

1979

1794 Middletown, Delaware--From accounting records

Williard E. Stone

Follow this and additional works at: https://egrove.olemiss.edu/aah_journal



Part of the [Accounting Commons](#), and the [Taxation Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Stone, Williard E. (1979) "1794 Middletown, Delaware--From accounting records," *Accounting Historians Journal*: Vol. 6 : Iss. 1 , Article 4.

Available at: https://egrove.olemiss.edu/aah_journal/vol6/iss1/4

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Archival Digital Accounting Collection at eGrove. It has been accepted for inclusion in Accounting Historians Journal by an authorized editor of eGrove. For more information, please contact egrove@olemiss.edu.

Williard E. Stone
UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

1794 MIDDLETOWN, DELAWARE – FROM ACCOUNTING RECORDS*

Abstract: The economic life, customs and importance of 1794 Middletown, Delaware are interpreted from the accounting ledgers of a general store and a blacksmith shop.

A customers ledger covering the period 1794 to 1801 presents a picture of economic life at the turn of the century in an eastern U.S. village. The ledger, now in the possession of Mr. H. F. Green, proprietor of St. Augustine's Oldest Store Museum, was found by his mother 75 years ago in Smyrna, Delaware. The first two-thirds of this ledger contains the customers' accounts of 1794 to 1796 for a general store operated by Reynolds and Clark, Merchants. The last third contains the 1799 to 1801 accounts of John Reynolds and Company, a blacksmith shop. John Reynolds, Esq. was an enterprising man; he was an attorney, a partner in the general store, owner of a blacksmith shop, operated a charcoal kiln and was an early banker for many of the local citizens. The ledger contains no direct information locating the two enterprises but Reynolds was on the tax list of Appoquinimink Hundred (township) which included Middletown. This and transaction references such as "to cash per Middletown day book" place the store in Middletown, Delaware. The location of the blacksmith shop could not be determined but probably was in a nearby but different village from the store because only 19 of the 95 customers of the blacksmith shop were among the 125 customers of the store.

Middletown, Delaware

Middletown is located 22 miles south of Wilmington and approximately 50 miles from Philadelphia. (Fig.1) By 1799 a stage coach line, carrying the mail, made daily runs from Dover through Middletown and Wilmington to Philadelphia.¹ The first U.S. census (1781)

*Based on a paper given at the Southeastern AAA meetings at the University of Tennessee, April 30, 1977.

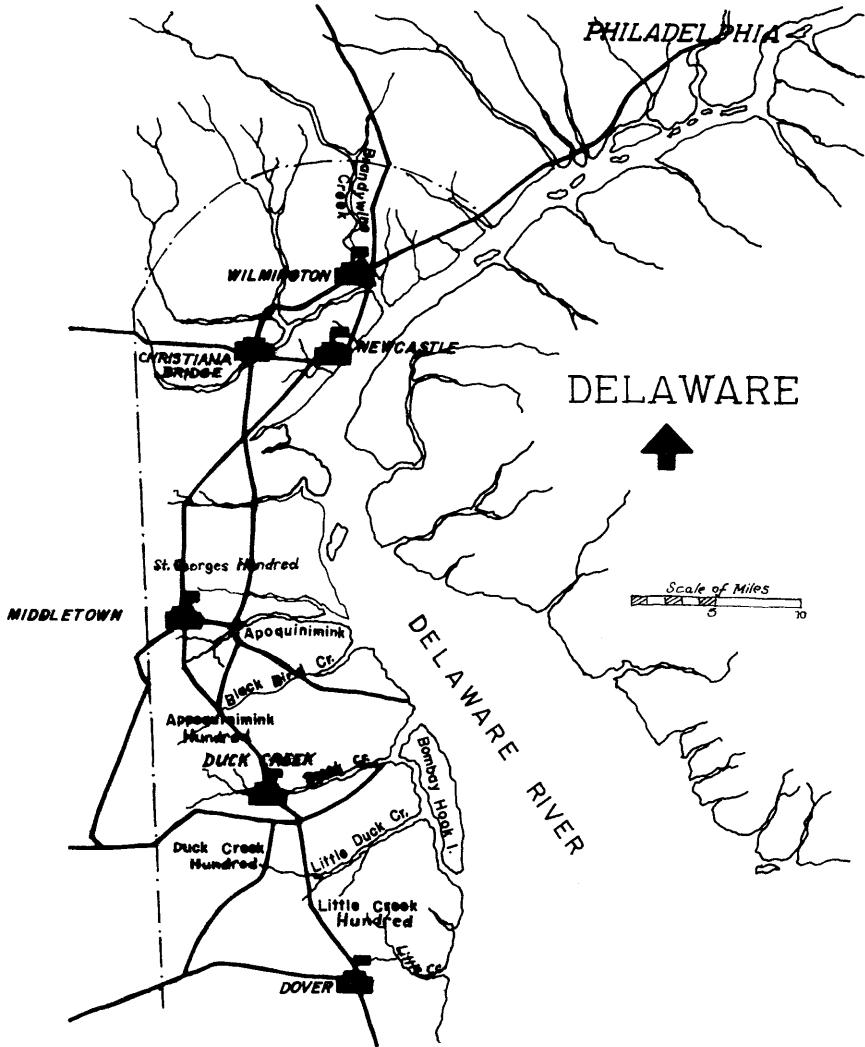


Fig. 1

gives only the population of New Castle County but the second U.S. census (1801) indicates the Appoquinimink Hundred had a population of 4,245. Between the first and second census, New Castle County had a population increase of 30% so the 4,245 figure must be reduced for this increase and because the Appoquinimink Hundred was a larger area than Middletown alone. If we estimate the population at 3,000 in 1794, Middletown was still an important village, for in 1781 the entire population of Delaware was 59,094.

The importance of 1794 Middletown in the colonial history of Delaware is borne out by the prominence of five store customers. Richard Bassett, Esq. of Bohemia Manor was a landowner, lawyer, militia officer, U.S. Senator (1789-1793), Delaware Chief Justice (1796-1799) and Governor (1799-1801).² Another customer, Dr. Joshua Clayton, was the last president of Delaware (1789-1799).³ His son Dr. James Clayton was surgeon in the U.S. Service.⁴ Levi Hollingsworth operated a line of "stage boats" between Philadelphia and Christiana and was part owner of wharves on Christiana Creek at "Christiana Bridge."⁵ Joseph Rothwell was the owner of Rothwell's Wharves on Ducks Creek.⁶

Barter transactions in the ledger and other ledger references disclose that Reynolds and Clark's customers included: 3 attorneys, 4 doctors, a minister, 5 millers, 1 tailor, 2 shoemakers, a store owner, a sawmill operator, a blacksmith, a tanner, a weaver, a barrell maker, and a hatter. Other customers acted as brokers of wheat, corn, tobacco, and cloth. Middletown was a town heavily involved in the commercial activity of the late 18th century colonial period.

Commodities and Prices

The price structure of a period can best be related to an appropriate standard by examining the wage levels of that period. Commodities and services were priced in English currency in the ledger. These have been converted at the exchange rate of 7s6d per \$1, the consistent practice of the storekeeper when \$10 and \$20 bank notes were received. Steven Bonckell, a customer was charged \$15 for one year's services of Jim (the storekeeper's son or slave?). Colling (chopping) a cord of wood brought \$.40 and a man, wagon and team of horses cost \$2.22 per day. The store clerk received \$22.67 for a year's clerking. Harrison, the tailor received \$1.80 for making a new coat. Dr. John Clayton received \$16.87 for one year's medical care of Alexander Clark's family. The annual rent of the store building occupied by Reynolds and Clark was \$13.33 and Dr.

Clayton rented a farm to owner-partner, Alexander Clark for \$66.67 per year.

Commodity prices and the nature of commodities in everyday use offer a glimpse into the life style of the common man. Stable prices prevailed over the two year period for there were few commodity price differences that could not be explained by differences in the quality of the goods. A complete list of products sold by the general store are included in Appendix A. The commodities purchased at the general store are for the most part, quite familiar to us today. Those handed by the blacksmith are, of course, those of an earlier technology and quite unfamiliar to todays city dwellers. Most prices appear to be quite in line with the wage level of the time. Coffee and tea were luxury items and their prices (\$.25 and \$2.22 per pound respectively) reflected the high transportation costs of the period.

Items of particular interest to the men of colonial Middletown were:

Cards, per pack	\$.50	Saddle	\$7.00 to \$11.33
Buggy whip	3.00	Snuff box	.09
Gun flints, each	.02	Steel trap	.62
Musket	5.00	Tobacco, per lb.	.20

The people of Middletown appear to have been kept in good spirits for there was a steady demand for brandy at \$1.20 per gallon, rum at \$1.27 per gallon and whiskey at \$1.10 per gallon. There was a lesser call for port wine at \$.22 per pint and the aristocrat of drinks, gin (probably imported from England), at from \$1.00 to \$1.20 per quart.

Colonial Financial Institutions

Charges to customers in English currency indicated that the people were accustomed to commodity and service prices being stated in pound sterling. Cash payments, however, were very infrequently in even pounds or shillings, indicating that few English coins were in circulation. Small payments were in fractional amounts which would point to the general use of Spanish, Portuguese and other foreign coins. A surprising number of payments in U.S. \$10 and \$20 bills indicate wide-spread use of U.S. bank notes. These notes may have been those of the Bank of North America founded in Philadelphia in 1783 or of the Bank of the United States chartered in Philadelphia in 1791.

Barter was still an accepted practice and customers settled their accounts with labor services and commodities such as wheat, corn, herring, hides, muskrat skins and scrap iron. Bookkeeping barter by transfer of credit and credit guarantee was much more prevalent, however. Three attorneys and a wealthy layman used the general stores as a means of granting credit to others in the period 1794 to 1795 as follows:

Richard Bassett, Esq.	£ 318 to 19 people
John Carnan	£ 270 to 24 people
Edward Oldham, Esq.	£ 63 to 13 people
John Reynolds, Esq.	£ 148 to 13 people

These four men made loans in the form of store credit to 69 people for over £2,100 in a period of slightly more than one year.

John Carnan was a broker for wheat and the store was a collection agent for him. This was the manner in which some of those who used his credit made repayment to him. Others who acted as bankers were repaid by services or commodities. The account of Edward Oldham, Esq. was given credit for hides turned over to the storekeeper by one of his credit debtors. Wheat collected by John Carnan and corn gathered by Joseph Israel were sold in Philadelphia and payments of fairly large sums (in one case, £415) were periodically made there by those gentlemen to Reynolds and Clark's grocery suppliers, Joseph North and Haskens. These payments completed the bookkeeping barter cycle⁷ from the general store; granting credit to customers, charging the brokers' accounts, accumulating corn and wheat from these customers and giving credit to the brokers and finally receiving settlements in the form of credit transfers from the brokers to pay merchandise bills in Philadelphia.

Colonial Language and Spelling

Colonial spelling made use of double letters to a greater extent even than our curious retention of this vestigial practice. Hatts, bonnetts, powder and shott, and chamber potts are good examples. They also made quite logical substitutions (phonetically speaking) in the words syth, neadles, shoss (shoes), steal (steel), fryan pan, oyl cloth, misrat, sidder, buttins, molasis, and nutmig.

The language, particularly in the blacksmith's records, made use of many terms that are unfamiliar to us. *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Green⁸ and Tull⁹ clarified some of the strange words and phrases but others remain a mystery. To "lay an axe" was "to weld

a new piece of steel in the body of the old axe that had been worn out." Jethro Tull made clear the meaning of "repairs to land side on shear" when he described a plow as having a *land side* and a *furrow side*. Another type of repair made to a plow had a beautiful sound, "laying shear on wing and bar."

Shoeing a horse was "to shewing grey mare, 1 s., 10 d." or "to platting your horse, 3 s., 9 d."¹⁰ A single new shoe cost 25¢ and a remove¹¹ (resetting old shoes?) was 14¢. "Frosting" a horse was a strange term until it was found that the blacksmith also sold frost nails. The Oxford Dictionary explained that frost nails were special nails placed in horses' hooves to prevent slipping on icy roads. "Sharpening mill pick" was sharpening a tool used to cut channels in millstones. Other terms such as "ironing well bucket" were self explanatory but the meaning of "upsetting two grubbing hoes" remains unclear. Frequent charges were made to the blacksmith's customers for clouts (patchplates of iron) and for a clevis which was a cuff at the end of the plough-beam to which the single-tree was fastened. Frequently sold items in the blacksmith shop were points at \$.20 each and sharps at \$.10 each. The nature of these items has not been indicated in the sources quoted.

In the store ledger a sales allowance was phrased "to abatement for hatt." An assignment of credit was "to your assination for your man Jacob." "Fustian" was a course cloth made of cotton and flax, and "nankeen" a cotton cloth usually yellow in color and "cotton full'd cloth"¹² was a best seller. An item popular with men customers was "black ball" which frequently was sold along with smoking tobacco suggesting that it may be chewing tobacco or snuff. Three charges to customers for "tickets" at \$5 each were a puzzle until it was discovered that lotteries were legal for certain "good causes." One in Delaware in 1791 was authorized by the legislature to raise £1,000 for "setting up chambers in the new court house in the town of Dover."¹³

Conclusions

Middletown, Delaware, in 1794 appears to have been a busy, thriving village, with an economy closely tied to that of Philadelphia. Merchandise available to the people of Middletown included many of the basic commodities which are used in the United States today. Most of these were local and regional products but some, such as window glass, linens, chalk, silk, coffee, tea, gunflints and gin were imported. Except for the omission of television and automobiles and

some other readily dispensable items, the people were as well supplied with the necessities and comforts of life as we are today.

Appendix A

Rogers & Clark

General Store, Middletown, Delaware — 1794 to 1796

Price List of Products and Services

Bark, per oz.	46 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
Barrells, flower (flour), each	26 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
Bed cord	40¢
Bed ticker (bed tick)	\$4.50, \$5.33 $\frac{1}{3}$
Beef, per lb.	4.4¢, 5.3¢
Black ball (?)	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¢, 30¢
Blankets	\$4.44
Board (quantity not specified)	\$2.00
Bonnett	\$4.00
Book	50¢, 96 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
—muster	66 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
—spelling	16 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
—testament	36 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
Bootlegs	\$1.66 $\frac{2}{3}$
Boots, pair	53 $\frac{1}{3}$ ¢
Brandy, pint	17.8¢
gallon	\$1.20
Brush	42¢, 50¢
—pair	86 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢, \$1.11
Brush and comb	56 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
Buckels	33 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¢, 53 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¢
	93 $\frac{1}{3}$ ¢, \$1.11
Buckwheat, per bu	60¢
Butter, per lb.	11¢, 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¢
	14.4¢
Buttons	22.2¢, to \$1.06 $\frac{2}{3}$
—Shirt buttons	26.7¢
Callamanco (probably calomel)	\$2.67
Candles	50¢
Cards	50¢
Chalk	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¢
Churn	93 $\frac{1}{3}$ ¢
Cigars (segars)	\$1.00
Cloth	
—Baze, per yd.	\$1.40
—Binding	8 $\frac{1}{4}$ ¢
—Cotton full'd cloth	70¢
—Flannell (flannel)	\$2.00
—Fustin (fustian) a course cloth made of cotton and flax	
—Hemp	\$1.33 $\frac{1}{3}$
—Lining	25¢
—Linnen, per yard	53 $\frac{1}{3}$ ¢
—Muslin	62.2¢

—Nankeen, a cotton cloth usually yellow in color	\$1.00, \$1.53
—Oyl cloth	\$1.20
—Silk, per scanes (skein)	6 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
Coardwood (cordwood) colling per cord	40¢
Coat	\$1.53 $\frac{1}{3}$
—for making	\$1.80
Coffee, lb.	24.4¢, 25¢
Coffee cups	\$2.00
Coffee mill	\$1.60
Comb	
—Cricket comb (?)	16 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
—Fine comb	16 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
Corn, per bu.	46.7¢, 50¢, 51.1¢
Coverlid (a cover for a bed, quilt)	\$2.00
Cow, red	\$12.00
Cow and calf	\$16.00
Dy (dye) pott (pot)	33 $\frac{1}{3}$ ¢
Earthen dish	7.8¢
—pott	10¢, 11¢
Fan	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¢, 30¢
Fishing lines	74 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¢
Flaxseed, per bu	60¢
Flints, each	2.2¢
Flower (flour) — per lb.	4.9¢
per bu.	\$6.08 $\frac{1}{3}$, \$6.13,
	\$6.40
Fur, muskrat, per skin	26 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
Garters	6 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
Gin, per quart	\$1.00, \$1.20
Gloves	44.4¢, 53 $\frac{1}{3}$ ¢
Handff (handkerchief)	80¢, \$1.13 $\frac{1}{3}$
Hatt (hat)	\$1.16 $\frac{2}{3}$, \$3.33 $\frac{1}{3}$,
	\$3.66 $\frac{2}{3}$
fur	\$4.00
ladies	\$3.00
fine	\$4.00, \$4.30, \$5.00
Herring, each	2¢
Hide, per lb.	4.4¢, 5¢
Hog, per lb.	5¢
Hogshead	\$1.40, \$1.50
Hauling — one day	\$2.22
corn, per bu.	4.4¢
flaxseed, per bu.	6 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
load of goods	\$1.66 $\frac{2}{3}$
load of goods from landing	86 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
Indigo	13 $\frac{1}{4}$ ¢
Inc (ink) powder	13 $\frac{1}{4}$ ¢
Inc (ink) stand	50¢
Jar, stone	66 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
Jug	17.8¢
Lard, per lb.	11.1¢
Lead	60¢

Stockings	62.2¢, \$1.00, \$2.00
hemp	\$1.27
Sugar, per lb.	15 $\frac{3}{4}$ ¢
per loaf	\$2.02
Tallow (quantity not specified)	
Tea	26 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
hyson, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb.	55 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¢
Teapot	31¢
Thimbol (thimble)	6 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
Thread	4.4¢, 6 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
Tickets (lottery) each	\$5.00
Tobacco — purchased, per lb.	12.2¢
sold, per lb.	20¢
	} 64% mark-up
Tobacco box	16 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
Traps	62.2¢
Trunk	\$3.66 $\frac{2}{3}$, \$5.00
Tukin (?)	\$6.00
Tumbler	9¢
Twine, skein	27.7¢
Twist	6 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
Walebone (whalebone)	9¢
Wheat, per bu.	\$1.31, \$1.33
Window glass, per piece	\$8.23 $\frac{1}{3}$
Wine, per bottle	37.8¢
port, per pint	22.2¢
Whip, buggy	\$3.00

Appendix B

John Reynolds, Esq.
Blacksmith Business 1799 - 1800
David Smyth, Blacksmith
*Price List of Products and Services**

*converted to US dollars @ rate
 9 penny = 10 cents
 7'6 p = \$1

Ax, laying (to lay an axe is to weld a new piece of steel into the body of the old axe that has been worn out)	66 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢, 75¢
broadax	\$2.00
iron & steel ax	83 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
upsetting	26 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
Axil (axle) each	\$1.06 $\frac{2}{3}$
Axiltree for wheel	26 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
Band on waggon wheel	33 $\frac{1}{3}$ ¢
Bolt	13 $\frac{1}{3}$ ¢
for floodgate, per pound	12 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
for window, each	25¢
Buckel (buckle), harness	13 $\frac{1}{3}$ ¢
carriage, large	16 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢

Stone: 1794—Middletown, Delaware—From Accounting Records

49

Bridle, (bridle) bit	16 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
Chane (chain) per foot	25¢
Chimny (chimney) irons, per lb.	11¢
Clevis, Laying (a cuff at the end of the plough-beam to which the singletree is fastened)	66 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
three knotted	\$1.00
Clouts (patchplate of iron) each	25¢
clout for cart	13 $\frac{1}{4}$ ¢
Coather (?) or Coathis, laying	\$1.00
sharpening	20¢
Cotter (?), laying	\$1.00, \$1.10
dressing	33¢
pointing	50¢
Cupples (?) pair	25¢
Dog for sawmill	25¢
Dog fork, (iron bar with bent prong for grappling logs)	25¢
Dung fork	33 $\frac{1}{4}$ ¢
Dung shovle (shovel)	1.33 $\frac{1}{3}$ ¢
Esshook (probably an S hook)	10¢, 13 $\frac{1}{3}$ ¢
Flat iron	50¢
Flesh fork	24.4¢
Friszen (?)	20¢
Frosting horse (placing frost nails in hooves to prevent slippage)	16 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
Fryan pan	80¢, 93 $\frac{1}{3}$ ¢
Fusing for gun lock	25¢
Gate hinges, pair	\$1.50
Gridiron	\$1.20, 1.66 $\frac{2}{3}$
Gudgon (a metal pivot on end of beam, axle, etc. on which wheel turns)	
for wheelbarrow, set	40¢
gudgon with ring	25¢
Gullet plate (lower end of horse collar)	50¢
Gun scraper and brick pin	50¢
Handirons (pair)	60¢
per pound	13 $\frac{1}{3}$ ¢
Handle for coffee mill	20¢
Handle for tea kettle	25¢
Harp (Bullingers?)	\$50
Harrow teeth, sharpening each	2.2¢
Hoe, new	\$1.00
laying	50¢
grubbing	66 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢, \$1.66 $\frac{2}{3}$
sharpt (sharpened)	6 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
upsetting grubbing hoe	33 $\frac{1}{3}$ ¢
Hole fast for bench	\$1.25
Hooks for hinges, each	16 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
Horssh shoss (horseshoes), new each	25¢
removes each (reforging old shoes?)	13.5¢, 14.4¢
new, with steel toes each	30¢
Iron (purchased) old, per lb.	2.2¢
new, per lb.	6 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢

new bar, per lb.	5½¢
Kitch (catch) for door, each	10¢
Knife	14.4¢, 30¢, 36¾¢
cheese knife	50¢
drawing knife	\$1.00
flesh knife (used in fleshing skins)	24.4¢
knife and fork	\$1.20
pen knife	24.4¢, 25¢
Lamp iron (candlestick?)	50¢
Linch pin (a pin put in the spindle of the axle of vehicle to keep the wheel on)	20¢
Meat spit, mending	20¢
Mill jack	\$2.50
Mill pick (tool for giving millstone corrugated surface)	
laying	53½¢
dressing	12.2¢
sharping (sharpening)	12.2¢
stuting	80¢
Moves (revolving part?)	7.2¢
Nails, per gross	13.3¢
per pound	33½¢
brad nails, each	.56¢
cart nails, each	3¢
clant nails, each	1.12¢
frost nails, each (for horses hooves to prevent slippage)	.68¢
hobb (hob) nails, gross	26¾¢
horse shoe nails, each	1.12¢
sprig, each	.44¢
spikes, per lb.	16¾¢
tin nails, each	4.44¢
Nibb iron for cradle	25¢
Nut for screw	6¾¢
Ox yoak (yoke), mending	16¾¢
Pick plains (?)	98½¢
Pitchfork	50¢
Plating horse	85¢
Plow plate	25¢
Pot rack	\$1.00, \$1.53½
Points (?)	20¢
Rivit (rivet) and bur, set	4.4¢
Screw, per lb.	16¾¢
cutting	6¾¢
Sharps (?) each	10¢
Shear, new 23½ lb., per lb.	17.7¢
laying	92¾¢, \$1.00, \$1.33½
Shewing (shoeing) horse, per hoof	25¢
Shewing horse, 4 removes	50¢
Shovel	\$1.20, \$1.26
fine shovel	86¾¢
Spaid, (spade) each	\$1.20, \$1.26¾
Spurs, set	33½

Stone: 1794—Middletown, Delaware—From Accounting Records

51

Steal (steel) old per lb.	16 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
Stapels, (staples)	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¢
Sythe, new	\$1.73
hanging for	25¢
plating	24.4¢, 25¢
Terry cap for timber wheel, mending	66 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
Thumb screws, 3	\$1.00
Tools, each	
chisell (chisel)	55 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¢, 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
clamp	22¢
cutting box, steel for	66 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
file	13 $\frac{1}{3}$ ¢
gimblet (gimlet)	6.7¢
hammer, laying	50¢
dressing	20¢
hatchet	86 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢, \$1.00
small	75¢
mattack (mattock)	60¢
plane bit	20¢
rasp	62.2¢
saw handle	50¢
screw driver	10¢
thumbscrew	33¢
Tung cap for slay (sleigh)	50¢, 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢
welding tung cap	40¢
Washer for cart wheel (wheel)	25¢
Well bucket, ironed	50¢
Wheel barrow, hooking	25¢
Widge, (wedge), each	3 $\frac{1}{4}$ ¢
new pair	\$1.11
for carrage, laying	55 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¢
for carrage, dressing	10¢
Wood, colling, per cord	40¢

FOOTNOTES

¹Munroe, p. 139.²Munroe, p. 54, p. 198, p. 268.³Scharf, Vol. I, p 269, p. 291, p. 279.⁴Munroe, p. 249.⁵Scharf, Vol. II, p. 941.⁶Conrad, Vol. II, p. 615.⁷Baxter used the term "book-keeping barter" to define "an exchange with a time-lag" [p. 274] to differentiate it from pure barter, "truck, i.e. the simultaneous exchange of goods."⁸Green, various pages.⁹Tull, various pages.¹⁰Webster, plate (verb), to shoe (a horse) with racing plates.¹¹Webster, remove (verb), the act of setting a horse's shoe.¹²Webster, full (verb), to cleanse cloth from its oil or grease.¹³Scharf, Vol. II, p. 1033.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Baxter, William T. "Accounting in Colonial America" in Littleton, A. C. and Yamsey, B. S., *Studies in the History of Accounting*, Richard D. Irwin, 1956.
- Conrad, Henry C., *History of the State of Delaware from the Earliest Settlements to the Year 1907*, 3 vols., Published by Author, 1908.
- Green, B. M., *Word-Book of Virginia Folk-Speech*, Ellis Jones Book and Job Printer, Richmond, 1899.
- Munroe, John A., *Federalist Delaware, 1775-1815*, Rutgers University Press, 1954.
- Scharf, J. Thomas, et. al., *History of Delaware (1609-1888)*, 2 vol., Philadelphia, L. J. Richards' Co., 1888.
- Tull, Jethro, Esq., *Horse-Hoeing Husbandry*, 4th Edition, A. Millar, London, 1762.
- Webster's New International Dictionary* (Merriam edition), 1926.