

INFORMATION TO USERS

This was produced from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure you of complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark it is an indication that the film inspector noticed either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, or duplicate copy. Unless we meant to delete copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed, you will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed the photographer has followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. For any illustrations that cannot be reproduced satisfactorily by xerography, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and tipped into your xerographic copy. Requests can be made to our Dissertations Customer Services Department.
5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases we have filmed the best available copy.

University
Microfilms
International

300 N. ZEEB ROAD, ANN ARBOR, MI 48106
16 BEDFORD ROW, LONDON, WC1R 4EJ, ENGLAND

1973-77

FANELLI, DORIS DEVINE
THE HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF
MICHIGAN, 1817-1977
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN
UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS INTERNATIONAL
SERIALS ACQUISITION DEPARTMENT
300 N. ZEEB ROAD
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106

DORIS DEVINE FANELLI, AUTHOR
University
Microfilms
International 300 N. ZEEB ROAD, ANN ARBOR, MI 48106

© 1979

DORIS DEVINE FANELLI

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

PLEASE NOTE:

In all cases this material has been filmed in the best possible way from the available copy. Problems encountered with this document have been identified here with a check mark .

1. Glossy photographs
2. Colored illustrations _____
3. Photographs with dark background
4. Illustrations are poor copy _____
5. Print shows through as there is text on both sides of page _____
6. Indistinct, broken or small print on several pages _____ throughout

7. Tightly bound copy with print lost in spine _____
8. Computer printout pages with indistinct print _____
9. Page(s) _____ lacking when material received, and not available
from school or author _____
10. Page(s) _____ seem to be missing in numbering only as text
follows _____
11. Poor carbon copy _____
12. Not original copy, several pages with blurred type _____
13. Appendix pages are poor copy _____
14. Original copy with light type _____
15. Curling and wrinkled pages _____
16. Other _____

University
Microfilms
International

300 N ZEEB RD. ANN ARBOR MI 48106-3131 761-4700

THE BUILDING AND FURNITURE TRADES
IN LANCASTER, PENNSYLVANIA, 1750-1800

BY

Doris Devine Fanelli

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Early American Culture.

June 1979

Copyright Doris Devine Fanelli 1979

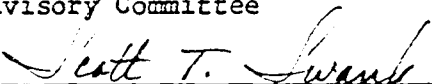
THE BUILDING AND FURNITURE TRADES
IN LANCASTER, PENNSYLVANIA, 1750-1800

BY

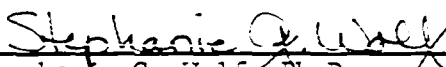
Doris Devine Fanelli

Approved: 

Beano M. Forman, M. A.
Professor in charge of thesis on behalf of the
Advisory Committee



Scott T. Swank, Ph.D.
Professor in charge of thesis on behalf of the
Advisory Committee

Approved: 

Stephanie G. Wolf, Ph.D.
Coordinator of The Winterthur Program in
Early American Culture

Approved: 

Gerard J. Mangone, Ph.D.
University Coordinator for Graduate Studies

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
INTRODUCTION.	1
CHAPTER I History of Lancaster Borough	5
CHAPTER II The Building and Furniture Trades in Lancaster	8
CHAPTER III Economic Status of the Furniture and Building Trades in Lancaster.	19
CHAPTER IV Success and Kinship.	26
CHAPTER V Products, Perception, and Use of Material Culture.	32
CONCLUSION.	39
ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY.	42
NOTES	43
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	50
FIGURE 1.	56
FIGURE 2.	57
TABLE I	58
TABLE II.	59
APPENDIX A.	60
APPENDIX B.	64
ILLUSTRATIONS	67

INTRODUCTION

Lancaster, Pennsylvania, flourished during the last half of the eighteenth century. The borough had been founded in 1729 as an inland supply center for the lucrative fur trade and as a gateway to western expansion. The financial opportunities Lancaster offered attracted merchants, professional men, tradesmen, and artisans. This thesis focuses on one group of craftsmen, woodworkers involved in the building and furniture trades between 1750 and 1800.

German immigration to southeastern Pennsylvania was high during the eighteenth century, and many of them settled in Lancaster. The ethnic ratio of the woodworkers reflected the town's five-to-one, German-to-British (that is, English, Irish, and Scotch-Irish) ratio.¹ These artisans shared a common technological skill and, in most cases, a common cultural heritage. This study will examine the growth of the woodworking trade and will isolate factors that contributed to the woodworkers' success or failure in the borough. The craftsmen's products will be discussed to determine the extent the Germans adapted to the British culture and simultaneously retained their ethnic identity.

This thesis is divided into five chapters. The first is a brief review of Lancaster's history to provide the contextual setting for the subsequent sections. The second is devoted to the development of the woodworkers' community. It includes investigations of the woodworking skills represented in the borough and of the interdependency of the building and furniture trades. The third contains assessments of the craftsmen's economic status relative to their group and to the entire town. The fourth is a description of characteristics common to the artisans who prospered and persisted generationally in Lancaster. The fifth is an evaluation of the craftsmen's products and of their use of objects from their material culture as evidence of cultural adaptation and ethnic retention.

The interpretive framework for this study of Lancaster's woodworkers is ethnographic.² To give as full a picture of the craftsmen as possible, primary documents and artifacts were examined from public, ecclesiastical, and private sources. The original list of woodworkers on which this study is based was excerpted from a file of craftsmen's names compiled from county tax lists at the Lancaster County Historical Society. As supplementary material was discovered, this list was amended and modified. The resultant list are woodworkers known to have lived and worked in the borough for at least one year (Appendix A). Although many more men worked in Lancaster for brief periods and left no surviving records, the group of 134 men used as the basis of this study is sufficiently diverse to be a representative sample.

In addition to tax records, Lancaster County and borough deed lists were checked to determine land ownership. Wills and inventories were also a valuable source, especially for chapters two through five.

Ecclesiastical records were a source for demographic data, evidence of the craftsmen's membership in established social institutions, and their involvement with church building projects. Moravian church records actually contained craftsmen's autobiographies, or lebensläufe, required of every member.

Few personal craftsman's manuscripts have surfaced. With the exception of the Moravian memoirs, a few bills, and wills, no first-person accounts by woodworkers have survived. In fact, few manuscript materials of a personal nature relating to any eighteenth-century Lancaster residents are in public repositories. The account and letter books of Jasper Yeates (in the Lancaster County Historical Society) are the only personal documents of a private citizen which contain references to specific craftsmen.

In addition to written and printed documents, an attempt was made to locate as many physical survivals of craftsmen's work as possible. Lancaster has undergone extensive urban renewal, but some of its original architecture is extant. Photographs of many now-demolished buildings are at the Lancaster County Historical Society.

Furniture with a history of origin in the town was also examined, but only a few pieces documentable to Lancaster are known. There are two possible explanations for this. First, movement of objects within and without the county has submerged them in a larger pool usually referred to as "Pennsylvania German." The number of pieces of furniture that conform so well stylistically and structurally to Anglo-American furniture as to be falsely-attributed to Philadelphia or Chester County is inestimable. Second, in any area in the eighteenth century a measurable amount of furniture was produced per capita, a percentage of which could be expected to survive. The entire county of Lancaster had 15,000 people in 1800, less than one-fourth the population of Philadelphia, which had 65,000. When consideration is given to the number of Philadelphia survivals relative to the city's population, the possible object pool from Lancaster is understandably small by comparison.

The thrust of this thesis has not been to describe in detail all known pieces of Lancaster furniture. The intent has been to use examples to illustrate aspects of the woodworkers' lives to which written documents allude. This study incorporates artifactual analysis with the techniques of ethnography. It presents a method for understanding a group whose existence was vital to their eighteenth-century community and whose legacy to society was non-verbal.

CHAPTER I

History of Lancaster Borough

In 1729 the populated areas of Chester County had expanded to such an extent that its westernmost part was made a separate county which was named Lancaster. The following year, James Hamilton, son of the Prothonotary of the Provincial Supreme Court, laid out the town of Lancaster on a land grant received from William Penn. The proprietor intended to establish an inland, urban settlement that would serve as a gateway for western expansion and as an outpost for trade with the Indians. Hamilton and his heirs sold lots in Lancaster singly to individuals or in parcels to investors. The family retained their right to collect ground rents on the land until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The site of the town of Lancaster, determined by Hamilton's holdings, was propitious for urban growth as a central place.¹ It was sixty-five miles from Philadelphia, which was the largest city and port in the colonies. That distance was close enough to permit commerce with the port, but far enough for Lancaster to develop its own self-sufficient network of merchants and craftsmen. Besides a system of overland roads, the town was one mile from the Conestoga River, a

tributary of the Susquehanna. After York was founded in 1741, a "trans-Susquehanna" trade developed. After 1750, both towns secured trade outlets along the river as far south as Baltimore.²

The borough of Lancaster was made the county seat in 1742. This assured its primacy as a central place since residents in the surrounding county were drawn there for civil and mercantile business. Theoretically, Lancaster served a radius of fifteen miles, a comfortable distance for a day-long, return trip to town.³ Hamilton promoted his enterprise and persuaded many Philadelphia merchants to establish branch offices staffed by factors or family members in Lancaster. The borough's rate of growth was rapid; population increased from 200 in 1735 to over 2,500 in 1750. This initial celerity was replaced by a slower, steadier accretion in the last half of the century.⁴ By the Revolution, Lancaster was the largest inland city in the colonies; it had become an important marketing and manufacturing center for its region, not merely an "emporium for the hinterlands."⁵

Coincidentally, the years of growth were also years of heavy German immigration to Pennsylvania. A 1749 promotional tract stated that "the desire to go to Pennsylvania is so deeply rooted in the people of Germany it can no longer be dug out."⁶ Germans were motivated to emigrate by promises of religious tolerance and social and economic betterment, though this does not imply that all immigrants were at the bottom of the socio-economic scale. Even for those

who paid for their passage by selling themselves into bonded servitude, a small outlay of personal money was necessary.⁷

Many landholders in Germany resented increased taxes which were only levied against the propertied class. Citizens sold their property and paid a tax to their local government to free themselves to emigrate. Overcrowding and the resultant surfeit of skilled and unskilled labor also inspired some to leave. One Lancaster woodworker, master-cabinetmaker Ephraim Benedict Garble, applied to leave Wertheim County, Germany "on account of poor times, also the overstock of his trade."⁸ While there is no evidence that Lancaster was the specific destination for many of the immigrants, once arrived in Philadelphia, they doubtless learned of the new inland town and its attendant opportunities.

CHAPTER II

The Building and Furniture Trades in Lancaster

Skilled woodworkers were needed to build the new town in the wilderness. Hamilton required that new lot holders erect a "substantial Dwelling-House of the Dimensions of Sixteen feet square at least" on their properties within one year of purchase. Richard Locke, a missionary for the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, noted in 1746 that there were "about 300 houses, which increase (to near 20) every year." Building was a profitable venture. Men with capital wisely invested in parcels of lots, built dwellings on them, and sold them. In 1754, for example, blacksmith Thomas Poulteny and a partner, Isaac Whitelock, offered twenty houses of brick, stone, and log for sale.¹

The Court House, begun in 1731 by Philadelphia carpenter Edmund Wooley, was Lancaster's first recorded brick building. Wooley combined local craftsmen and Philadelphia artisans for the commission. The earliest resident German house carpenter in town may have been Cornelius Verhulst, who was ordered by the County Commissioners to "immediately...go on with his part of the Work" on the Court House in 1737.²

Between 1750 and 1800 a minimum of 134 skilled, freeman woodworkers are listed in the tax lists, public documents, and ecclesiastical records of Lancaster. Names on the borough tax lists represent those men who were living in the town in a specific year. Transients who worked in the borough for less than a year, apprentices who were not required to pay taxes, and men who engaged in woodwork- ing as a secondary occupation are not included in this figure.

Not all of those craftsmen worked simultaneously during the period under study. In fact, no more than forty were tax-paying residents in any given year. The mean number (in a range of one to forty-two years) of working years an artisan spent in Lancaster was 7.51. Few craftsmen worked continuously in Lancaster (see Figure 1); most woodworkers moved in and out of the borough in search of work.³

While mobility was generally high in the eighteenth century, according to James Lemon the rate in Pennsylvania may have exceeded the American average. In Lancaster "somewhat more than 50% of the adult males disappeared per decade."⁴ This concept of transiency is important to consider when forming an image of the crafts community. Only nineteen out of 134 men are known to have died during this period; an additional thirty-eight continued to practice their crafts in Lancaster in the nineteenth century; six others remained in the borough but adopted another line of work. Only thirty-six worked in Lancaster for more than five years without

interruption. Persistence in the borough may be equated with success, since an unsuccessful craftsman is motivated to change occupations or move elsewhere.

Every woodworker who worked in Lancaster, regardless of how long he worked, is important to the group's character. The degree of their influence varied, but men who worked in the borough for a brief period were significant to the enrichment and diffusion of a regional style. Skilled artisans brought their work experiences to Lancaster and may have influenced those who worked with them. Peter Frick, born and trained in Germantown, for example, worked seven years in Lancaster. In 1771, he built the organ case at Holy Trinity Lutheran Church.⁵ Frick moved to Baltimore in 1777 but at least four assistants worked in the borough for the remainder of their careers.

Conversely, men who worked in Lancaster influenced the surrounding area. Frick's chief assistant, August Milchsach, had been trained in Germany and worked in the borough for twenty years. Milchsach built organ cases for organ-maker David Tannenberg in Lititz and in other local Moravian communities. He drew his assistants in Lititz from the local work force, just as Peter Frick had done in Lancaster.⁶ Milchsach contributed to Lancaster furniture style and potentially carried that style's influence to a large geographic area.

Craftsmen who apprenticed in the borough did not always stay there. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, urban growth declined and secondary places developed in the surrounding country side. Smaller towns sprang up at milling and manufacturing points and presented opportunities to those involved in such supportive occupations as woodworking or blacksmithing. By 1780, only 6% of the county population lived in the county seat.⁷ Unless a beginning craftsman had connections with an established family of woodworkers, he had better chances for success if he used the training he received in Lancaster outside the borough.

Superficially, it would seem that the woodworker's trade in Lancaster was composed only of carpenters, joiners, and turners.⁸ These are the three most frequently-applied terms on tax lists. Occasionally the German word Schriener is substituted for "joiner." According to the tax lists, over a fifty-year period there were no carvers, only one cabinetmaker, two chairmakers, and no one engaged in the ancillary trades of gilding, painting, or upholstering. However, a diachronic review of the tax assessments indicates that occupational titles were probably selected by the tax assessor and no specific criteria for selection were used.⁹ Since the assessors varied from year to year, the assignment of occupational titles is rather arbitrary. Men who are called "carpenter" one year are called "joiner" another.

This lack of specificity is assuaged by examining more personal documents which contain references by specific craftsmen to their self-concept. The documents that reveal the woodworker's skills and his perception of his place within the group's hierarchy are his products. In many instances, the artifacts stand in direct contradiction to the status roles the tax records assigned the artisan. The taxonomy in Figure 2 shows a more realistic distribution of wood-working skills in the borough, and also shows the proportions of skills within the woodworkers' community. Carpenters and joiners outnumbered turners by more than seven to one. Only seven men were chairmakers and five men were cabinetmakers. The term "laborer" held less status than carpenter or joiner.¹⁰ Three joiners and one carpenter were called "laborers" at the ends of their working lives. Laborers consistently had tax assessments far lower than other woodworkers.

A noticeable segregation among the areas of turner, carpenter/joiner, and cooper is illustrated in Figure 2. Because of the nature of each area's specialization, men may have worked together on the same building project but there was virtually no horizontal movement among the trades. The only instance found of an attempt to gain entry into another area was when Jacob Fetter, chairmaker, sent his son, Nathaniel, to apprentice with a Philadelphia cabinetmaker. Benno Forman has suggested that, for the European-trained craftsman, "the contemporary English word, 'joiner'...by no means articulates the observable differences between [the work of a German schreiner] and

that of the English joiner."¹¹ The separation of the turners' trade from that of the carpenter and joiner, and the simultaneous merger of carpentry, joinery, and cabinetmaking in the minds and practices of the German craftsmen are seen through an examination of their nomenclature.

While a joiner may have interchangeably been described as a "carpenter," he would never have been designated a "turner." The words connote different things. Words for "turners" describe their method; the words for "carpenters" and "joiners" describe their products. The German words for turner are Dreher and Dreschler. Both are related to the verb drehen which means to turn, rotate, shape on a spiral. This was the essence of the turner's skill. Figure 2 illustrates the vertical movement among turners who restricted their skills to the production of architectural elements, those who expanded upon them to include the related skill of chair-making, and those who were exclusively chairmakers.

Joiners and carpenters produced the widest variety of objects and often supervised construction projects; they were the most important segment of the work force. Zimmermann was the word used to designate carpenter; its root Zimmer means "room" and its related verb zimmern means "to build, construct, or join." The word Schreiner which means "joiner" contains the root Schrein which means "casket," "cabinet," "cupboard," in other words, a piece of case furniture. By extension, a cabinetmaker was a Kunstschreiner or a Kunstattischler.

Tischler with its root word Tische, or "table," also denotes "carpenter" or "joiner." The prefix word Kunst, or "art," invests the concept of cabinetmaker with a dimension of creativity and self-expression. To a German, "joiner" was a metonym for "carpenter" or even "cabinetmaker." This explains the seemingly indiscriminate substitution of the words by the tax assessors and by the craftsmen.

Ephraim Garbel, for example, called himself a "master cabinetmaker" on his application to leave Wertheim, Germany; he was designated a carpenter on Lancaster tax lists. Philip Thomas was listed as a "joiner and a "carpenter" on tax lists, yet called himself a "cabinetmaker" in his will. Reference to his actual work indicates that Thomas was both. A bill presented by him to the Estate of Isaac Wharton in 1778 credited Thomas for "Sundry work done in the House...a tob to a writing table...a New Table...[and]...a Coffin...."¹²

The craftsman's work is incontrovertable evidence of his specific skills and it confirms that the terms "joiner," "carpenter," and "cabinetmaker" were used interchangeably. Conrad Lind, who made a desk and high chest--two of the few signed pieces of Lancaster cabinetwork--called himself a "carpenter" in his will. Carpenters usually worked in soft woods, but Lind's furniture is made of walnut. Structurally and stylistically, it is first-rate cabinetmaker's work, according to the American definition of the trade. George Burkhart considered himself a carpenter in his will and was called a "house

carpenter" by his wife in his inventory. He was a skilled joiner who built the organ case, modeled after Plate CIV of Thomas Chippendale's Gentleman & Cabinetmaker's Director and which still stands in the First Reformed Church in Lancaster. Burkhart also trained his nephew, Conrad Doll, to build cases for spinets and organs.¹³

No one was working exclusively as a carver in Lancaster between 1750 and 1800. Surviving bills indicate that both turners and joiners provided small-scale ornament for public buildings. Adam Hart, a turner, billed Trinity Lutheran Church for four dozen bannisters, and twenty-four columns as well as an assortment of pulleys and plates used for the new steeple in 1795. Jacob Flubacher and John Lind, joiners, each supplied almost identical amounts of ornament for the second Court House. Whether these men actually executed the carving or contracted the work to others is unknown. No one in Lancaster executed large-scale carving that required superior skill. When the Lutheran congregation had its Church's steeple built in 1785, the contract was awarded to a Philadelphia carpenter, William Colladay, with church warden and carpenter, Frederick Mann, an overseer. Colladay had the freestanding figures on the steeple carved in Philadelphia.¹⁴

The work of at least three different individuals has been distinguished on carved Lancaster case furniture, but no references survive to suggest who these individual carvers were.¹⁵

No references survive to anyone in the borough doing inlaid work, although inlaid pieces of furniture are known. Cabinetmakers probably ornamented their own work. The attribution of the pewter inlay on one Lancaster schrank to Moravian pewterer Johan Christoph Heyne is tempting. Heyne's working dates coincide with the date of the schrank's manufacture (Illustration 1).

Tax assessments list no "whitworkers" in Lancaster and no one considered himself exclusively a "painter." Artisans who worked in soft woods painted their own products and billed their customers separately for this service. Jasper Yeates, Lancaster lawyer, paid joiner Gabriel Maysenheimer eighteen shillings for painting the poplar bookcases Yeates ordered in 1767. Philip Thomas painted a wine cooler which was made by cooper Jacob Weiss for Yeates. Thomas, a Moravian, painted the Church's new organ case "dark Blue" in 1765.¹⁶

Windsor chairmakers painted their own work. Yeates paid chairmaker Samuel Humes for a set of "12 Yellow Chairs" in 1796. The following paints and supplies are listed in the inventory of another chairmaker, Jacob Fetter, Sr.:

A Quantity of yellow ocer, About 5 lb of
omper...About 2 oz. of Prusing Blew, A
Small Quantity of verty crees...A Small
Quantity of Roxe pink, A Barrel with a
Small Quantity of Oyle...A Quantity of
Whitings...and...3 Bound Brushes.

Local merchants sold a variety of paint colors. In 1789, storekeeper Christoph Mayer advertised blue, green, yellow, and Spanish brown paint for sale.¹⁷

In more populated urban areas an upholsterer stuffed and covered furniture, designed and constructed bed and window hangings, and coordinated the interior decoration of domestic and public buildings. In Lancaster, there was not enough wealth to support an upholsterer of that description. Jasper Yeates wrote to his business partner, Johnathan Swift in Philadelphia in 1768 that "Mrs. Yeates is fitting up her bed chamber and would be highly oblig'd to Mrs. Swift for her information of the newest Mode of making up her Bed Curtains." Conditions in Lancaster had not improved by 1776 when Yeates sent an easy chair and a sofa to Plunkett Fleeson in Philadelphia for upholstery. Finally, in 1796, Yeates found local sources. He paid Conrad Swartz for "stuffing and seating" the yellow Windsors that he bought from Samuel Humes. However, Swartz was called a merchant and a saddler on public documents.¹⁸

In summary, Lancaster's population doubled between 1750 and 1800, and that increase created a market for builders. The actual number of commissions relative to the number of inhabitants and to the size of the labor pool was small. Ambitious woodworkers could not afford to be selective. Division of labor among the borough craftsmen was less than among colonial craftsmen in a larger urban area, caused partly by the limited size of the market and partly by the Continental traditions of the German woodworkers. The close association of the carpenter's, joiner's and cabinetmaking trades is displayed, on the abstract level, by their nomenclature and, on the tangible level, by their products. Builders at the top of the artisans' hierarchy

provided a comprehensive range of services to their clients which included erecting structures, finishing interiors, and constructing certain furniture.¹⁹ Less versatile craftsmen were likely to have been more transient. Until the appearance of Thomas Lyons, an Irishman who is described as a "cabinetmaker" on the 1799 tax list, there was a close alliance between the building and furniture trades in Lancaster.

CHAPTER III

Economic Status of the Furniture and Building Trades in Lancaster

The growth in number and wealth of the woodworkers were directly related to the development and economic progress of the entire borough and surrounding area. Southeastern Pennsylvania developed rapidly between 1740 and 1765. Reasons for this growth were the desire for better organization of trade, a higher standard of living, and the spread of settlement by increased immigration.¹ Lancaster grew at an astonishing rate because it was a newly-created county seat and a central place of calculated importance.

In 1759 the town population numbered between two and three thousand, of whom at least nineteen were woodworkers. They represented 5% of the borough's taxable craftsmen. Thirteen years later, 11% or twenty-nine of the taxable craftsmen were engaged in wood-working occupations. Lancaster's prosperity was interrupted by the Revolution; and although population growth resumed in the Federal period, the borough never regained its early fast growth rate.

In 1800, the town population was 4,300, of whom at least thirty-two were identified on the tax list as woodworkers. Members of the building and furniture trades represented 7% of the town's craftsmen; whereas, all craftsmen equalled 57.1% of the 724 taxables

who listed occupations. After Philadelphia, Lancaster was the largest town in southeastern Pennsylvania. John Pearson, a traveler who observed Lancaster in 1801, was impressed by "the quality of buildings, at least while log houses were being replaced by brick and stone."²

As the growth rate stabilized, the degree of occupational specialization increased. In 1759 the tax list noted carpenters, joiners, turners, and laborers. In 1772, that list included chair-makers; in 1793, it specified one coffin-maker and in 1799, a cabinetmaker. These tax lists are the best single source available for determining a craftsman's economic status, but their information needs qualification. Only real property and livestock owned in the borough were taxable. Extra-urban possessions are not included; the craftsman's participation in other business endeavors is not indicated; and the artisan's inventory, which represents a large capital investment, is never assessed.³ Since these limitations apply to the assessments of nearly every resident, regardless of occupation, the tax lists can be cautiously used to understand the woodworkers' status within Lancaster.

Annual comparison of tax lists over a fifty-year period is impossible because different taxes were levied each year. Tax records for Lancaster begin with 1750. The years before 1759 and after 1794 (until 1800) are questionable in their completeness. For this study, property assessments from the eight most complete years are compared

in Table I. Occupational titles in the table are those used in the tax records. Although criteria for title assignment varied annually, there was no shift between the gross categories of "carpenter and joiner" and "turner and chairmaker" (see Chapter II for discussion of nomenclature).

Since carpenters and joiners outnumbered turners and chairmakers, their greater property and livestock holdings are not surprising. Fewer artisans with their specialized skills meant less competition among chairmakers and turners for commissions. Their average assessments by 1789 and 1793 were much higher than those of carpenters and joiners.

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century inflation was high in Lancaster. Continental currency was so much devalued one resident, Christopher Marshall, recorded that the sale of a "walnut eight-day clock with a face of 11 square inches (cost) £210." Sale of lots slowed and, as a consequence, construction dropped. Competition for work was keen. Documents suggest that two carpenters, Gottlieb Sehner and Frederick Mann, who disappeared in 1780 and 1796 respectively, committed suicide, perhaps because of financial ruin.⁴

An analysis of borough taxes in 1782 and 1789 reveals great extremes of property ownership in Lancaster during that decade. In 1782, only 1.8% of the town had taxable property exceeding £1,000 in value. Over one-third (34.9%) of the taxpayers owned property valued at less than £50. All of the thirty woodworkers who paid taxes that

year had estate valuations in the median range of \geq £50 and \leq £100 (21.6% of all taxpayers were within that range). Although these craftsmen had higher estate valuations in 1789, when examined against assessments for the entire borough, the increased valuations indicate little change in status. Laborers and joiners still ranked in the median range, between \geq £50 and \leq £100. Turners, however, moved to a higher rank occupied by 22% of the taxpayers (\geq £100 and \leq £200). This category included chairmakers. By 1789, the "great extremes of wealth" that Jerome Wood identified for the entire borough, existed among the building and furniture trades.⁵ Estate valuations ranged from £20 to £258. Fifty-five per cent of the assessments were below £100, and 80% were below £200. Only a few craftsmen at the top of the assessment range controlled the job market for their trades. The actual number of taxable woodworkers declined from thirty in 1782 to twenty-five in 1789, indicating a decrease in job opportunities.

Sixty-eight of the woodworkers owned at least one lot and home in the borough; twenty-nine rented houses in town (information about the remaining thirty-seven is not available, but they are assumed to be renters). Many woodworkers who purchased property in the rapidly growing town sold it for other lots. Most householders owned several homes serially during their working years and continued a pattern of mobility within a defined area. Five different men sold their property to other woodworkers; many more inherited real estate. Property rental by one craftsman to another was quite common. At least eleven of the twenty-nine who rented were tenants of other woodworkers.

The deeds disclose that craftsmen lived in many parts of the borough. Thirteen different craftsmen shared property lines. This proximity suggests possible working collaborations. In one instance John Grosh, joiner, made his neighbor, George Burkhart, his executor.⁶

Livestock ownership indicated prosperity. Between 1759 and 1793, 33 to 60% of the woodworkers owned cattle. Horse ownership was rarer. Although most craftsmen could use a horse to haul supplies and finished products, only 12 to 33% owned draft animals. No saw mills existed in the borough; seven mills were located in nearby townships. George Burkhart hauled wood for other craftsmen. Daniel Fetter, a cooper, owned three horses which he used to transport Moravian parishioners and to deliver wood. His brother, Jacob Fetter, Jr., was paid 7/6 for delivering manure to the Moravian Church.⁷

Enterprising craftsmen often had secondary income sources. Jacob Fetter, Sr., maintained an active interest in the linseed oil and fulling mills owned by the Moravian congregation at Lititz. He advertised in the Lancaster newspaper as the mills' representative in the borough.⁸ Six artisans retired from woodworking and became tavern keepers.

Woodworkers also farmed small amounts of land in the borough to produce food for personal consumption. In 1775, George Burkhart owned "6 acres of cleared land and 2 sow[e]d with corn"; Daniel Fetter

also owned fourteen acres of land in Lancaster. Jacob Fetter, Sr., owned acreage in Lancaster County, which he and his sons might have used either for agriculture or for wood lots.⁹

Probate documents reveal that the material quality of life was enhanced by extension of credit and by barter, which surmounted the limited currency supply in Lancaster. Craftsmen lent and borrowed money from fellow craftsmen, non-craftsmen, and their children. When joiner Ambrose Turner died in 1779, he did not own real property. His inventory was valued at £426:1:9 and he owed debts amounting to £1411:2:1 1/2. His personal possessions were sold to settle his estate. Many artisans did not feel their indebtedness during their lifetimes; some extended credit as well as received it. When chair-maker Jacob Fetter, Sr., died in 1777, he owed creditors over £686. This was more than twice the value of his home, shop, cash-on-hand, and debts due him. His estate was settled by liquidating all of his assets.¹⁰

Occasionally, estate records reveal much more wealth than tax lists indicate. House carpenter George Burkhart's property was valued at £505 in 1783. Burkhart died the following year and his estate settlement, after payment of £1408:17:11 in debts, left his widow a balance of £3983:15 (both sums are in Continental Currency). This bequest was in addition to his real and moveable property.¹¹

Woodworkers also increased their material possessions by barter. Clockmaker John Hoff exchanged "1. 8 day Clock 13 Inch Dial Moon & date (valued at £18/15/0" with cabinetmaker Christian Rine for an equal amount consisting of "1 Clock Case/ 1 Dining Table/ 1 Water bench/ Sundrie other work."¹²

Lancaster woodworkers could not rely on their crafts as their sole source of income. Even the most successful craftsmen, such as carpenter George Burkhart, derived some of their wealth from other areas. Artisans, in their roles of teamster, oil and flax broker, or innkeeper, increased their opportunities for involvement with a larger segment of the population. Social interactions on numerous levels broadened a woodworker's chances of securing credit. His indebtedness fixed the artisan's place within the interdependent chain of family, trade, and community.

CHAPTER IV

Success and Kinship

Despite a high degree of residential mobility, some craftsmen found the prosperity they sought in Lancaster and stayed. Certainly the skill a woodworker possessed determined his success or failure in obtaining work, but more than skill was necessary to succeed in Lancaster. Persistence of the craftsman in the community depended upon time of arrival in the borough, a Germanic heritage, and a strong network of familial ties. A pattern of group formation emerges from the documents relating to the craftsmen. Forty-six men in the furniture and building trades between 1750 and 1800 form fourteen distinct clusters (see Appendix II). Familial bonds or close working relationships were the basis for these divisions. The primary link in each group was kinship. Within their respective groups, forty-four of the forty-six men were related by birth or marriage.

For the purposes of this study, a group in which any member worked for more than ten years is considered continual. The range of working years among the members of these fourteen groups was from one to thirty-two. The median number of years was fourteen. Only three non-group members worked more than fifteen years in Lancaster.

The crafts tradition descended through the most traditional unit of society, the family. Members of eleven groups passed their trades on to their sons. In several cases the family unit was an extended rather than nuclear one and consisted of brothers and nephews. George Burkhart, house carpenter, taught his nephew, Conrad Doll, to build cases for spinets and organs. Joiners George and John Geiger each trained their sons and namesakes in their craft. John Geiger, Sr., married widow Hanna Kuntz whose son, Michael, was also a joiner. Whether Geiger actually trained Kuntz, the union, nevertheless, established a familial bond. Artisans did not deliberately arrange the marriages of their sons and daughters to the progeny of other woodworkers. The relationship between Gottlieb Sehner, Jr.'s, trade and his brother-in-law, David Kreider's trade, was probably coincidental, since none of Sehner's other sisters married craftsmen.

A Germanic heritage was advantageous in the crafts community. The predominance of Germans in Lancaster gave craftsmen with knowledge of their language and culture an advantage in securing commissions. At least seven of the groups were founded by first-generation immigrants who had learned their trades in Germany. Only two of the fourteen persistent groups were non-German. Samuel Humes, who was of Scotch-Irish descent, enjoyed the longevity to work fifty years in the borough. Humes's chairmaking trade allowed more self-reliance than the building trades that necessitated collaboration.

When the working years of the craftsmen are considered, it is apparent that an early arrival in Lancaster was advantageous. Not only did one-half of the successful groups have members who were working between 1750 and 1760, six of those seven groups had members who were still working in the nineteenth century. Men who filled a need for skilled labor during the town's boom period gained a foothold in the borough during those early years. The successful craftsman ensured his continuance by wisely investing his income in land and other business ventures, maintaining high visibility in the community at large through civic and religious involvement, and ensuring versatility through diversification of skills within the crafts group of his kinsmen.

Members of these fourteen groups often enjoyed greater economic status than the rest of the woodworking community (see Table II). Virtually all of these craftsmen owned property in the borough which they passed on to their heirs. Joiners and chairmakers consistently had higher estate assessments than their non-group peers. By the end of the century, turners and carpenters were also well above the mean. Land ownership outside the borough and investment in other business ventures were more frequent among the members of this group. This was caused by kinship connections with the Weaver, Stoner (relatives of Philip Thomas by marriage), Franciscus, and Geiger families who settled in the surrounding county.

Civic involvement gave woodworkers social status and more commissions. Carpenters Peter Brotzman and George Thomas inspected and approved John Lind's and Jacob Flubacher's carpentry work for the new Court House. Thomas and Lind authorized payment for the job. Lind, Jacob Fetter, Sr., and Jr., and Gottlieb Sehner, Jr., belonged to local fire companies. John Lind made the Friendship Fire Company's sign. Jacob Weaver, Sr., was active in borough politics. Jacob Fetter, Sr., was assistant burgess in 1764. Jacob Fetter, Jr., was paid £4:10 for making Windsor chairs for the Court House in 1785.¹

There was no correlation between religious affiliation and economic status among the artisans. These men were sufficiently cosmopolitan to accept differentiation within certain limits, including religion. Nineteen of the forty-six men were Lutheran, thirteen Moravian, seven Reformed, one Episcopalian, and six are unknown. When the Lutheran and Reformed Churches were built, the work crews consisted of men from a variety of denominations, although the project supervisor was a member of the church under construction. Philip Thomas (Moravian), Gottlieb Sehner, Jr., and Stophel Franciscus (both Lutherans) were active in their church governments. This gave them visibility among their congregations. Franciscus donated the ground on which Trinity Church was built.²

Residents who intended to pass their trades on to their sons allowed their progeny to live at home until they married and established households in the borough. Tax lists refer to the sons of at

least seven woodworkers as "journeymen," residents of their fathers' households. Many members of persistent groups assured their success by diversifying their skills. Philip and Adam Hart were not in direct competition with each other because one was a joiner and the other, a turner. The Weaver family included three turners and a carpenter (a fifth family member supplied building stone). Chairmaker Jacob Fetter gave his five sons different, but related, trades. Only two, Jacob, Jr., and Gottlieb, were also chairmakers; Daniel was a cooper; Peter, a blacksmith; and Nathaniel died before completing his cabinetmaker's apprenticeship in Philadelphia. Such diversification ensured the family's ability to secure a variety of commissions and also strengthened the family unit through a harmonious interaction of skills instead of introducing the disruptive factor of intra-group competition.

The members of these fourteen groups collectively ranked higher economically than the non-member average. Individually, however, these artisans ranged in economic status. Their continuance in Lancaster was due more to strong kinship bonds than to wealth. Family membership assured craftsmen of psychological and material support. A large family had opportunities to share supplies, labor, and money that the individual woodworker did not. No guild system controlled the practices of craftsmen in Lancaster. In actuality, the kinship-centered experience became a substitute for the formalized brotherhoods. Jacob Burkhart left his son Jacob, Jr., "all my Carpenter's Tools...

over and above his equal share (of my estate)."³ This was not only a practical bequest, it symbolized the formal passage of Burkhart's trade to his succeeding generations.

CHAPTER V

Products, Perception, and Use of Material Culture

The woodworkers created furniture and architecture that reflected their perceptions of Lancaster's multi-ethnic milieu. The physical environment that the artisans constructed influenced the character of the entire community. Unless he wished to pay for cartage from Philadelphia, a resident was limited in his selection of furniture to local availability. Material survivals from the borough show citizens demanded furniture in the English as well as the German taste. Lancaster artisans possessed sufficient skills to satisfy all market demands. Their products should be expected to replicate either the German or the Anglo-American stylistic vocabulary with an equal degree of competence. Yet, the only surviving furniture associated with Lancaster is a small group distinguished by its deviance from acceptable Philadelphia characteristics. This dichotomy is caused by the German craftsman's cultural differences in taste and in visual perception.

The high chest in Illustration 2 is an example of one school of furniture that originated in Lancaster borough in the eighteenth century. John Snyder has examined this style group in his Master of Arts thesis, "Chippendale Furniture of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania."¹ Their

ornamentation and the proportions of their pediments visually distinguish them. The carving contains more movement within its allotted space than its Philadelphia counterparts do. Although most of this furniture is unsigned, the variations in its construction indicate the work of more than one shop. Visually, these case pieces are a dialect of an acceptable stylistic language. Present observers immediately see this furniture as a variation of the Philadelphia Chippendale style. These differences were also obvious to contemporary British residents in Lancaster. While German immigrants practiced the formalities of English language and custom, their attempts often seemed inept to their British neighbors. In 1800, Thomas P. Cope, a Quaker merchant and former resident of Lancaster, made the following entry in his diary:

Lancaster is one of the largest inland towns in the United States and contains perhaps not less than six thousand inhabitants, a large majority of whom are of German extraction. All, however, ape the English and in doing it frequently commit ludicrous blunders. A person of the name Gottlieb Nauman, a tavern keeper still alive, used when I was a boy to inform people of his vocation and that he provided for both men and horse by the following inscription which, for many years, remained on his sign, 'Entertainment for man by Gott. Nauman horse.'²

Nauman was an innkeeper in 1800; but from 1773 to 1781-83, he worked as a joiner. If German immigrants adapting to the British colony could commit blunders in their dress, speech, and writing, why not in their material products as well?

Not only British residents but Germans anxious to adopt American standards demanded furniture in the English taste for their homes. Craftsmen who wished to survive had to teach themselves the characteristics of unfamiliar styles. The account books of German cabinetmakers Abraham Hoover (from Lancaster County) and Peter Rank (Lebanon County) are filled with painstaking drawings of English forms. Their sketches are accompanied by notations of the furniture's proportions and construction. On November 11, 1789, merchant Christopher B. Mayer advertised in the Neue Unparthenische Lancaster Zeitung a list of newly imported items for sale at his shop next to the Court House. Among those goods were "brass mounts for Desk, Drawers, Schränke und Kisten, door escutcheons, and Kistenschloffer (chest locks)." Mayer's interpolation of the English words "Desks" and "Drawers" in a German-language advertisement signified that these forms were unusual to him. The entry also shows the simultaneous demand for English and Germanic furniture forms in Lancaster. The walnut armchair in Illustration 3 is a rare, documented early example of a Germanic interpretation of an English form. Borough resident Dietrich Trebenstadt sold this chair to Jacob Weaver in 1765. Its origin is presumed to be Lancaster.³

At least three schränke traceable to one cabinetmaker's shop in Lancaster survive (Illustrations 1, 4, and 5). Two are inlaid with the initials and presumably the wedding dates of their original owners. These schränke represent the earliest dated examples (1758 and 1759) of

this furniture form in southeastern Pennsylvania. The schrank in Illustration 4 is similar to inlay on a clock case made in the borough in 1755 (Illustration 6).

The drawer construction on the three schränke is identical. The walnut drawer front and tulip drawer back are dovetailed to receive the tulip drawer sides. The bottom (also tulip) is set, with wood grain running front-to-back, into rabbets which are cut into the front and sides. The bottom is butted to the drawer back and is secured to all four members with wrought nails. The drawer slides on applied runners (Illustration 7). The drawers have an unusual lock system. Illustration 8 shows one of the square cutouts which are at the top of each drawer side, near the drawer front. A metal rod (now missing from all three examples) ran through the cutouts and prevented the drawers from opening.

The cases of all three schränke are joined with mortise and tenon joints and each joint is secured with two compressed wooden pins. The ornamental moldings at the base, cornice, and front of the schränke are also applied in this manner (Illustrations 9 and 10). The cases' vertical backboards are beveled on three sides to fit neatly into grooves in the case sides and in the removable top.

The paneled sides and doors are constructed from carefully-cut segments which are grooved, tenoned, and pinned together (Illustration 11). House carpenters and joiners assembled paneled or wainscotted interiors in this same manner. The artisans who constructed these

schränke used the techniques and skills of joiners; their close alliance with the building tradition is unmistakable. Schränke were not built-in architectural features, although their massive size made their placement in the home almost permanent. Because of their construction techniques and their virtual immobility, the schränke assume a pivotal place in the continuum between the house carpentry and the cabinetmaking of German-American woodworkers.

In The Pennsylvania-German Decorated Chest, Monroe Fabian notes that case furniture was presented to the German bride and bridegroom when they began their new home. Gustave Brion, nineteenth-century Alsatian folklorist, recorded that the dower furniture was transported to the home in a wagon decorated with ribbons and flowers.⁴ The dated schränke in Illustrations 1 and 4 are continuations of that tradition in America. The furniture was not merely a storage cabinet for clothes and linens. The owners of the dated schränke were constantly reminded of an important rite de passage, their marriages, and of their ethnicity.

The schrank is a reification or tangible realization of German cultural identity in America. Germanic furniture forms made in this country are signs their owners used to celebrate their life and their uniqueness. They are not mere memorializations of a frozen past; like language and custom, the furniture is part of a continuing tradition.

The use of these objects in the home was a constant reminder of their owner's membership in a subculture bound by a commonality of beliefs, customs, and heritage.

Examination of contemporary inventories shows that it was customary to display *schränke* (or "clothes presses" as they were called in English) and chests in the private areas of the home where they were viewed by a select audience which consisted of family members and very close friends. Even when the parlor contained furnishings that might have been found in any Anglo-American home, the bed chambers contained reminders of ethnicity. This furniture was often personalized with initials and ornamented with symbology (such as six-pointed stars and parrots) that was familiar to its German observer. Too many inventories contain this pattern of "mixed cultural affiliation" to consider them exceptional.⁵

The 1793 inventory of Jacob Reiger, apothecary, reveals that he kept "1 Large Walnut Clothes press and Dresser (value £3) 1 Chest and 1 Trunk (value 5/)" in his North East Chamber. Reiger's wearing apparel was stored in the chest, an example of the use of chests for clothing storage by Germans long after chests of drawers were fashionable among the urban English.⁶

Surviving inventories of craftsmen also indicate that they owned Germanic as well as Anglo-American styles. These men had the ability to make, barter, or buy their choices of furniture. August Milchsach owned a "Scrutoire or Book Case (value £5), one Clothes

Press (£7), (and) one poplar Chest (10/)." The carpenter's tools that he willed to his wife were valued at £10:10:1. Joiner Henry Stauffer willed "one chest having two drawers" to his wife. Before the wife of cabinetmaker Philip Thomas died, she willed her married daughter, "the big chest now in the bedroom with all the contents therein." That these objects were singled out in wills is significant. Only objects of great importance to the householder were specified. The recipient of the bequest--it was invariably a woman--was entrusted with a physical reminder of the family's history and of its Germanic traditions. Above their functional intent, the furniture formed a "secondary system of cultural identification" that was to be perpetuated by the family.⁷

CONCLUSION

Builders flocked to Lancaster during its years of accelerated growth. They sought prosperity in colonial America's "gateway to the West." Between 1750 and 1800 the ethnic composition of the building trade was about 85% German, a reflection of the borough's ethnicity. A Continental mentality regulated the craftsmen's practices.

Artisans trained in Germany or trained by Germans attached different connotations to the words "carpenter," "joiner," and "cabinetmaker" than did their English counterparts. The Continental tradition closely associated carpentry and cabinetry in a way that had no English equivalent. This alliance is evident in Lancaster in the indiscriminate assignment of job titles on tax lists and in the disparity between the craftsman's self-description and his products. Carpenters and joiners in Lancaster who were trained in the German tradition worked with hard woods and built and ornamented case furniture. The three schränke illustrated in this thesis are examples of the strong joiner-cabinetmaker linkage in German-American furniture. The German craftsman's greater range of abilities negated the need for an early specialization of trades in Lancaster. No cabinetmakers are named on borough tax lists before 1797 when Thomas Lyons, of Irish descent, is listed.

Lancaster's wealth and population could not support all of the woodworkers. Many artisans left for better opportunities. Fourteen family groups persisted in the woodworking community despite the common transiency of craftsmen. These artisans passed their trades on to their sons, and their families continued in Lancaster. They replaced the guild system with the more traditional system of kinship bonds. The members of each group offered material and psychological support to one another and shared in each other's successes and failures. Their products show the simultaneous demand in Lancaster for objects in the English as well as in the German taste.

The homogeneous blend of objects from both material cultures in German-American homes was (in tangible form) a delicate balance between retention of ethnicity and adaptation to the British culture. Conventional Anglo-American objects furnished the public areas of the house, but Germanic forms were often kept in the private areas as reminders of tradition. Schränke and kisten, or chests, were willed to succeeding generations. This practice indicates the importance attached to the furniture.

Physical environment is the tangible product of thought patterns and their influences on action. Before full comprehension of the significance of regional variations in building and furniture styles is reached, an understanding of the woodworking trade's composition and practice is necessary. The material world that the German

artisans created shows the impact of British culture on their lifeways and, conversely, the woodworkers' influence on Anglo-American perception. Craftsmen were members of the entire community. The adaptive and retentive features of their behavior were, by extension, those of all Germans in Lancaster.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Key to Periodicals

<u>JLCHS</u>	Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society
<u>NULZ</u>	Neue Unparthenische Lancaster Zeitung und Unzeigs-Nachrichten (a newspaper published in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, during the eighteenth century)
<u>FF</u>	Pennsylvania Folklife
<u>PGFS</u>	Pennsylvania German Folklore Society
<u>PGM</u>	Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine
<u>PGSPA</u>	The Pennsylvania German Society, Proceedings and Addresses
<u>PMHB</u>	Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography
<u>WMD</u>	William and Mary Quarterly, third series

Key to Repositories and Their Locations

DMMC	Joseph Downs Manuscript and Microfilm Collection, The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum Libraries, Winterthur, Delaware
HSP	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
LCCH	Lancaster County Court House, Lancaster, Pennsylvania
LCHS	Lancaster County Historical Society, Lancaster, Pennsylvania
MAB	Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

NOTES

Introduction

¹Jerome H. Wood, Jr., "Conestoga Crossroads: The Rise of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730-1789," Dissertation, Brown 1969, p. 386. Wood's estimates are based on the 1780 tax list. James T. Lemon, working at the township level, also estimates a high proportion of Germans in Lancaster Township and, by extension, in the borough in The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographic Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1972). Figures 25 and 26 (pp. 82-83) show the German population was "50+%" in 1758-59 and in 1782.

²That is, a description of "the knowledge a group of people have learned to organize their behavior." James P. Spradley and David W. McCurdy, The Cultural Experience: Ethnography in a Complex Society (Chicago: Science Research Association, 1972), p. 9. Two excellent examples of ethnographies with a time dimension, that is, ethno-histories, are Anthony F. C. Wallace's works, Death and Rebirth of the Seneca: The Religion of Handsome Lake (New York: Knopf, 1972); Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Early Industrial Revolution. 1825-1865 (New York: Knopf, 1978).

Chapter I

¹James T. Lemon, "Urbanization and the Development of Eighteenth-Century Southeastern Pennsylvania and Adjacent Delaware," WMO, 24 (1967), 511.

²Ibid., p. 513.

³Ibid., pp. 513-514.

⁴Ibid., Figure IV, p. 541.

⁵Wood, p. 388.

⁶L. M., Well Meant Information as to How the Germans Who Wish to Travel to Pennsylvania Should Conduct Themselves (1749), reprint in PGM, translation, Albert H. Gerberich 22 (1962), 231.

⁷Ibid., pp. 232-237. For an explanation of the emigration procedure, see Otto Langguth, "Pennsylvania German Pioneers from the County of Wertheim," translation, Donald H. Yoder, PGFS, 12 (1947), 147-289.

⁸Langguth, p. 218.

Chapter II

¹Hamilton quoted by John Ward Wilson Loose, The Heritage of Lancaster (Woodland Hills: Windsor Publications, 1978), p. 12; Benjamin F. Owen, ed., "Letters of Reverend Richard Locke and Reverend George Craig," PMHB, 24 (1900), 467; Poultney helped build the town jail in 1746. He had a shop "At the sign of the Hand Saw" where he sold "...a fine variety of ironmongery and furniture suitable for desks, drawers, etc." John W. Lippold, "Early Lancaster Architecture," JLCHS, 75 (1972), 148.

²Lippold, p. 148: M. Luther Heisey, "The Borough Fathers," JLCHS, 46 (1942), 45.

³This peripatetic existence was also common among Philadelphia upholsterers during the same time period. See Patricia C. O'Donnell, "The Upholstery Trade in Philadelphia, 1760-1810," thesis, University of Delaware, 1979.

⁴James T. Lemon, The Best Poor Man's Country, p. 73.

⁵John Snyder, "Carved Chippendale Case Furniture from Lancaster, Pennsylvania," Antiques, 107 (May 1975), 965-967.

⁶William Armstrong, Organs for America: The Life and Work of David Tannenberg (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1967), p. 69.

⁷Lemon, Table VII, p. 538, WMQ.

⁸While coopers enjoyed financial success comparable to those in other areas, their craft was out of the building mainstream.

⁹Diachronic: a review of changes over a period of time.

¹⁰Taxonomy: in this context, a classification of the woodworkers' job titles and the relationship of the titles to each other. This shows the hierarchy both real, in the form of tax lists, and implied, in the realm of skills, that governed their working relationships; the term "chairmaker" is applied, in this thesis, to makers of seating furniture, not to makers of carriages.

¹¹Young Fetter died of consumption before completing his apprenticeship. Buriel Book, Moravian Church, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, typescript translated, p. 13, LCHS; "Continental Furniture Craftsmen in London: 1511 to 1625," Journal of the Furniture History Society, 7 (1971), 98.

¹²Will Book L, 1, 606, LCCtH; DMMC, Number 1384.

¹³Will Book R, 260, LCcH; Will Book D, 1, 288, LCcH; Burkhart inventory, 1783, LCHS. The organ is modeled after Plate IV (left) of the third edition. Snyder, "Chippendale Case Furniture," pp. 865-967.

¹⁴"Bills for work on the Court House," Case 15, Folder B, LCHS; Daybook of the Corporation of the Holy Trinity Church, 1783-1825, typescript copy, p. 11, LCHS.

¹⁵John Snyder, "The Bachman Attributions, A Reconsideration," Antiques, 105 (May 1974), 1063.

¹⁶See the MS Day Book of Jasper Yeates, March 10, 1766, to December 31, 1767, p. 66, fly leaf, LCHS; see the MS Day Book of the Lancaster Moravian Congregation, 1746-60 (Document Box 2), MAB.

¹⁷The Humes chairs were upholstered Windsors. Yeates, Day Book, p. 256; The Fetter inventory was taken by Philip Thomas. Jacob Fetter inventory, 1777, LCHS; NULZ, Wednesday, November 11, 1789, LCHS.

¹⁸See the MS Letter Book of Jasper Yeates, March 23, 1768, LCHS; Yeates, Day Book, pp. 40, 256.

¹⁹German carpenter Jacob Knorr performed similar services when he built Benjamin Chew's "Cliveden" in Germantown. In 1766 and 1767, Knorr billed Chew for the following furniture: "foulding tea table, a wash hand stand, a candle stand, Bedsted for Mr. Chew." Margaret B. Tinckom, "Cliveden: The Building of a Philadelphia Country Seat, 1763-1767," PMHB, 88 (1964), 20.

Chapter III

¹Lemon, WMO, p. 529.

²James M. Mast, "John Pearson's Description of Lancaster and Columbia in 1801," JLCHS, 41 (1957), 51 as cited by Lemon, WMO, 516.

³See Lemon, Best Poor Man's Country, pp. 232-233, note 19, for an explanation of tax sources.

⁴Wood, p. 385; Sehner and Mann, both Lutherans, were not buried in their church, although their families were. No church records of their deaths survive and their wills were proved several years after their disappearances from the tax rolls. Mann's widow was granted a free seat in the church, an indication of financial hardship. In 1783, the Lutheran Church passed a motion forbidding burial of suicide victims on consecrated ground.

⁵Wood, pp. 392, 393.

⁶John Grosh inventory and administration, 1778, LCHS.

⁷Burkhart delivered "188 Fut Poplar Boards" to Gabriel Maysenheimer for Maysenheimer to construct Jasper Yeates's bookcase. Yeates, Day Book, October 23, 1766; Day Book of the Lancaster Moravian Congregation, E, November 1769, October 1771; Document Box 2, November 12, 1796, MAB.

⁸NULZ, 1774, LCHS.

⁹Lancaster Borough Tax Lists, 1775. Microfilm copy, LCHS; Deed, Jacob Fetter from Jacob Henning, April 23, 1751, Deed File, Number 294, LCHS; Deed, Jacob Fetter from Matthias Slough, January 23, 1765, Deed File, Number 128, LCHS.

¹⁰Ambrose Turner inventory and administration, 1779, LCHS; Jacob Fetter, Sr., inventory and administration, 1777, LCHS.

¹¹George Burkhart inventory and administration, 1783, LCHS; Will Book D, 288, LCctH.

¹²John Hoff, Account Book, June 1 and 28, 1802, LCHS, as quoted in Stacy B. C. Wood, Jr., "The Hoff Family, Master Clockmakers of Lancaster Borough," JLCHS, 81 (1977), 200.

Chapter IV

¹"Carpenters' Bill for Work on Public Offices, 1795-97," Case 15, Folder B, LCHS; Minute Book of the Friendship Fire Company, February 21, 1801, DMMC, Number 2174; I am grateful to William Woys Weaver for information about Jacob Weaver, Sr.; "Minutes of the County Commissioners," Account Book, 1785, LCHS.

²Daybook of Trinity Lutheran Church, 1760, pp. 9-10, type-script copy, LCHS.

³Will Book, R, 260, LCCH.

Chapter V

¹"Chippendale Furniture of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1760-1810," University of Delaware, 1976.

²Eliza Cope Harrison, Philadelphia Merchant: The Diary of Thomas P. Cope (South Bend: Gateway Editions, 1978), p. 17.

³Abraham Hoover, Account Book (1792-1812), LCHS; Peter Rank, Account Book (1794), DMMC, Number 67 x 23; Bill of Sale, Deed Book L, I, 209-210, LCcH. I am grateful to William Woys Weaver for this information.

⁴The Pennsylvania-German Decorated Chest (New York: Universe Books, 1978), p. 25; Brion as referred to by Georges Klein, Le Mobilier Polychrome En Alsace: Boiseries, mobilier et objets peints en milieu rural (Colmar: Editions Alsatic, 1977), p. 21.

⁵Barbara Gallatin Anderson, "Adaptive Aspects of Culture Shock," American Anthropologist, 73 (1971), 1124.

⁶Jacob Reiger inventory, 1793, LCHS; Kenneth L. Ames, Beyond Necessity: Art in the Folk Tradition. Catalogue of an exhibition, September 17 - November 16, 1977 (Winterthur, Delaware: The Winterthur Museum, 1977), p. 67.

⁷August Milchsach, inventory, 1790, LCHS; Will Book, J, 265, LCcH; Julianna Thomas Will, Will Book L, 607, LCcH; Alice Hanson Jones corroborates this in her study, American Colonial Wealth (New York: Arno Press, 1977), I, 23; Anderson, p. 1125.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PUBLICATIONS

Books

- Ames, Kenneth L. Beyond Necessity: Art in the Folk Tradition.
Catalogue of an exhibition, September 17 - November 16, 1977.
Winterthur, Delaware: The Winterthur Museum, 1977.
- Armstrong, William H. Organs for America: The Life and Work of
David Tannenberg. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania
Press, 1967.
- Burket-Fouts Group. Descendants of Jehu Burket. Lancaster: By the
Author, 1940.
- Chippendale, Thomas. The Gentleman & Cabinetmaker's Director. 3rd
ed., 1762; reprint, New York: Dover, 1966.
- Deneke, Bernward. Bauernmöbel: Ein Handbuch für Sammler und
Liebhaber. München: Keyserische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1969.
- Ellis, Franklin and Samuel Evans. History of Lancaster County,
Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Everts & Peck, 1883.
- Fabian, Monroe H. The Pennsylvania-German Decorated Chest. New York:
Universe Books, 1978.
- Harris, Alex. A Biographical History of Lancaster County. Lancaster:
Elias Barr, 1872.
- Harrison, Eliza Cope. Philadelphia Merchant: The Diary of Thomas P.
Cope, 1800-1851. South Bend: Gateway Editions, 1978.
- Keyser, Alan G., Neff, Larry M., and Frederick S. Weiser. The
Accounts of Two Pennsylvania-German Furniture Makers.
Breinigsville, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania German Society,
1978.
- Klein, Georges. Le Mobilier Polychrome En Alsace: Boiseries,
Mobilier Objets Peints en Milier Rural. Colmar: Editions
Alsatic, 1977.

- Lemon, James T. The Best Poor Man's Country. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1972.
- Linn, John B. (ed.). Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series. Vol. II. Harrisburg: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1876.
- Owen, William Henry, III. Some of the Descendants of Johan Michael Dubendorf. Revised edition. By the Author, 1940.
- Rupp, Daniel I. A Collection of Upwards of Thirtv Thousand Names of German, Swiss, Dutch, French and Other Immigrants in Pennsylvania From 1727 to 1776. Philadelphia: Leary, Stuart, & Co., 1898.
- Sangmeister, Ezechiel. The First Part and the Beginning of My Miserable Life's Description Which I Started in the Year 1754. Ephrata: Joseph Bauman, 1825.
- Schmidt, Leopold. Bauernmöbel aus Süddeutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz. Wein-Hanover: Forum Verlag, 1967.
- Sener, Samuel Miller. The Sehner Ancestry, 1500-1896. Lancaster: By the Author, 1896.
- Spradley, James P. and David W. McCurdy. The Cultural Experience: Ethnography in a Complex Society. Chicago: Science Research Association, 1972.

Periodicals

- Anderson, Barbara Gallatin. "Adaptive Aspects of Culture Shock," American Anthropologist, 73 (1971), 1121-1125.
- Arts and Crafts of Pennsylvania and Other Notable Americana: The Arthur J. Sussel Collection. Parts 1 and 2. New York: Sotheby Parke-Bernet Galleries Auction Catalogue, 1958-59.
- Diffenderfer, Frank Ried. "The German Immigration into Pennsylvania Through the Port of Philadelphia from 1700 to 1775," PGSPA, 10 (1900), Part II.
- Dyke, Samuel E. "The Bachman Family of Cabinetmakers," JLCHS, 69 (1965), 168-180.
- Eberlein, Harold Donaldson and Cortlandt Van Dyke Hubbard. "Household Furniture of the Pennsylvania Germans," The American German Review 3, No. 4 (1937), 4-9, and 4, No. 1 (1937), 4-8.

- Eshelman, H. Frank, Esq. "Assessment Lists and Other Manuscript Documents of Lancaster County Prior to 1729," JLCHS, 21 (1916), 155-194.
- Fabian, Monroe H. "Sulpher Inlay in Pennsylvania German Furniture," PF, 28, No. 1 (Autumn 1977), 2-9.
- Forman, Benno M. "Continental Furniture Craftsmen in London: 1511-1625," Journal of the Furniture History Society, 7 (1971), 92-104.
- Heisey, M. Luther. "The Borough Fathers," JLCHS, 41 (1942), 45-82.
- Hopf, Carroll J. "Pennsylvania Country Furniture at the Pennsylvania Farm Museum," Old Lancaster Antique Show Catalogue (1977), 41-45.
- Keyes, Homer Eaton. "Some Pennsylvania Furniture," Antiques, 4 (May 1924), 222-225.
- Landes, C. I. "City Hall and Its History," JLCHS, 22 (1918), 107-122.
- Landis, Bertha Cochran. "Early Fire Companies of Lancaster City and County," JLCHS, 40 (1936), 20-36.
- Langguth, Otto. "Pennsylvania German Pioneers from the County of Wertheim," trans. Donald Herbert Yoder. PGFS, 12 (1947), 147-289.
- Lawton, Arthur J. "The Pre-Metric Foot and its Use in Pennsylvania German Architecture," PF, 19, No. 1 (Autumn 1969), 37-45.
- Lemon, James T. "Urbanization and the Development of Eighteenth-Century Southeastern Pennsylvania and Adjacent Delaware," WMO, 24 (1967), 501-542.
- Lippold, John W. "Early Lancaster Architecture," JLCHS, 75 (1972), 145-178.
- L. M. "Well Meant Information As To How The Germans, Who Wish to Travel to Pennsylvania, Should Conduct Themselves," trans. Albert H. Gerberich. 1749; reprint, PGM, 22 (1962), 231-237.
- Nelson, Vernon H. and Lothar Madeheim. "The Moravian Settlements of Pennsylvania in 1757: The Nicholas Garrison Views," PF, 19, No. 1 (Autumn 1969), 2-13.
- Neue Unparthenische Lancaster Zeitung und Unzeigs-Nachrichten
(Lancaster), 1752-1753, 1780-1789. Available HSP, LCHS.

Owen, William Henry (ed.). "Letters of Reverend Richard Locke and Reverend George Craig," PMHB, 24 (1900), 467-478.

The Pennsylvania Packet or General Advertiser (Lancaster), November 29, 1777 - June 12, 1778. Available HSP.

Das Pennsylvanische Zeitungs-Blat (Lancaster), February 4, 1778 - June 24, 1778. Available HSP.

Schantz, F. J. F., D. D. "The Domestic Life and Characteristics of the Pennsylvania German Pioneer," PGSPA, 10 (1900), Part II.

Snyder, John J., Jr. "Carved Chippendale Case Furniture from Lancaster, Pennsylvania," Antiques, (May 1975), 964-975.

_____. "The Bachman Attributions: A Reconsideration," Antiques, (May 1974), 1056-1065.

Tinckom, Margaret B. "Clivedon: The Building of a Philadelphia Country Seat, 1763-1767," PMHB, 88 (1964), 3-36.

Whitley, Paul L. "A History of the Friends in Lancaster County," JLCHS, 51 (1947), 1-33.

Wood, Stacy B. C., Jr. "Possible Joseph Gorgas Tall Clock Located," JLCHS, 77 (1973), 171-182.

_____. "Rudy Stoner, 1728-1769, Early Lancaster, Pennsylvania Clockmaker," JLCHS, 80 (1976), 112-127.

_____. "The Hoff Family: Master Clockmakers of Lancaster Borough," JLCHS, 81 (1977), 169-225.

Yoder, Donald H. (ed.). "Emigrants from Wuerttemberg: The Adolph Gerber Lists," PGFS, 10 (1945), 104-237.

MANUSCRIPTS AND UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

"The Association of the Freemen and Inhabitants of the County of Lancaster," May 1, 1775. LCHS, Case 8, p.s. copy.

Johannes Bachman, Day Book, 1769-1828. DMMC, Number 8991, Micro. 935.

Brossman Genealogy TS. LCHS, file folder.

Doll Family Genealogy TS. LCHS, file folder.

DMMC. MS bill signed Philip Thomas from Estate of Thomas Wharton, June 24, 1778. Number 1384.

- First Reformed Church, Lancaster. Burial Records TS. LCHS.
- Frick Family Genealogy TS. LCHS, file folder.
- Hamilton Grant: Original Lot Owners TS. LCHS.
- Hamilton Lot Recitals TS. LCHS.
- Abraham Hoover, Account Book, 1792-1812 MS. LCHS.
- Hostetter Genealogy TS. LCHS, file folder.
- Humes Genealogy TS. LCHS, file folder.
- Index to Lancaster County Register of Wills, 1739-1826 TS. LCHS.
- Lancaster Borough Tax Records, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1750-1800. LCHS, Micro. copy.
- Lancaster County Commissioners Accounts, Bills and Orders MS. LCHS.
- Lancaster County Deeds MS. LCHS, Deed File.
- Lancaster County Estate Administration Accounts and Inventories MS. LCHS.
- Lancaster County Wills and Administrations MS. LCCtH.
- Minute Book of the Friendship Fire Company, Lancaster, Pennsylvania MS. DMMC Number 2174.
- Moravian Congregation, Bethlehem and Nazareth. Catalogue, 1748-1762 MS. MAB
- Moravian Congregation, Lancaster. 1746-1760 MS. MAB, Document Box 2.
- _____. Baptismal Records TS. LCHS.
- _____. Burial Book, 1744-1821 TS. LCHS.
- _____. Church Register, I-II (1743-1875) MS. MAB.
- _____. Day Book, 1769-1786, E, MS. MAB.
- _____. Lebenslaufen, Box II, 1792-1857 MS. MAB.
- Notecards of Ted Selig on the Hostetter Collection at the North Museum, Lancaster TS. Personal collection made available to me by the author.

Peter Rank. Account Book, 1794 MS. DMMC Number 67 x 23.

Snyder, John J., Jr. "Chippendale Furniture of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1760-1810," Master of Arts Thesis, University of Delaware, 1976.

Trinity Lutheran Church, Lancaster. Burial Records, 1748-1820 MS. LCHS.

_____. Day Book of the Corporation, 1788-1825 TS. LCHS.

_____. Marriages, 1731-1850 TS. LCHS.

_____. Records and Notes of Interest, 1758-1825 TS, V, 103A. LCHS.

Weaver Family Genealogy TS. LCHS, file folder.

Wood, Jerome Herman, Jr. "Conestoga Crossroads: The Rise of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730-1789," Dissertation Brown University, 1969.

Jasper Yeates, Account Book MS. LCHS.

_____, Day Book, March 10, 1765 - December 31, 1767 MS. LCHS.

_____, Letter Book D, November 1, 1767 - February 12, 1769 MS. LCHS.

FIGURE I
ACTIVITY OF WOODWORKERS IN LANCASTER

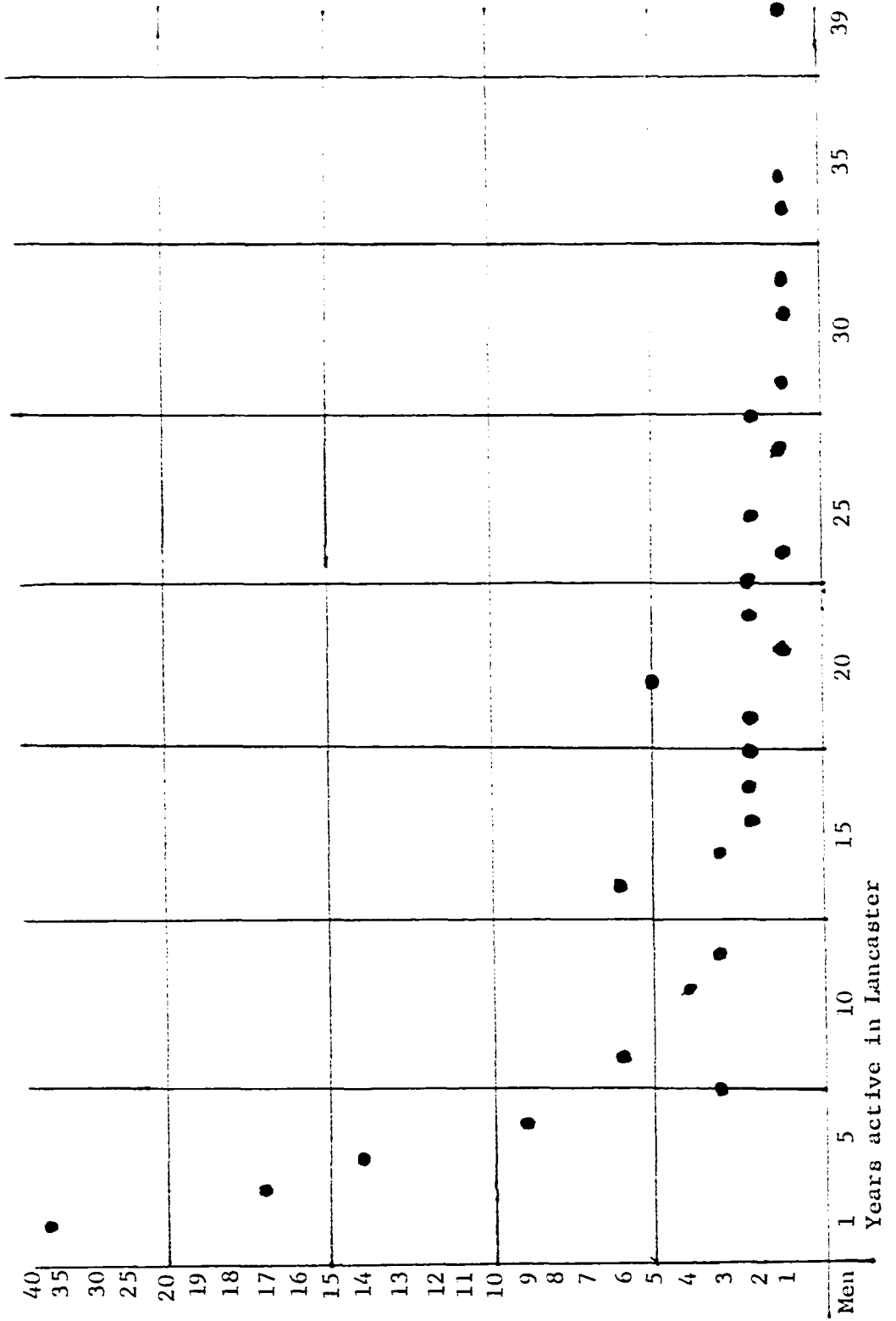


FIGURE 2

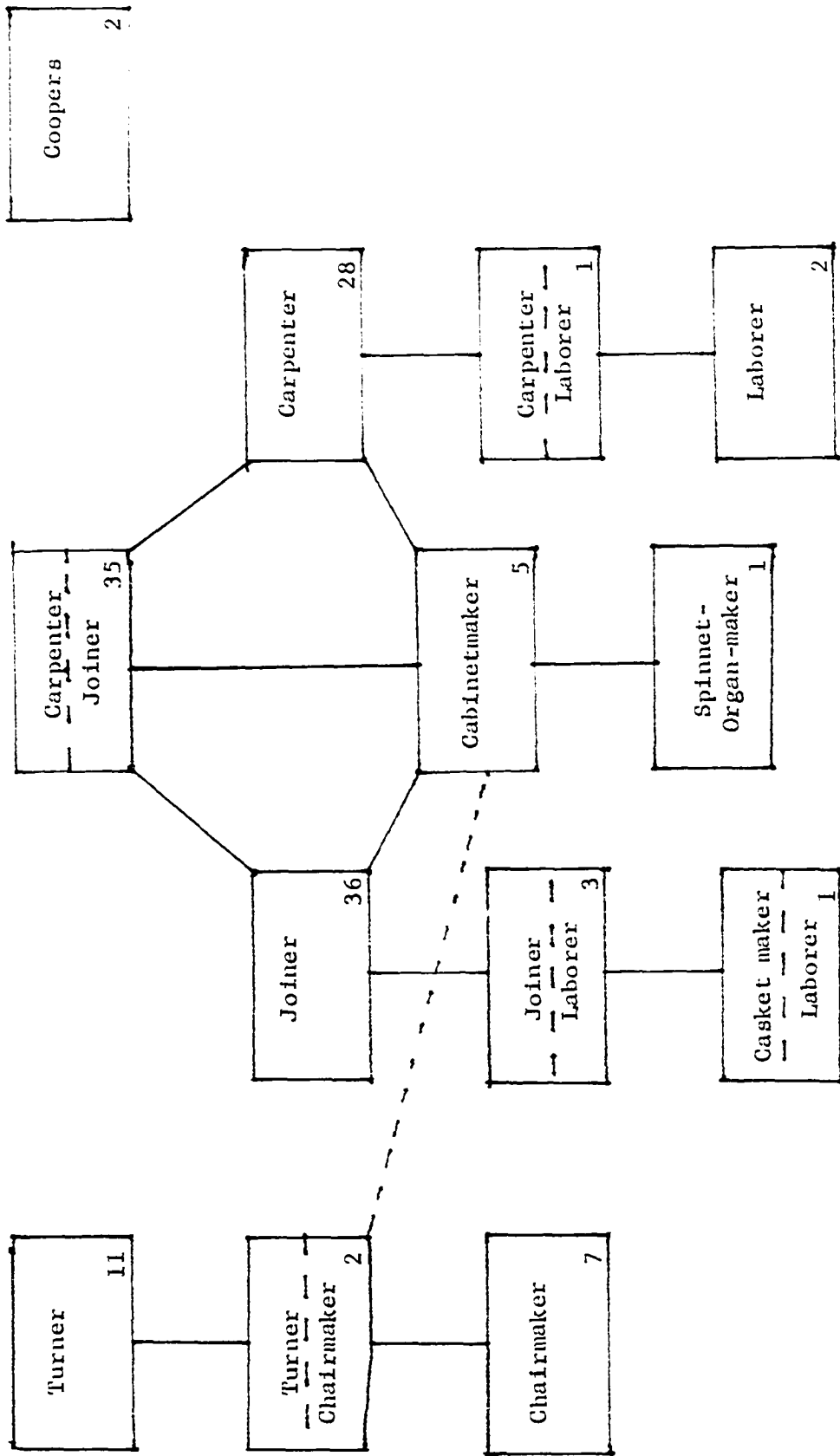


TABLE I

REAL PROPERTY AND LIVESTOCK OWNED BY ALL WOODWORKERS, 1759-1793

Year	Carpenters					Joiners					Turners					Chairmakers					Laborers					
	Number working	lots owned	lots rented	cows	horses	mean total value	Number working	lots owned	lots rented	cows	horses	mean total value	Number working	lots owned	lots rented	cows	horses	mean total value	Number working	lots owned	lots rented	cows	horses	mean total value		
1759	9	8	1	2	1	NA	1	1					3	2	1	2	1		1							
1763	2	2			1	NA	8	7 1/4		6	4		4	2		3	1									
1769	2					NA	10						3						1							
1772	2	2	1	1		NA	21	15	6	4			5	1/2	3	3		1	1/2		1	1				
1779						NA	22						5						1						£5.1	
1782	4	3 1/2		4		£5.5	20	10	7	10	2	£70.15	2	1		1	£9.5	4	1/2	5 1/2	1		£70.75	1	1	£33
1789							16					£90.81	6					£157.83	3						£78.66	
1793	3					£34.3	22					£80.83	5					£110	1					£303	3	£53.3

NA = information not available

TABLE II

Year	Carpenters						Joiners						Turners						Chairmakers						Laborers						
	Number working	lots owned	lots rented	lots owned	lots rented	mean total value	Number working	lots owned	lots rented	lots owned	lots rented	mean total value	Number working	lots owned	lots rented	lots owned	lots rented	mean total value	Number working	lots owned	lots rented	lots owned	lots rented	mean total value	Number working	lots owned	lots rented	lots owned	lots rented	mean total value	
1759	3 1/2						1						1	1					1						1						
1763	2						2	1					1	2																	
1769																															
1772	1	1		1 1/2	2	£7.5	4	1 1/2	2	1	£6.34	1	1 1/2	1	1	1	1	£106.5	1	1 1/2	1	1	1	£5.1	3						
1779						£26.57	4	2	6	2	£6.5	1	1											1	1						
1782	1 1/2		2	1 1/2	2	£114.3	4	1 1/2	2	1	£183.4	1	1											3							
1789						£116.8																		3							
1793																								3							

REAL PROPERTY AND LIVESTOCK OWNED BY CORE GROUPS, 1759-1793

APPENDIX A

Woodworkers in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Between 1750 and 1800

The woodworkers are listed alphabetically within the ten-year period they first worked in the borough. The dates assigned are the range of years in which they worked; most artisans did not work continuously during those years. Job titles are based on contemporary sources. If a man had more than one job title during his working years, both titles are listed and separated by a diagonal line.

1750

George Burkhart	1750-1785d.	carpenter/joiner
John Conecome	1759	carpenter
Peter Danig	1759-1786	turner
George Dorwather	1759	carpenter
Jacob Fetter, Sr.	1751-1777d.	turner/chairmaker
Stophel Franciscus	1759-1779	carpenter
Ephraim Benedict Garbel	1759-1771d.	carpenter/cabinetmaker
George Geiger, Sr.	1758-1790	joiner/laborer
John Geiger, Sr.	1759-1792	joiner
John Grosh	1759-1778d.	joiner
Casper Huber	1759-1778	joiner/carpenter
Jacob Kuntz	1758	carpenter
Michael Lind, Sr.	1757-1792d.	carpenter/joiner
Abraham Mayer	1758-1791	joiner
George North	1759	carpenter
John Postelweid	1759-1763	joiner
John George Power	1759	carpenter
Gottlieb Sehner, Sr.	1751-1779d.	joiner/carpenter
Jacob Weaver	1756-1797	turner
Peter Weaver	1759	carpenter
Valentine Weaver	1751-1778	turner
Jacob Weiss	1758-1800...	cooper
Gottlieb Whener	1757-1780	carpenter
John Young	1751-1772	joiner/carpenter

1760

David Abbvient	1763	joiner
Daniel Fetter	1763-1785d.	cooper
Gottlieb Fetter	1763-1782d.	chairmaker
Adam Foltz	1763-1799	joiner/carpenter
Adam Hart	1769-1799	turner
Philip Hart	1769-1791	joiner/carpenter
Casper Hausser	c.1760-1778	joiner
Peter Heffleisch	1761-1779	turner
Michael Koch	1763-1767	joiner
Christian Mayer	1761-1778	turner
Gabriel Maynesheimer	1763	joiner
August Milchsach	1769-1785	joiner
Charles Parmley	1763	carpenter
Peter Richter	1760-1769	carpenter/joiner
Ludwig Sigler	1761	carpenter
Philip Thomas	1769-1800...	carpenter/joiner/cabinetmaker
George Wein	1769-1786	joiner

1770

John Annes	1770-1772	joiner
John Ashbridge	1770	joiner
John Bensel	1772	carpenter/joiner
Gottlieb Blimler	1775-1782	joiner
Peter Brotzmann	1779-1817d.	joiner/carpenter
John Bugh	1778-1800...	joiner/carpenter
Robert Casson	1772-1773	joiner
Daniel Diffenberger	1772	NA
Michael Diffenderfer	1772	joiner
Conrad Doll	1778-1800...	spinnet/organmaker
Henry Etter	1779-1783	chairmaker/turner
Jacob Fetter, Jr.	1775-1797	chairmaker/turner
Nathaniel Fetter	1774	chairmaker/cabinetmaker
Jacob Flubacher	1777-1792	carpenter/joiner
Christopher Franciscus	1778-1793	carpenter/laborer
John Franciscus	1785-1792	carpenter/joiner
Peter Frick	1771-1778	joiner
Conrad Heffleisch	1772-1773	turner
Valentine Heffleisch	1777	carpenter/joiner
Detreich Heis	1770-1819d.	joiner/carpenter
Wilhelm Hoffmann	1772	joiner
David Hostetter	NA	NA
John Jones	1777-1782	chairmaker
Michael Kuntz	1774-1797	joiner/carpenter
Conrad Lind	1778-1800...	joiner/carpenter
John Lind	1777-1800...	carpenter/joiner
Adam Lowry	1770-1773	carpenter/joiner

Frederich Mann	1770-1796	carpenter/joiner
Gottlieb Nauman	1773-1783	carpenter/joiner
Michael Ruhn	1770	joiner
Gottlieb Sehner, Jr.	1777-1797d.	joiner/carpenter
John Shartel	1770-1775	joiner
Henry Stauffer	1775-1799	joiner
Adam Stockslager	1770-1791	carpenter/joiner
Stephen Sudden	1770-1772	joiner
Cornelius Switzer	1770-1788	carpenter/joiner
Ambrose Turner	1772-1779d.	joiner
Jacob Weaver, Jr.	1779-1789	turner
Peter Witmer	1772	joiner

1780

George Bachman	1797	carpenter
Jacob Burkhart, Jr.	1785-1790	carpenter/laborer
Daniel Blattenberger	1785-1789	carpenter
John Blattenberger	1785-1789	carpenter
Bartholomew Dorus	1785	carpenter
Matthias Fetter	1785-1790	chairmaker
Samuel Gardner	1788-1790	turner/chairmaker
John Geiger, Jr.	1780-1793	joiner
George Geiger, Jr.	1786-1800...	joiner
Peter Grubb	1782-1789	joiner
William Hefel	1782-1800...	joiner/carpenter
George Hersch	1786	carpenter
Jacob Huber	1782-1797	joiner/carpenter
Samuel Humes	1780-1800...	chairmaker
David Kreider	1787-1799	carpenter/joiner
Henry Kreider	1786-1797	joiner/carpenter
John Leveran	1785	carpenter
Michael Lind, Jr.	1786-1800...	joiner
Francis Mellow	1782-1799	carpenter
Peter Mellow	1786-1788	turner
Jacob Miller	1785	carpenter
Thomas Morgan	1788-1800...	carpenter/joiner
John Roberts	1786-1793	NA
Thomas Roberts	1786-1800...	joiner
George Rode	1789-1800...	joiner
John Rode	1788-1800...	carpenter
Jacob Rubbert	1785	carpenter
John Sehner	1793-1799	carpenter
Andrew Trayer	1782-1797	carpenter/joiner
Thomas Turner	1786-1787	joiner
Matthias Zanise	1783-1785	joiner/carpenter

1790

George Brumgart	1793-1797	joiner
Robert Burns	1797-1800...	joiner/carpenter
Abraham East	1797-1800...	joiner/carpenter
Charles Ewens	1793	joiner
George Fister	1792-1793	joiner/laborer
George Folke	1792-1799	joiner/carpenter
John Heis	1792-1797	carpenter
Garret Hoot	1797	chairmaker
Casper Koch	1799-1800...	joiner/carpenter
John Dreisser	1792	laborer/casketmaker
Christian Lang	1792-1797	joiner
Thomas Lyons	1799...	cabinetmaker
George Milchsach	1799...	carpenter
Herman Nees	1799...	joiner
John Parker	1792	carpenter
Francis Parker	1797...	joiner/carpenter
Henry Philips	1793-1795	joiner/carpenter
Abraham Ribian	1799...	joiner
Christian Rine	1798...	joiner
John Shilling	1799...	joiner
Cornelius Stortzius	1793	turner
George Thomas	1790-1794	joiner
Tobias Wolf	1792-1793	joiner

APPENDIX B

FOURTEEN WOODWORKERS' GROUPS THAT PERSISTED IN LANCASTER

<u>Name</u>	<u>Working Dates</u>	<u>Job Title</u>	<u>Birthplace or Relationship to Group</u>
<u>Group 1</u>			
1*George Burkhart, Sr.	1750-1785d.	carpenter	origin unknown
1 John Grosh	1759-1778d.	joiner	(Burkhart's neighbor)
2 George Burkhart, Jr.	1785-1790	carpenter	Lancaster, PA
2 Conrad Doll	1778-1800...	spinnet/organmaker	(Burkhart's nephew; apprenticed to Burkhart)
<u>Group 2</u>			
1 Jacob Fetter, Sr.	1751-1777d.	turner/chairmaker	Pfaltz, Germany
2 Jacob Fetter, Jr.	1775-1797	chairmaker	Lancaster, PA
2 Daniel Fetter	1763-1785d.	cooper	Oley, PA
2 Gottlieb Fetter	1763-1782d.	chairmaker	Oley, PA
2 Nathaniel Fetter	1774	cabinetmaker	Lancaster, PA
3 Matthias Fetter	1785-1790	chairmaker	Lancaster, PA
3 Jacob Fetter III	1805-c.1835	chairmaker	Lancaster, PA
3 Frederich Fetter	" "	chairmaker	Lancaster, PA
<u>Group 3</u>			
1 Adam Hart	1769-1799...	turner	
1 Philip Hart	1769-1791	joiner/carpenter	
<u>Group 4</u>			
1 August Milchsach	1769-1785	joiner	Wittgenstein, Germany
2 George Milchsach	1799...	carpenter	Canada

Group 5

1 Francis Merrow	1782-1799...	carpenter	
1 Peter Merrow	1786-1788	turner	

Group 6

1 John Geiger, Sr.	1759-1792	joiner	
1 George Geiger, Sr.	1758-1790	joiner/laborer	
1 Jacob Kuntz	1758	carpenter	(Michael Kuntz' father)
2 John Geiger, Jr.	1780-1793	joiner	
2 George Geiger, Jr.	1786-1800...	joiner	
2 Michael Kuntz	1774-1797	joiner/carpenter	(John Geiger, Sr.'s stepson)

Group 7

1 Michael Lind, Sr.	1757-1792	carpenter/joiner	(arrived in America, 1755)
2 Michael Lind, Jr.	1786-1800...	joiner	
2 John Lind	1777-1800...	carpenter/joiner	
2 Conrad Lind	1778-1800...	carpenter/joiner	
2 Jacob Flubacher	1777-1792	carpenter/joiner	(worked with John Lind)

Group 8

1 Philip Thomas	1769-1800...	joiner/cabinetmaker	Pfullingen, Germany
2 George Thomas	1790-1794	joiner	

Group 9

1 Gottlieb Sehner, Sr.	1751-1779d.	carpenter	Wurttemberg, Germany
2 Gottlieb Sehner, Jr.	1777-1797	carpenter	
2 John Sehner	1793-1799	carpenter	(moved outside the borough)
2 David Kreider	1787-1799...	carpenter	(Sehner, Jr.'s brother-in-law)
2 Henry Kreider	1786-1797	carpenter	(Kreider's brother)

Group 10

1 Detriech Heis	1770-1819d.	carpenter
2 John Heis	1792-1797	carpenter

Group 11

1 Jacob Weaver, Sr.	1756-1797	turner
1 Peter Weaver	1759	carpenter
1 Valentine Weaver	1751-1778	turner
2 Jacob Weaver, Jr.	1779-1789	turner

Group 12

1 George Rode	1789-1800...	joiner
1 John Rode	1789-1800...	carpenter

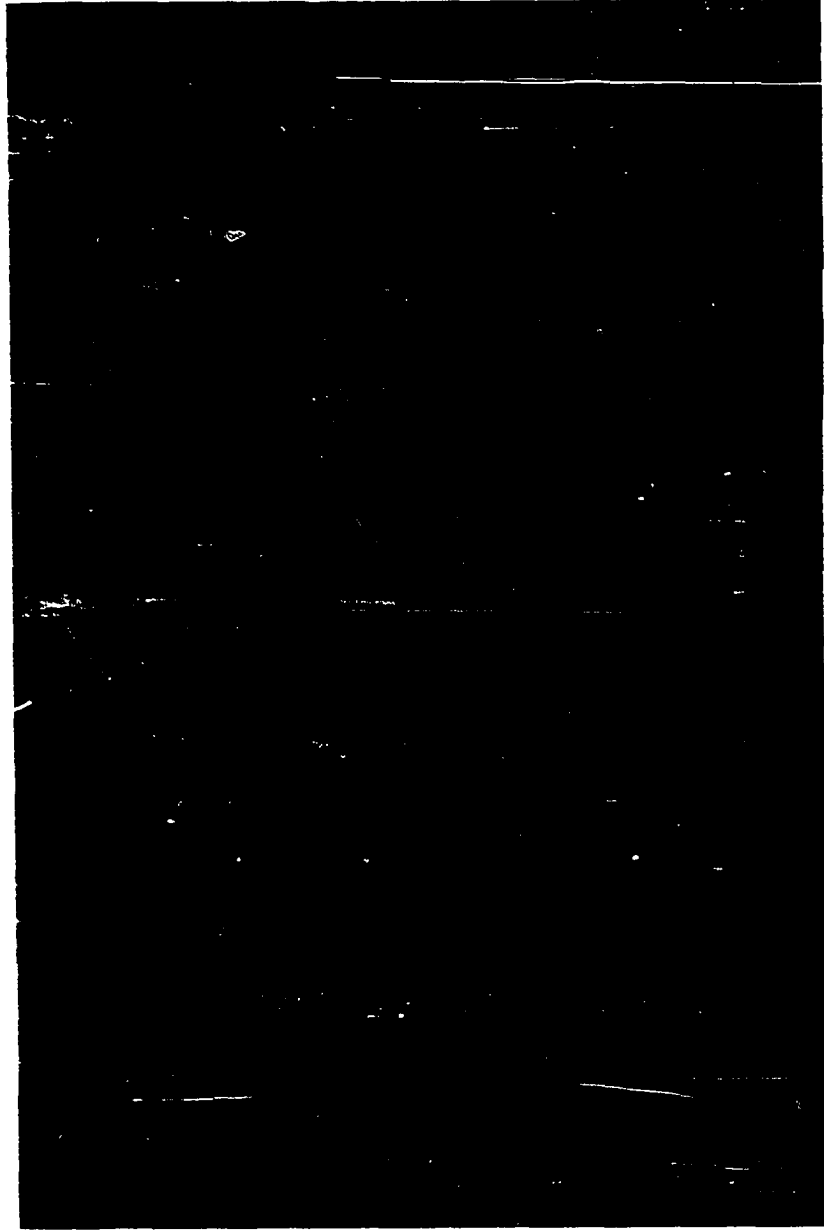
Group 13

1 Stophel Franciscus, Sr.	1759-1779	carpenter
2 Christopher Franciscus, Jr.	1778-1793	carpenter
2 John Franciscus	1785-1792	carpenter

Group 14

1 Samuel Humes	1780-1800...	chairmaker	Ireland
2 John Parker	1792-1800...	carpenter	(rents from Humes)
2 Francis Parker	1797-1800...	carpenter	(apprenticed to Humes)

*Numbers to the left of craftsman's name indicate his generation within the group.



1. Schrank, attributed to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1758. Walnut, tulip, pewter inlay (microanalysis). Private collection: Photo, Doris Fanelli.



2. Armchair, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, c. 1750-65. Private collection: Photo, courtesy of William Woys Weaver.



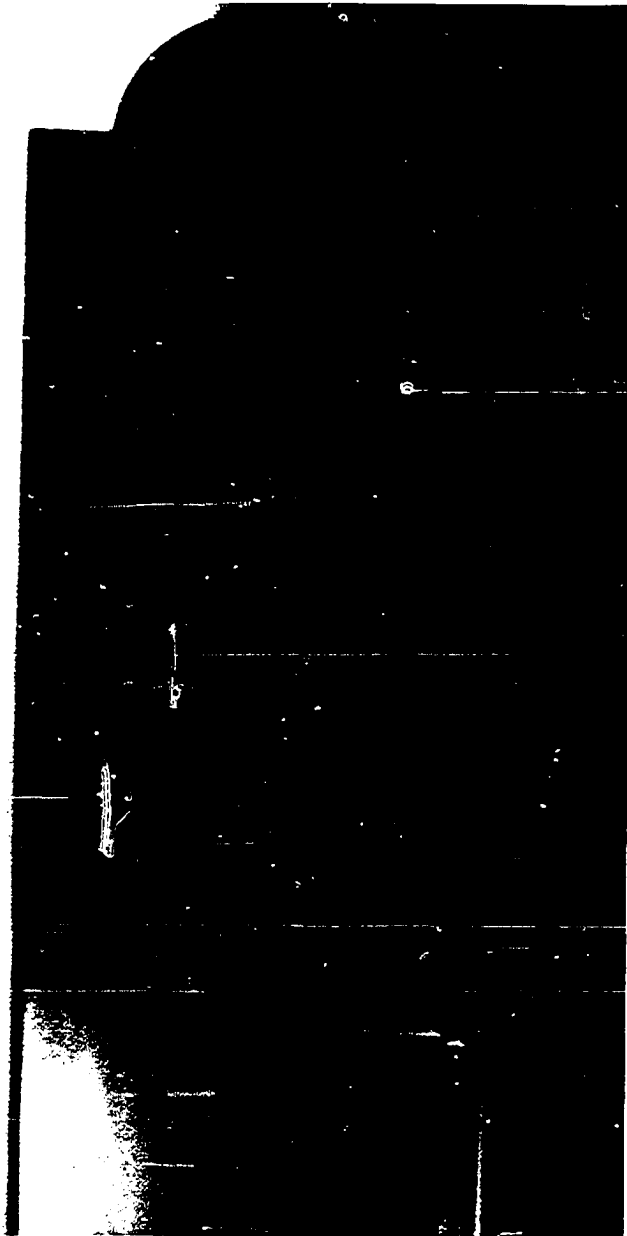
3. High chest, attributed to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, c. 1770-1800. Walnut, tulip. Dietrich Collection: Photo, courtesy of H. Richard Dietrich, Jr.



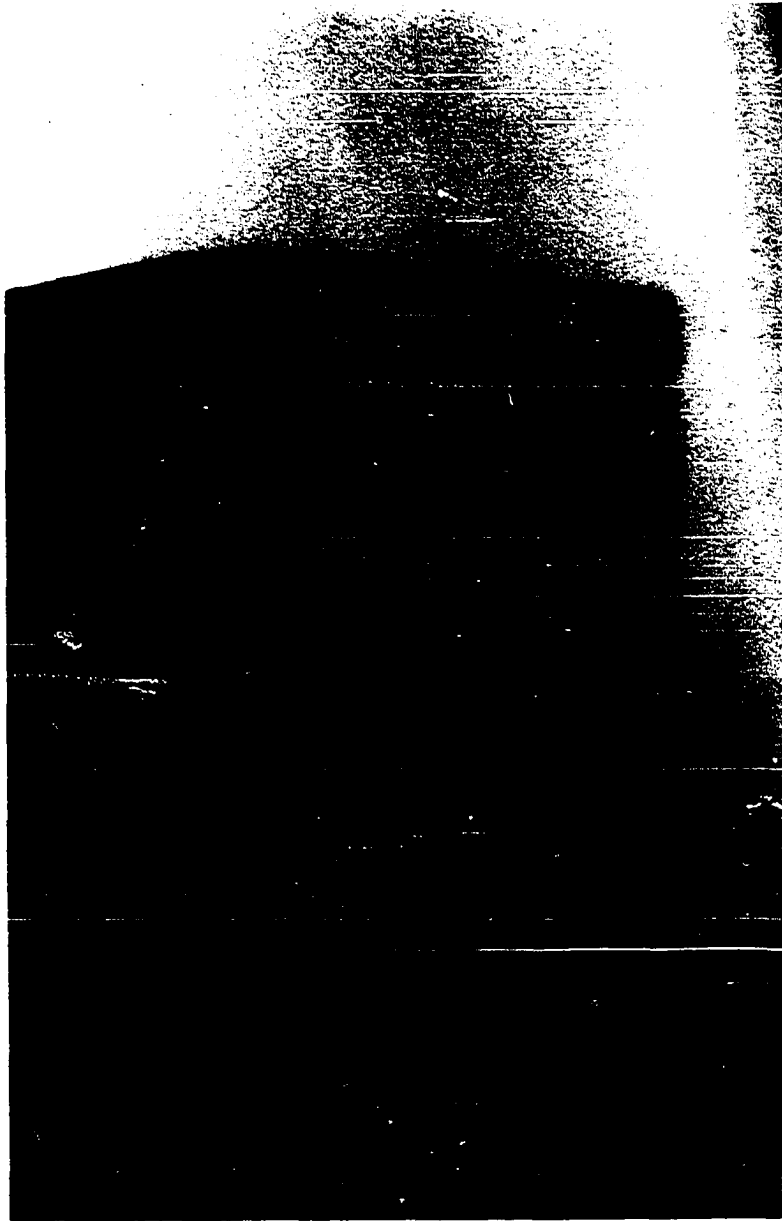
4. Schrank, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1759. Walnut, tulip, inlay.
Private collection: Photo, courtesy of Dr. Donald Herr.



5. Schrank, attributed to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, c. 1759. Walnut, tulip. Private collection: Photo, Doris Fanelli.



6. Detail of clock case, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1755. Walnut, inlay. Private collection: Photo, Doris Fanelli.



7. Detail of drawer construction of schrank in Illustration 1.
Photo, Doris Fanelli.



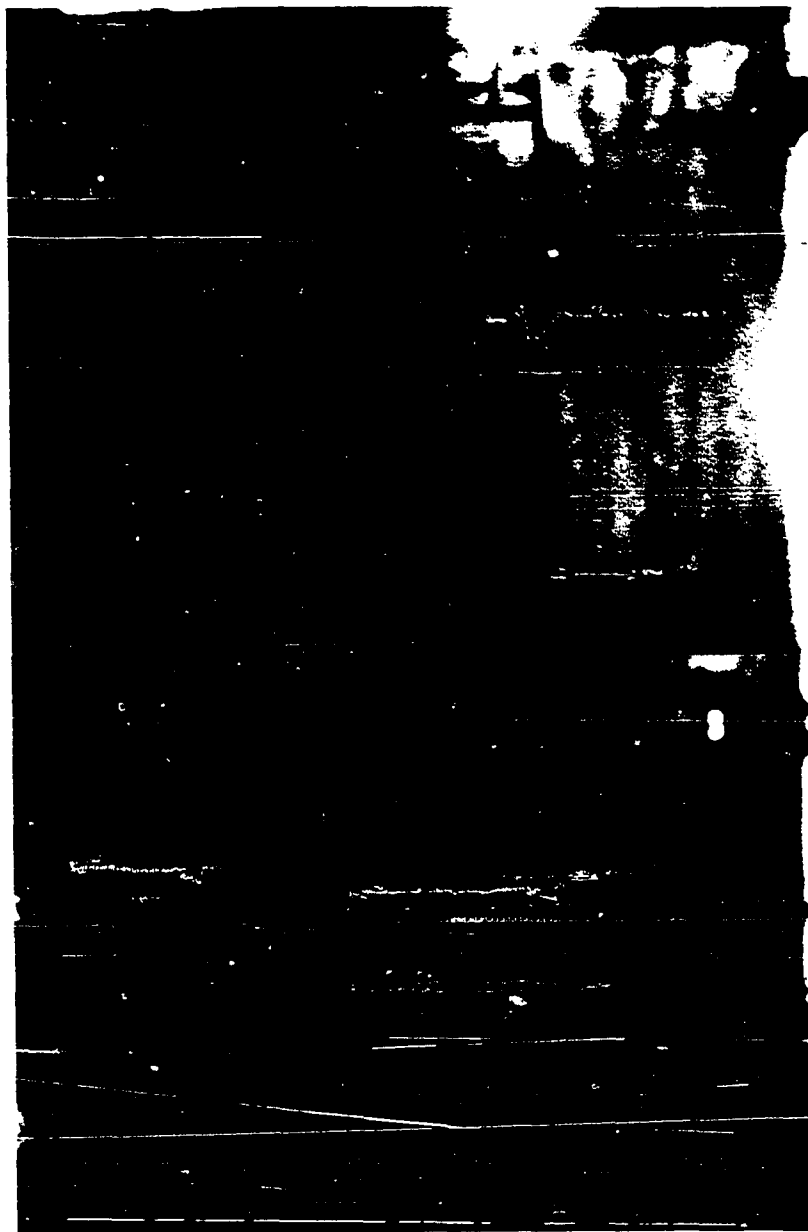
8. Detail of drawer construction of schrank in Illustration 1, showing cutout for lock system. Photo, Doris Fanelli.



9. Detail of applied molding on the front of the schrank in Illustration 4. Photo, Doris Fanelli.



10. Section of molding from the base of the schrank in Illustration 1, showing compressed wooden pins. Photo, Doris Fanelli.



11. Interior of the door to the schrank in Illustration 4. Photo, Doris Fanelli.