Dictionary gives *slight* as a dialect term for 'to do (work) carelessly or negligently'. If the threat was carried out the resulting articles of furniture must have elicited some raised eyebrows and dropped jaws among customers as the defects came to light in subsequent years.

CHARACTERISTICS OF NORFOLK FURNITURE

As described by Bill Cotton, East Anglia was unusual in that there was not a strong tradition of chair-making as a separate trade. Most chairs were made by cabinet-makers, who appeared as cabinet-maker and chair-maker in directories and in advertisements. Their chairs had framed seats, with mortise and tenon jointing of the rails to the legs. Cotton described four varieties of seat: flat thin wooden sections nailed to the frame, the 'hollow' or concave thin wooden seat, again nailed to the frame, the drop-in woven rush seat and the drop-in upholstered seat. Of the four types, three were common in other parts of the country, but the hollow seat was an East Anglian speciality, otherwise thought only to have gained a limited currency in Fife. It occasionally featured in advertisements, the earliest being for the auction of Richard Barfoot's stock in 1795, which includes 'mahogany and elm chairs, with horse hair and wood curved seats'.⁹⁶ An 1812 auction of William Stevens's stock in trade included 'mahogany hollow-seated chairs',⁹⁷ and the auction of Smith & Pawsey's stock in 1830 included 'several sets of mahogany hair seat, Trafalgar and other chairs, mahogany hollow seat ditto'.⁹⁸

A typical mahogany hollow-seat chair is shown in plate 3. This chair was in Fakenham parish church until recently when it was sold during refurbishment. It had the characteristic feature of hessian strips glued transversely to the underside of the seat to

add strength. Plates 4 & 5 show another hollow-seat chair with the typical hessian strips.

Flat wood-bottomed chairs were certainly commonly made and also featured in advertisements, for example Martin Ringer offered 'two dozen wood-bottom chairs' in 1796.⁹⁹

I believe Cotton's third category of East Anglian chair, with the drop-in rush seat, was common currency through much of England, but rush certainly featured in Norfolk newspaper advertisements. Thomas Bouch of Wells supplied eighteen rush-seat chairs to Holkham Hall [Account paid 28/2/1805]. Some cabinet-makers branched out into the rush trade, for example William Newman of King's Lynn, cabinet-maker and chair-maker, advertised in 1771 that 'he sells Mahogany, and Wainscot, also Holland Rushes...'¹⁰⁰ and George Bailey of King's Lynn, on giving up the upholstery and cabinet-making sides of his business in 1804, continued in the 'mahogany, wainscot, beech and rush Trade'.¹⁰¹

Rush, or bulrush (*Scirpus lacustris*), thrived in the wetlands of Norfolk. It is not in fact a true rush (*Juncus*) but a variety of sedge. Two early eighteenth century newspaper advertisements refer to 'seggin' chair seats:

*The remaining Part of the Stock of the late Mr. Rutter, Upholster, consisting of Beds, Quilts, and Teeks, Choice of Cane and Seggin bottom Chairs...*¹⁰²

*Henry Nichols, Chair-Maker, is now set up in St. John's of Timberhill Parish in Norwich, and makes all Sorts of Seggin and Boarded Chairs of the Newest Fashion, and will sell them as Cheap as any Man in the City.*¹⁰³

Seggin was a dialect term for sedge.¹⁰⁴ It may be that these advertisements refer to bulrush, though rush would be a much more usual term. Alternatively they may indicate another type of sedge, the most likely candidate being saw-sedge (*Cladium mariscus*), commonly seen in Norfolk wetlands. Saw-sedge is traditionally used for thatching roof ridges, as it is more flexible than reed that is used for the rest of the roof. However the leaves have very sharp edges which would make it unsuitable for seating, unless it was subjected to some sort of preliminary treatment.

Cane chair-seating was advertised in the early eighteenth century. William Tailer, cane chair bottomer, advertised that he 'does all sorts of Cane work very well and reasonably'.¹⁰⁵ Again towards the end of the century and into the Regency period, cane seating was advertised, following national trends.

Mention of national trends brings me to an interesting feature of the more fashionable end of the market. Richard Peete (who was an unusually wealthy chair-maker, with estates in Jamaica), advertised in October 1753:

*All Sorts of Mahogany, English and Foreign Walnut-Tree Chairs, after the Chinese, French, and present English Fashions.*¹⁰⁶

Chippendale is usually represented as the source for 'Chinese' chair design in the provinces, but his *Gentleman and Cabinet-maker's Director* was not published until April 1754, six months after this advertisement. Matthias Darly had published his *A New Book of Chinese, Gothic and Modern Chairs* in 1751, which may have been Peete's source, or it may be that he had seen examples of Chinese chairs in London workshops

and based his designs on these rather than on published sources. In any event it does suggest that Norwich's more prestigious furniture-makers were remarkably up-to-date in their production. Within the year Peete had added Gothic chairs to his list of designs.¹⁰⁷

Just as in the rest of the country, Norfolk's urban chair-makers offered chairs with upholstered 'stuff-over' seats and completely upholstered chairs. That the brass-nailing was not always well-executed is suggested by the 1770 advertisement of Robinson Cruso of King's Lynn:

*Mahogany and Walnut-tree with stuffed Bottoms, Easy Chairs, French ditto stuffed and covered complete, not with the Brass Nails drove about the stumps like a cluster of Nuts, to hide Eye Sores, but drove Uniform. Facts will speak themselves...*¹

A few chair-makers stood outside the East Anglian cabinet and chair-maker tradition and made Windsor chairs with solid wooden seats and turned components secured by socket joints. Advertisements indicate three families who followed this tradition, two of which are in fact just outside Norfolk.

The first such family is the Cuddons or Cuddens of Beccles and Bungay. There appear to have been at least three John Cuddons of Beccles, dating from 1757 to 1844, variously listed as chair-makers or turners or both, and there were at least two James Cuddons in Bungay from 1764 to 1844, the first being listed as a 'turnchairmaker' in the Inland Revenue records when he took John Sayer apprentice in 1764 for the relatively high premium of £13/10s.

The second family was the Hubbards, all of whom, confusingly, were called William. The first William Hubbard of Norwich is documented as starting his apprenticeship as a chair-maker in 1724, and we know nothing more about him. The second Norwich William was recorded between 1795 and 1835 and in the 1802 directory was stated to be a fancy chair-maker, an indication that he probably made painted or japanned cane-seated chairs. As he advertised for a pair of mahogany sawyers in 1802 he must have made conventional chairs as well. It is unlikely that he made Windsor chairs, but the third William Hubbard of Norwich was entered in directories of the 1830s and '40s as a Windsor chairmaker and turner in wood. Meanwhile in Watton another William was recorded as a chair-maker taking apprentices from 1775 to 1793, and a turner and chair-maker of the same name was recorded in directories from 1822 to 1836, who may or may not have been the same man.

The third turned chair-making family, or rather business, was that of John Curtis of Wisbech, Cambridgeshire, recorded from 1768 to 1824. He appears to have run quite a substantial enterprise, employing cabinet-makers and upholsterers as well as chair-makers. In 1788 he advertised for a 'Turn Chair-maker...who has been used to Job turning, and Spinning-Wheel work...' It may be that work referred to here is that of making turned legs or parts for the backs of chairs in the framed wooden seat tradition rather than Windsor chairs. 'Job-turning' is a curious term. I would have assumed it meant payment by the job, in other words piece-work, but this is contradicted by an earlier John Curtis advertisement,¹⁰⁹ again offering employment to one 'who has been used to Job-turning and Spinning-wheel Work' but this time including the phrase 'for a Constancy', i.e. as a journeyman on a fixed wage.

Moving on to case furniture, most of the lists of furniture quoted in Norfolk newspaper advertisements are no different from those listed in other provincial newspapers. There is one article, however, which appears from time to time, for example in the following 1724 advertisement for the Norwich joiner, William Canham:

*...all Sorts of Joiners Goods, viz. Drawers, Tables, Buroes, Napkin-Presses...*¹¹⁰

The term 'napkin presses' could be assumed to mean clothes presses, that is shelved clothes cupboards, but that interpretation is excluded by an advertisement by the Yarmouth cabinet and chair-maker, Samuel Bream, thirty one years later:

*...all sorts of Cabinet and Chair Furniture, viz. Mahogany Cabinets, Book-cases, Desks, Commode and other Cloath Presses...also Chests of Draws, Napkin Presses...*¹¹¹

If he advertises clothes presses *and* napkin presses they are clearly not the same thing. The full answer lies in a third advertisement, another thirty one years on:

*James Cann, Cabinet-Maker, Turner, Wood Screw Cutter, and Press-Maker, Hog Hill, Norwich...*¹¹²

Press-maker clearly here refers to the maker of a device for pressing clothes or napery, operated by a wooden screw. Such a device is illustrated in plate 6. The screw press is attached to the top of a chest-of-drawers, being a convenient flat surface, allowing transfer of items from the press itself to the drawers below after pressing. These devices have been well described by Cotton.¹¹³ They are not peculiar to Norfolk or indeed East Anglia, but they are certainly much commoner in Norfolk than in the rest of the country, and a feature which does indicate a Norfolk or Suffolk origin is the presence of a row of two deep drawers with a pair of shallow drawers disposed vertically between them. Such an arrangement is illustrated on a chest in plate 7. This started life as a napkin press but, as is often the case, has had the superstructure removed to convert it into a conventional chest-of-drawers. Cotton illustrates a fine example of the East Anglian type, originally at Carrow Abbey, Norwich, with moulded fronts to the two small drawers and a frieze of a running ogee moulding.¹¹⁴ This example is also illustrated by David Knell and by Christopher Gilbert.¹¹⁵ The term 'linen-press' is also used in advertisements and my impression is that this sometimes referred to a clothes-press and sometimes to a napkin-press, but it is difficult to be sure in individual cases.

Mainly on the basis of museum collections, Cotton has identified design features which he suspects are characteristic of East Anglia furniture, including tulip-shaped turnings, sometimes inverted, on legs and arm supports, multiple ring turnings on legs and horizontal reeding along base-boards of chests-of-drawers and along the edges of table tops. Readers can see examples of these features in his work.¹¹⁶

CONCLUSION

By the systematic exploration of multiple sources this survey attempts to elaborate and improve upon the information contained in the *Dictionary of English Furniture Makers* for the single county of Norfolk. In the process of investigating the various sources a number of issues of interest have been addressed, notably in relationship to apprenticeship, admission to the freedom and the problem of insolvency, most of which have implications in the rest of the country and outside the furniture-making trades.

It is hoped that this work will stimulate others to undertake similar surveys of furniture makers in their own counties, as there is still a wealth of untapped information, particularly in newspapers and in the Inland Revenue apprenticeship records.

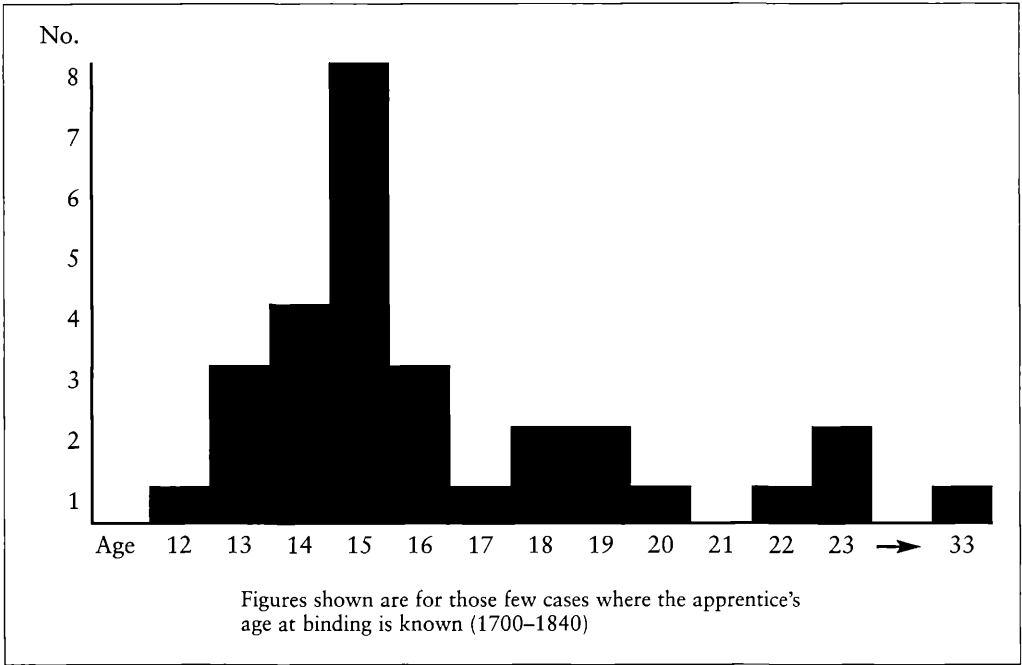
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80. Ian P.H. Duffy, *Bankruptcy and Insolvency in London During the Industrial Revolution* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985). V. Markham Lester, *Victorian Insolvency: Bankruptcy, Imprisonment for Debt, and Company Winding-up in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman* (London, 1726). Reprint (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1987), pp 117–131. Earle, pp. 123–130.
81. Act Touching Orders for Bankrupts, 13 Eliz., ch. 7.
82. Giles Jacob, *A New Law Dictionary; containing the Interpretation and Definition of Words and Terms used in the Law* (London: E. & R. Nutt and R. Gosling, 1736), 3rd ed.
83. *The Chambers Dictionary* (Edinburgh: Chambers Harrap, 2003), p. 254.
84. 6 Geo. IV, ch. 16.
85. 24, 25 Vict., ch. 124.
86. NM 28/1/1832.
87. 53 George III, ch. 102.
88. National Archives ref. B6/49: 6795, 12475 & 12660. B6/50: 15051 & 17282.
89. Defoe, *Complete English Tradesman*, p. 122.
90. John Stabler, '“We always stamped all we made, not being ashamed of our work”', *Furniture History*, 41 (2005), 13–20.
91. NM 22/10/1774.
92. *The Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster (1665–1752)* (Manchester: Cheetham Society, 14, 1967), p. 90. Quoted in Ben-Amos, 'Failures to Become Freeman', p. 164.
93. *The Cabinet & Chair Makers' Norwich Book of Prices; Containing the Piece-Prices of all the newest Cabinet and Chair Work ever yet published*, 2nd ed. (Norwich: J. Payne, 1801).
94. *The Cabinet-Makers' London Book of Prices, and designs of cabinet-work* (London: The London Society of Cabinet-Makers, 1788). A reprint of the 2nd edition of 1793 was published by the Furniture History Society as *Furniture History*, 18 (1982).
95. *Cambridge Chronicle*, 17/4/1812.
96. NC 26/12/1795.
97. NM 28/11/1812.
98. NM 5/6/1830.
99. NM 19/9/1796.
100. NM 5/1/1771.
101. NM 26/5/1804.
102. NG 6/1/171105.
103. NG 21/3/1724.
104. David Yaxley, *A Researcher's Glossary of Words Found in Historical Documents of East Anglia* (Guist Bottom, Norfolk: Larks Press, 2003), p. 183.
105. NG 9/12/1710.
106. NM 20/10/1753.
107. NM 14/9/1754.
108. NM 17/2/1770.
109. NM 22/10/1785.
110. NG 9/5/1724.
111. NM 22/11/1755.
112. NM 13/5/1786.
113. B.D. Cotton (1987), op. cit. p. 30.
114. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
115. David Knell, *English Country Furniture* (Woodbridge, Antique Collectors' Club, 1988), p. 102. Christopher Gilbert, *English Vernacular Furniture, 1750–1900* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1991), p. 55.
116. B.D. Cotton (1987), op. cit., *passim*.

THE FIGURES



1. Age at which apprentices taken on.

1710-1771

Term (yrs)	Number	Percent
2	2	0.5
3	7	1.8
4	9	2.3
5	24	6.1
6	48	12.2
7	297	75.2
8	6	1.6
9	0	0
10	0	0
11	2	0.5
(Total)	395	100.2

1772-1808

Term (yrs)	Number	Percent
1	2	0.3
2	6	1.2
3	21	4.2
4	39	7.8
5	101	20.1
6	86	17.1
7	243	48.4
8	4	0.8
(Total)	502	99.9

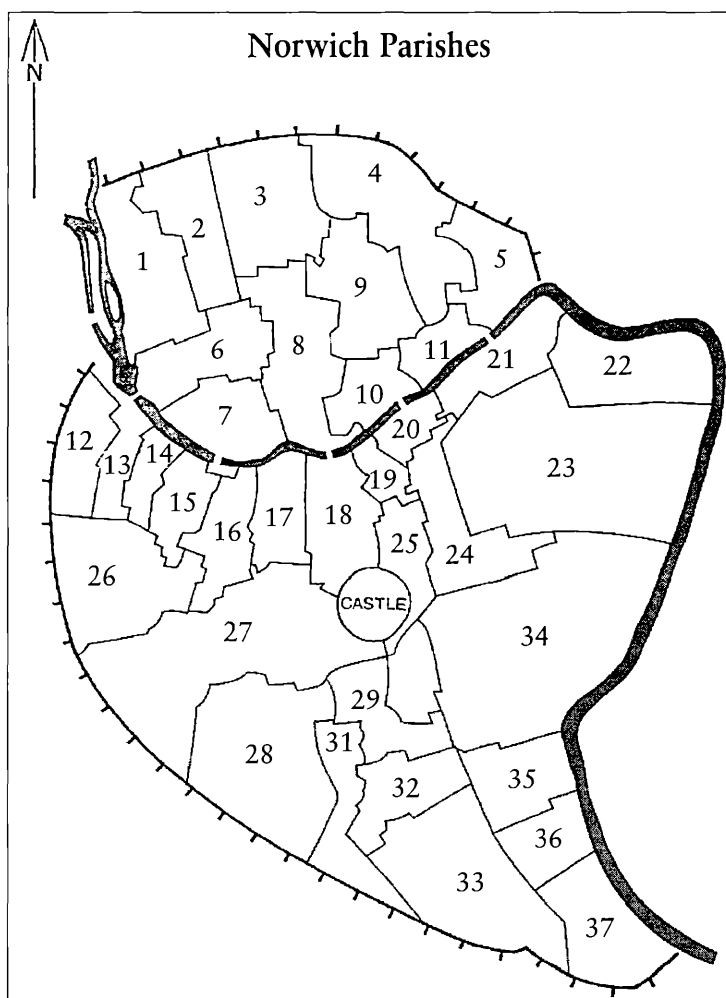
2. Duration of Norfolk apprenticeships.

1710-1769				
	Norwich	King's Lynn	Yarmouth	Rest of county
Cabinet-mkrs	14.7 (23)	15.6 (16)	13.6 (7)	12.5 (12)
Joiners	14.4 (46)	12.8 (25)	16.6 (49)	14.0 (65)
Upholsterers	41.8 (43)	34.0 (5)	24.0 (13)	(<5)
Carvers & gls	24.5 (8)	(<5)	(<5)	(<5)
Chairmakers	10.8 (22)	(<5)	(<5)	(<5)
Turners	7.9 (9)	(<5)	(<5)	(<5)

1769-1840				
	Norwich	King's Lynn	Yarmouth	Rest of county
Cabinet-mkrs	19.9 (127)	29.3 (47)	15.3 (56)	17.8 (85)
Joiners	17.2 (5)	(<5)	(<5)	18.6 (30)
Upholsterers	45.1 (47)	41.7 (13)	33.6 (21)	34.8 (9)
Carvers & gls	27.0 (15)	(<5)	(<5)	(<5)
Chairmakers	10.5 (10)	(<5)	(<5)	10.1 (8)
Turners	12.7 (8)	(<5)	(<5)	(<5)

3. Norfolk apprentice premiums.

Figures show the average premium in pounds. Figures in brackets indicate the number of apprenticeships within the category. No average premium is shown where there are fewer than 5 apprenticeships in the category. 'Peppercorn' premiums of £2 or less have been excluded.



4. Key to Norwich parishes

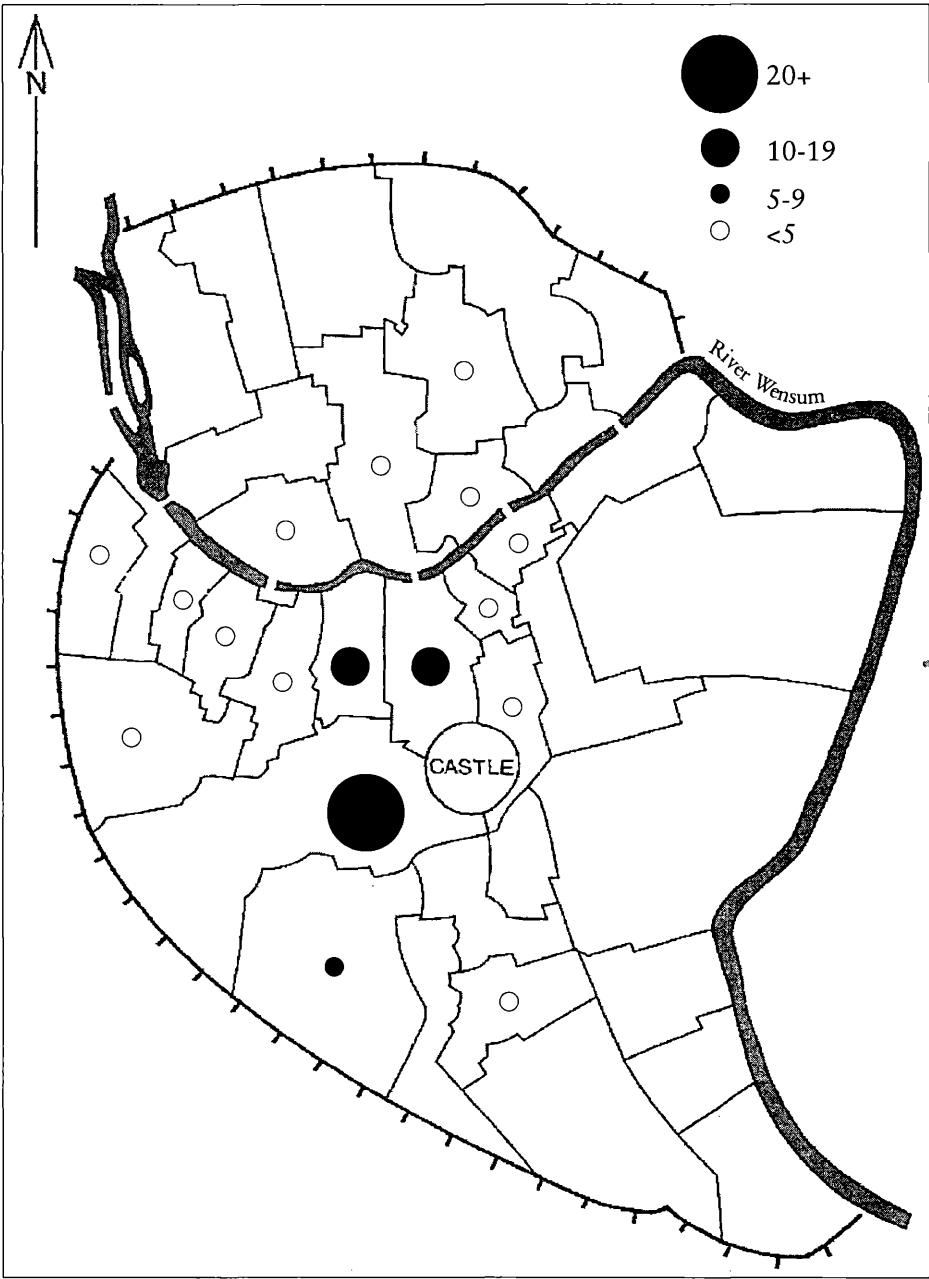
- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| 1 St Martin at Oak | 20 St Simon and St Jude |
| 2 Part of St Clement | 21 St Martin at Palace |
| 3 St Augustine | 22 St Helen |
| 4 St Paul | 23 Cathedral Precinct |
| 5 St James | 24 St George Tombland delete page break |
| 6 St Mary Coslany | 25 St Michael at Plea |
| 7 St Michael Coslany | 26 St Giles |
| 8 St George Colegate | 27 St Peter Mancroft |
| 9 St Saviour | 28 St Stephen |
| 10 Part of St Clement | 29 St John Timberhill |
| 11 St Edmund | 30 Part of St Michael at Thorn |
| 12 St Benedict | 31 All Saints |
| 13 St Swithin | 32 Part of St Michael at Thorn |
| 14 St Margaret | 33 St John Sepulchre |
| 15 St Lawrence | 34 St Peter Permountergate |
| 16 St Gregory | 35 St Julian |
| 17 St John Maddermarket | 36 St Etheldreda |
| 18 St Andrew | 37 St Peter Southgate |
| 19 St Peter Hungate | |

PARISH	JOI	CM	C&G	CHM	TUR	UP
All Saints		I		3		
Cathedral Precinct		I				
St Andrew	5	I3	4	I	2	I3
St Augustine				I	2	
St Benedict		3			2	
St Clement		3			2	2
St Edmund						
St Etheldreda		3				
St George Colgate	2	3			3	I
St George Tombland	2	2		I		
St Giles	I	3		I	3	
St Gregory	I	2	2	3		2
St Helen						
St James		I			I	
St John Maddermarket	2	6		I	2	II
St John Sepulchre	I	I				
St John Timberhill	I	IO		3		
St Julian		4				
St Lawrence	I	3		I	2	2
St Margaret				I		I
St Martin at Oak		I		I		
St Martin at Palace		I		2	2	
St Mary Coslany		I			2	
St Michael at Plea		3		2	I	4
St Michael at Thorn	I	5		I		2
St Michael Coslany	4	3			I	I
St Paul		I				
St Peter Hungate	2	2		3		3
St Peter Mancroft	6	I6	2	3	I	26
St Peter Permouthergate	3	4			2	
St Peter Southgate	I	2				
St Saviour		4	I	I	2	3
St Simon & St Jude	2	3				I
St Stephen	3	I4			4	9
St Swithin		2				
Eaton		I				
Heigham					2	
Pockthorpe					I	
TOTAL	38	I22	9	29	32	86

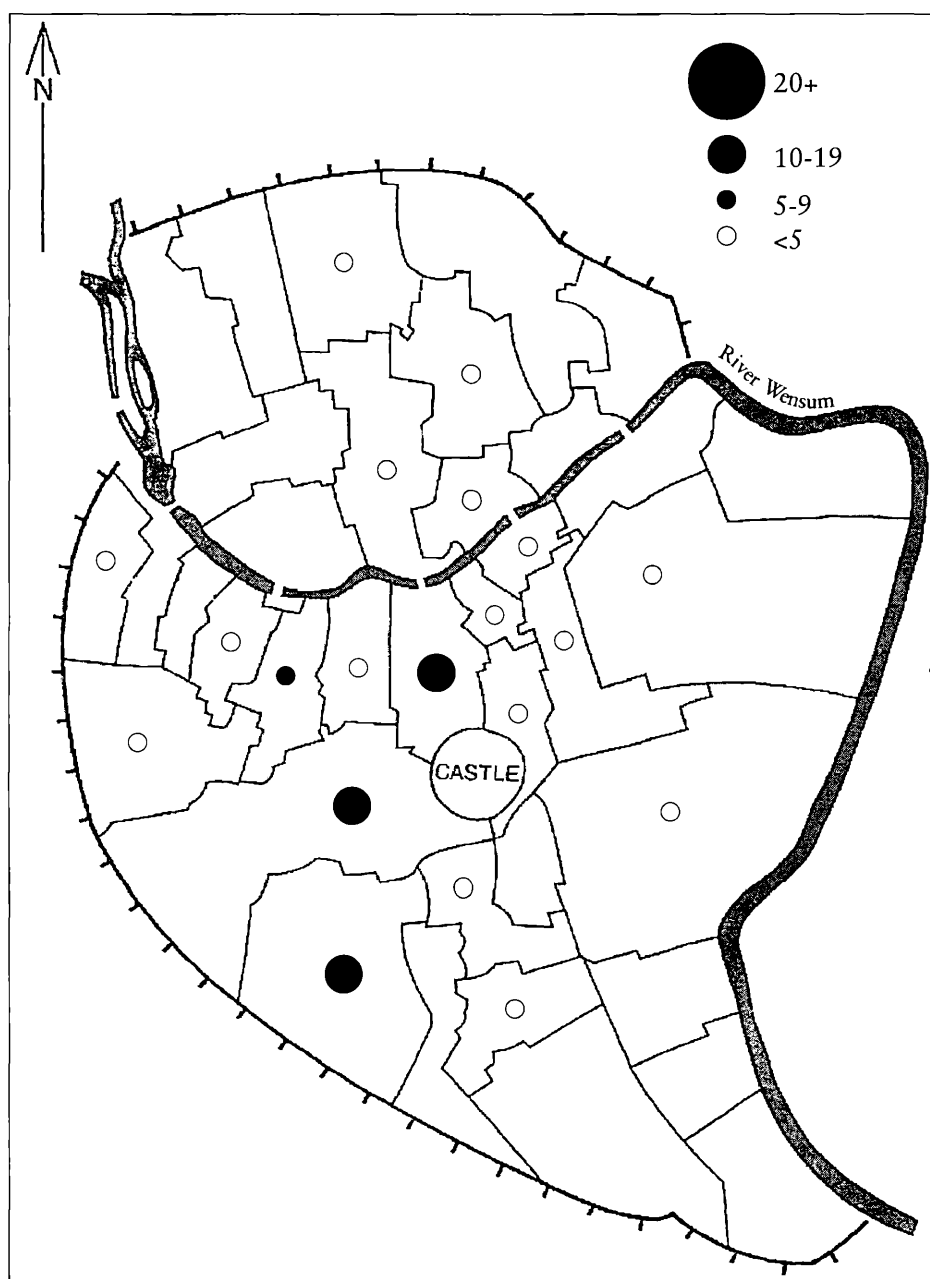
5. Occupations by parish, 1700-1799.

PARISH	CM	C&G	CHM	TUR	UP
All Saints	2				
Cathedral Precinct	2				1
St Andrew	10	3	1		11
St Augustine	5				1
St Benedict		1	1	3	1
St Clement	6	1		1	2
St Edmund	6			1	
St Etheldreda					
St George Colgate	10	1	3		1
St George Tombland	8		1	1	1
St Giles	15	1	3	1	4
St Gregory	19			5	5
St Helen					
St James	1		1	1	
St John Maddermarket	17	1	3		4
St John Sepulchre	5		2		
St John Timberhill	16		1		1
St Julian	3				
St Lawrence	13	1		2	2
St Margaret	5	1	1		
St Martin at Oak	3				
St Martin at Palace	9	1			
St Mary Coslany	2			6	
St Michael at Plea	5				1
St Michael at Thorn	6	2	1	2	2
St Michael Coslany	1			1	
St Paul	3	2			
St Peter Hungate	12		2	1	2
St Peter Mancroft	15	3	2	1	16
St Peter Permouthergate	6	2	1	1	2
St Peter Southgate	2				
St Saviour	4	3		1	1
St Simon & St Jude	5	1		1	2
St Stephen	24	5	2	3	10
St Swithin	1	1	1		
Eaton			1		
Heigham	21	3	4	1	3
Lakenham	9	1	3		2
New Catton		1			
Pockthorpe	1			1	
TOTAL	272	35	34	35	75

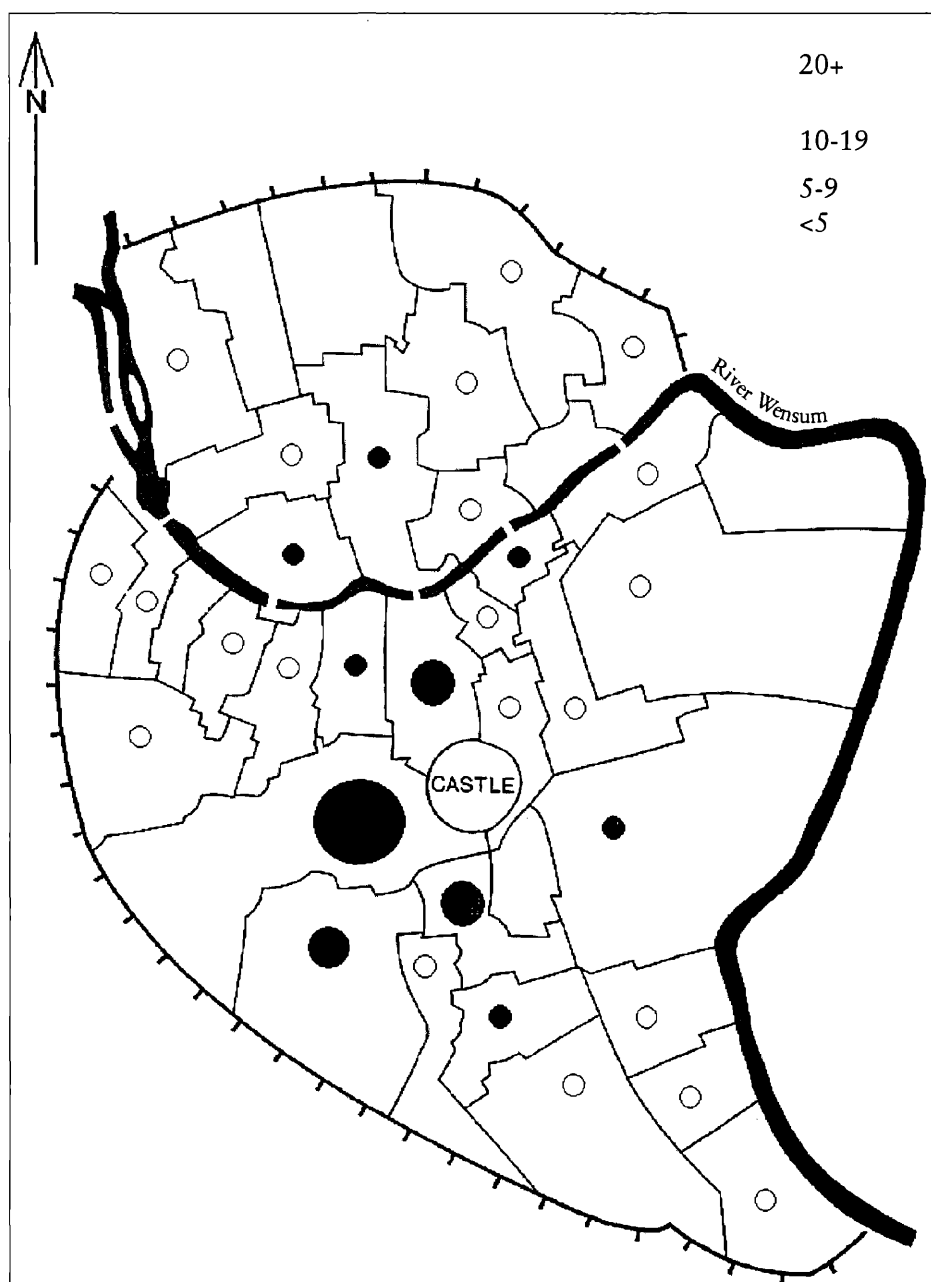
6. Occupations by parish, 1800-1840



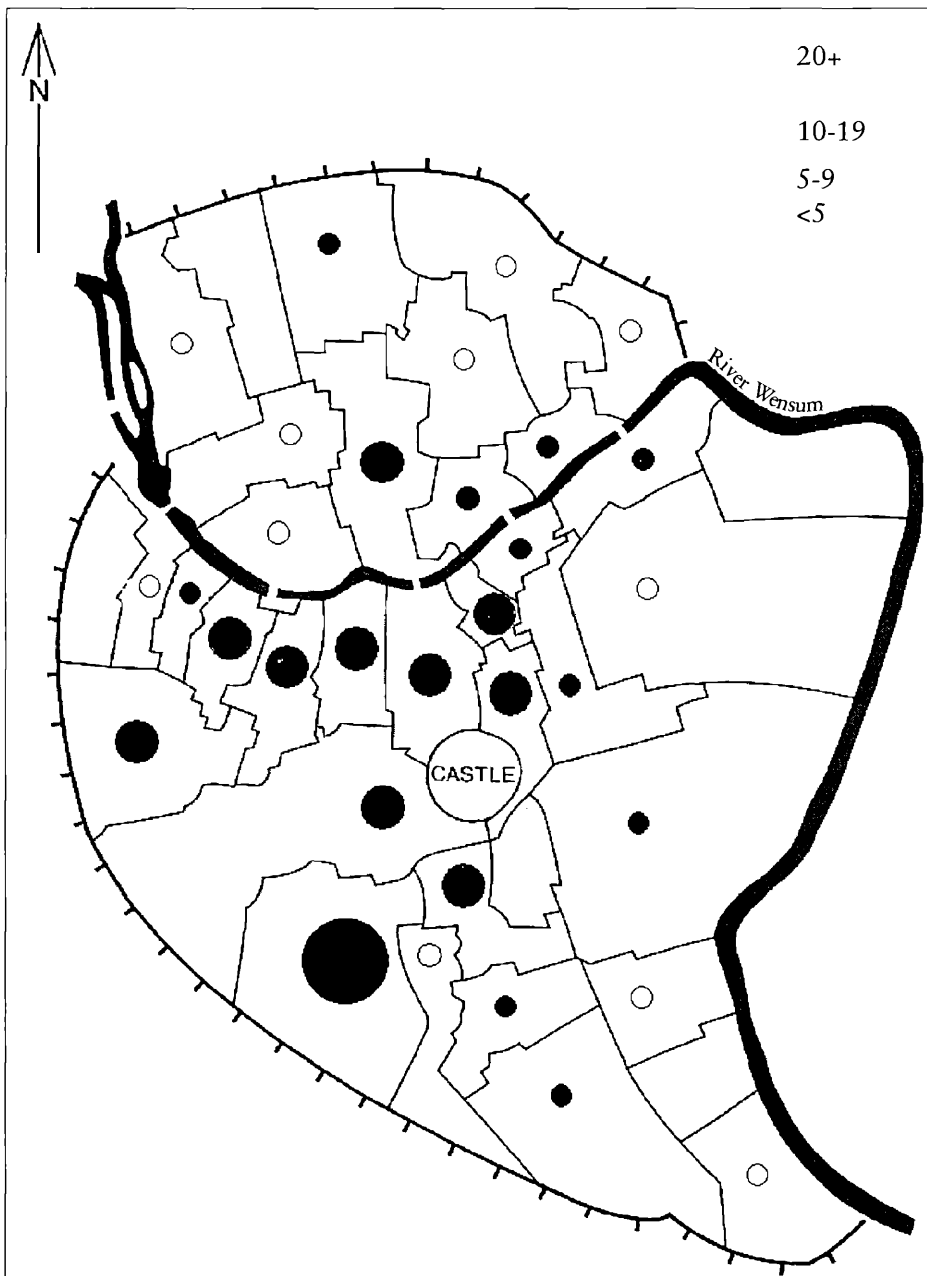
7. Norwich upholsterers, 1700-99



8. Norwich upholsterers, 1800-40



9. Map of distribution of cabinet-makers and joiners, 1700-99



10. Map of distribution of cabinet-makers and joiners, 1800-40

Name	Trade	Location	Date
Allured, John	up	Yarmouth	1797
Best, Samuel	up	Norwich	1817
Church, Thomas	up	Yarmouth	1755
Corey, George	up	Yarmouth	1802
Custance, William	cm	Fakenham	1794
Deeker, James	cm	Norwich	1773
Maskill, Boyce	up	Beccles	1798
Moneyment, Matthew	cm	Swaffham	1827
Oldmeadows, James	up	King's Lynn	1807
Platten, Thomas	cm up	King's Lynn	1812
Pope, John	cm	Yarmouth	1830
Scott, John, sen.	up	Norwich	1832
Smith, Edward	cm	Norwich	1814
Tomlinson, William	up	Norwich	1816
Utting, James Henry	up	Norwich	1818
Woolverton, Edmund	cm	Norwich	1818

11. Bankrupts

Name	Trade	Location	Date
Bailey, Robert	carp cm	Norwich	1832
Casebow, Charles	cm up	Downham Market	1836
Church, John	cm	Yarmouth	1826
Claxton, Thomas	cm	Norwich	1833
Codman, William	box-maker	Norwich	1823
Cole, John	cm up	Norfolk	1825
Greenacre, Thomas	cm etc.	Yarmouth	1840
Greenfield, Benjamin	up	Norwich	1833
Haynes, Charles Crow	cm	Yarmouth	1838
Haynes, Thomas	cm up	Yarmouth	1838
Huby, William	cm	Norwich	1828
Kerry, John	cm	Norwich	1829
Lacey, John	cm	North Walsham	1833
Mayes, Edward	cm chm	Norwich	1833
Mitchell, Thomas	carv etc.	Norfolk	1824
Mortlock, James	cm chm	Mattishall	1831
Norris, Thomas	cm	Norwich	1822
Oldman, John	cm up	Thetford	1836
Pearce, William	cm	Norwich	1828
Pope, John	cm	Yarmouth	1837
Pulford, Charles	cm	Ditchingham etc.	1840
Royall, Peter	cm	Filby	1837
Utting, Robert jun.	cm up	Yarmouth	1832
White, John	cm	Swaffham	1835
Woods, William	tur	Norwich etc.	1837

12. Imprisoned debtors

Name	Trade	Location	Date
Ansell, William	cm up	Fakenham	1805 & 1812
Bailey, William	cm	East Harling	1817
Bore, Robert	cm etc.	Swaffham	1805
Bracey, Jay	up	Yarmouth	1795
Cooke, Henry	cm	King's Lynn	1823
Cutler, Thomas	up	Norwich	1831
Gilney, Christopher	cm	Norwich	1795
Greeves, John	cm	King's Lynn	1813
Haynes, Charles Crow	cm	Yarmouth	1838
Haynes, Thomas	cm	Yarmouth	1838
Horner, William	cm up	Norwich	1822
Horth, John	up	Norwich	1806
Kerry, John	cm	Norwich	1828
Lacey, John	cm	North Walsham	1831
Mason, John Leeds	cm	Heigham	1832
Mindham, William	cm	Holt	1805
Pawsey & Smith	cm	Norwich	1830
Selby, Thomas	up	Norwich	1797
Spencer, Thomas	cm	East Dereham	1756
Sturley, Thomas	cm	Swaffham	1810
Thirkettle, Robert	cm etc.	Mendham	1794
Thursby, William	c&g	Norwich	1779
Watt, John	cm	Norwich	1782
Wright, John	chm cm	Norwich	1814

13. Debtors making private compositions

THE PLATES

St. grove's Polls.

ought

JULY 27, 1738. Whereas it has been positively asserted, that the Polls of St. Martin's by the Palace, Worstead-Weaver, did poll for Alderman on the 14th Instant, not having a Right to poll, in determining the Polls, it appears that the said Assertion is false and groundless.

AN Estate of about Thirty Pounds a Year, late Mrs. Deane's, in St. Martin's by the Palace in Norwich, to be Sold a Pennyworth. Inquire of Mr. Norgate, in Conisford in the above-named City, who has an Apartment for Boarders now to dispose of.


TO be Lett at Michaelmas next, a FARM in Sall in the County of Norfolk, of the yearly Rent of One Hundred and Twenty Pounds, consisting of Arable, Meadow, and Pasture, in exceeding good Order; and the Houses, Barns, &c. thereto belonging, in good Repair. Inquire of **AUGUSTINE EARLE, Esq;** at Heydon, or of Mr. Edmund Jewell at Aylesham.

TO be Sold, The Reversion in Fee expectant on the Death of Mrs. Elizabeth Buxton Widow, of a Freehold Estate of near One Hundred Pounds per Annum in Tibbenham Long Row, near New Buckenham a Market Town in Norfolk, in good Repair, well tenanted and timbered. Inquire of **ROBERT BUXTON, Esq;** her Son, at the Curitor's Office for London and Middlesex in Fetter-Lane nigh Holbourn in London; or of Mr. Woodbine, Attorney at Law, at North Elmham in Norfolk.

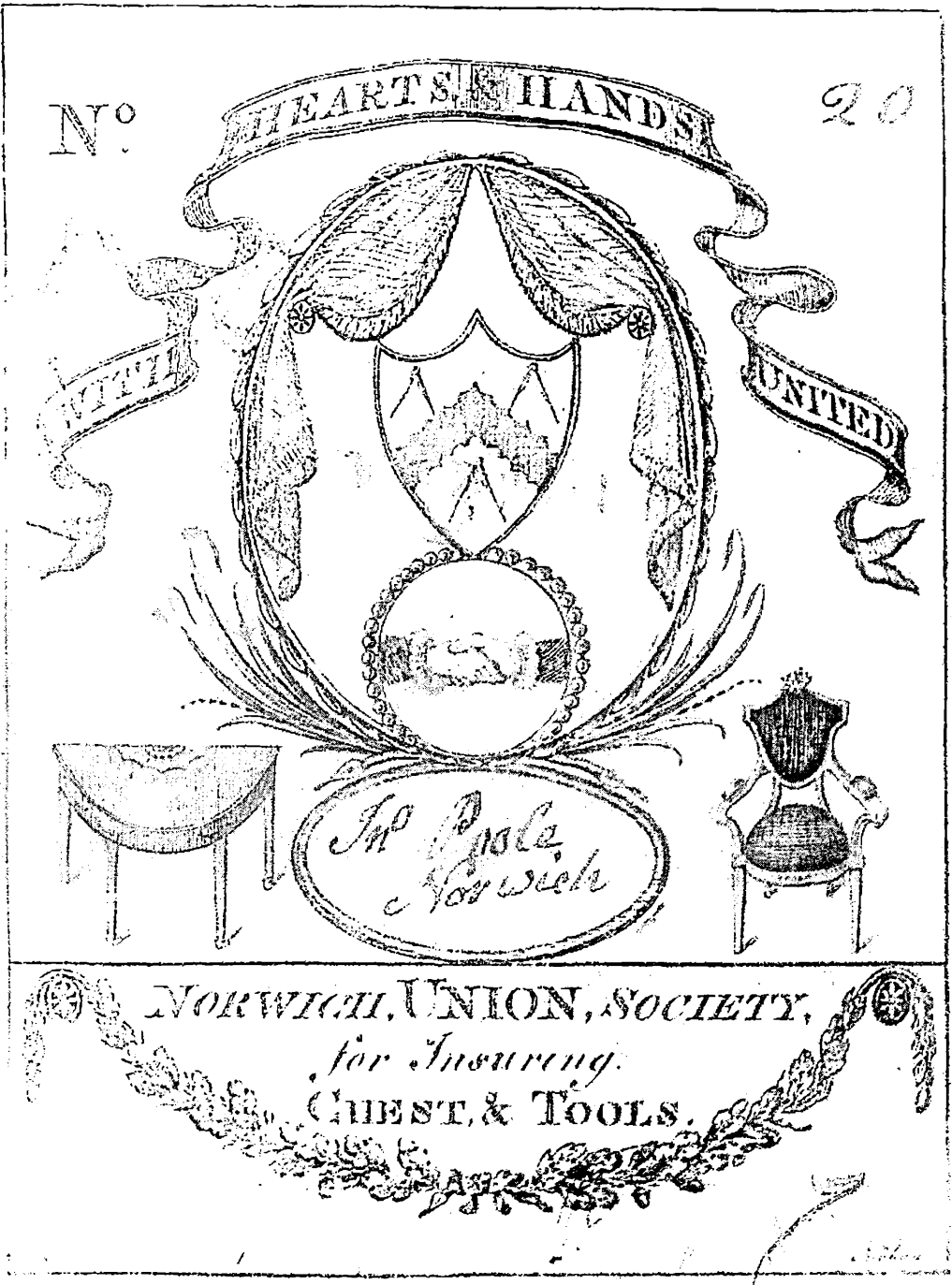
RICHARD ANNYSON, Upholster from London, has taken the Shop at the Corner of the White-Lion-Lane near the Market-Place in Norwich; where Mr. Tooke lately lived, and has brought from London an intire fresh Stock of Upholsters Goods; and all Persons may depend upon having Upholster's Work done after the newest Fashion, and Choice of ready-made BEDS always standing, and will be Sold at very reasonable Rates. by their Humble Servant

RICHARD ANNYSON.

FOR the Entertainment of the Quality, Gentry, and others, during the Assize Week, at the Angel in the Market-Place in Norwich, is to be seen Mr. Tho. Moore's curious **MUSICAL CLOCK**, (Multum in Parvo) going by Springs only; the Magnificence of its Structure, and the Excellence of its Performance, is the Astonishment of all who see and hear it; as is also his curious **MOVING**



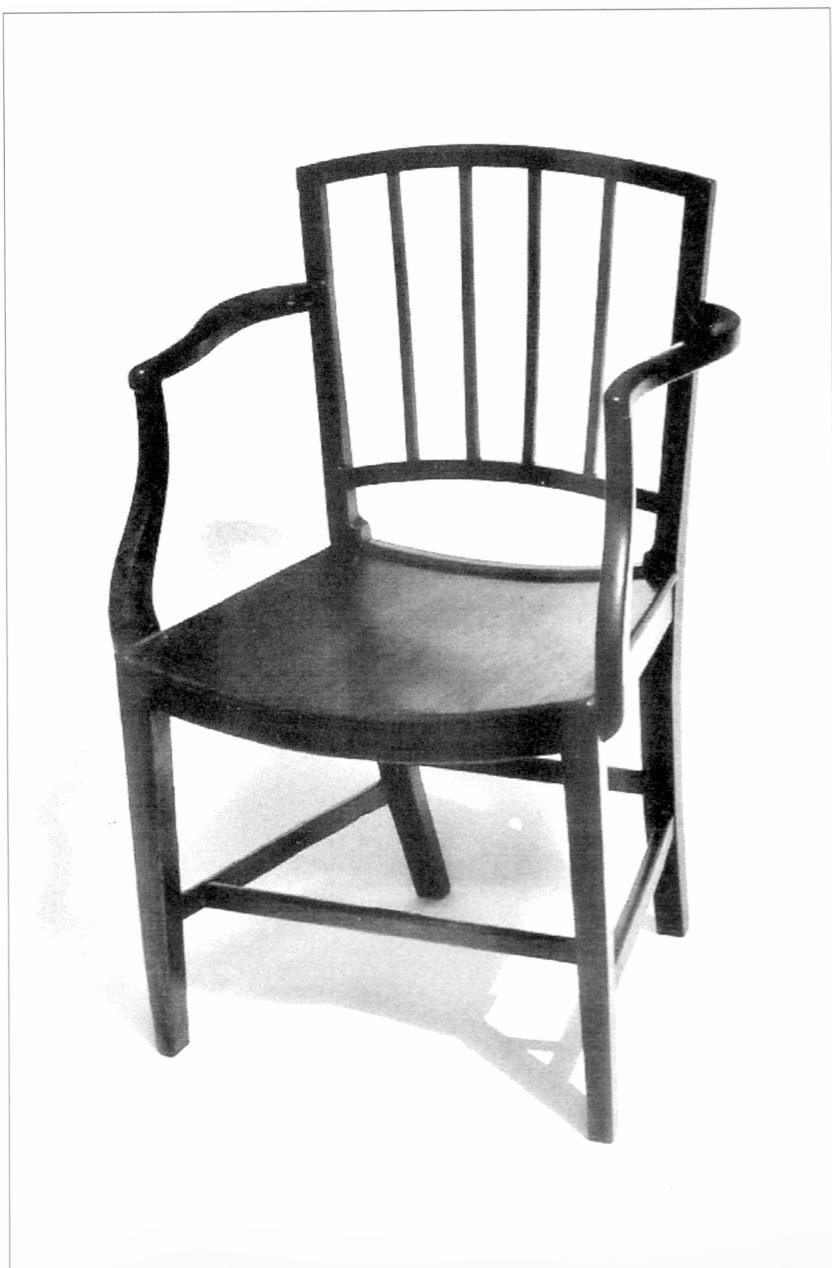
1. An upholsterer's advertisement in the Norwich Gazette that survived the Norwich City Library fire of 1994.



2. Frontispiece of the Norwich Cabinet and Chair Makers' Book of Prices.



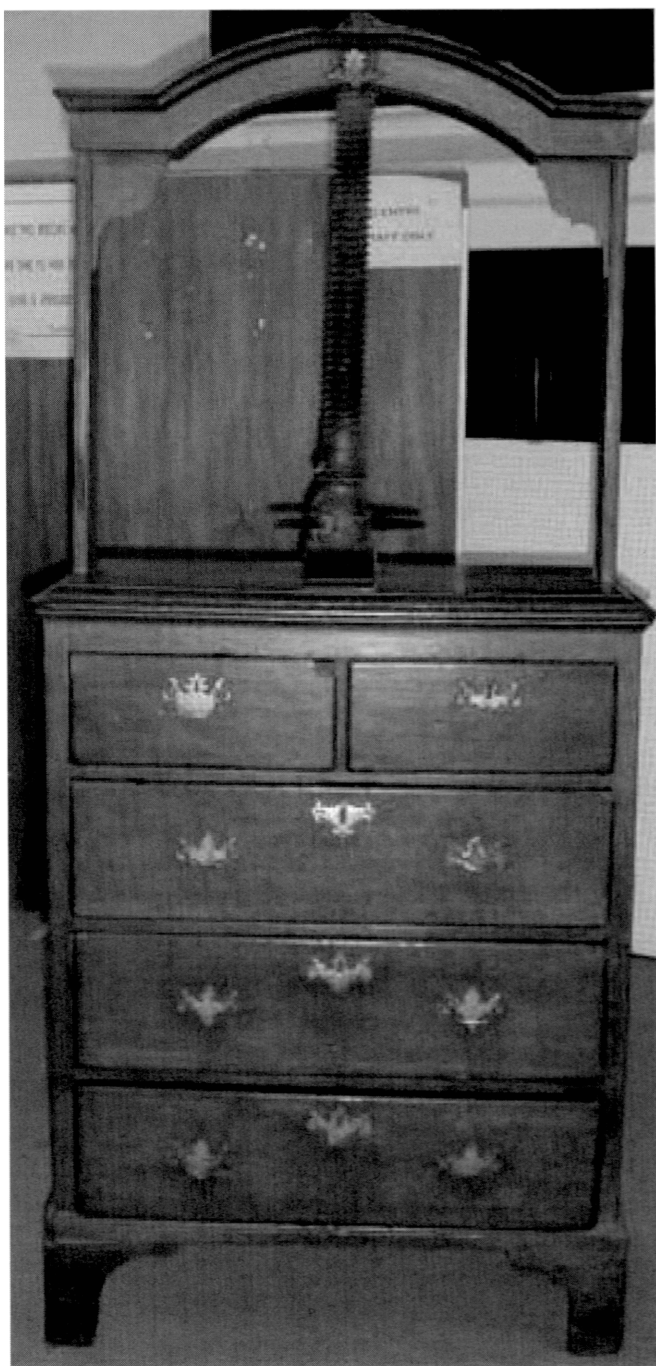
3. A hollow-seat chair formerly in Fakenham church, 1800-1830.



4. A mahogany hollow-seat armchair, 1790-1810.



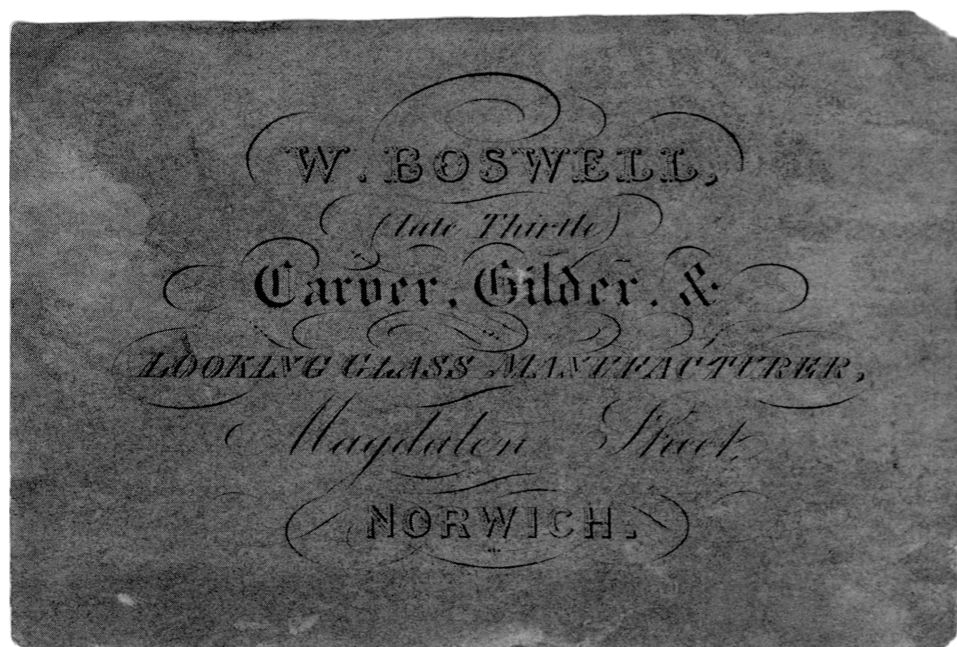
5. Hessian strips under the seat of the Pl. 4 chair.



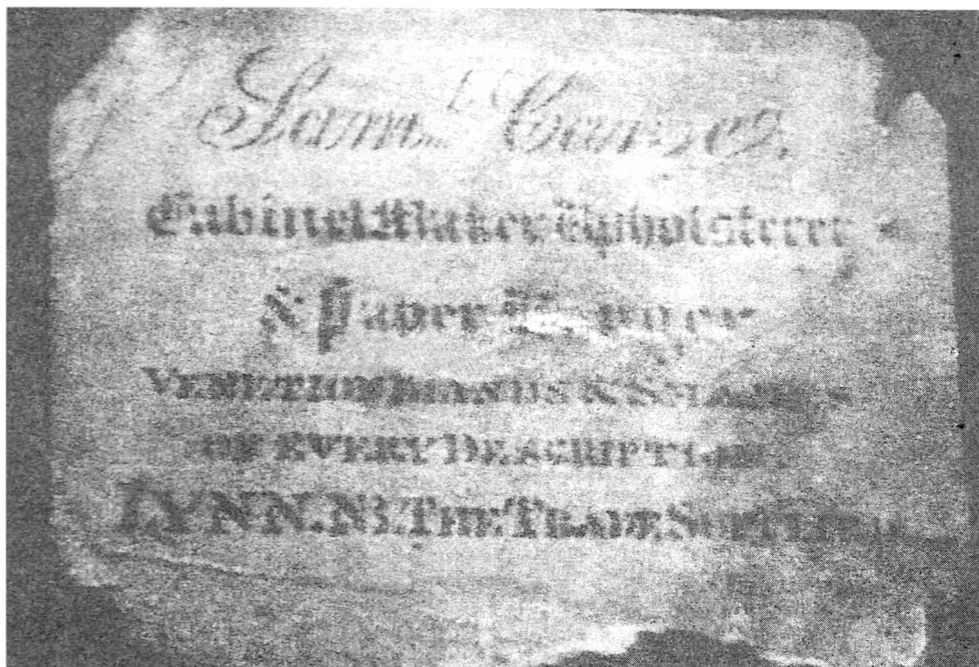
6. An oak napkin press/chest-of drawers, c. 1750.



7. An oak napkin press/chest of drawers of c.1730 that has had the napkin press removed.
The two small drawers are a characteristic feature.



8. Trade card of William Boswell, after he took over John Thirtle's Magdalen Street picture-framing business in 1839. The business survived into the 1950s.



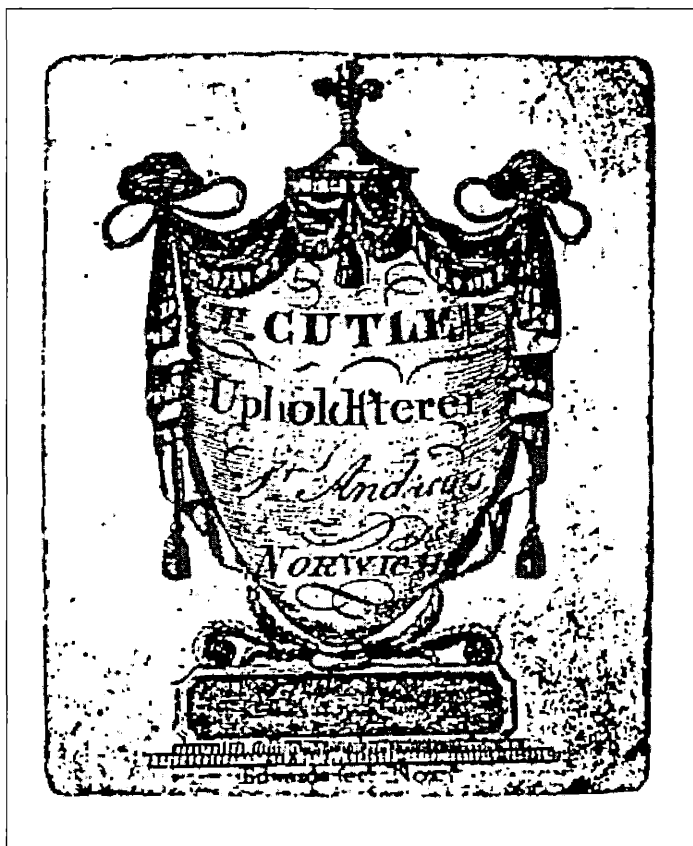
9. "Samuel Carse, Cabinet Maker, Upholsterer & Paper Hanger, Venetian Blinds & Shades of every Description. Lynn. NB The Trade Supplied." Trade label found on a drawer of a chest-of-drawers, c. 1840.



10. Re-upholstered sofa by Edward Crane, Norwich, c. 1780

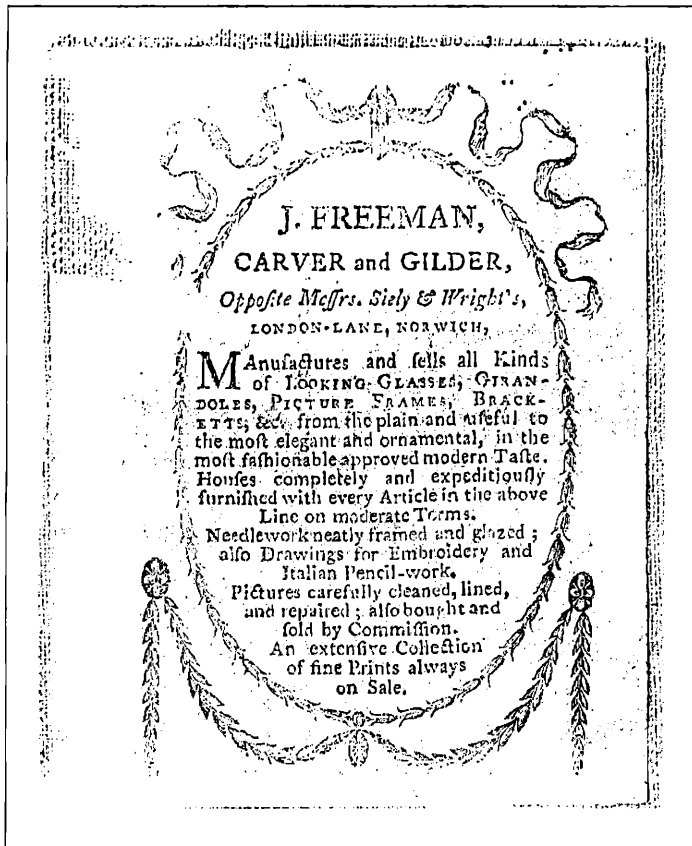


11. Crane's name painted on hessian fabric found inside the sofa in fig. 10.



12. Thomas Cutler's trade card.

This is the only evidence that he ever worked in St Andrew's parish in Norwich.



J. FREEMAN,
CARVER and GILDER,
Opposite Messrs. Sibly & Wright's,
 LONDON-LANE, NORWICH,

Manufactures and sells all Kinds
 of LOOKING-GLASSES; GRAN-
 DOLES, PICTURE FRAMES, BRACK-
 ETTS, &c. from the plain and useful to
 the most elegant and ornamental, in the
 most fashionable approved modern Taste.
 Houses completely and expeditiously
 furnished with every Article in the above
 Line on moderate Terms.
 Needlework neatly framed and glazed;
 also Drawings for Embroidery and
 Italian Pencil-work.
 Pictures carefully cleaned, lined,
 and repaired; also bought and
 sold by Commission.
 An extensive Collection
 of fine Prints always
 on Sale.

13. The earliest of Jeremiah Freeman's trade cards. 1790s.

F R E E M A N,
Carver and Gilder.
Looking-Glass Manufacturer,
 AND
PRINT-SELLER,
 No. 2, London-lane, Norwich,

Makes all kinds of Furniture in Carving and Gilding; variety of Looking-glasses, Girandoles, Brackets, Gold Border for rooms, &c. &c. in the first style of elegance.

Looking-glasses Ground, Polished, Silvered, Framed, and Ornamented.

A capital collection of Prints on the same terms as in London.

Needle-work carefully Framed and Glazed.

Drawings on Silk for Embroidery or Print Work.

Drawing-Paper, Pencils, Colors, &c. with every other article for the use of Drawing or Painting; Borders, Medallions, Varnish, &c. for the Ladies.

BACON, PRINTER.

14. A Freeman label removed from a picture frame. 1800-1810.

John Kitson Esq
To Mr

W. FREEMAN,
CARVER, GILDER & LOOKING GLASS,
Manufactures Wholesale & Retail
London & Swan Lane, Norwich
on Terms
LOW AS ANY HOUSE IN THE UNITED KINGDOMS.
 The Greatest Number & Variety of Looking Glasses, Concave & Convex Mirrors,
Lustres, Lampes, Candelabra, Brackets, Fire Screens and Stands, Picture & Print Frames,
Highly ornamented in plain, Gold, Borders for Rooms &c.
PLATE GLASS OF A SUPERIOR QUALITY & SUBSTANCE
for Drawing Rooms, Windows, Carriages, Shops, Fronts &c.
Old Glasses ground, polished, silvered, and framed.
Workmen sent to any part of the Kingdom.
An extensive Collection of Prints by the most celebrated Masters of all Nations, Ancient & Modern.
Pictures carefully Cleaned & Preserved, every requisite for Painting, Drawing and fancy Work.
FULL VALUE GIVEN FOR PICTURES, OLD PRINTS & OTHER WORKS OF ART.

1829
Feb 24.

Old New Street ————— *6*
Brackets to Church of the Bishop — *10*

15. Billhead from a Freeman bill made out to John Kitson,
 secretary to the Bishop of Norwich, 24th February 1829.
 The same design has appeared as a trade label on various mirrors
 and other articles made by Jeremiah and William Freeman.

W. FREEMAN,
Carver, Gilder,
Looking Glass Manufacturer & Print Seller
(GENERAL FURNITURE WAREHOUSE.)
London & Pottergate Streets
(NORWICH.)

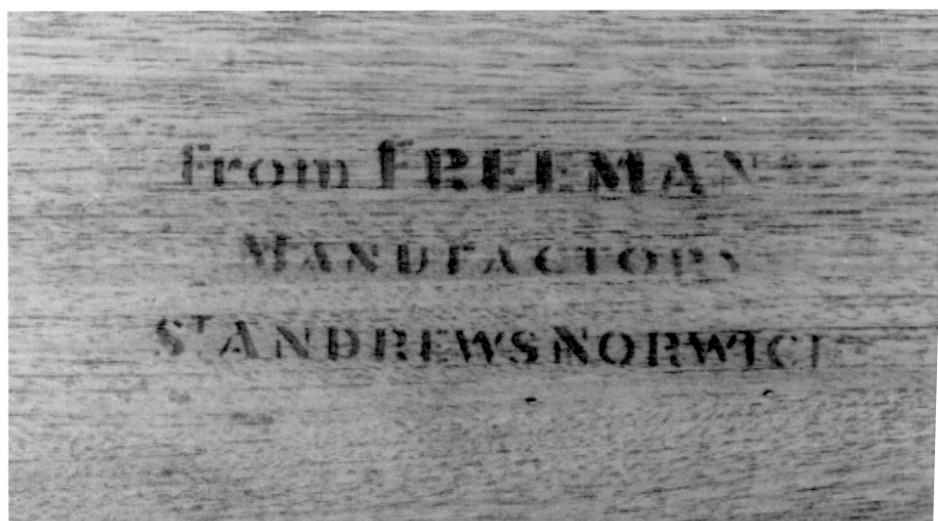
16. A William Freeman trade label removed from a picture frame.



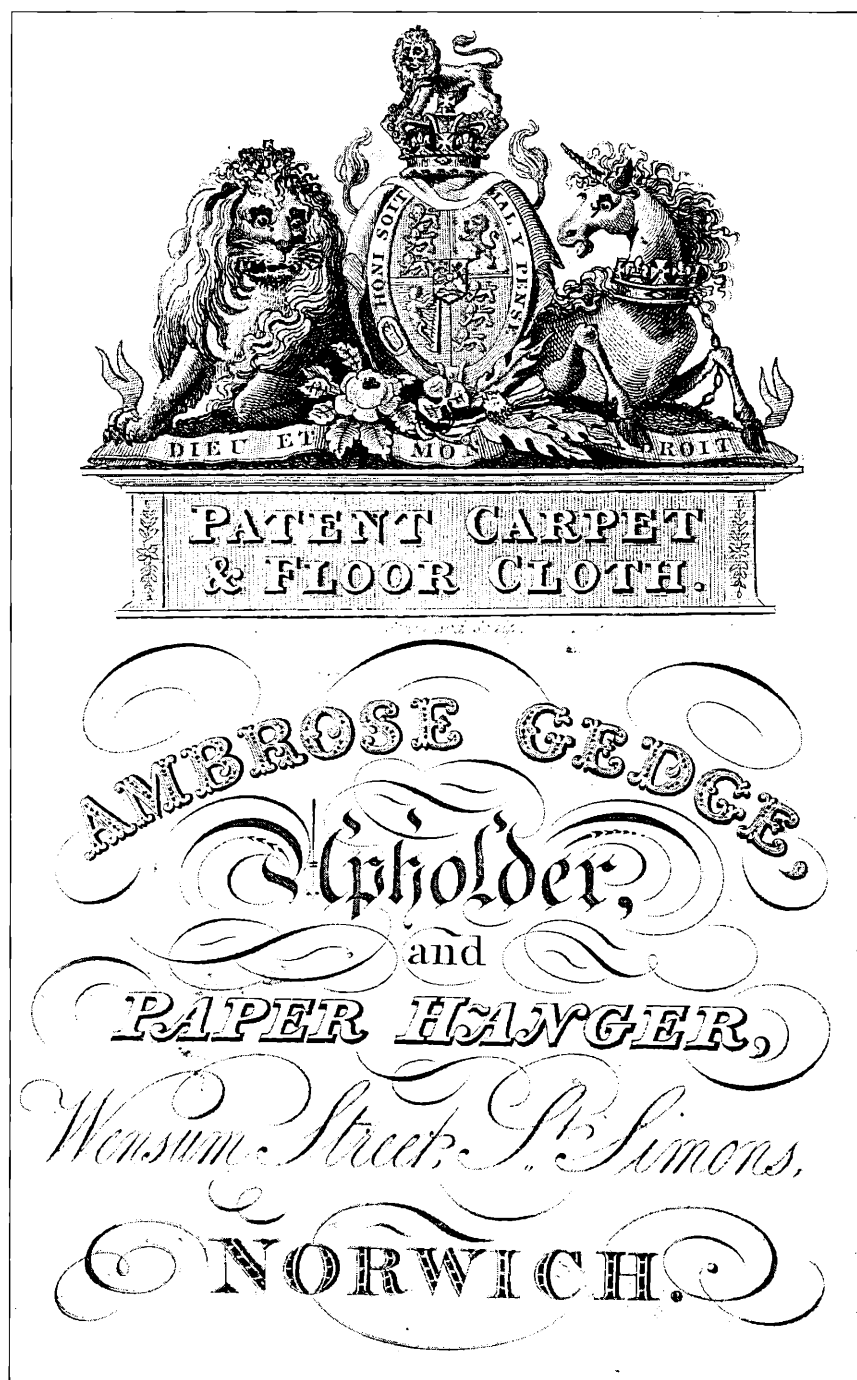
17. A pair of rosewood cabinets, sold by Sotheby's on 23/11/2005, one of the shelves bearing a label reading "Freeman's Furniture, Carving Gilding and Plate, St. Andrew's, Norwich".
2 ft. 10 in. high x 3 ft. 6 in. wide x 1 ft. 4 in. deep. c. 1830.



18. A Freeman cabinet, probably 1840s.



19. Stencil from the back of the cabinet in Pl. 18.



20. Trade card of Ambrose Gedge, c.1820.

Despite the royal coat-of-arms there is no evidence that he had a royal warrant.



21. A mahogany neoclassical side table by Michael Godman Coward of Swaffham, c. 1810, sold by Bonhams on 8/4/2003. The top is not original.



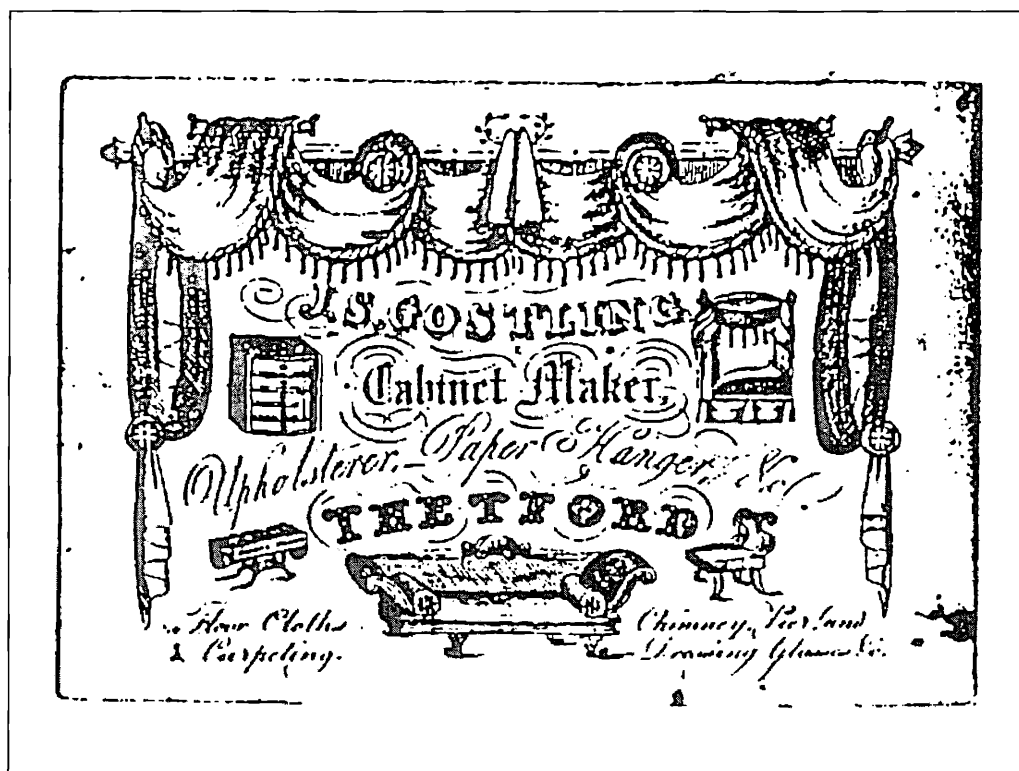
22. The decayed remnants of Godman Coward's trade label from the back of the table in Pl. 21. The card uses the same design as that of Edward Groome of Yarmouth (see Plate 27).



. Chest-of-drawers by Michael Godman Coward. Mahogany with satinwood crossbanding.



24. Pencil inscription on one of the drawers of the Plate 23 chest-of-drawers:
"[Ma]de at Godman [?illeg] Coward Manufactory Swaffham".



25. John Gostling's trade card: "J.S. Gostling, Cabinet Maker, Upholsterer, Paper Hanger &c. Thetford. Floor Cloths & Carpeting. Chimney, Pier and Dressing Glasses &c." c. 1830.

CABINET AND CHAIR MANUFACTURER.

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL.

J. GRAY,
10, DOVE STREET, NORWICH.

FOR READY MONEY ONLY.

UPHOLSTERER AND PAPER-HANGER.

CARVER, GILDER, AND LOOKING GLASS MANUFACTURER.

An extensive stock of plain and ornamental chimney, pier, and dressing glasses, of a most superior quality *at the lowest London prices.*

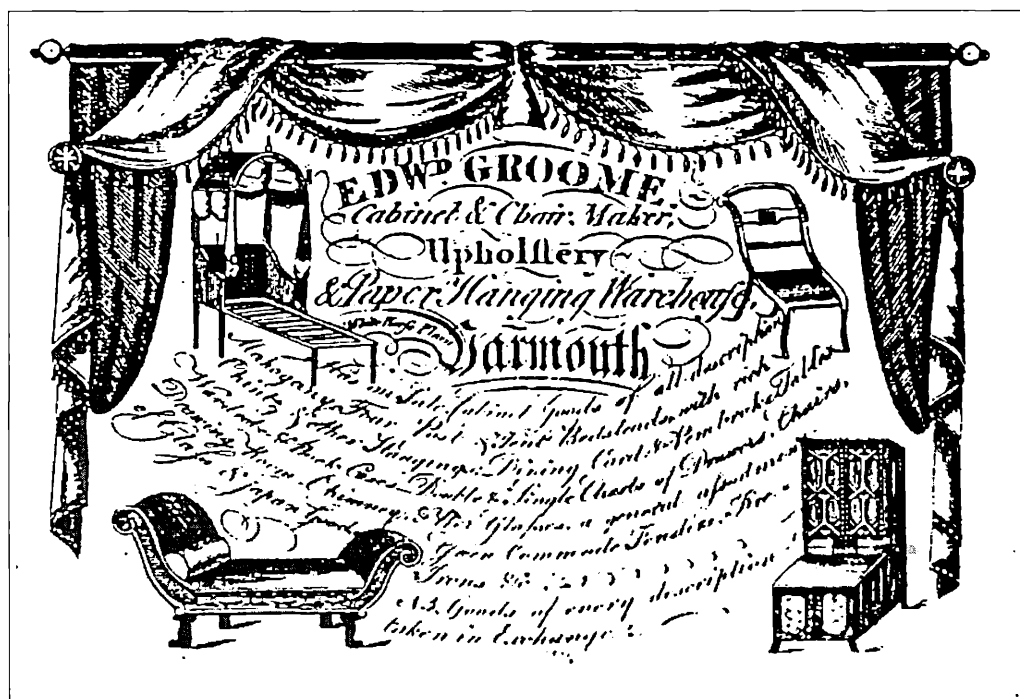
Picture, print, and glass frames, of every description, modern and antique; old glasses ground, polished, and silvered; old frames, &c. repaired and regilded *at half the usual price.*

GOLD MOULDINGS AND CORNICES FOR ROOMS.

The utmost care used in cleaning and preserving pictures and prints.

The Trade supplied with Glass Plates to any size.

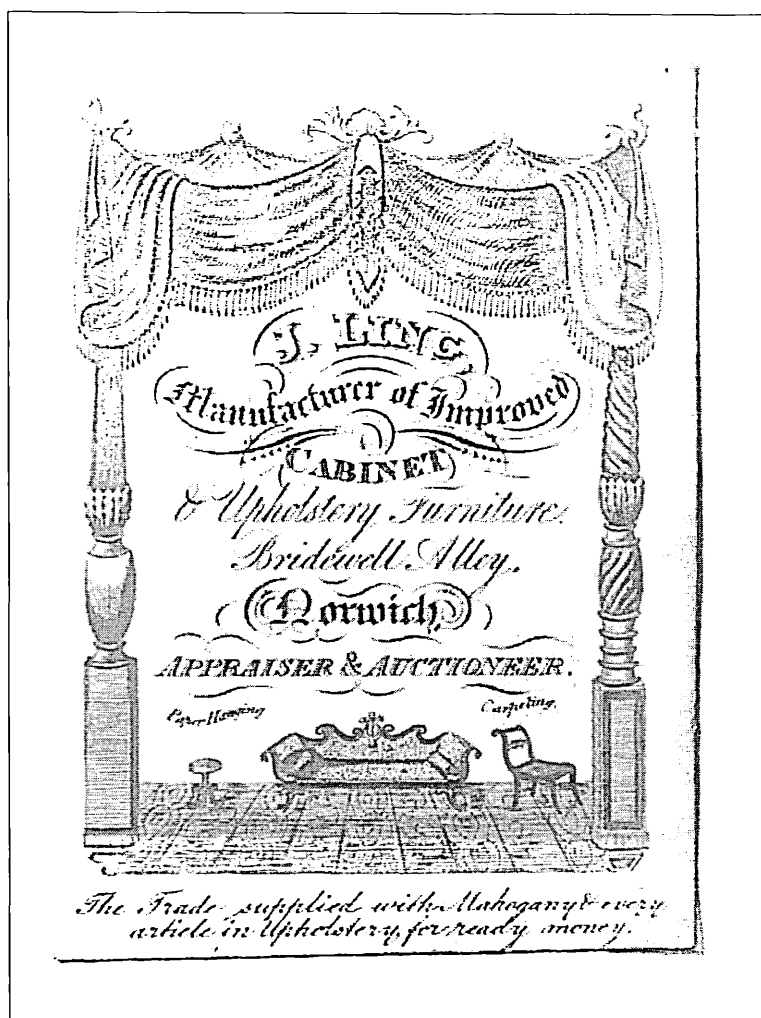
26. Joseph Gray's trade label, removed from a picture frame.



27. Edward Groome's trade card. "Edwd. Groome, Cabinet & Chair Maker, Upholstery & Paper Hanging Warehouse, White Horse Plain, Yarmouth, Has on Sale Cabinet Goods of all description, Mahogany Four Post & Tent Bedsteads with rich Chintz & other Hangings, Dining, Card & Pembroke Tables, Wardrobes & Book Cases - Double & Single Chests of Drawers, Chairs, Drawing Room, Chimney & Other Glasses, a general assortment of Glass & japan Goods Green (?) Commode Fenders, Fire Irons &c &c &c. N.B. Goods of every description taken in Exchange." c. 1820.



28. Trade card of Elizabeth Ling and Son, c. 1840. As in the case of Ambrose Gedge there is no evidence of a Royal Warrant to justify the use of the royal coat-of-arms.



29. Trade card of John Ling Senior, Norwich. c. 1820.



30. A tea table bearing a label identical to that in Plate 29.



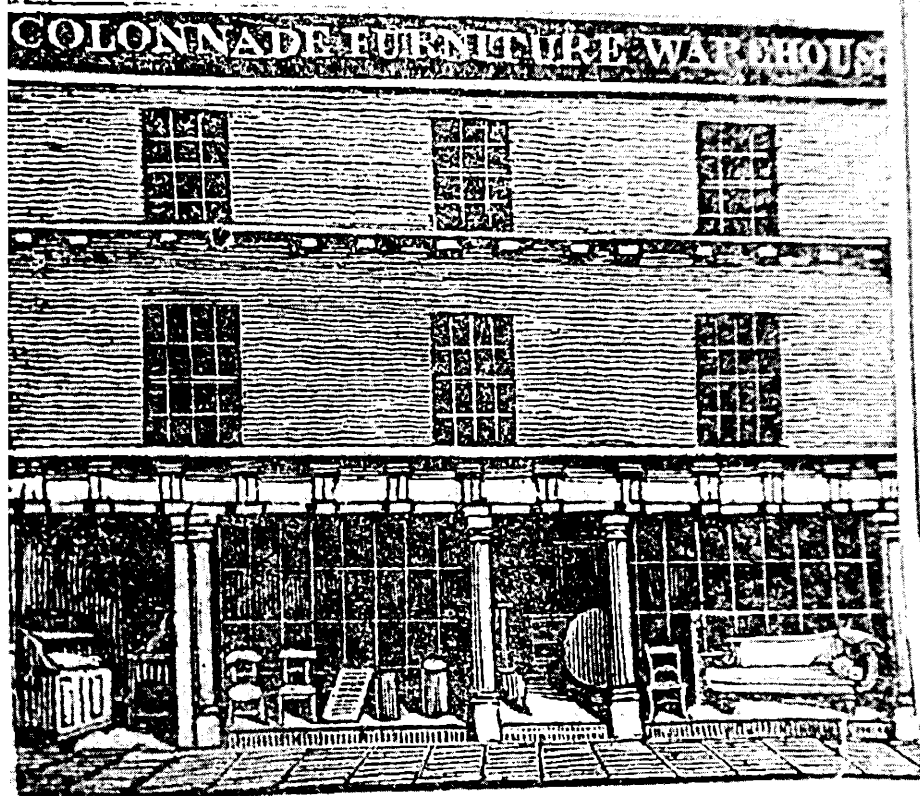
31. Trade card of Samuel Martin & W. Perry, c. 1830.



32. Trade card of Thomas Platt, Wisbech carver & gilder, c. 1840.



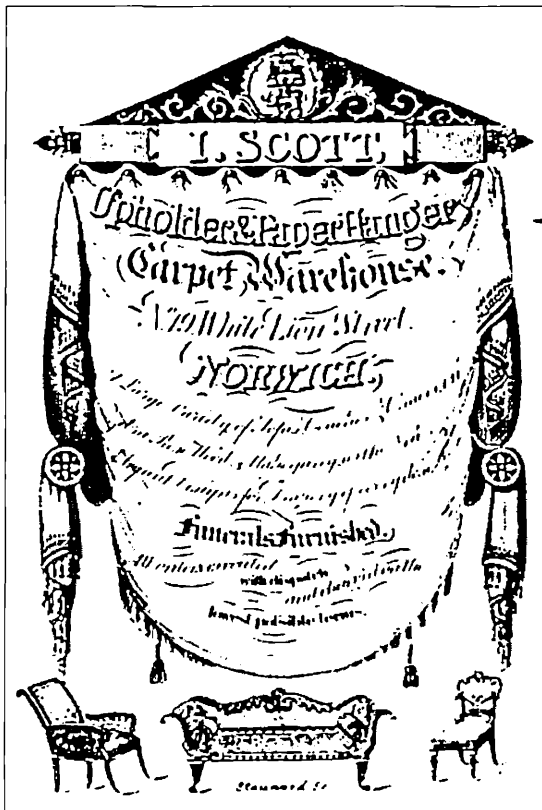
33. Trade card of Thomas Platten junior, King's Lynn upholsterer and cabinet-maker, c. 1810.



**COLONNADE FURNITURE
WAREHOUSE,
QUEEN STREET, NORWICH.
P. ST. QUINTIN'S**

FASHIONABLE Stock of Elegant UPHOL-
STERY and CABINET FURNITURE will,
on inspection, prove an opportunity rarely met
and seldom excelled in the quality of the

34. One of a series of newspaper advertisements showing an engraving of Perry St Quintin's cabinet-making business in Queen Street, Norwich (*Norwich Mercury* 6/10/1833), showing a typical selection of furniture for sale.



35. Primitive photocopy of the trade card of John Scott (2), White Lion Street, Norwich, only partly legible. c. 1835.



36. Trade card of Robert Scott, 18 Charing Cross, Norwich. c. 1840.



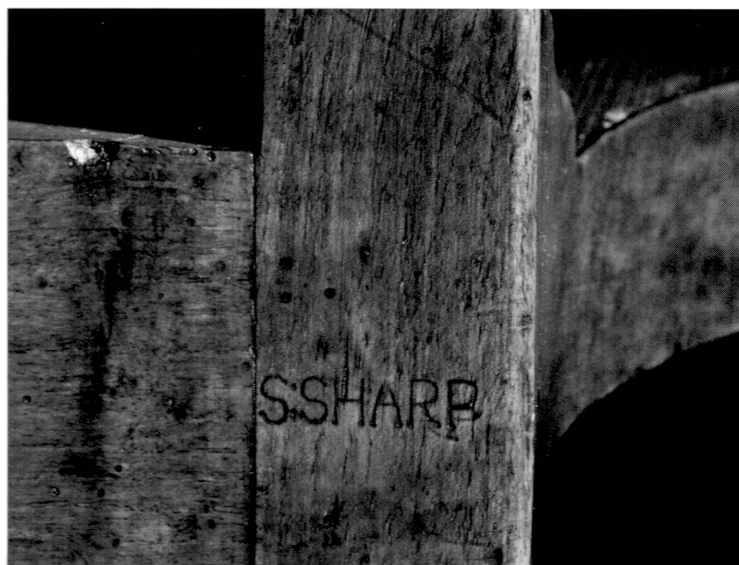
37. Chair by Samuel Sharp(e) stamped S. SHARP on back leg, formerly in the V & A.
Walnut with veneered back, c. 1750.



38. Chair stamped S. SHARP, from the saleroom of Ronald Phillips Ltd., London. c. 1840, though stylistically earlier. Walnut.



39. Detail of carving on the knee of the chair in Pl. 38.



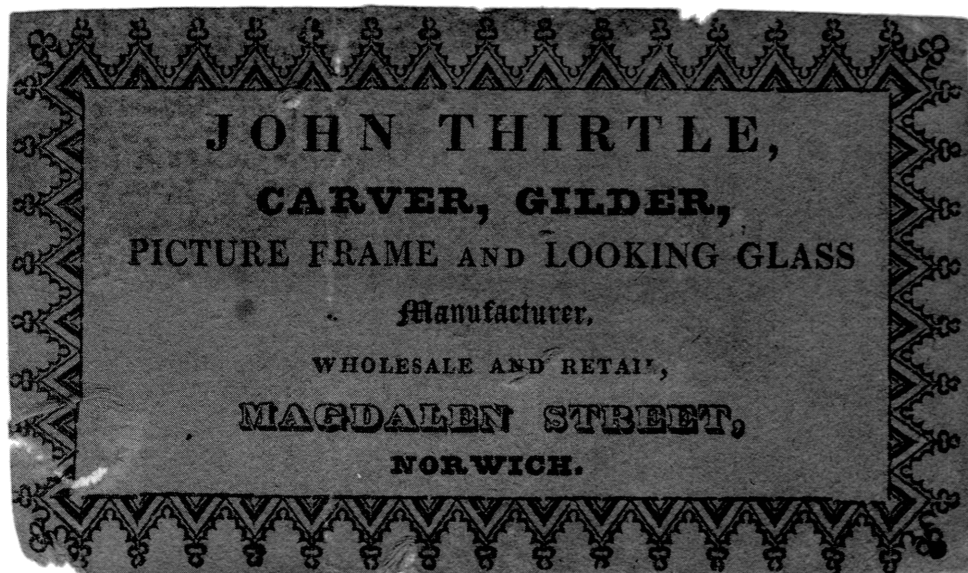
40. Name-stamp on the left back leg of the chair in Pl. 38. Samuel Sharpe sometimes dropped the terminal "e" of his name in newspaper advertisements



41. Chair attributed to William Sharpe, based on Plate XII of the 1st edition of Chippendale's *Gentleman and Cabinet-maker's Director*.



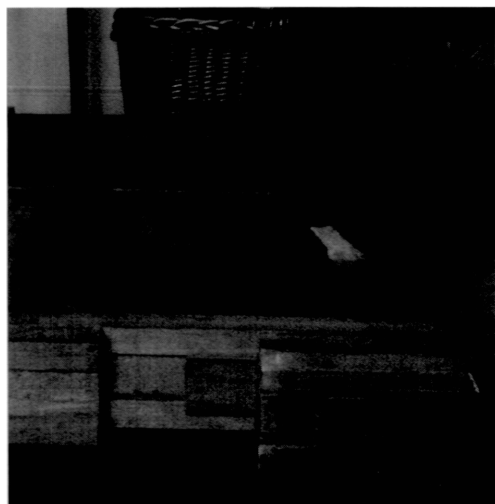
42. William Sharpe's initials stamped on the back-rail of Plate 41 chair.



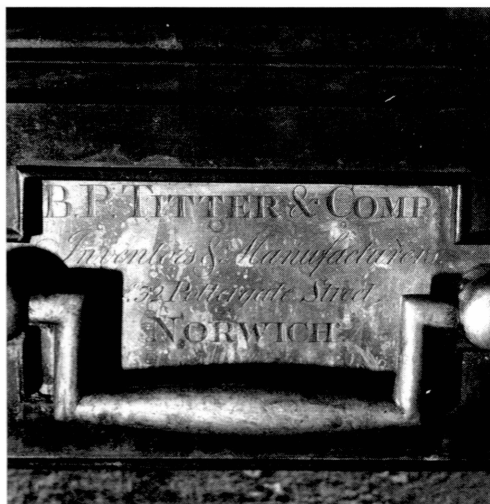
43. Trade label of John Thirtle, removed from a picture frame. c. 1835.



44. An extending dining table by Benjamin Titter of Norwich, still in its original setting at Sloley Hall, Norfolk.



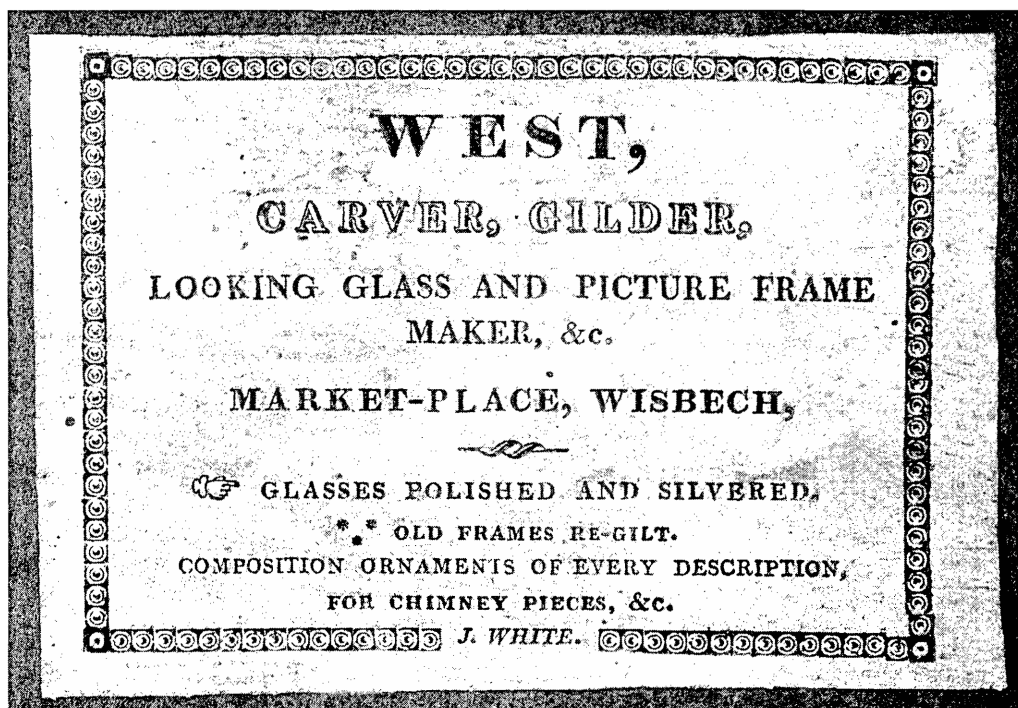
45. A view of the system of sliding dovetailed rails supporting the top of the table in Pl. 44.



46. Nameplate on the Benjamin Titter table in Pl. 44.



47. Rosewood dining chair from Sloley Hall, possibly by Benjamin Titter.



48. Trade card of Joseph Henry West, carver & gilder of Wisbech. c. 1825.



49. Billhead of Edmund Woolverton, Queen Street, Norwich, dated 1815.
 The illustrated cabinet and roll-top desk show the use of cross-banding
 with exotic woods, probably zebra-wood or coromandel.
 Zebra-wood was frequently mentioned in advertisements at the time.