INFORMATION TO USERS

This reproduction was made from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this document, the quality of the reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help clarify 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 complete continuity.

2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark, it is an indication of either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, duplicate copy, or copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed. For blurred pages, a good image of the page can be found in the adjacent frame. If copyrighted materials were deleted, a target note will appear listing the pages in the adjacent frame.

3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed, a definite method of “sectioning” the material has been followed. 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 illustrations that cannot be satisfactorily reproduced by xerographic means, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and inserted into your xerographic copy. These prints are available upon request from the Dissertations Customer Services Department.

5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases the best available copy has been filmed.

University Microfilms International
300 N. Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
COX, JONATHAN PEET

WOODWORKERS IN ALLENTOWN, SALISBURY TOWNSHIP, AND WHITEHALL TOWNSHIP, PENNSYLVANIA, 1753-1805: A STUDY OF COMMUNITY AND CRAFT.

UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE (WINTERTHUR PROGRAM), M.A., 1982
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 or pages ✓
2. Colored illustrations, paper or print ✓
3. Photographs with dark background ✓
4. Illustrations are poor copy
5. Pages with black marks, not original copy
6. Print shows through as there is text on both sides of page
7. Indistinct, broken or small print on several pages
8. Print exceeds margin requirements
9. Tightly bound copy with print lost in spine
10. Computer printout pages with indistinct print
11. Page(s) _______ lacking when material received, and not available from school or author.
12. Page(s) _______ seem to be missing in numbering only as text follows.
13. Two pages numbered _______. Text follows.
14. Curling and wrinkled pages
15. Other __________________________________________________________________________
WOODWORKERS IN ALLENTOWN, SALISBURY TOWNSHIP, AND WHITEHALL TOWNSHIP, PENNSYLVANIA, 1753-1805:
A STUDY OF COMMUNITY AND CRAFT

By
Jonathan P. Cox

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, 1982

Copyright Jonathan P. Cox 1982
All Rights Reserved
WOODWORKERS IN ALLENTOWN, SALISBURY TOWNSHIP, AND WHITEHALL TOWNSHIP, PENNSYLVANIA, 1753-1805:
A STUDY OF COMMUNITY AND CRAFT

By

Jonathan P. Cox

Approved:

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:

R. B. Murray, Ph.D.
University Coordinator for Graduate Studies
INTRODUCTION

The area comprising Allentown, Salisbury Township, and Whitehall Township, Pennsylvania has historically attracted little attention, and since its earliest settlement in the second quarter of the eighteenth century it has preserved a largely unobtrusive presence. Nearby Bethlehem, a highly organized, literate, and cosmopolitan community, upstaged Allentown and the surrounding countryside, which was haphazardly settled by inhabitants who were more provincial than Bethlehem's. Several hundred Moravians lived and worshipped in Bethlehem's communal structures and operated its industrial complex of mills and workshops. This unusual religious settlement aroused far greater curiosity and attracted much more attention among contemporaries and subsequently from historians than the more commonplace communities nearby. A few travelers committed their impressions of the Allentown region to paper, but most descriptions are notable for their brevity. Sojourners interested in the American scene rarely made a point of stopping there; the exceptions paused only because Allentown was on the road between Easton and Reading, the county seats for Northampton and Berks. Eighteenth-century observers, in fact, found very little worthy of note; they sought the exceptional, extraordinary, or remarkable.

My interest lies in recovering and understanding past lifeways and patterns of daily existence. Cary Carson aptly expresses this
concern: "Recognition for history's neglected majority follows inevitably from the new emphasis historians are giving to society as a working organism, a community of individuals and groups who are mutually dependent on one another--top to bottom or bottom to top, it doesn't matter."¹ This relatively recent approach to the past rejects history as primarily a sequence of political events and their participants, or what Henry Glassie terms "too much the genealogy of contemporary institutional power and too little the story of people."²

Getting at the "neglected majority" is no easy task, and it requires a different approach from "textbook" history. Written documentary evidence, the mainstay of traditional historical research, sheds limited and filtered light on the past. Artifacts--tangible, three-dimensional products of human thought and labor--must complement or even supplant scarce or nonexistent written records. Man-made objects have a language of their own; a language which, if properly understood and interpreted, can inform today's scholar about a multitude of past assumptions. "Rigorously analyzed," writes Glassie, "the artifact is always genuine because it is an expression of its maker's mind."³

Exclusive reliance on either written or artifactual evidence increases the chance for bias or inaccuracy, but an approach which combines both promises the greatest possibility of constructing a reliable picture of the past. This dual orientation serves as the model for my study.

I am indebted to the many individuals and institutions who gave generously of their time and resources during my investigation. For
their invaluable assistance and cooperation I extend my sincere thanks to: Chris H. Bailey, American Clock and Watch Museum; Michael King, Barnes Foundation; Deborah L. Evans, Annie S. Kemerer Museum; Carol Wickkiser, Charles Kiernan, and Mrs. C. Spencer Allen, Lehigh County Historical Society; Vernon H. Nelson and Lothar Madeheim, Moravian Archives; Maurice Dimmick, Northampton County Archives; staffs of the Library and the Decorative Arts Photographic Collection, Winterthur Museum; Monroe Fabian; Mahlon Hellerich; John J. Snyder; Vicky Uminowicz; and the many private collectors who kindly allowed me to examine and photograph furniture in their possession.

For guiding, criticizing, and encouraging my work I owe several people special words of appreciation. David Allmendinger counseled me with great patience and unfailing optimism, and he always found time to listen. Scott Swank incisively critiqued the substance and form of my preliminary and final drafts, and patted an often frustrated back. Stevie Wolf sold me on quantification and then helped this neophyte apply it. She also reviewed the manuscript for clarity and completeness. Benno Forman posed provocative questions and gave freely of his time, but most importantly he set a standard for rigorous research and penetrating analysis against which I shall always measure my work. I owe my final note of gratitude to my parents, who selflessly supported and encouraged my educational development.
NOTES TO INTRODUCTION


3 Glassie, p. 10.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOTES TO INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER ONE: THE COMMUNITY AND ITS WOODWORKERS</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER TWO: PETER WOTRING, JOINER-TURNED-FARMER</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER THREE: ARTIFACTUAL EVIDENCE FROM SALISBURY TOWNSHIP</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A. INDEX OF WOODWORKERS IN ALLENTOWN, WHITEHALL TOWNSHIP,</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AND SALISBURY TOWNSHIP, 1766-1807</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX B. INVENTORY OF PETER WOTRING'S ESTATE</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX C. PROBATE INVENTORIES OF THE ESTATES OF EIGHT WOODWORKERS</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHO DIED BEFORE 1807</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILLUSTRATIONS</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Changes in the Taxable Population of Allentown, Salisbury Township, and Whitehall Township, Pennsylvania, 1762-1805</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Changes in the Woodworking Population of Allentown, Salisbury Township, and Whitehall Township, Pennsylvania, 1767-1805</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Persistence of Woodworkers in Allentown, Salisbury Township, and Whitehall Township, Pennsylvania, 1767-1805</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Percentage of Peter Wotring's Potential Work Time Spent in Day Labor, 1799-1809</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Value of Peter Wotring's Task-Oriented Production, 1799-1809</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
CHAPTER ONE: THE COMMUNITY AND ITS WOODWORKERS

The part of Pennsylvania's Lehigh River Valley which encompasses Allentown (called Northampton Town in the eighteenth century), Salisbury Township, and Whitehall Township was settled on land snatched from the Lenni Lenape Indians by John, Thomas, and Richard Penn. The two townships were established as part of Northampton County one year after it separated from Bucks in 1752; the town was laid out in 1761 on land owned by William Allen. In 1812 several townships, including Salisbury and Whitehall, broke away from Northampton to form Lehigh County, with Allentown as the seat of government. A few of those townships have since been subdivided, but the geopolitical arrangement today remains essentially as it was in 1812.

Europeans first settled in the Allentown region about 1730. Most of these early inhabitants were German-speaking immigrants from the western and southern parts of present-day Germany, Alsace, and Switzerland. Some came directly from Europe, while others settled first in Bucks or Berks County and later moved to the Lehigh Valley.

During its first thirty years of settlement, this area constituted part of southeastern Pennsylvania's northernmost frontier. The European encroachment on native American territory inevitably provoked reaction which was often violent. A report presented to Pennsylvania's...
Provincial Council in December 1755 stated:

During all this Month the Indians have been burning and destroying all before them in the County of Northampton, and have already burnt fifty Houses here, murdered above one hundred Persons, and are still continuing their Ravages, Murders, and Devastations, and have actually overrun and laid waste a great part of that County, even as far as within twenty miles of Easton, its chief Town.\(^6\)

Another Indian uprising occurred in 1763 in Whitehall and Allen Townships, and the following year Colonel James Burd informed William Allen in Philadelphia that Allentown was "crowded with refugees fleeing before the Indians."\(^7\) The Indians were soon displaced, however, and never again posed a threat to the immigrant Europeans.

William Allen's country town, surveyed and laid out by Nicholas Scull in 1761, followed the physical grid plan already established in Philadelphia, Lancaster, and Easton. Evenly spaced parallel streets intersecting at right angles divided the town into 42 rectangular blocks, and the town square occupied a position significantly off-center along one axis. Most of the 756 lots measured 60 feet along the front by 230 feet deep.

First William Allen, and later his son James, chose the site of Allentown as a retreat from Philadelphia. Although the elder Allen's primary country residence was "the Mansion House of Mount Airy," just north of Germantown, by 1739 he had also erected a structure where Allentown would later exist.\(^8\) James, after receiving large landholdings from his father in 1767, including Allentown, built a Georgian-style stone house there between 1768 and 1770.\(^9\) To this house, which he named...
Trout Hall, James moved with his family in January 1777: "Having let my House [in Philadelphia] to Carter Braxton & some of the Virginia Delegates, with a great part of my Furniture @ $150 pr amm. and left Phila'd which from the current of Politics, began to grow disagreeable; I thought myself happy in having so good a retreat in Northampton County."\(^{10}\)

The events which followed his move were less happy than he anticipated. The fever of revolution had infected Pennsylvania's back country, as well as its capital, and even Allentown provided no refuge from the general furor. In October 1777 Allen wrote that "The road from Easton to Reading, by my house, is now the most travelled in America."\(^{11}\) His opposition to the cause for independence provoked animosity between him and his rebellious neighbors, to the point that he felt himself a captive in his own home. "My situation," he confided to his journal on November 2, 1777, "continues as before living in perpetual fear of being robbed, plundered & insulted . . . . Any situation is preferable to my present one."\(^{12}\) He died in Philadelphia the following year.

The earliest description of Allentown is little more informative than it is complimentary. An anonymous party of Philadelphians en route from Bethlehem to Lancaster in August 1773

Arriv'd at Allentown about 9 [a.m.], stop'd at the sign of the King of Prussia the House stunk so badly that we could not remain in it, and had it not been for the kindness of Mr. Backhouse who invited the Company to take Breakfast with him, must have gone without . . . . Allentown is a pretty Situation but it seems to be a poor place.\(^{13}\)
Twenty-one years later Theophile Cazenove recorded his impressions in slightly greater detail:

It is a pretty town of about 80 to 100 houses, 2 German churches, a Lutheran one which is called 'the church,' and the other Presbyterian [Reformed]. It is a settlement begun in 1761 by Mr. Allen, Attorney General in Philadelphia, and now his grand daughters' property, the 3 Misses Allen. The situation of the town is high and healthful; the streets are well laid out. The ladies sell the city lots 60 feet front by 200 depth for $25 besides being subjected to a perpetual quit-rent of 9 shillings. The land around the town is theirs and is divided into 6 farms, which they rent to German farmers for a dollar an acre per year.14

In 1795, the year after Cazenove's visit, the U.S. Gazeteer mentioned the presence of an academy and three merchant mills as well.15

Cazenove's estimation of the town's size proves remarkably accurate when compared with the surviving tax records. The earliest tax data for Allentown place the number of taxable residents in 1762 at 16 (Figure 1).16 Within five years that figure had almost tripled, and the population continued to climb steadily throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century. By 1805, one-hundred and forty-five townspeople paid taxes, almost a ninefold increase in householders over the forty-three year period. The surnames recorded on tax rosters throughout this period suggest that the ethnic background of the town's inhabitants was predominantly Germanic.

Population growth in the surrounding townships of Salisbury and Whitehall was equally steady, but not so dramatic. Although both actually suffered net losses between 1762 and 1767, the exodus was probably from the townships to the town; the population for the entire
FIGURE I. CHANGES IN THE TAXABLE POPULATION OF ALLENTOWN,
SALISBURY TOWNSHIP, AND WHITEHALL TOWNSHIP,
PENNSYLVANIA, 1762 - 1805

Source: Tax returns
area gained 17 newcomers during this period. By 1774 both townships had regained or surpassed their earlier population levels, and thereafter they grew without interruption. In 1805 Salisbury Township counted 143 taxable residents—about double the number in 1762. Whitehall Township's taxpayers had increased by 151% over the same period—from 147 to 369. As in Allentown, citizens in both townships were almost exclusively German.

Taxpayers' occupations are frequently identified in local tax records.\textsuperscript{17} In order to determine occupational distribution, the following definitional categories were developed: woodworkers, other craftsmen, tradesmen and professionals, processors, farmers, and others.\textsuperscript{18} Predictably, Allentown contained the greatest concentration of craftsmen, tradesmen, and professionals, while the two townships were overwhelmingly made up of farmers. In 1767 craftsmen (including woodworkers), tradesmen, professionals, and processors composed almost two-thirds of Allentown's taxable population; laborers, those with unlisted occupations, the aged, and the infirm accounted for the remainder. In the neighboring townships, however, a very different picture emerges; farming dominated the range of occupational opportunities. In Whitehall Township, agriculture was pursued to the exclusion of almost all other activities. Although the number of designated farmers on the 1767 tax roster amounts to only one-third of all taxables, almost all of those classified as "others" undoubtedly performed farm labor. Thus agricultural workers amounted to about 90% of all taxables in Whitehall Township. Farming dominated Salisbury Township as well, but not as
exclusively. Three-quarters of the taxed residents worked on farms, but an additional one-fifth plied various branches of craft work. Only one tradesman and one processor lived in the township in 1767.

Thirty-eight years later significant shifts had occurred in the occupational distributions of Allentown, Whitehall Township, and Salisbury Township. The 1805 tax figures indicate that one-half of the town's taxables were craftsmen, tradesmen, professionals, and processors; "others" made up the second half. Between 1767 and 1805 the proportion of specified workers ranged from slightly less than one-half to about three-quarters of the taxable population. The uppermost figure probably represented the point at which an oversupply existed.

In Whitehall Township the pattern was not of increase, saturation, and finally decrease, but of steady decline in the largest occupational bloc. Although the actual number of farmers and farm laborers increased between 1767 and 1805, their proportion relative to the rest of the population sank steadily. With a finite amount of farmland, the ratio could not remain constant as the population continued to grow. In 1805 Whitehall Township was still primarily a farming district, but the concentration of craftsmen, both in terms of real numbers and proportions, had increased significantly. As the position of farmers and farm laborers fell from about 90% to 65% of all taxables, the number of craftsmen (including woodworkers) quadrupled to over 20%. Processors, a nonexistent group in 1767 and 1774, accounted for almost 10%. This surge in non-farming vocations almost certainly resulted from reduced availability of arable land.
As in Whitehall, farm workers in Salisbury Township remained a majority through 1805, but they, too, lost ground to craftsmen and processors. Through 1786 the actual number of farmers and laborers climbed slowly, even as their proportion of the total taxable population dropped, but after that date the real number declined as well. By 1805 it had rebounded, so that two-thirds of the taxables worked at agriculture, one-fourth at crafts, and one-tenth were processors. At the cut-off point for this study the proportion of all craftsmen to the total population in Allentown, Salisbury Township, and Whitehall Township was about the same.

Although the actual number of landowners increased, their initially high proportions relative to the complete population in both the urban and rural areas had declined significantly after a half-century of settlement. The comparative decrease was steady in Whitehall Township, but uneven in Salisbury Township and Allentown. Widespread property ownership during the earliest settlement period resulted from a plentiful supply and relatively low demand. As the population increased, however, the supply diminished and the demand grew. Land values undoubtedly rose accordingly, thus excluding residents with restricted purchasing power, forcing them into either the rent market or a new geographical area. The increased difficulty of buying land cut across vocational lines, hitting those in all occupations at the low end of the economic scale.19

In 1767 landowners in Whitehall and Salisbury Townships represented 78% and 88% of their respective taxable populations. Forty
years later the proportion of property owners in both areas had dropped by 20%. Throughout these four decades most rural landholders owned between 26 and 200 acres. In Salisbury Township one-third to one-half of them possessed between 26 and 100 acres, while one-quarter to one-third owned between 101 and 200 acres. Together, these landholders accounted for one-half to three-quarters of Salisbury Township's property owners. In Whitehall Township one-quarter to almost one-half of all property owners held between 26 and 100 acres, and a nearly consistent two-fifths owned between 101 and 200 acres. These two classes of owners totaled two-thirds to three-quarters of Whitehall Township's property owners. In both Salisbury and Whitehall Townships the proportion of landowners with 25 acres or less dropped to very low levels (less than 10%) between 1767 and 1774. From 1774 to 1805, however, the trend reversed, bringing to between one-fourth and one-fifth the proportion of these small landowners. Another significant minority owned more than 200 and 500 or fewer acres. No clear pattern emerges from the changes in this group over time; it accounted for about 10-15% of all landowners in Salisbury Township and about 15-25% in Whitehall. An insignificant percentage of landholders owned more than 500 acres.

Over 90% of Allentown's taxable population owned real property in 1767. Land ownership fell 20% by 1805, however, following the same course there as in the townships. In 1767 almost all property owners in Allentown possessed a single house and lot. This proportion eroded over the following forty years, but retained its majority status. A
few residents owned two houses and lots, but the greatest increase towards the close of the century came in owners of one house with two to four lots, and in owners of acreage in lieu of or addition to a house. Together, these grew to account for about 25-30% of real property owners.

The woodworking community on which this paper focuses existed as part of a growing craft- and trade-oriented country town surrounded by productive farmland. In 1767 nine woodworkers lived in this area, six of them in Allentown (table 1.1). These six represented 30% of all craftsmen in the town—more than twice the proportion of woodworkers to other craftsmen found in the townships. Since the town had been founded only six years earlier, support for such a heavy concentration of wood craftsmen is not surprising. The initial building phase certainly required craftsmen with essential skills: carpenters, joiners, masons, and smiths, among others. Later on, after the first surge of construction activity had abated, the community supported fewer craftsmen who worked with wood and more who modified other materials. From 1767 to 1774 the actual number of woodworkers in Salisbury and Whitehall Townships did not change. The total of other craftsmen, however, decreased, even though the population as a whole grew. During this same span Salisbury Township lost property owners and Whitehall gained only 13. Non-woodworking craftsmen had apparently oversaturated the market and were compelled to move elsewhere in search of employment. In Salisbury Township, most had owned land, thus explaining many of the property losses. After this outmigration the
TABLE 1.1  CHANGES IN THE WOODWORKING POPULATION OF ALLENTOWN, SALISBURY TOWNSHIP, AND WHITEHALL TOWNSHIP, PENNSYLVANIA, 1767 - 1805

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Allentown</th>
<th>Salisbury Township</th>
<th>Whitehall Township</th>
<th>Combined Areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1767</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1774</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1786</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1805</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage of all Craftsmen</th>
<th>Percentage of all Taxables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1767</td>
<td>30 14 13 21</td>
<td>13 3 1 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1774</td>
<td>17 25 14 18</td>
<td>5 3 1 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1786</td>
<td>24 21 10 18</td>
<td>8 4 1 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>24 24 15 20</td>
<td>13 8 4 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1805</td>
<td>21 26 19 21</td>
<td>6 6 4 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Tax returns
ratio of woodworkers to other craftsmen changed very little over the next thirty years— a further indication that more non-woodworking craftsmen had settled in the area than the area could support. The actual number of woodworkers increased several times over, but the proportion remained relatively stable. Allentown and Salisbury Township achieved the same proportion of woodworkers to all craftsmen— between one-fourth and one-fifth— while Whitehall's woodworkers fluctuated between one-fifth and one-tenth of all craftsmen.

Throughout most of the eighteenth century Whitehall Township supported fewer craftsmen of all types relative to its population than either of the other two districts. Woodworkers represented a smaller percentage both of all craftsmen and of all taxables (table 1.1). By 1805, however, the actual and comparative craft population had grown. Vis-à-vis other craftsmen and all taxables, the number of woodworkers in Whitehall Township approached the proportions for Salisbury Township and Allentown. Why Whitehall Township's total population initially supported so few woodworkers remains a matter for speculation. The woodworking force, however, may actually seem deceptively small.

Included in the ranks of Salisbury Township's woodworkers were some residents of Emmaus, a small Moravian town. Salisbury Township's concentration of wood craftsmen, as reflected in the tax records, is therefore not representative of an exclusively rural area. Perhaps farming districts unpunctuated by any towns typically had no more woodworkers than Whitehall Township. Farmers, who formed the vast majority of taxable residents, possessed the basic skills necessary
for performing rudimentary carpentry work. Even if Whitehall Township's woodworking force was unusually weak for a rural farm community, perhaps that condition resulted from low levels of wealth among many of the area's earliest settlers.

Significantly more woodworkers who owned real property lived in Allentown and Salisbury Township than Whitehall Township. Through 1786 all of the town's woodworkers owned property, and although the proportion subsequently dropped, it remained high; more than three-quarters owned houses and lots in 1805. Similarly, from 1767 to 1796 most or all of the woodworkers in Salisbury Township held land. In 1805, although the actual number who owned property remained the same as in 1796, the proportion fell to just under nine-tenths. By contrast, few woodworkers in Whitehall Township possessed property. Although the sole woodworker in the township through 1774 owned land, the sample size is too small for comparison. In 1786, however, only one of three woodworkers paid taxes on land, and the ratio sank to one in four by 1796, where it stayed through 1805.

Compared with other craftsmen, woodworkers in Allentown and Salisbury Township achieved greater prosperity. In general, craftsmen who worked with wood were more likely to own real property than those who did not. The opposite trend prevailed in Whitehall Township, however. From 1786 through 1805 more non-woodworking craftsmen owned acreage; generalizations can not be made about the period prior to 1786.
Rural woodworkers who held land rarely owned more than 200 acres; they commonly owned fewer than 100 acres. In Allentown woodworkers, like other craftsmen, invariably owned one house and lot. During the century's last decade, however, they more frequently owned additional houses, lots, and/or acreage.  

Of the seventy-nine carpenters, joiners, and turners documented in the tax records for Allentown, Salisbury Township, and Whitehall Township between 1767 and 1807, only two appear as woodworkers in fewer than half the extant lists. Expressed in different terms, within the span of years that a woodworker's trade was recorded by the tax assessor, all but two appeared as woodworkers in half or more of the tax rosters which remain. This pattern implies that a woodworker's craft constituted his primary, if not exclusive, livelihood. A joiner may not have built furniture all his life, but when he did, he did little else.

For woodworkers, Allentown offered the greatest certainty of long-term employment; neither Salisbury nor Whitehall Township kept as many for as long a period of time. Almost half of Salisbury's sum of woodworkers between 1767 and 1807, and near two-thirds in Whitehall, plied their craft for two years or less (table 1.2). Only one-third of Allentown's wood craftsmen worked for so short a period. One-third of the woodworking force in both Allentown and Salisbury found employment for a moderate three to ten years, while less than one-fifth worked for this period in Whitehall. The town's remaining one-third continued for over ten years, including some who remained active after 20 years. About one-fifth lasted that long in the outlying townships.
TABLE 1.2 PERSISTENCE OF WOODWORKERS IN ALLENTOWN, SALISBURY TOWNSHIP, AND WHITEHALL TOWNSHIP, PENNSYLVANIA, 1767 - 1805

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Span of Years as Woodworker</th>
<th>Number of Woodworkers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Allentown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21+</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* includes two who appear first in Allentown and later in Salisbury Township

Note: Not included were two woodworkers whose trade was listed in less than half the tax records surviving from each one's span. Woodworkers who first appear after 1800 were also excluded.

Source: Tax returns
Analysis of population shifts, land ownership, and the occupational structure provides a foundation for understanding the craft climate in one part of Northampton County in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Allentown and its southern neighbor, Salisbury Township, offered the greatest opportunities and rewards for woodworking craftsmen. Both areas supported proportionally larger woodworking populations than Whitehall Township, and both promised greater certainty of owning real property. Town turners, joiners, and carpenters could also count on finding employment over a longer period of time than their rural counterparts in either township. Whitehall supported a greater concentration of woodworkers towards the close of the century than it had initially, but agricultural interests continued to dominate the community.
NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1 Whitehall Township originally included the present-day townships of North Whitehall, South Whitehall, and Whitehall. References in this paper are to the township before subdivision.


5 Roberts, History of Lehigh County, I, 60, 867.

6 Quoted in Roberts, History of Lehigh County, I, 77.

7 Brooke Hinkle, "The March of the Paxton Boys," William and Mary Quarterly, Third series 3, No. 4 (October 1946), 471.

8 Wickkiser, pp. 107, 109. The nature of this structure is uncertain, though it has been described as a recreational "lodge" for hunting and fishing, built of log and called "Trout Hall" (Wickkiser, p. 109). A notice in The Gazette, published in Philadelphia on June 29, 1738, simply refers to it as "Mr. William Allen's Fishing Place" (quoted in Wickkiser, p. 109, f.n. 30). Whatever its size, appearance, and function, this early structure has long since disappeared.

9 Wickkiser, pp. 114-115. The building still stands near the corner of 4th and Walnut Streets, and is administered by the Lehigh County Historical Society.

18

190-191. The original manuscript, also consulted, is at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP) in Philadelphia.


15 Roberts, History of Lehigh County, I, 415.

16 This figure represents heads of households and single men only. Since no reliable study has been undertaken of the average family size in eighteenth-century Allentown, the population can only be considered in terms of taxable residents. This and the following analyses of demographic data for Allentown, Salisbury Township, and Whitehall Township are based on tax returns for the years 1762, 1767, 1774, 1786, 1796, and 1805. Records for the first three years are to be found at the HSP, while the rest are reposited at the Northampton County Archives (NCA), Easton.

17 The earliest year for which tax records providing occupational information for Allentown, Salisbury Township, and Whitehall Township survive is 1767.

18 The categories are defined as follows: Woodworkers—joiners, carpenters, house carpenters, and turners; Other craftsmen—metalsmiths, weavers, potters, tailors, shoemakers, clockmakers, wagoners, bookbinders, cooper, masons, gunsmiths, wheelwrights, blacksmiths, hatters, saddlers, hosers, cordwainers, nailors, clock-face painters, and forgemen; Tradesmen and professionals—doctors, ministers, teachers, sheriffs, innkeepers, shopkeepers, ferry men, surveyors, apothecaries, and tinkers; Processors—bakers, butchers, tanners, millers, blue-dyers, skin-dressers, tobacconists, and distillers; Others—non-farmers who do not fit into one of the above categories: primarily laborers, those with no occupation listed, poor, sickly, lame, widows, old, and inmates.

19 I have reached this conclusion after charting the percentage of landowners within the given occupational categories from 1767 to 1805. There was a general trend of decreased land ownership among all occupations, with the exception of some processors and craftsmen. In the case of the former, the sample size was often too small to validate the findings.
An impressionistic survey of farmers' probate inventories to determine the frequency and extent of their holdings of woodworking tools suggests that many possessed at least a few such tools.

One of two woodworkers taxed there in 1774 did not own land; he constitutes the only exception.

Although the ratio fell, the actual number of landowning woodworkers increased to three out of twelve in 1796 and four out of sixteen in 1805.

Two exceptional years for Allentown were 1767 and 1805, when there was almost no difference between the percentage of woodworkers and other craftsmen who owned land. In Salisbury Township the percentage of other landowning craftsmen exceeded landowning woodworkers for only one year sampled, and the total number of woodworkers was small.

Quantification of data relating to those woodworkers with property is inappropriate due to the small size of the sample.

This figure does not include woodworkers who first appear after 1800 and is based on examination of all extant tax records for these three areas between 1766 and 1807 located at the HSP and the NCA.

Woodworkers' names were gleaned from the tax records by checking the occupations listed. In some cases, years exist within a craftsman's woodworking span for which no wood-related occupation is listed. Where this is true, two possibilities exist: first, no occupation was recorded; and second, a different occupation was recorded.
CHAPTER TWO: PETER WOTRING, JOINER-TURNED-FARMER

Johann Peter Wotring, a first-generation American of Alsatian descent, plied the trade of woodworker in Whitehall Township from about 1799 to 1806. He performed carpentry work, built and repaired furniture, hired himself out as a farm hand, and tilled his own land as well. In many ways, Wotring typified the rural community in which he lived: his ethnic background was German; his religious denomination was German Reformed; his education was minimal; and his vocational orientation was predominantly agricultural. To the historian, however, he stands out among his peers—not because of unusual qualities or noteworthy deeds, but due to the chance survival of his book of accounts. Indeed, if that record had been lost or destroyed, Wotring would have attracted no special notice. Neighboring woodworkers may have produced more or better quality furniture, but their records do not survive or remain unknown. Wotring's account book has special significance for scholars interested in society's workings at all levels because of the infrequent survival of ordinary craftsmens' records.

Peter Wotring's ancestral home was the area near Kirrberg, Alsace, bordering Lorraine, where members of the Vautrin family had lived since at least the seventeenth century. Samuel Vautrin/Wotring, born about 1714 at Fenêtrange, Lorraine, emigrated with his family to America, arriving at the port of Philadelphia on September 15, 1749. By
1754 he had settled in Whitehall Township, where he owned land and attended Schlosser's Reformed Church at present-day Neffs in North Whitehall Township.  

Samuel's son Johann Nicholas (1745-1818), born at Pisdorff, Alsace, settled in Whitehall Township with his parents and remained there the rest of his life. Like his father, he attended Schlosser's Reformed Church, and with his wife Margaret raised six children, including Johann Peter.

Peter Wotring was born on January 24, 1776. Presumably he was one of three white males under the age of sixteen living in the household of Nicholas Woodring (Wotring) when the census was taken in 1790. Six years later, at the age of twenty, Peter Wotring first appeared in the tax records for Whitehall Township. He was designated "Letige ohne Land" [single, without land] and taxed $ .80 [€ 0/6/0]. From 1796 to 1801 his tax classification remained the same, with some fluctuation in the amount of tax paid. In 1800, at age 24, Wotring probably still resided with his parents; three males aged 16 to 26 years lived in the household of Nicholas Woodring. Later that same year, however, he purchased a 17-acre plot of land, and he may subsequently have moved out of his parents' home to live there.

Wotring must have embarked on his trade while still living with his parents. In 1799 he began an account book recording his work activities, but, inexplicably, three years elapsed between the first entry in his book and the first mention of his trade in the tax records.
Though Wotring's name appears on the returns from 1796 to 1801, he was not called "Housecarpenter" until 1802. He was taxed for the trade of joiner/schreiner in 1804 and 1805, but in 1807 was listed as a farmer.\textsuperscript{9}

In 1804 Peter Wotring married Elizabeth Deshler, and the couple eventually produced nine children.\textsuperscript{10} Between 1805 and 1819 church records indicate that Peter and his wife Elizabeth lived in Whitehall Township. Six of the couple's children were born and subsequently baptized at Schlosser's Reformed Church between 1805 and 1814. During the same time period the pair sponsored the baptisms of three other children. The remaining three Wotring offspring were born between 1815 and 1819 and were baptized at Egypt Reformed Church, where Peter was later buried.\textsuperscript{11}

Census records do not list Peter Wotring as head of a household until 1820, when they reveal only one man by that name residing in North Whitehall Township.\textsuperscript{12} His household consisted of two free white males under ten years of age, one between ten and 16, and one between 26 and 45 (including the head of household); also four free white females under ten years, and one between ten and 16. In addition, three persons were engaged in agriculture.\textsuperscript{13} Genealogical data confirm this as the household of our Peter Wotring.\textsuperscript{14}

In 1830 the only Peter Woodring in Lehigh County resided in South Whitehall Township. He was aged between 40 and 50, and was the sole member of his household. The erstwhile woodworker celebrated his fifty-fourth birthday in 1830, suggesting that Wotring looked at least
four years younger in the eyes of the census-taker. Although five of Wotring's children were aged 12 to 19 in 1830, marriages and apprenticeships could explain why he lived alone. He died on February 25, 1833 and was buried in the cemetery of the present-day Egypt United Church of Christ, Whitehall.¹⁵

Besides Peter, at least three other woodworking Woodrings lived in or near Whitehall Township. Jacob Woodring, joiner, appears on the tax returns for that area in 1789 and as Jacob Wotring in 1803; the 14-year gap between citations may indicate two different people.¹⁶ The joiner Samuel Wudring paid taxes in Salisbury Township in 1796; he could have been Peter's brother.¹⁷ Samuel Woodring/Wotring [Junior] appeared as a joiner in Whitehall Township in 1800, 1803, and 1804, and may have been Peter's cousin.¹⁸ The exact relationship of these other Woodrings to Peter, both in terms of kinship and occupation, remains uncertain. Perhaps Peter served his apprenticeship with Jacob; the others were Peter's peers.

Peter Wotring kept irregular account of his work activities from 1799 through at least 1814. The latest entry in his book is dated 1831, but there is some question about its authenticity. The bulk of Wotring's recorded work took place between 1799 and 1809, and therefore my analysis focuses on that time period.

Peter Wotring performed a variety of services for over sixty different people during that decade. His activities can be divided into three broad categories: carpentry, furniture production and repair, and
farm labor for hire. Wotring measured his work in two ways: he recorded carpentry and farm work according to the number of days, while registering furniture production by the number of objects. These two approaches are conceptually different; the former measures work in units of time (time-orientation), while the latter presents work holistically and measures jobs accomplished (task-orientation). Task-oriented work characterizes pre-industrial societies, where daily routines revolve around the daylight hours, weather patterns, and other natural cycles. Task-orientation focuses more on the overall project or product than the time (and, therefore, labor) invested in work. Time-orientation, on the other hand, typifies industrial societies, which, having overcome the restrictions imposed by nature, place a premium value on the mechanically calculated unit of time.

Society inculcated in Peter Wotring a sense of work that was neither wholly a reaction to the natural order of things nor an artificial imposition. The culture itself existed at a level somewhere between peasant and industrial status, and thus embraced approaches to work not entirely characteristic of either extreme. The pattern of daily life in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century rural Pennsylvania was deeply affected by crop schedules, care of livestock, preserving food, and a variety of other activities which depended directly on the progression of natural cycles. Mowing, raking, and binding grain; cutting saplings; and splitting wood, all activities for which Peter Wotring hired himself out, responded to such cycles, and as such were task-oriented. At the same time, Wotring was aware of time in the abstract,
and its value when spent in labor, and consequently he recorded his farm work for hire in units of days. Wotring's approach to farm labor was simultaneously task- and time-oriented.

Furniture production, on the other hand, was task-oriented on two levels: first, it was performed almost exclusively in the winter and spring months, an accommodation to seasonal cycles; and second, it was approached holistically, rather than as a sum of its component parts. The important distinction here between field work and furniture production is that the former provides a service and the latter provides a product. Rendering a service encourages time-orientation because the total amount of time/work required is often highly variable, depending on the particular circumstances of each case, and is therefore difficult to predict. It becomes necessary, therefore, to count the units of time needed to complete the service. Providing a product, however, more often induces task-orientation because the circumstances are more easily controlled and usually more regular, and therefore the time involved is more accurately predictable.

Because Wotring recorded his work as a carpenter and field hand in units of days, and his joinery in units of finished pieces of furniture, an evaluation of the time he spent engaged in these activities is necessarily impressionistic. Farm work and carpentry can be compared with each other, but Wotring's task-oriented activities must be evaluated separately.

In every year between 1798/99 and 1807/08 Wotring devoted more time to carpentry than to farm work (table 2.1). AAGR Agricultural labor

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Farm Work</th>
<th>Carpentry</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1799</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1799/1800</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800/1801</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801/1802</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802/1803</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1803/1804</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1804/1805</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1805/1806</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1806/1807</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1807/1808</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1808/1809</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Total may not equal sum of parts, due to rounding and/or entries which do not specify type of work, and are therefore included in the total only.

Source: Wotring Account Book
never consumed more than 7% of his potential work time, and it usually amounted to less than half that much. Carpentry kept him much busier; in all but one year between 1798/99 and 1804/05 he spent one-quarter to one-half his potential work time at that trade. His apparently poor performance in 1799/1800 may be misleading. Wotring made his first purchase of land in April 1800, acquiring 17 acres and 61 perches from Abraham and Anna Margaretha Kieffer. Wotring may have spent much of the remaining year building a house for himself, and such work would not have been recorded in his account book. Illness or some other unexpected difficulty could also explain his low volume of work. Together, carpentry and farm work comprised about one-third to one-half of Wotring's total potential work time during his peak woodworking years (1798/99 to 1805/06).

What can be said about the remaining one-half to two-thirds of potential work time? Furniture-making and related tasks certainly accounted for some of this, but exactly how much is impossible to say (table 2.2). The total amount of revenue Wotring reaped from his task-oriented production can be calculated, but the proportion of material and labor costs can only be speculated. Wotring's production can, however, be divided by type into four component parts, and also the magnitude of the yearly revenue relative to the other years can be compared with the amount of potential work time spent in day labor.

Household furniture, non-household furniture, windows, and repair work constituted the four types of task-oriented production in which Wotring engaged. In those years when Wotring received moderate
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Household Furniture</th>
<th>Non-household Furniture</th>
<th>Windows</th>
<th>Repairs</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1799</td>
<td>£ 1: 0: 8</td>
<td>£ ---</td>
<td>£ ---</td>
<td>£ ---</td>
<td>£ 1: 0: 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1799/1800</td>
<td>10:16: 0</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>10:16: 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800/1801</td>
<td>1:06: 0</td>
<td>2:06:06</td>
<td>1:15:10</td>
<td>0:02: 0</td>
<td>5:10:04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801/1802</td>
<td>10:15:03</td>
<td>4:17:06</td>
<td>1:07:06</td>
<td>0:03:09</td>
<td>17:04: 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802/1803</td>
<td>12:15:04</td>
<td>1:15:06</td>
<td>0:12: 0</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>15:02:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1803/1804</td>
<td>19:17:03</td>
<td>3:05:08</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>23:02:11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1804/1805</td>
<td>1:12:08</td>
<td>4:12:10</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>6:05:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1805/1806</td>
<td>12:05: 0</td>
<td>4:17:06</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2:05:06</td>
<td>19:07:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1806/1807</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>0: 0: 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1807/1808</td>
<td>2:05: 0</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2:05: 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1808/1809</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2:05: 0</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2:05: 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Wotring Account Book
to high amounts of income from such sources (≥ 10/0/0 or more), most of it derived from household furniture. Three of those years coincided with low figures for time spent at carpentry and field work, for which he needed to compensate. Wotring sold more non-household furniture than household furniture in three of the ten years, but in each case the total amount of production-based income for the year was low (less than 7/0/0). During his peak period of woodworking activity non-household furniture never exceeded a value of 5/0/0 for one year, while household furniture reached a level below 10/0/0 only three times. Repair work and window production (for which Wotring charged by the light) provided minimal income.

Although the proportions of Wotring's labor and material costs for making furniture remain a mystery, an undated entry to the account of Jahanes [sic] Keck may provide a clue. Reading "6 dag am schanck/1 mehr geschaft / 10 dag und 1 halben" [6 days on the cupboard, worked 1 more, 10 and 1 half days], it is the only link in the account book between time and product. Unfortunately, Wotring did not indicate a value for this cupboard or for his time. With the information on prices he charged for four other cupboards, however, and knowledge of the various daily wages he earned doing carpentry and farm labor, the breakdown of material and labor costs involved in producing a cupboard may be conjectured.

Wotring seems to have required 17 and a half days to produce the cupboard for Keck. He certainly worked six days on it, and the additional 11 and a half days listed in the account entry probably also
refer to it. Though Wotring nowhere indicates a daily wage for building furniture, his wages for carpentry and farm labor ranged from £ 0/3/0 to approximately £ 0/4/7 per day. Assuming 17 and a half days as the production time and a mean daily wage of £ 0/3/11, the labor involved would be worth £ 3/8/7. This figure obviously cannot be applied to the cupboard Wotring sold for £ 2/12/6, since the labor alone exceeds the total value of the finished piece. It is possible, however, that labor amounting to approximately £ 3/8/7 went into the construction of a cupboard valued at either £ 4/10/0 or £ 6/0/0, the prices Wotring charged for his other cupboards. Since Wotring made two at the former price and only one at the latter, the figure of £ 4/10/0 seems the more likely candidate for application (though the sample is admittedly small). If this can be assumed, the production breakdown would be as follows:

PRODUCTION COSTS FOR CUPBOARD

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Labor</strong></td>
<td>£ 3/8/7</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Materials</strong></td>
<td>£ 1/1/5</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Finished price</strong></td>
<td>£ 4/10/0</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Labor could plausibly have amounted to three times the cost of materials for a finished cupboard. Joinery was a labor-intensive craft, and Wotring probably used very inexpensive materials. Though he gives no indication of the type(s) of wood he worked with, it is likely that he made heavy use of pine and/or tulip poplar, both indigenous to the area and favored by rural German joiners. The cost of hardware and finish probably accounted for a minimal portion of all materials.
Peter Wotring never actually charged the mean daily rate of £ 0/3/11, and thus the above breakdown of production costs is, at best, a conjectural approximation. I have suggested that these figures appear most applicable to the cupboards Wotring sold for £ 4/10/0. What, then, of the two others he made? The less expensive of the two sold for £ 2/12/6, and could not have been produced at the rate of £ 0/3/11 per day. The lowest daily wage recorded in Wotring's book is £ 0/3/0, and multiplied by 17 and a half days the sum of £ 2/12/6 results. This figure, however, excludes the cost of materials. Did Georg Remelin, for whom the cupboard was made, provide the wood and hardware himself, and employ Wotring solely for his labor? Was this cupboard of a different type, requiring fewer production days (because the object was smaller or less elaborate)? Cheaper materials, an even lower rate of pay, or both of these factors could account for the lower cost. Reversing these suggestions could explain the greater cost of the £ 6/0/0 cupboard; in fact, the 33% higher value could alone reflect the difference between the cost of softwood and hardwood.

Peter Wotring made more furniture and did more carpentry between 1799 and 1805/06 than at any other time. The first two years and the last year of this period were least productive, and the reasons can only be speculated. In 1799 (June through November) carpentry occupied one-quarter of Wotring's potential work time, and he sold furniture worth £ 1/0/8. Adding farm employment to his work with wood, no more than one-third of all Wotring's available work time can be accounted for. Since he was living with his parents, it is probable that he was required to help them in return for their continued support. Unrecorded farm or
maintenance work for his parents could easily have brought his total work time up to a level with later peak years. The year 1799/1800 might be explained the same way, but the large decrease in documented work time, although offset in some measure by the increase in furniture production, suggests an additional factor.

Wotring's time spent in woodworking shot upwards in 1800/01 and remained at a relatively high level through 1804/05, although the proportion of carpentry and joinery fluctuated. In 1805/06 income from joinery reached its second-highest level, but the amount of carpentry plummeted, bringing down the sum of work time accounted for. The following year furniture revenue dropped to nothing and carpentry again sank drastically, leaving 97% of Wotring's potential work time unaccounted for. Between that time and the last year being evaluated the situation did not change significantly.

In no single year throughout the decade-long period under study could the sum of Wotring's farm work for hire, carpentry, and furniture-making have accounted for more than three-quarters of his potential work time. During his peak woodworking years these activities usually consumed one-third to two-thirds of available work time. The number of days for which Wotring did not account grew in direct proportion to the decrease in his woodworking activity.

How did Wotring spend the time not recorded in his book? Was it spent in recreation, or yet some other support activity, such as farming his own land? To the latter question, the answer is probably both. From 1799 through 1800 it is doubtful that Wotring could have
survived solely on the income from his recorded work. Complete self-support was unnecessary, anyway, since he still resided with his parents. He may have been expected to help offset the burden on them by helping his father farm, but his actual expenses were probably minimal. Work on the family farm, and hunting, too, probably supplemented his recorded activity. If he remained with his parents, he could have lived comfortably until 1803/04; with his marriage, however, in the latter year, and possibly expenses for setting up a household independent of his parents, it seems unlikely that his recorded income would have been sufficient. He certainly practiced subsistence farming after 1806, and may have as early as 1800.

The total amount of time Wotring spent each year at work can not be determined on the basis of the available information. Almost certainly, however, recreation or inactivity played some role in his life. Sundays aside, market days, holidays, and "Saint Monday" may have consumed significant portions of Wotring's schedule. Leisure time could also result from a low volume of business.

The tax return for 1805 is the last that terms our Peter Wotring a joiner. The following year (for which no complete-tax return exists) he made no furniture and hired himself out for a total of 9 and three-quarters days. In December 1806 Wotring purchased at least 31 acres of land, bringing his total acreage to a minimum of 48, and possibly much more. In 1807 he was designated a farmer on the tax roster, and the next year he first recorded the sale of farm stuffs. He sold 146 bushels of lime, 2 pigs, a quarter of veal, a calfskin, two bushels of oats, and
wool for a total more than £ 8/0/5. Wotring’s records show the sale of similar products in 1809 and 1810, but in reduced quantity. At the time of the federal census in 1820 three people connected with his household were engaged in agriculture.

Peter Wotring died in 1833 at the age of 57, a yeoman according to the appraisers of his estate (Appendix B). The most applicable definition of "yeoman" in The Oxford English Dictionary is "a man holding a small landed estate; a freeholder under the rank of a gentleman; hence vaguely, a commoner or countryman of respectable standing, esp. one who cultivates his own land." Wotring matches this description, and though the trappings associated with his social position probably differed from those of English counterparts, the differences were assuredly cultural—not financial—in nature. At the time of his death Wotring was comfortably well-off, possessing a net worth of $1,388.07.

Analysis of Wotring's probate inventory confirms that management of his agricultural operations was his primary activity. Farm tools, animals, grain and seeds, and agricultural products represented one-quarter of the assessed value of his estate; only investments totaled more. Farming must have provided him with the capital for purchasing bonds, which, with the interest they had accrued, amounted to 62% of his assets. By comparison, Wotring's woodworking tools and supplies, valued at $16.60, constituted less than 1% of his estate.

Peter Wotring's net worth at the time of his death vastly exceeded the assets of three known neighboring woodworkers whose probate inventories survive. Two of these men apparently continued as woodworkers
until their deaths, while the third abandoned the trade to become an "Innholder". Inconsistencies and omissions on the part of the appraisers prohibit detailed analysis and comparison of the four woodworkers' estates, but broad observations can be reported. None of the three neighbors' estates amounted to more than half of the value of Wotring's. Two of them, however, listed household furnishings worth only slightly less than Wotring's. The two men who apparently remained woodworkers all their lives possessed substantially greater quantities of the tools and supplies of their trade than either Wotring or the joiner-turned-innholder. The formers' tools and supplies were appraised at $115.12½ and $262.00 respectively, or 64% and 73% of the estates' assets. The innholder and yeoman, however, owned $19.77 and $16.60 worth of woodworking tools and supplies, constituting 4% and 1% of their respective estates.

Peter Wotring's occupational history followed a course from woodworker to farmer to yeoman. His peak woodworking phase came early in life and lasted only about five years; even during that period he did some farming. For a scholar studying Wotring's life two centuries after the fact it is difficult to know why he abandoned work with wood. Perhaps after marrying he found it difficult to support himself, a wife, and children adequately by building and repairing houses and furniture. Poor workmanship on Wotring's part or his neighbors' empty purses may have created minimal demand for his skills.

Lack of competence as a craftsman or the existence of a limited local market may have contributed to Wotring's career switch. The
prospect of a more promising future through farming is another, more positive suggestion. Farming may have offered Wotring greater opportunity to amass wealth and advance socially. Even if he were not driven to climb the proverbial social ladder, farming had the appeal of providing a measure of independence, control, and security not possible as a tradesman. Cultural conditioning surely influenced Wotring's decision; in Whitehall Township farming was the way of life. For Peter Wotring, it became his way of life, too, and he was well rewarded in his choice.
NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1"Wotring" has the variant spellings Wodring, Wootring, and Woodring. For the middle and surnames I have chosen the spelling which occurs in the subject’s signature; the first name appears here as on his gravestone.

2German males named Johann often adopted their middle name. This practice and the use of the same given name for several family members often frustrates identification of an individual.


5Bell and Granquist, pp. 7, 8, 11.


7Whitehall Township tax returns (henceforth WT returns) for 1796-1801, MSS, File 411, Folder 49, NCA. The existence of two taxables in Whitehall Township by the name of Peter Wotring makes identification of the woodworker problematic. The two first appear simultaneously in 1800, and again from 1802 to 1808. Distinction is further blurred by apparent confusion on the part of the tax collector. The man described in the 1802 and 1803 returns as "housecarpenter" and "joiner," and owner of 17 acres of land, must have authored the account book; he is the only Peter Wotring with a woodworking trade. Reinforcing his identity is a deed of April 25, 1800 from Abraham and Anna Margaretha Kieffer to "Peter Wodring, Joyner" for a tract of land containing 17 acres and 61 perches (Docket 15, p. 710, Register of Deeds, LCCH). Confusion stems, however, from the assessor's notation "son of Nicholas"
next to the name of the landless and tradeless Peter Wotring on the 1803 return. Our Peter Wotring, the woodworker, was the son of Nicholas; hence the assessor must have erred. In 1804 our man was called "shreiner/joiner," with the notation "Son of Nickel is mariat," but in 1805 identification is again clouded. That year's tax records show the joiner as married and landless, while a single innkeeper with the same name owned two tracts of land, of which one amounted to 17 acres. No surviving records show that our Wotring sold the 17 acres he bought in 1800; it is therefore a mystery why the joiner was not assessed for land in 1805. An unitemized 1807 tax roster calls the only married Peter Wotring a "farmer," and his assessment for $2.29 reflects land ownership. In 1806 he had purchased more than 31 acres from Daniel and Magdalena Scheirer (reference to this transaction appears in two later sales made by Wotring and recorded in dockets 6, p. 321 and 7, p. 476, Register of Deeds, LCCH). The two Peter Wotrings can not be distinguished in the 1808 return, as both were married and occupations were omitted.


9 WT returns for 1802, 1804, 1805, 1807; MSS; File 411, Folder 49; NCA.

10 Bell and Granquist, p. 12; WT return for 1804, MS, File 411, Folder 49, NCA.

11 A.S. Leiby [ed.], "Church Record of the Schlosser's or Union Reformed Church, Unionville, Penna., North Whitehall Township, Lehigh County, 1765-1846," typewritten MS, n.d., LCHS, pp. 66, 68, 72, 74, 77, 81, 84, 85; Charles Rhoads Roberts, "Records of Egypt Reformed Church, Lehigh County, 1734-1834," Pennsylvania Archives, Sixth series 6 (Harrisburg: Harrisburg Publishing Co., 1906), pp. 85, 90, 94.

12 The only Peter Wotring listed in Whitehall Township in the 1810 census headed a household with one free white male between the ages of 16 and 26, and one free white female over 45 (Population Schedules of the Third Census of the United States, 1810 [Washington: National Archives, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1959], Microcopy No. 252, Roll 51, p. 69). According to the Woodring family genealogy, in 1810 Peter Wotring the woodworker was 34 years old, his wife was 21, and their three children were aged 4, 2, and 1 (Bell and Granquist, p. 12). The man who appears in the census must therefore be a different Peter Wotring.

Bell and Granquist, p. 12.


WT returns for 1789 and 1803, MSS, File 411, Folders 48 and 49, NCA.

Salisbury Township tax return (henceforth ST return) for 1796, MS, File 408, Folder 38, NCA. Peter's brother Samuel would have been 24 years old in 1796. Although he later moved to Crawford County, Pennsylvania (Bell and Granquist, pp. 11-12), he had not left by June 1803, when Peter lent him $20.00 (Peter Wotring Account Book, uncatalogued MS, LCHS. The account book is written in German script).

WT returns for 1800, 1803, 1804; MSS; File 411, Folder 49; NCA. Peter's cousin Samuel was born December 27, 1780 in Whitehall Township and died in Centre County, Pennsylvania in 1857 (Bell and Granquist, p. 11).

For a brilliant and lucid examination of these concepts and their historical development, see E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," Past and Present, No. 38 (December 1967), 56-97.

A seasonal rather than a calendar year, from December to November, has been adopted for the purposes of this analysis.

Potential work time is defined as the total number of days per year (365) less 52 Sundays, equaling 313 days per year.

Docket 15, p. 70, Register of Deeds, LCCH.

Household furniture includes the following forms: bedsteads, cupboards, benches, chests, tables, dough boxes, bed testers, salt boxes, chests of drawers, boxes, frames/stands [gesteller], weaving implements (shafts, warp frames, table cloth boards). Non-household furniture includes straw benches and coffins.

Schanck is a Pennsylvania German dialect word meaning "cupboard" or "wardrobe." When modified, its meaning takes on greater specificity. For example, a Kichen schanck is a kitchen cupboard, and an Eckschanck is a corner cupboard. Wotring used the word Schanck without modification.
The rate of £ 0/4/7 per day is based on my calculations where the number of days worked and the amount of money received are given.

An admittedly imprecise indication of Wotring's total work time has been calculated by adding the number of days worked at agricultural labor and carpentry to an approximate maximum figure for the number of days per year making furniture. The latter figure is reached by taking 75% of the total annual furniture-based income and dividing the result by the mean daily wage of £ 0/3/11. I reason that labor could not have constituted more than 75% of the cost of an item of furniture; thus the figure is an approximate maximum.

I base my judgement of what constitutes a support-level income on figures computed by Billy G. Smith in "'The Best Poor Man's Country': Living Standards of the 'Lower Sort' in Late Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," Working Papers from the Regional Economic History Research Center 2, No. 4 (1979), 1-70. I have adjusted his calculation of the cost of survival (food, rent, firewood, and clothing) for a family of four in Philadelphia in 1762 to Peter Wotring's situation in about 1800. After determining the cost of food, firewood, and clothing (omitting rent) for a single male in Philadelphia in 1800, I adjusted this base budget figure down 145%, the difference between day wages for journeyman cordwainers in Philadelphia and the mean daily wage calculated for Wotring. The resulting base budget, admittedly a gross approximation, was £ 22.70, which Wotring could earn by working 121 days, or 39% of his potential work time.

Thompson explores the irregularity of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century work schedules.

Wotring Account Book.

Population Schedules of the Fourth Census, 1820, p. 136. Four servants or employees are named in Wotring's account book: Fronie Schneiter, Hanna Darin, Sussana Fenstermacher, and Fielieb [Philip] Drunin. The three women are each mentioned only once--Schneiter in an entry dated September 1, 1813; Darin on March 26, 1809; and Fenstermacher on November 15, 1814. Drunin's name, however, appears in nine separate entries between April 26, 1805 and April 15, 1807. During that period he performed carpentry work for Wotring either as a hired assistant or an apprentice. Whether Drunin or any of the women were still part of Wotring's household and doing farm work in 1820 is unknown.

Probate inventory 1158, MS, Register of Wills, LCCH.
"Yeoman," OED (1933).

His assets totaled $3,064.26 and his liabilities amounted to $2,615.19. I have calculated his net worth by adding to the balance of $499.07 a bond valued at $939.00 which had not been received by the accountants at the time when they settled his estate.

Probate inventory 1158, MS, Register of Wills, LCCH.

The three neighbors were: 1. Philip Roth, Salisbury Township, estate appraised May 17, 1828 (Probate inventory 825, MS, Register of Wills, LCCH); 2. Henry Mickley, South Whitehall Township, estate appraised August 6, 1827 (Probate inventory 764, MS, Register of Wills, LCCH); 3. Adam Reep, Borough of Northampton, estate appraised January 2, 1833 (Probate inventory 1152, MS, Register of Wills, LCCH).

Household furnishings include primarily furniture, stoves, cooking and eating implements, clothing and other fabric items, and books.

Forty-two percent of the people recorded in Wotring's account book did business with him only once. (Not all these transactions involved woodworking.)
CHAPTER THREE: ARTIFACTUAL EVIDENCE FROM SALISBURY TOWNSHIP

Very little is known about eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century furniture produced in the Allentown area. Two major factors have contributed to this condition: first, a fire which destroyed many of the town's oldest structures in 1848 also turned many pieces of furniture to ashes. Second, and even more significant than the conflagration, has been an absence of scholarly research. Consequently, this study has involved three challenging tasks: to flush out furniture of possible local origin, to separate fact from fiction where traditions exist, and to find significance in the data collected.

One intriguing assemblage of painted furniture to emerge during the course of this study consists of eight decorated chests (kisten) and a single massive clothes press (schanck). United by surface ornamentation, at least four of the chests and the press also share similar or identical techniques of construction. All but one of the nine objects bear a name or set of initials and a date between 1783 and 1797. Salisbury Township played a formative role in the creation of at least seven of them.

The press (fig. 1), now privately owned, is a unique form in the group. Decorated with patterned blue and red paint, it is emblazoned with the inscription "Jacob 17 92 Bieber" on the frieze beneath the
complex molded cornice. The two-door framed façade incorporates alternating rows of raised square and oblong panels, and the base section contains two readily accessible and two hidden drawers. Replaced turned ball feet elevate the object several inches above the floor. The carcass is constructed primarily of tulip poplar (*Liriodendron tulipifera*) and some white pine (*Pinus strobus*), the woods also used for all the related chests. Like many other clothes presses, this one was made to be easily disassembled for moving. Large wooden wedges, which keep crucial joints tight through friction, can be removed with one or two blows of a mallet.

Jacob Bieber, the first owner of the press, lived out the later years of his life in Salisbury Township. Born in Europe on December 24, 1731, he arrived in Philadelphia with his father in 1744. Shortly thereafter, father and son settled in Oley Township, Berks County, and in 1758 Jacob married Christina Steinbrenner. Ten children were born to the couple in Oley, and around 1786 the parents (presumably with their dependent children) moved to Salisbury Township. Jacob purchased 460 acres of land there from Francis Rhoads for the sum of £2,300. He died on October 16, 1798, followed about twenty years later by his wife. Both were buried at the Western Salisbury Jerusalem Lutheran and Reformed Church.

Jacob Bieber was a wealthy man at the time of his death. He left £3,500 to his wife and six of his children; three of his other progeny had already received their share of his estate, and the fourth had inherited land. Included in the household contents also left to
the widow was "Ein schanck mit allem gescher . . . l 9/0/0" [A press with all its contents]. Although the appraised value of this press included its contents, the press itself must have been costly. With its contents, it was worth l 1/0/0 more than Bieber's clock; clocks were normally one of the most expensive items listed in probate inventories. In fact, only one piece of Bieber's furniture rated a higher appraisal than the complete press; a bed with bedding and curtains was valued at l 12/0/0. The clothes press pictured in figure 1 is almost certainly the one left to Christina Steinbrenner Bieber.

When Christina Bieber died around 1818, the press bearing her husband's name probably descended to one of her children in the Oley Valley. In 1909 it was in the ownership of John Bieber of "Oley Line," and was reputed to have been made by a Jacob Bieber of Oley. The current owners bought it in the southeastern United States.

For identification purposes, the single most important feature common to the Jacob Bieber press and the related chests are the drawers. The five objects examined by the author and attributed to Salisbury Township all have drawers with identical designs of patterned paint (fig. 1a). Even more important than their visual unity, however, is their structural singularity. A craftsman might change the design and outward appearance of an object to suit different aesthetic demands, but he had little reason to discard the hidden methods of construction in which he was trained. A drawer front always remains visible, whether the drawer is open or shut, and it is therefore subject to a variety of surface treatments. But the sides, back, and bottom, and the way they

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
are put together, do not impinge on the appearance of the whole. Joiners were consistent in their methods of building drawers.

This principle is an extremely valuable tool in identifying the furniture of a particular region, or even a specific maker. The Bieber press and the chests made for Michael Finck, Maria Keller, Maria Griesmer, and "MGP" all have drawers assembled in the same idiosyncratic way, strongly suggesting the hand of a single craftsman (figs. 5b and 5c). Wedged dovetails joining the sides to front and back are common in German furniture, but the way in which the bottoms are secured is distinctly not in the German tradition of flat boards butted under the sides and back and held in place with wooden pins (fig. 2). Rather, they are put together by a method resembling the common English manner, with bevelled edges which fit into grooves cut in the sides and front (fig. 3). The distinctive feature here is in the way the back is formed; it appears to be an adaptation of the English model. English cabinetmakers constructed backs less high than the sides, and after joining the sides, back, and front, they slid the bottom into place and nailed it to the bottom edge of the back. But the creator of the Bieber press made the back as high as the sides, and cut a groove in it for the bottom (fig. 5b shows this groove clearly). It therefore was necessary to put the bottom in at the same time that the rest of the drawer was assembled—a tricky operation requiring more labor and dexterity than either the conventional English or German method.

Strong visual similarities exist between the Bieber press and a chest made in the same year for Machtdalena Leabelsperger (fig. 4).
Painted on each of the chest's drawer fronts, exactly as on the Bieber-press, is a narrow center panel with white quarter-round designs in all corners, surrounded by a contrasting painted border. The execution of the inscribed letters and numbers, too, is identical. Close scrutiny also reveals flowers of different size but similar character and six-pointed stars on both objects.

Machtdalena Leabelsperger was born on November 25, 1772, in Weisenberg Township, at the western edge of present-day Lehigh County. She married John Kemmerer, a farmer living in Salisbury Township, perhaps around 1792. She died April 14, 1844 and was buried at the Western Salisbury Jerusalem Lutheran and Reformed Church.

The Leabelsperger chest is united with its comrades by a consistent design formula. Decoration ranges from sparse and simple to lavish and sophisticated, but in all cases the underlying design concept is the same. The front surface of each chest is divided visually into three parts: a narrow center panel, design, or void; and two flanking panels each containing a large, boldly stylized heart. Surrounding these three sections on at least five of the chests are one or more borders with inscriptions, small hearts, interlocking semi-circles, flowers, roundels and other geometric configurations, or simply expanses of swirled paint.

The decorator made extensive use of a compass to achieve geometric regularity and rigid control in his designs. Compass points and lines incised in the wood in the process of outlining shapes are still
clearly visible (fig. 5a). Most of these designs are the product of what David Pye calls the workmanship of certainty. The craftsman—in this case the decorator—left as little to chance as possible. He employed reliable aids to help him control his work and achieve the same results over and over. Individual motifs might be consciously omitted, altered, or rearranged—in accordance with the customer's preference and ability to pay—but the decorator continued to use and depend on production aids. Only the freely-painted flowers conform to Pye's other category: the workmanship of risk. The decorator used no compass, stencil, or pattern to execute the flowers; each tulip and carnation was created with the unaided hand and eye. A high degree of hand-eye coordination and control was required to produce uniform designs, and so the risk of achieving unequal results was high, too.¹²

The earliest of the chests identified in this group was made in 1783 for "MGP" (fig. 5). The name behind the initials is unknown, and the chest's provenance has been lost. Stylistic and structural features, however, indicate that it was made in Salisbury Township. The idiosyncratic drawer construction found in the Bieber clothes press and the design concept on the Leabelsperger chest are repeated here. Only fractional differences exist between the overall dimensions of the two chests; these probably result from different rates of change in the wood's expansion and contraction, or different amounts of wear and tear over the years. The moldings, feet pattern, drawer arrangement, and even the iron escutcheons on the two objects are identical.
The more austere appearance of the early chest probably represents the choice of a cost-conscious customer; the painter's native abilities were not the determining factor. Expensive "extras"—"wheels" in each lobe of the large hearts, pilasters defining the panels and adorned with free-hand decorated flowers, gothic-style lettering, and an ornate custom-designed center panel—were either omitted or replaced with simpler, cheaper alternatives. The size of the two prominent hearts was probably increased to fill the extra space created by the omission of pilasters. Like the painted decoration, the choice of a combination escutcheon and drawer pull rather than two separate pulls and an escutcheon was probably meant to cut the cost.

The similarity of a chest made for Maria Keller in 1784 (fig. 6) to "MGP's" is unmistakeable. The design formula, techniques of construction, and dimensions confirm their common creator. A curious feature of the Keller chest, however, is the presence of a large heart on only one of the two end panels. Could the omission be an oversight, albeit a major one?

No provenance exists for the Keller chest, and the identity of its original owner can only be speculated upon. The records of the Western Salisbury Jerusalem Lutheran and Reformed Church document the birth of Maria Magdalena Koehler in July 1784 and her baptism on August 8, 1794, the same year in which the chest was inscribed. Of her subsequent life nothing is known.

Just as sophisticated as Machtdalena Leabelsperger's chest is one made for Michael Finck in 1789 (fig. 7). It is loaded with "extras,"
including intricate interlocking arcs and a classically inspired visual niche defined by rusticated columns supporting a keystoned arch. The addition of a third drawer, besides reinforcing the essentially tripartite panel above, added significantly to the labor costs.

Typically German construction techniques were used to assemble the Finck chest. The four-board box section is dovetailed together at each corner, and a small wooden wedge was driven into the center of each dovetail pin, spreading it and thereby tightening the joint. The flat plank top has strips of molding applied to the front and side edges. Like the moldings above and below the drawers, the shaped strip on the front of the lid is attached with large, irregularly spaced wooden pegs which are ovoid in cross section (fig. 5d). Holding the side strips in place, however, are two tenons extending from each end of the top through the strips, and tightened with wedges. The drawers, constructed as on the Bieber press, are divided by muntins which are dovetailed into the upper rail (and, presumably, the lower rail, which is hidden by the base molding).

The original owner of the Michael Finck chest has not been conclusively identified. There is a strong possibility, however, that he was the son of Michael Finck, weaver, who died in Salisbury Township in 1773. Finck's son Michael, mentioned in his will, was not yet twenty-one. The elder Finck was apparently a member of the Jerusalem Lutheran and Reformed Church in Western Salisbury Township. A Michael Finck, "yeoman," died in Salisbury Township in 1826, but his relationship to
the weaver with the same name is unknown. An inventory of his possessions listed only one chest, valued at $.75.

The latest dated chest under discussion was made in 1797 for Maria Griesmer (fig. 8). It possesses striking decorative and structural similarities to the others. The letters in her name were painted in precisely the same style and manner as Machtdalena Leabelsperger's. The articulation of the numerals in the date matches that on the chest for "MGP." Significantly, the drawer construction and the chest's overall dimensions fit the established pattern. Only the ogee bracket feet appear to be structurally unique; all of the other chests discussed so far rest on straight brackets dovetailed together. The selection of shaped rather than flat bracket feet was probably the customer's, reflecting his or her personal preference and willingness to pay extra.

Although the physical evidence suggests that Maria Griesmer’s chest originated in Salisbury Township, tradition contradicts this. Instead, a craftsman in the Oley Valley is thought to have built it. The first owner is said to have been Maria Griesmer Bertolet (1781-1863), a resident of Oley and great-great grandmother of the current owner.

After the progenitor of the Griesmer line arrived from Europe in Philadelphia in 1730, branches of the family settled in the Oley area and in southern Whitehall Township, not far from Salisbury. Griesmer girls by the name of Maria lived in both areas contemporaneously. John Griesmer (circa 1747-1818), a member of the Whitehall branch, sired
a daughter Anna Maria, born in 1774.\textsuperscript{20} When the chest was made in 1797, she was 23 years old.

The facade of a chest made for Elisabeth Guldin (1789: fig. 9) exhibits already familiar features: two large compass-work hearts with a "wheel" in each lobe, bands of interlocking arcs, and panels painted with quarter-round designs in the corners. Its conspicuous similarity to the chests discussed above, however, belies subtle differences in construction and the articulation of design elements. Traditionally associated with the Oley Valley, Berks County, this chest's relationship to the others is enigmatic.

Guldin's chest was made in the same year as Michael Finck's, and shows a strong resemblance to it. The absence of a classical archway and pilasters does not arouse concern, but certain other inconsistencies are cause for contemplation. No small hearts cover the dovetailed corners where the sides and front meet. The limp articulation of the inscribed name and date presents a marked contrast to the bold calligraphy of the other objects under consideration; the Guldin chest appears to have been painted by a less steady hand. A different hand also produced the stemmed flowers at the corners and in the center panel; they are, by comparison, clumsy. Leaves emerge from both sides of stems at the same place, rather than alternating left and right. Guldin's three-petal tulips are crude compared with Finck's and Leabelsperger's five-petal specimens.
Although the decorative treatment of the drawer fronts varies slightly from the established norm, the methods of drawer construction are consistent with the other pieces of furniture. The lid of the Guldin chest, however, is structurally distinct. Its molded battens are held by a tongue-and-groove joint secured with ovoid-shaped wooden pins, instead of fitting over two through-tenons cut on each end of the top board. The overall dimensions of the chest, too, estrange it from the Finck, Leabelsperger, "MGP", Keller, and Griesmer chests.

Added to the physical and visual peculiarities of the Guldin chest is a tradition of ownership in the Oley Valley in Berks County. Elisabeth Guldin, according to the tradition, was born in 1773 and died in 1848. She married John B. Hoch of Pikesville (Oley Township, Berks County), Pennsylvania. Nothing more has been learned of her identity.

Complicating the already tangled mass of data is the fact that the Guldin and Griesmer families were intermarried. Maria Griesmer Bertolet's aunt, Elizabeth Griesmer (born circa 1755), married a George Guldin. Their relationship, if any, to the Guldin chest's owner is unknown.

Until the histories of the Guldin and Griesmer chests can be documented—or at least convincingly argued—we can only hypothesize about their relationship to Salisbury Township. Were they made there and subsequently taken to the Oley area? Were they made in Oley by craftsmen who moved from Salisbury Township? Was one made in Oley and
the other in Salisbury Township? Did an apprentice carry his master's methods from one place to the other?

The question of who made this furniture must also be posed. The responsible joiner must have been present in Salisbury Township from at least 1789, when he made the chest for Michael Finck, to 1792, when he built furniture for Jacob Bieber and Machtdalena Leabelsperger. If the chests for "MGP" and Maria Griesmer also originated in Salisbury Township, he had to reside there from at least 1783 through 1797. Five woodworkers, including one father and son, appear to be likely candidates.

Johannes (John) Bieber (1763-1825), a son of Jacob (1731-1798), appeared on the 1788 and 1789 tax lists for Salisbury Township as a joiner. Tax records do not reflect his presence in the township before 1788, although they first mention his father in 1786. After 1789 Johannes was no longer called a joiner, but he remained in the township through at least 1808. From at least 1789 to 1799 Johannes attended the Western Salisbury Jerusalem Lutheran and Reformed Church, where three of his children were baptized. Machtdalena Leabelsperger was buried in that church's cemetery. Johannes Bieber must have left Salisbury Township sometime after 1808 and before 1825, when he died in Wayne Township, Butler County, Ohio. Did Johannes make the "MGP" and Keller chests in the Oley Valley before moving to Salisbury Township? Did he continue to build furniture after 1789?

The date and place of Christophel (also called Stoffel) Eschbach's birth are unknown. In 1767 he first paid taxes as a joiner in
Salisbury Township, where he lived until his death in 1796. He continued to work as a joiner until at least 1788, and probably longer. At his death he possessed a saw mill, which, with outbuildings, was valued at £ 600/0/0.25

Christophel Eschbach died one year before the Maria Griesmer chest was made. His son George, however, continued to live in Salisbury Township, first appearing in the tax records as a joiner in 1799. He remained present in the township at least through 1808.26 If George learned the craft of furniture-building from his father—a likely possibility—both father and son must have been capable of producing the same sort of furniture. George could have continued his father's business, and therefore may have made Maria Griesmer's chest in 1797.

Heinrich (Henry) Kemmerrer (1740-1801) was brought to America as an infant around 1742.27 His parents settled in Upper Milford Township, now in Lehigh County, and in 1770 Heinrich purchased 150 acres of land in Salisbury Township. He lived there until his death in 1801 and was buried at the Western Salisbury Jerusalem Lutheran and Reformed Church. Tax records for 1786, 1787, and 1788 call Heinrich a carpenter or a house carpenter; earlier he was referred to as a farmer, but most tax lists do not mention his occupation. Heinrich fathered ten children, including a son John, who married Machtdalena Leabelsperger.28

Philip Klein (1764-1854) was present in Salisbury Township tax records beginning in 1787. Although he appeared on most tax rosters from 1787 to 1808, his status as a joiner was noted only in 1787 and
1796. He still lived in Salisbury Township in 1814, when he sponsored a baptism at the Western Salisbury Jerusalem Lutheran and Reformed Church.  

Whatever the joiner's identity, the tradition of his (or his decorator's) designs can be traced to Alsace. Although some of the motifs also occur in other German-speaking parts of Europe, they appear most consistently in Alsace. Their presence, therefore, in the Allentown area, combined with that of several families of Alsatian descent, suggests the perpetuation of a localized traditional aesthetic.  

The use of two prominent hearts as the dominant design on a painted chest may have occurred in present-day Lehigh County as early as 1762 (fig. 11). Although similarly treated Alsatian furniture dates from at least the beginning of the nineteenth century (fig. 12), it appears never to have been common there or elsewhere in Germanic Europe. Much more abundant from an earlier date were quarter-round panel corners, often with small floral sprigs projecting outwards or inwards. Bands of interlocking semi-circles, an ornamental device which adorns three chests attributed to Salisbury Township, have been found on European furniture only from Alsace (fig. 13). Extensive and vigorous use of compass-work, in fact, seems characteristic of much painted furniture from that region. The presence near Allentown of Alsatian traditions, such as designs on painted furniture, is plainly indicative of a human link between the two areas. Huguenots, of whom many hailed from Alsace,
indeed represented a significant minority of the Lehigh Valley's early population. At least six family groups in the Allentown area were of Huguenot extraction: Balliets, Wescos (Vesqueau), Weiss's, Mickleys (Michelet), Dorneys (Tournet), and Wotrings (Vautrin).

The body of furniture attributed to Salisbury Township bears adornment expressive of what might be called an infraculture. Just as distinct variations in the language, food, and housing of a dominant cultural mode developed in separate locales prior to the introduction of mass communication, so did visual design vocabularies. Localized traditions and customs dominated community life. Personal identity in the pre-mass-media age was with the infraculture. Robert St. George's suggested infracultural approach to the study of early New England life can also be applied to Pennsylvania: "to frame it as a confluence of highly particularized traditions—a sort of ethnic confrontation at the local level—in which negotiations and adjustments were made concerning which ... traditions would dominate and flourish, and which would be subsumed, modified, or completely obliterated." Alsatian traditions—subtly unique components of the German cultural umbrella which covered much of southeastern Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century—flourished in Salisbury Township, and are manifest in the designs painted on that area's early furniture.

Evidence suggests that the prominent and primary use of hearts to enliven chest façades was a localized Lehigh County tradition. Of the 158 full-view illustrations of Pennsylvania German decorated chests
in Monroe Fabian's survey, only four (including the Leabelsperger chest) have two large hearts on the front. Three of these are associated with Lehigh County; the origin of the fourth is unknown. According to Fabian, the double heart arrangement has been found most often in Lehigh County.  

The two-heart chest façades from Salisbury Township are products of an implicit design formula and vocabulary perpetuated by the apprenticeship system. The craftsman understood well that he must paint two hearts on the front of a chest. The unwritten code also stated that more elaborate and costly decoration consisted of additional hearts, interlocking semi-circles, stars, and flowers. But how specific was the understanding? Did it govern the arrangement, size, color, and other details? At what point did infracultural dictates give way to unicultural invention? Were the bounds of individuality and conformity clearly delineated? Only when the corpus of data relating to Alsatian traditions is much more complete can we begin answering these questions.
NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1Roberts, History of Lehigh County, I, p. 433.

2This author is unaware of any focused study of eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century craft practices or products in Allentown, Whitehall Township or Salisbury Township. In 1974 the Allentown Art Museum published a catalogue of its exhibition, Pennsylvania Folk Art, but only a small minority of the objects displayed were known to be of local origin.

3Kist is a Pennsylvania dialect version of the high German Kiste, meaning "chest." Popular modern terms for kist are "dower chest" and "blanket chest."

4The clothes press and five of the chests were personally examined for this study. The press was made for Jacob Bieber in 1792; the chests were made for "MGP" (1783), Maria Keller (1784), Michael Finck (1789), Elisabeth Guldin (1789), and Maria Griesmer (1797). The Machtdalena Leabelsperger [Magdalena Leibelsberger] chest (1792), pictured in Monroe Fabian, The Pennsylvania-German Decorated Chest (Breinigsville, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1978), p. 202, fig. 227, and one pictured in an advertisement in Antiques 119, No. 1 (January 1981), 91, were not available for personal examination. The chest made for Johan Griesmer (1797) appears as plate 17 in the May 29, 1947 brochure for Kleinfelter's Auction Rooms, Lebanon, Pennsylvania; its current location is unknown.

5I. M. Beaver, History and Genealogy of the Bieber, Beaver, Biever, Beeber Family (Reading, Pa.: I. M. Beaver, 1939), pp. 399-403.

6Will 1842, MS, NCA.

7Probate inventory 1842, MS, NCA.

8A few additional entries totaled more than the press, but they either included more than one item or represented paper assets.
Montgomery confused Jacob Bieber’s identity and residence, and incorrectly identified his wife as Susanna Lescher. Montgomery described him as "a farmer and carpenter of more than usual ability, being a master of the wood-working craft. In 1792 he made a clothes closet which is now a valued possession of John Bieber of Oley Line" (p. 815). Jacob (1731-1798) had a son Jacob (1761-1835), who was born in Oley and stayed there after his father moved to Salisbury Township, but there is no evidence to support the assertion that he built a clothes press or any other piece of furniture. If he ever owned the 1792 press, it was after his mother's death. I am indebted to Vicky Uminowicz for bringing this citation to my attention.

The Maria Griesmer chest is the only one whose drawer dovetails are not wedged.

Elmer I. Leibensperger, History and Genealogy of the Leibensperger Family (Kutztown, Pa.: Leibensperger Family Association, 1943), pp. 29, 443.


The present overall height may differ fractionally from the original height because of the replaced feet.


Will 611, MS, NCA.

John J. Snyder, in "Notes on 'Jacob Bieber--1792' schrank," typewritten MS, prepared in April 1980 for the owners, indicated that a Michael Finck was present in Salisbury Township as early as 1764 and died in or before 1782. According to Snyder, he attended the Western Salisbury Jerusalem Church. Mr. Snyder generously made this information available to the writer.

Will and probate inventory 707, MS, Register of Wills, LCCH.

A closely related chest was made for Johan Griesmer, also in 1797 (fig. 10). Monroe Fabian kindly brought a photograph of the now lost chest to the author's attention.
Interview with Mary Keely Dau by Jonathan P. Cox, October 12, 1981.


Handwritten note from H. [?] B. Angstadt to William Meister, date unknown; photocopy in the possession of the owners.

Martindale, p. 92.

Beaver, p. 407; ST returns for 1779-1790, 1792-1808, MSS, File 408, Folders 37 and 38, NCA; Neimeyer, pp. 134-140.

Other spellings for Eschbach are Eshbach, Espach, Eschbag, and Eshback.

ST returns for 1779-1790, 1792-1808, MSS, File 408, Folders 37 and 38, NCA; Will and probate inventory 1778, MS, NCA.

ST returns for 1799-1808, MSS, File 408, Folder 38, NCA.

Alternate spellings for Kemmerrer are Kammerer and Kämmerer.

Kemmerer Family Association, Two Centuries of Kemmerer Family History, 1730-1929 (Allentown, Pa.: Searle & Bachman, 1929), pp. 10, 14-18; Provincial tax assessment for Salisbury Township, Northampton County, 1773, MS, HSP; ST returns for 1779-1790, 1792-1808, MSS, File 408, Folders 37 and 38, NCA.

Neimeyer, pp. 251, 132-138; ST returns for 1779-1790, 1792-1808, MSS, File 408, Folders 37 and 38, NCA.

Because the author's research into European antecedents has been necessarily restricted to published material, his observations must be considered impressionistic and his hypotheses inconclusive. No claims can be made about the typicality of published illustrations of European painted furniture. Three sources were consulted heavily: Wolfgang Schwarz, Alte Deutsche Bauernmöbel: Der Norden – Von der Küste bis zum Main (Wuppertal, West Germany: Dr. Wolfgang Schwarz Verlag, 1981); Schwarz, Alte Deutsche Bauernmöbel: Der Süden – Vom Main bis zum Inn (Wuppertal, West Germany: Dr. Wolfgang Schwarz Verlag, 1981); and Georges Klein, Le Mobilier Polychrome en Alsace (Colmar, France: Editions Alsatia, 1977). Guns produced in eighteenth-century
Allentown provide further evidence of Alsatian traditions, according to Wallace Gusler. Interview with Gusler by Jonathan P. Cox, May 22, 1981.

The painted chest illustrated in fig. 11, which bears the date 1762 and two boldly outlined hearts, is the earliest example of its type known to the author. It may have originated in what is now Lehigh County.


Jacob Meckley, Jr. was a joiner in Whitehall Township in 1774 (Provincial tax assessment for Whitehall Township, Northampton County, MS, HSP); Peter Mickly was a house carpenter in Whitehall Township in 1782 (WT return, MS, NCA); Adam Dorney (Dorni, Dorny) was a joiner in Whitehall Township in 1776, 1793, 1796, 1802, and 1803 (WT returns, MSS, NCA); Peter Dorni was a joiner in Whitehall Township in 1800 (WT returns, MS, NCA); see supra, page 23 for a list of Wotrings working in Whitehall and Salisbury Townships.


Fabian, P. 115, illus. 61.
CONCLUSION

Allentown, Salisbury Township, and Whitehall Township supported a steadily growing population of common farmers, craftsmen, and their families from the earliest period of settlement in the eighteenth century through the first years of the nineteenth century. Craftsmen, tradesmen, professionals, and processors were concentrated in the town, while the townships were inhabited principally by farmers and agricultural laborers. As the eighteenth century drew to a close and the supply of tillable land diminished, growth in the townships' farming populations could not keep pace with the increase in non-agricultural activities. At the same time, Allentown lost its over-abundance of craftsmen, bringing the level very close to that in the townships.

Woodworking craftsmen found the greatest demand for their skills in Allentown and Salisbury Township. As a result, most of them could expect to own real property. In Whitehall Township, however, the path to prosperity was paved not with planks, but manure. After building furniture and doing carpentry there for seven years, Peter Wotring abandoned his craft and took up farming full time. In southern Whitehall Township Henry Mickley started working as a joiner in 1807 and died an innkeeper twenty years later. Woodworkers in Whitehall Township had little future; farmers did.
Most eighteenth-century inhabitants of Allentown, Salisbury Township, and Whitehall Township spoke some form of German. To many observers this superficially unifying attribute implies a single ethnic group of homogeneous nature. In fact, however, many cultural subsets, or infracultures, collectively formed "German" society in Pennsylvania. Their similarities may have outnumbered their differences, but subtly unique localized traditions and customs identified one's ethnic point of reference. Even the language, the ostensible common denominator, existed in many dialect varieties. Painted furniture made in Salisbury Township with designs drawn from an Alsatian vocabulary reveals the trans-Atlantic persistence of one Germanic infraculture.

This study has attempted to sketch a partial picture of life in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Allentown and vicinity by focusing on the community of woodworkers in general, one joiner-turned-farmer in particular, and an assemblage of surviving furniture. The paucity of known primary materials—both written and artifactual—from the period investigated imposes limits on our ability to fully understand the community's structure and development. Yet, unresearched or insufficiently explored topics may help round out our view. Valuable information about personal wealth and status awaits a rigorous analysis of probate inventories. Extant farm buildings, too, can inform statements about wealth, as well as ethnic influences. Much remains to be learned of the cultural forces at work in the Allentown area, and it can only be hoped that additional artifacts—wooden and otherwise—known to have originated there will come to light. Because the surviving products
of a given area incorporate the distinctive traditions which collectively
form and define every infraculture, they offer great potential for the
study of infracultural dynamics. The task of filling in the historical
blanks for Allentown, Salisbury Township, and Whitehall Township presents
historians and folklorists with a challenging assignment.
ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Key to Manuscript Repositories

HSP  Historical Society of Pennsylvania
LCCH  Lehigh County Court House
LCHS  Lehigh County Historical Society
NCA  Northampton County Archives
SECONDARY SOURCES

Pennsylvania History


Hellerich, Mahlon H. "Pennsylvania Germans in the American Revolution: The Emergence of Local Leadership in Lehigh County." Der Reggeboge, 10, No. 2 (Summer 1976), 1-17.


Smith, Billy G. "'The Best Poor Man's Country': Living Standards of the 'Lower Sort' in Late Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia." Working Papers from the Regional Economic History Research Center, 2, No. 4 (1979), 1-70.


Pennsylvania and European Furniture


. *Alte Deutsche Bauernmöbel: Der Süden---Vom Main bis zum Inn*. Wuppertal, Germany: Dr. Wolfgang Schwarze Verlag, 1981.

Snyder, John J. "Notes on 'Jacob Bieber--1792' schrank." Typescript, prepared for owners in April, 1980.

Theory and Methodology


Genealogy

Beaver, I.M. History and Genealogy of the Bieber, Beaver, Biever, Beeber Family. Reading, Pennsylvania: I.M. Beaver, 1939.


PRIMARY SOURCES

Published


"Dr. John Morgan's Notice to Dr. William Shippen, Jr., to Attend the Taking of Depositions of Witnesses for His Approaching Trial, 1779." Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 29 (1905), 375-376.


Eyster, Anita L., trans. and compiler.  "Notices by German and Swiss Settlers Seeking Information of Members of their Families, Kindred, or Friends Inserted Between the Years 1742 and 1761 in the Pennsylvanische Berichte and Between the Years 1762 and 1779 in the Pennsylvanische Staatsbote." Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 3 (1938), 41pp.


"Record of Indentures of Individuals Bound Out as Apprentices, Servants, Etc., and of German and Other Redemptioners in the Office of the Mayor of the City of Philadelphia, October 3, 1771 to October 5, 1773." Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society, 16 (1907), 325pp.


Unpublished

Allentown Tax Lists, 1762-1774. MS, Northampton County Papers, HSP.

Allentown Tax Lists, 1779-1807. MS, File 408/Folder 37, File 407/Folder 32, NCA.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Allentown Wills, Probate Inventories, and Administration Accounts [before 1812]. MS, NCA.

Allentown Wills, Probate Inventories, and Administration Accounts [1812 and after]. MS, Register of Wills, LCCH.

The American Eagle (Easton, Pennsylvania), 1799-1805. Microfilm, Easton Public Library.


"Journal of a Tour from Philadelphia to Bethlehem," 1773. MS, Am .202, HSP.

Leiby, A.S. "Church Record of the Schlosser's or Union Reformed Church, Unionville, Penna., North Whitehall Township, Lehigh County, 1765-1846." Typescript, LCHS.

Der Northampton Adverteiser, und Allentaun Gazette (Allentown, Pennsylvania), September 17, 1808. Microfilm, Easton Public Library.


Salisbury Township Tax Lists, 1762-1774. MS, Northampton County Papers, HSP.

Salisbury Township Tax Lists, 1779-1807. MS, File 408/Folders 37 and 38, NCA.

Salisbury Township Wills, Probate Inventories, and Administration Accounts [before 1812]. MS, NCA.

Salisbury Township Wills, Probate Inventories, and Administration Accounts [1812 and after]. MS, Register of Wills, LCCH.

Seng, Charles F. "Tombstone Inscriptions, Old Cemetery, Egypt Union Church, Egypt, North Whitehall Township, Lehigh Co., Pa." Typescript, LCHS.

Whitehall Township Deeds. MS, Register of Deeds, LCCH.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Whitehall Township Tax Lists, 1762-1774. MS, Northampton County Papers, HSP.

Whitehall Township Tax Lists, 1776-1807. MS, File 411/Folders 48 and 49, NCA.

Whitehall Township Wills, Probate Inventories, and Administration Accounts [before 1812]. MS, NCA.

Whitehall Township Wills, Probate Inventories, and Administration Accounts [1812 and after]. MS, Register of Wills, LCCH.

Peter Wotring Account Book, MS, LCHS.
Appendix A

Index of woodworkers in Allentown, Whitehall Township, and Salisbury Township, 1766-1807

Tax records for Allentown, Salisbury Township, and Whitehall Township furnish the most complete list of woodworkers active between 1766 and 1807. Some surviving records list only taxpayers' names and assessments, but a substantial number also document occupation; amount of land (often divided into cleared and uncleared tracts); number of horses, cows, and sometimes sheep; number of mills; and, if resident of a town, number of houses. In keeping with its purpose as an index of woodworkers, the following roster includes only the name, specific occupation(s), and location(s) and dates of activity for each craftsman. It is hoped that enough supplemental genealogical information can eventually be found to make possible a comprehensive biographical catalogue.

Names are arranged alphabetically, with variations in the spelling of surnames placed in parentheses ( ). Names preceded by an asterisk (*) are not included in table 1.2. Where more than one occupation is listed, the sequence follows the comparative frequency of appearance in the tax records. Years listed are those for which a woodworking occupation was recorded; gaps indicate the absence of
surviving records, absence of a woodworking occupation, or absence of the craftsman's presence. Date ranges are inclusive.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>YEARS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALLEN, Jacob. (Ellen)</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>1799-1800, 1802, 1805-1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BERENTS, William.</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BERGER, Johannes.</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>1799-1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIEBER, John. (Beber)</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>1788-1789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*BIERY, Abraham. (Beery, Bieri)</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1803-1804, 1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIERY, Henry.</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1800, 1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*BRAUN, Abraham.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRENNER, Simon. (Brener)</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1766-1768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*BUCHEKER, Jacob.</td>
<td>turner</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*BUTZ, Peter.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*CORNYN, Dominik Sr.</td>
<td>turner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*CORNYN, Dominik Jr.</td>
<td>turner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*CORNYN, Philip.</td>
<td>turner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEILY, George. (Deyly, Deyle, Dyle, Dyler, Deili)</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>1796, 1799-1800, 1802, 1805, 1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*DERR, Jacob.</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DORNI, Adam. (Dorný, Dorney)</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1776, 1793, 1796, 1802-1803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAME</td>
<td>OCCUPATION</td>
<td>LOCATION</td>
<td>YEARS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*DORMEY, Jacob.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DORNIN, Peter.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRAXEL, Adam. (Draxell)</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1781-1782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESHBACH, Christophel. (Eschbach, Espach, Eshback, Eschbag)</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>1767-1768, 1773-1774, 1779-1780, 1787-1788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESHBACH, George.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>1799-1800, 1802, 1805, 1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ESSER, George. (Essert)</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1804-1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVERITT, Thomas. (Everit, Ewerit, Eweret)</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>1796, 1799, 1800, 1802, 1805, 1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*EXPARENE, William.</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FATZINGER, Jacob.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOX, George.</td>
<td>joiner; carpenter/ house carpenter</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1799-1801, 1806-1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*FOX, Nicholas.</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GABEL, Frederick.</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GANGWER, Abraham. (Gongwer, Gangver)</td>
<td>joiner; carpenter/ house carpenter</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1800-1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*GANGWER, Solomon.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1804-1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAME</td>
<td>OCCUPATION</td>
<td>LOCATION</td>
<td>YEARS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEORG, Hannes. (George)</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1800, 1802-1803, 1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GUTH, Adam Jr. (Good)</td>
<td>carpenter; joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1800, 1802-1804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HARTMAN, [ ? ].</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HARTMANN, Jacob Jr.</td>
<td>house carpenter</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HECKER, Jacob.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1803 [?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HECKER, Jonas.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1796, 1800, 1802-1804, 1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HERTZ, Peter. (Hartz)</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1796, 1799-1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOLDER, Georg. (Holdner, Holter)</td>
<td>joiner; house carpenter</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1787, 1789, 1793, 1796, 1800, 1802-1804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOLDER, Jese.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JEHLE, Jacob. (Jehl, Jale)</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1793, 1796, 1800, 1802-1804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JONES, David.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1766-1767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*JUND, Jacob.</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1803-1804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAUFFMAN, George Sr. (Kaufman)</td>
<td>turner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1784, 1786-1789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*KAUFFMAN, George Jr.</td>
<td>turner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KEMMERRER, Henry. (Kammerer)</td>
<td>carpenter; house carpenter</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>1786-1787, 1789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAME</td>
<td>OCCUPATION</td>
<td>LOCATION</td>
<td>YEARS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*KENNEL, John. (Kendel)</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1802-1803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KEPP, Hannes. (Kep, Kep)</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1785-1786, 1796, 1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KLEIN, Peter. (Kline)</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>1799-1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KLEIN, Philip.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>1787, 1796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*KNABENBERGER, Philip.</td>
<td>house carpenter</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*KNERR, Andrew. (Kner)</td>
<td>joiner; house carpenter</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1802-1804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KOCHER, Hannes.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1785-1786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUNIUS, William.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>1780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUNTZ, Michael. (Kunss, Kunse, Kuns)</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1780, 1782, 1784-1789, 1796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAUER, George.</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1767-1768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEIBERT, Martin. (Liebert, Leibert, Liberd, Leiber, Libert, Lybert)</td>
<td>turner</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>1773-1774, 1779, 1781, 1784-1789, 1796, 1799-1800, 1802, 1805, 1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEIN, Andrew.</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>1767-1768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LITZENBERGER, Georg.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LORENCE, Wandel. (Lorentz)</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1766-1768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MERTZ, Henrich.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAME</td>
<td>OCCUPATION</td>
<td>LOCATION</td>
<td>YEARS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEYER, John.</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1804, 1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MICKLY, Henry. (Mickly)</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MICKLY, Jacob.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MICKLY, Peter.</td>
<td>house carpenter</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MILLER, Adam Jr.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MILLER, Dewalt.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1768, 1773-1774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MILLER, John.</td>
<td>turner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1767-1768, 1773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MILLER, John.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1773, 1780, 1782, 1784-1788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MILLER, John.</td>
<td>turner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1804-1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MILLER, Peter.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOOR, John. (Mohr)</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1784, 1787-1789, 1796, 1799-1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAGLE, Christian. (Nagel)</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>1799-1800, 1802-1803, 1805, 1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAGLE, Peter.</td>
<td>turner</td>
<td>Allentown; Salisbury</td>
<td>1779-1780; 1781, 1787-1789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAGLE, Peter.</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAME</td>
<td>OCCUPATION</td>
<td>LOCATION</td>
<td>YEARS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEWHARD, Abraham. (Neyhard, Neyhart, Neihard, Neihard, Neughard, Neuhard, Neihart, Neuhart)</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1800-1802, 1804-1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEWHARD, [George] Jacob.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1773, 1779, 1782, 1784-1789, 1796, 1799-1803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*NEWHARD, Peter.</td>
<td>joiner/cabinetmaker</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUNNAMAKER, Daniel. (Nunenmacker, Nunenmacher, Nunamaker, Nunemaker, Nunmacker, Nunemaker)</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1766-1768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUNNAMAKER, Jacob.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1773-1774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*NUNNAMAKER, Jacob.</td>
<td>turner</td>
<td>Salisbury; Allentown</td>
<td>1802, 1805; 1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*RABENOLD, Adam. (Raubenold)</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RABENOLD, Andreass.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*RABENOLD, Daniel.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1803-1804, 1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REEP, Adam. (Reap, Reeb)</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1796, 1799-1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RHOADS, George.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1796, 1799-1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RHOADS, John.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1796, 1799-1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RICE, John. (Rise, Reis, Reiss)</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>1800, 1802, 1805, 1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAME</td>
<td>OCCUPATION</td>
<td>LOCATION</td>
<td>YEARS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ROTH, Jacob. (Rhode, Rode)</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1804, 1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ROTH, Philip.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1802-1804, 1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCHLOSER, Thobiass.</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCHNERR, Georg. (Schner, Shnerr, Shner, Snerr)</td>
<td>carpenter; joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1781-1783, 1785-1787, 1796, 1800, 1802-1804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*SCOT, Joseph.</td>
<td>joiner/ carpenter</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEEGER, Hannes. (Saeger, Seager)</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEIP, Peter. (Seib, Sipe)</td>
<td>turner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1793, 1796, 1802-1803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHANTZ, Henry. (Shontz, Jontz)</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1786-1789, 1796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHINNER, Jacob.</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>1784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*SHOLL, David.</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHWAB, Peter. (Schwab)</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*SMITH, Adam.</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNYDER, Jacob.</td>
<td>turner</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPINNER, Jacob. (Spiner)</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Allentown; Salisbury</td>
<td>1796, 1799-1801; 1805, 1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*STAHL, Henry.</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAME</td>
<td>OCCUPATION</td>
<td>LOCATION</td>
<td>YEARS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STERN, Thobias.</td>
<td>joiner; carpenter</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1796, 1800, 1802-1803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WALP, William. (Walb)</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1796, 1799-1804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEBER, Jacob.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEIBEL, Daniel. (Weiwel)</td>
<td>joiner/carpenter</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1779-1780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEISS, Leonhard. (Wiss)</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1796, 1799-1804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WORMAN, Jacob. (Worrenman)</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1796, 1799-1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WOODRING, Jacob. (Wotring, Wudring, Wootring, Wodring)</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WOODRING, Jacob.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WOTRING, Peter.</td>
<td>joiner; carpenter</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1802-1805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WUDRING, Samuel.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>1796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WOODRING, Samuel.</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1800, 1803-1805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZUTTLE, Jacob. (Zettel, Zetel, Zettle)</td>
<td>joiner</td>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>1784-1787</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B

A true and perfect Inventory and Just appraisment of all and Singular the Goods and Chattels, Rights and Credits, which were of Peter Wodring late of the Township of Northwhitehall, in the County of Lehigh in the State of Pennsylvania, Yeoman deceased at the time of his death to wit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Bed &amp; bedstead</td>
<td>$7.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ditto Ditto</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ditto Ditto</td>
<td>5.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ditto Ditto</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ditto Do</td>
<td>8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Desk</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Drawer</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Closet</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Stove with pipe</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Tables</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Chairs</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Benches</td>
<td>.37 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Table</td>
<td>.12 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Lokinglasses</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Watch</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Cubord</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

83
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Iron Kettle</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Boilers</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Water Buckets</td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Coffee rost</td>
<td>.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Coffee mill</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 frying pans</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Wash machine &amp; Sundrys</td>
<td>.37 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a lot of Sundrys Kitchen utensils</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Lot of Sundrys Crakery ware</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ditto Do</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Baskets</td>
<td>.12 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Chains</td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Lot of Carpenters tools as augers &amp; c</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Lot of Carpenter tools as planes &amp; 1 Box &amp; c</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Sickleles</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Kneating trough</td>
<td>.67 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Steelyard</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Bags</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Back [bake] baskets</td>
<td>.37 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about 50 Bushels of Rye</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Bedsteads</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Chests</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Bedstead</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Rifle</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Bonet box</td>
<td>.12 1/2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
15 Posts [pots] with apple boter 2.--
1 Pair Spurs [spurs] & Sundrys .18
4 Barrels with ash 2.--
1 Chest & 1 Box with Salt per 1.--
2 Wooling wheels & 4 Spinning wheels 2.25
2 Reels 1 Sithe & 1 Grate [cradle] 1.--
2 half hogsheds with wheat & Grane 3.--
10 bushels of Cloverseed with a Bag 8.--
4 bushels Backwheat & 2 Bags 1.75
5 Boxes & 1 with flaxseed & 1 with buckwheat 2.50
1 Bag with Greats 1.--
about 50 Bushels of Potatoes 12.50
10 Pots with hogs lart 3.50
1 old Kneading trough with ash & 1 Jurn & Sundrys 1.50
3 Tubs & two Barrels 1.75
1 half bushel measure & 1 Chopping bench 1.--
1 Lot of Sundrys as Kasks &c 2.--
1 Lot Ditto as Crakery &c .50
1 Grinestone & Sundrys .40
5 axes [axes] 2.--
1 Lot of Sundrys as old iron &c 2.25
2 Hobbles & Sundrys .75
1 Box with old iron & 1 mallet .25
1 Sithe & 1 Flocks Breck [flax break] .-6
1 Sled &c 2.50
1 old Plough & 1 Groping [grubbing] hough  .25
1 Windmill 4 Rakes 3 thresh [thresh] flails & Sundrys 8.--
about 50 bushels of oats 15.--
about 3 ton of Hay 21.--
about 75 Bundles of Straw 6.--
about 100 feet oak boards 1.25
1 Harrow & 2 Rakes 2.-6
2 Stools & 1 Spring tree bar & Sundrys 1.--
2 Ploughs & 1 Boddy & 1 pair laders & [ ] 9.75
1 Wheelbarrow & 1 Spring tree bar & 2 Chains 2.50
1 Waggon & 1 Boddy 40.--
1 Shovel & 2 tong forks .40
8 Barrels 2 Boxes &c 5.--
7 Cowchaines 1.75
about 50 Bundles of Flacks 3.--
1 Saddle & old Harness 1.50
3 Set of Harness 10.--
1 Cutting Box & Sundrys 3.--
13 Geess 3.25
1 Cow (with a white head) 10.--
1 Ditto (Do Do ) 12.--
1 Ditto (Black) 11.--
1 Ditto (Brown) 12.--
1 Horse (Brown) 60.--
1 Mare (Bay) 70.--
| Item                                                                 | Quantity | Price  \\
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Ditto (Brown)</td>
<td></td>
<td>60.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Colt</td>
<td></td>
<td>30.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Halterchains &amp; 1 [ ? ] &amp; 1 Currycomb</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Hogs</td>
<td></td>
<td>40.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Sheep</td>
<td></td>
<td>12.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about 15 acres Grain in the Ground</td>
<td></td>
<td>90.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about 15 hundred Chest Rails</td>
<td></td>
<td>75.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about 40 bushels of Indian Corne</td>
<td></td>
<td>16.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Bees hif [bee hives]</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Chessel &amp; Sundrys</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 flat Irons &amp; fire tools</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 auger &amp; 15 pots Earthen</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Books</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Lot of Chessels &amp; Sundrys</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wearing appearals 3 Great Coats 2 pair Boots &amp; 1 pair Shs</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 paire Trausers &amp; 4 Waistcoats &amp; 2 Round Jac</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Waistcoats &amp; 1 Round Jacket &amp; 4 pair trauers</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Coats 1 hat 4 pair Stockings &amp; 3 pair traus</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Shirts</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Table Cloths 2 Towls</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spoonen [spinning] Yarn, 4 Bedticks, &amp; 7 Pillowcovers</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Bedsheeds, 10 Towls &amp; 1 Shirts</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Pouder horns &amp; 1 Bantsh [bench]</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 [?]ails</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 white Bottle 1 Brush &amp; 3 lb flacks</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
1 Box with weafers & Sundrys  .12½
1 Slate  .18
about 300 lb meat  6.--
Cash  18.-7½

BONDS

1 Bond of S. Balliet & Helffrich principal Sum 939.--
   Conditioned for the payment of 100 [?] yearly
   after the furnace of said Balliet & Helffrich
   yielding 1000 [lb?] Clear of all Expenses

1 Bond of S. Balliet & Helffrich principal Sum 100.--
   Due on the 1st day of April 1831, Interest on
   the same 11.63

1 Bond of S. Balliet & Helffrich Principal Sum 100.--
   Due on the 1st day of April 1832, Interest on
   the Same 5.63

1 Bond of S. Balliet & Helffrich, Due April the
   1st 1833, pr Sm 100.--

1 Bond of S. Balliet & Helffrich, Due April the
   1st 1834 pr Sm 100.--

1 Due Bill of S. Balliet & Helffrich principal Sum 82.19½
   Due March the 10th 1832 Interest on the Same 4.91

1 Note of Peter Sheirer, Balance of on the Same
   Due June the 6th 1832 Interest on the Same 38.17  1.85

BOOK DEBTS

Due of George Ricker  3.90
Isaac Sell  4.15
Joseph Steckel  2.80
Catharina Sheirer  9.33
Peter Sheirer  5.11
[Due of] Peter Graff

Total amount of the appraisement

Taken and appraised by us the Subscribers, who having been duly sworn according to law by Daniel Saeger Esquire this Eighth day of March A.D. one thousand Eight hundred and thirty three (1833)

Witness our hands the Same day

[signed]
georg Roch appraisers
Jonas Traxel

Probate Inventory #1158, Lehigh County Court House.
APPENDIX C

PROBATE INVENTORIES OF THE ESTATES OF EIGHT WOODWORKERS WHO DIED BEFORE 1807

Only eight probate inventories of Allentown area woodworkers' estates survive from the period 1766 - 1807. All of these are presently located at the Northampton County Archives (NCA), Easton, Pennsylvania.

Each of the surviving inventories is reproduced here, all but one in full. (The inventory of George Kauffman's estate lists household possessions, turner's tools, and store merchandise [mostly textiles]. Because the contents of his store were so numerous, they have here been omitted.) Three of the documents are written in German script, and have been transcribed and translated for this appendix. Original sequence and spelling have been retained, with clarification of confusing terms enclosed in brackets [ ]. Preceding each inventory is its NCA file number.

90
NCA Inventory #846

An Inventory of the Goods and Chattels of Daniel Nunnamaker
Deceased in Allentown and Appraised by Lawrance Hauk & Abram Albert this 31st Day of December 1777

Hay & Lott £70:00:00
House and lot

Ungefähr 23 Acker Land
Approximately 23 acres land

A cow

5 schaaff--stück vor 12 schl
5 sheep--12 shillings a piece

4 sows

Bed and bedstead

1 pair wool cards

An iron kettle

1 iron pot

small iron kettle

1 pan

3 iron spoons and forks

15 pewter spoons
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 pewter bowls</td>
<td>0:15:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 pewter plates</td>
<td>1:00:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A flax-comb</td>
<td>0:15:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A cross-cut saw</td>
<td>0:15:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 sickles</td>
<td>0:02:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A straw knife and straw bench blade</td>
<td>1:02:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 brace bits</td>
<td>0:07:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 cutting knives</td>
<td>0:04:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A broad axe</td>
<td>0:10:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 grubbing hoes</td>
<td>0:12:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 garden hoes</td>
<td>0:07:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A scythe with snath</td>
<td>0:03:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A mallet and a wedge</td>
<td>0:05:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallet and a wedge</td>
<td>0:05:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A grindstone</td>
<td>0:04:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A looking glass</td>
<td>0:07:06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ein Hand Biebel
A pocket bible

1 Testament
0:05:00

1 gesang Buch
1 hymnal
0:07:06

Ditto
0:03:00

Ein Prill
A pair of spectacles
0:05:00

zwey scheer Messer u[nd] stein
two shears, knife and [sharpening] stone
0:10:00

[ ? ] ein licht u[nd] leuchterstick
[ ? ] a candle and candlestick
0:05:00

1 Fein Seeg
1 fine [-toothed] saw
0:12:00

2 Handseegen
2 hand saws
0:12:00

Ein leim Pfan
A glue pot
0:07:06

Ein Hand beil
A hatchet
0:06:00

Ditto
0:05:00

Ein messer u[nd] 2 scheere
A knife and 2 shears
0:05:00

Ein split messer
A froe (?)
0:00:06

7 Meissel u[nd] 1 Zirckel
7 chisels and 1 compass
0:07:06

8 Meissel
8 chisels
0:07:06

Ein wintel mit 5 bohre
A brace with 5 bits
0:07:06

8 stick alt schreiner geschir
8 old joiner's tools
0:07:06
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ein schraub Zeug A clamp</td>
<td></td>
<td>2:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Bohren 5 brace bits</td>
<td></td>
<td>2:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Howel--merck 1 3 planes--mark 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>5:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Ditto--merck 2 3 ditto--mark 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>5:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Ditto--merck 3 3 ditto--mark 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ein Kästel mit alt Eisen A small chest with old iron</td>
<td></td>
<td>7:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Hammer 4 hammers</td>
<td></td>
<td>7:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Howel--merck 4 3 planes--mark 4</td>
<td></td>
<td>7:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Howel--merck 5 4 planes--mark 5</td>
<td></td>
<td>5:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Ditto--merck 6 5 ditto--mark 6</td>
<td></td>
<td>7:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Ditto--merck 7 7 ditto--mark 7</td>
<td></td>
<td>7:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schreiner geschir Nor 8 joiner's tools, Number 8 (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schnitzer u[nd] 1 Klam Hack carving tool and 1 joiner's dog</td>
<td></td>
<td>3:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Bigel Eisen mit 2 stahl 2 flatirons with 2 bases</td>
<td></td>
<td>10:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ein Bell mit Rihmen A [bell?] with straps</td>
<td></td>
<td>5:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alt Eisen old iron</td>
<td></td>
<td>1:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ein Threh Banck A lathe</td>
<td></td>
<td>10:00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hemp seeds, 1 bushel

2 bushels flax seeds, at 5 shillings per bushel

Planing bench

A wheelbarrow

an old scythe

two spinning wheels and reel

12 pounds uncombed flax, at 1 shilling per pound

8 pounds combed flax, at 2 shillings per pound

10 pounds linen yarn, at 2 shillings per pound

3 pounds woolen yarn, at 5 shillings per pound

wool together with the sack

2 skirts and a gown

Baking mold with 8 baking baskets

3 tubs and a bucket

5 earthen pots

a chair
4 Bottel
4 bottles

werck ungefähr 4 Pfund 1 schl
approximately 4 pounds tow at 1 shilling [per pound]

1 Breit beil 2 schlösser
1 broad axe 2 locks

1 Appfel Mühl
1 apple mill

alt Back Muhl Kraut stenter und ein schleiff stein
old baking mold, cabbage tubs, and a grindstone

ein Bärrel Faß
a barrel keg

Ein Rohr ofen
A pipe stove

ungefähr 400 schaub Korn Etwas Mehr oder weniger
das Hundert vor 15 schl
approximately 400 bunches of corn, more or less,
at 15 shillings per hundred

an Baarem Geld
cash

Ditto

Ditto auf ein Ackort
Ditto in a contract

[Total] £170:11:00

[signed]

Lorentz Hauck

Abraham Albert
NCA Inventory #797

The Inventory of all the Effects goods & Chattels rights & Credits belonging to Andrew Line of Salisbury Township in county of Northampton & in the state of Pennsylvania Carpenter Late deceased which was Praissed by Jacob Spinner & George Adam Plank of the Same place this Tenth day of July Anno Domine 1778— as follows Viz

George Grosh due by a Debt £40:00:00
Ludwig Kop due by a debt 1:00:00
for all the Cloathes belonging to the deceased 25:17:06
One Bible 2:05:00
Four books 1:10:00
One Table & four Chairs 3:00:00
Two Lamps One Lanthen 1:00:00
four Earthen Bottles & Two dito Jugs 0:15:00
One Half a barrel of Viniger 1:10:00
four Earthen dishes & four dito Cups 0:10:00
Two Tin cups & Six pewter Spoons One Scummer 1:02:06
four Tranchers One Coffin mill One stone pottle 0:15:00
One Tea Kettle 2:05:00
One Hatchel & twelve earthen pots 0:15:00
Two Quylers Two Collars Two pair of Tracers & hames [horse equipment?] 5:00:00
One Sadle One bridle and Two blind halters 7:00:00
Two Log Chains Two Tracers One Clavis 2:05:00
One Gun One hand Saw 9:00:00
One Gross cut Saw & hand saw 5:00:00
Two drawing Knifes One Hammer 1:02:06
One Iron stove 5:00:00
three Hoppels Two dung forks & dito Hook 2:05:00
Two spades three Hoes one grubing hoe One Shovel 3:00:00
Nine files one foot rule 2:05:00
four gimlets four razers Some buttons 2:05:00
One basket of Old Iron & two pair of Puckles [buckles] 0:05:00
Nine baken Basket and three scives 0:15:00
One Copper one hey fork One Grees pot 1:02:06
One bed & bedsted . 2:00:00
Nine earthen pots One Kneading draught 0:15:00
Two bucking [bucket] Tups & Six pails 6:00:00
Eight Linnen begs 0:18:00
Nine Tranchers Six pewter Spoons two earthen dishes 1:00:00
One Iron Ladle Two quarts some earthen ware 1:00:00
Six Tranchers five Pewter spoons One funnel 1:02:06
One Kitchen Closed [closet] 0:10:00
One frying pann one fire Tong & dito shovel 2:05:00
Two Iron pots One fire hook 3:00:00
One watering pot Two Sicles & Twenty buttons 1:05:00
three sythes One Cradle 1:17:06
four rakes one pair of hames & Cooper Tong 0:05:00
Two half Hogshead four barrels & Two pails 3:10:00
One Mallet & Iron Wedges 0:10:00
One basket & some old Iron 2:05:00
One Brood ax & a Twibel 3:00:00
One dito ax one ads one ax 1:10:00
One Planting ax One Square One hatchet 1:17:06
Seven augers 2:12:06
three Cramp Iron one Split Iron 1:02:06
Ten plaine Iron & four Wetstone 3:00:00
three compasses & four Chisels 1:02:06
One Hamer One Pincer One basket Old Iron 0:15:00
One Saw 0:07:06
One Board Saw 0:15:00
One Churn One Tup 1:10:00
four Hogshead 6:00:00
five pounds & three quarters of pound Wool 3:00:00
four glass pottles [bottles] 0:05:00
One Iron Harrow One Sladge 4:00:00
One plough & Swingeltree 3:00:00
One Whole Waggon 15:00:00
One Wind mill One cutting box 3:00:00
eight Cow Chains 3:00:00
One grind stone 0:10:00
One Mare 15:00:00
One Horse 40:00:00
four Bees & Hives 6:00:00
four acrers & a half wheat at 50 shillings per acre 11:05:00
One Piece of Rye 15:00:00
for house rent 3:00:00
One apple Mill 1:17:06
five Hogs 6:00:00
One black cow 12:00:00
One Brown Cow 15:00:00
One Cow 9:00:00
One Cow 8:00:00
One brown cow 9:00:00
One steer 12:00:00
One dito steer 12:00:00
One Heifer One steer 8:00:00
three Sheeps 5:00:00
One basket 0:01:06
Seven pounds wooll 3:10:00
for Twenty bushels of wheat 12:00:00
Twelve bushels of rye at Ten shilling per bushels 6:00:00
One Bushel & a half of Indian corn 0:15:00
Nine bushel of Buchwheat 3:00:00

The Whole estate Comes to £424:08:06—all the within mentioned
Particulars was Appreissed by the Subscribers witness whereof they
have set their hands & Seals here unto the day & Year first above
written

[signed]

Jacob Spinner

Jerg adam blanck
NCA Inventory #1125

Inventory of all the Goods Chattels Rights and Credid which were of John Miller of the Town & County of Northampton State of Pennsylvania Turnner Late Deceased, that Came to the hands of John Ehrhard and George Graff Executors of the said John Miller Deceased—Appraised this Fourth day of March 1785 by Jacob Newhard and John Keipper as Follows viz

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>House &amp; Lott</td>
<td>£50:00:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 10 Plated Stove with the Pipe</td>
<td>3:15:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 wooden Clocks</td>
<td>1:10:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Tables &amp; 1 Coper kettle</td>
<td>1:02:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Tow [dough] Trough 1 small Closed 1 Coffee mill &amp; a slate</td>
<td>0:14:09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Chairs 2 Stools 1 Spectacle 6 Craver (?) 3 Blue pipes [pipes] &amp; 4 benches</td>
<td>0:12:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Bible 4 Books a box with 2 Rezors 1 hone &amp; a Sheving Dish</td>
<td>1:16:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Flax Hachel 11 Large &amp; small Boxes with Iron &amp; brass pieces</td>
<td>1:08:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Kitchen Dresser 2 Pewter Dishes 5 Pewter Plats &amp; 7 spoons</td>
<td>1:14:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Coper kettle Coper &amp; Iron Laddls &amp; Large Fork</td>
<td>0:10:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Tea Pot 1 Coffee Pot Cups &amp; Saucers 7 earthen Dishes &amp; a wooden</td>
<td>0:04:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 earthen Pots 1 watring Pot 1 Iron Pot 1 pann &amp; 2 frying pans</td>
<td>0:18:03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Coffee kettle 1 Candlestick 2 Lamps &amp; a Lantron</td>
<td>0:05:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Iron Stove Plats 2 fire Tongs 1 fire shovel &amp; pair Pollows [bellows]</td>
<td>0:12:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Box with Sundries old Iron &amp; 3 Spinning wheel Irons</td>
<td>0:10:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Butter Churn a rabit 6 old Casks &amp; a wooden vice</td>
<td>0:12:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 washing Tups 4 water Pails &amp; a Large Tup with a Sbrow (?)</td>
<td>0:19:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Small Tup old boards &amp; 2 Grind Stons</td>
<td>0:10:00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Baskets 2 Large Jugs 5 buttles oil Pot & Sundries 0:11:06
1 Large Spinning wheel 1 wooden Seal 1 Lookenglass & Inkstand 0:10:02
4 Bushel Potatoes 2 bells 2 Cow Chains & four Sikles 0:17:00
10 Bags 1 Large rope 1 half Bushel 1 Coal Pann & 3 brushes 0:17:06
1 Seythes 2 Snets [snaths] 1 anwill 2 Drowers (?) 1 Barrel with Bookwheat 0:12:00
1 Bed with Bed Sted 5 Sheeds with 4 Pillow Cases 2:00:00
10 Mans Shirts 6 Tables Cloths & 1 Towel 1:03:00
4 west Coats 1 Coat 2 pair Leather Breeches & 2 pair Trowsrs 1:12:00
2 wool hats 1 Cest [chest?] & Sam [some] Flax & hemp 1:00:00
1 Mall 4 wagges [wedges] 1 Pitchfork 1 Dungfork Dunghook & 2 axes 1:00:00
1 Grobing howe 1 Spate 2 Corn howes 1 Cuting with knife 0:16:00
1 wooden Hores 1 wheel Barrow 2 raks 1 real for making rops 0:06:06
2 Lattars [ladders] old Posts old boards and Sundry Sort of wood fit for Turnning work 1:05:06
1 Cross Cut Saw 75 Chisels 29 files & rasps 3:00:00
49 Spindles Bores 6 augers 5 Sets Screw boxes & 1 wimble bit 6:00:00
5 Large & Small Compasses 5 Nippers & 1 Small viece 0:10:00
24 Small Chisels Priking awls gages 1 Rule 2 kn[1]ves & Sundries 0:05:06
6 Plains 1 Drowing knife 8 Saws & four hamers 2:07:00
2 glue Panns 1 hatched Turnning Pench with Turnning wheel 3:00:00
1 Turnning Pench 1 anwill 1 Press for making the wheels 1:10:00
1 Flowerd Jest 4 Books & all sorts of Pattrens for Turnners 1:17:00

£98:15:02
2 Rittles (?) pair Shoe and flax brake
To Cash
Money outstanding

[Total] £102:01:04

[signed]
Jacob Newhard
John Keiper
An Inventory and Appraisment of the goods and Chattles rights and Credits, which were of John Miller, late of the Town of Northampton, House Carpenter Deceased, Taken the 13th day of November 1788 by Jacob Neihardt, Administrator.

1 Cow £ 3:05:00
1 ditto 3:00:00
850 Sheafs of Wheat, @ 12/ 5:02:00
2 Tuns Hay, " 40/ 4:00:00
6 hives of Bees 2:00:00
2 Sheeps 0:16:00
1 Templated stove with pipes 4:10:00
1 d° d° 4:00:00
1 dining Table 1:10:00
1 30 Hour Clock 7:00:00
1 8 days d° 11:03:00
1 Walnut Chest 1:10:00
1 Small Table 0:05:00
5 old Chairs 0:07:06
1 old Kitchen dresser 0:18:00
3 Pewter Basons 0:10:00
2 d° Dishes 0:06:00
½ doz. d° Plates 0:07:06
2 fine razors with a Case 0:??:00
2 Tin Coffee Potts 0:02:00
10 Pewter Spoons 0:02:06
1 frying pan and Skillet 0:04:00
1 old Copper Kettle 0:18:00
2 Water Buckets 0:03:09
1 pair Tongs 0:02:00
1 old half Bushel 0:01:06
1 Sieve 0:01:03
3 Piggs 0:15:00
1½ Bushel flax seed 0:03:00
1 old Chest 0:05:00
1 Bed and bedstead 3:00:00
1 Woemens saddle 0:15:00
1 old Bedstead 0:02:06
1 Bagg with rye 0:05:00
1 old Spinning Wheel 0:02:06
1 Box with old Iron 0:02:06
Sundry Indian Corn 0:15:00
2 Bushels buckweat 0:03:09
1 Box with Iron 0:00:06
1 old Straw knife bridle &c 0:02:00
a few bundles flax 0:10:00
1 flax break 0:02:00
3 Hogs 2:05:00
1 dung fork and hook 0:02:00
1 Spate Shovel and hew [hoe] 0:04:00
1 little Table 0:05:00
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11 Augors Sorted</td>
<td></td>
<td>0:15:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 old Hatches</td>
<td></td>
<td>0:02:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 old ax</td>
<td></td>
<td>0:05:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass wire and lead</td>
<td></td>
<td>0:03:09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Joining Plane &amp; ladles</td>
<td></td>
<td>1:00:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Jack and 3 Smoothing Planes</td>
<td></td>
<td>0:10:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 setts Cornish Planes</td>
<td></td>
<td>1:00:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Ovolas</td>
<td></td>
<td>0:15:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Plow Planes</td>
<td></td>
<td>0:15:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 old Planes Sorted</td>
<td></td>
<td>0:07:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 firmers &amp; Gouges Sorted</td>
<td></td>
<td>1:00:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundry old files Glue Pott &amp;c</td>
<td></td>
<td>0:07:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 saws</td>
<td></td>
<td>1:00:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Grind stone</td>
<td></td>
<td>0:07:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Gruping How [grubbing hoe]</td>
<td></td>
<td>0:03:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Smoothing Iron</td>
<td></td>
<td>0:01:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pair Slay runners</td>
<td></td>
<td>0:02:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Work Benches and Turning Lath</td>
<td></td>
<td>0:10:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walnut Boards for a Clock Case</td>
<td></td>
<td>0:07:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400 Feet Walnut Boards, 15/</td>
<td></td>
<td>3:00:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 new oak joists</td>
<td></td>
<td>0:10:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 acres wheat in the ground</td>
<td></td>
<td>4:10:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 acres rye in d°</td>
<td></td>
<td>4:10:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 old Scythe</td>
<td></td>
<td>0:01:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 P° Scantling</td>
<td></td>
<td>0:03:09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Value</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 old mens settle</td>
<td>0:10:00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Briddles</td>
<td>0:05:00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Towels</td>
<td>0:05:00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Table Cloths</td>
<td>0:07:06</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Sheets</td>
<td>0:07:06</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Case of drawers</td>
<td>2:10:00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Bible</td>
<td>1:05:00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£90:00:07</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Iron Potts</td>
<td>0:10:00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Copper Coffee Kettle</td>
<td>0:07:06</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Total]</td>
<td>£90:18:01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ninety Pounds Eighteen Shilling and one Pence—Appraised by us

[signed]

John Horn

Peter Houk
Ein bresment von dem hinder lassnen gut des Andres [sic]
Rabenold deceased welches gebresen bey uns
An appraisal of the estate of Andreas Rabenold, deceased,
appraised by us

sein Hut
his hat £ 0:06:00

hals düger
scarves 0:05:00

6 hender
6 shirts 1:05:00

5 par hosen
5 pairs of pants 1:06:00

4 brustdüger
4 breastcloths 1:02:06

3 Reck ein hut
3 coats a hat 2:05:00

1 grossen Rock
1 great coat 0:07:06

4 par strimpf ein par hendsching
4 pairs of stockings one pair [gloves?] 0:10:00

1 par stiffel 1 par schu
1 pair of boots 1 pair of shoes 0:12:06

1 sattel und Zähm
1 saddle and bridle 0:16:00

1 Kist
1 chest 0:10:00

1 Disch
1 table 0:15:00

1 wagen
1 wagon 10:15:00
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mare</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1:00:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sorrel mare</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10:00:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fill</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6:00:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>filly</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuh</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5:10:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horse equipment</td>
<td></td>
<td>1:02:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plow and harrow</td>
<td></td>
<td>1:10:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>straw bench, wheelbarrow wheel</td>
<td></td>
<td>0:11:09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grindstone and break</td>
<td></td>
<td>0:13:09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleigh and 4 pairs of sleigh runners</td>
<td></td>
<td>4:15:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>winnowing shovel, truss of hay, fork, sifting screen, threshing flail</td>
<td></td>
<td>0:03:09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheep</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1:10:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grubbing hoes, harrows, hatchet, corn hoe</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1:02:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cradles and scythes, shovel</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0:16:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sows</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3:05:00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3 barrel kegs and 3 small ones

1 kettle, 1 iron pot, a pan

1 small brass kettle, watering can, bowl (?), quart [container?], tin

Ein kichen schanck
A kitchen cupboard

5 earthen plates, 2 pewter [plates], 2 earthen bowls, 3 wooden plates

Ein stuwen offen
A parlor stove

Ein stuwen offen
A parlor stove

Ein bett und bettlad
A bed and bedstead

bettladen holtz
wood for bedsteads

walntyS holtz vor disch stollen
walnut wood for table legs

gebrochner flax
scutched flax

blancken und bord
planks and boards

hanfsamen mit dem sack
hemp seeds with the sack

Eine Dree banck
A lathe

Ein back Muld
A baking mold

Ein schraub stock
A vice
Ein howel banck mit einer schraub
A planing bench with a screw [vice]

33 howelen
33 planes

2 hand segen 2 kleine 4 Loch segen
2 hand saws, 2 small ones, 4 compass saws

34 Messel
34 chisels

7 Boren
7 brace bits

8 Boren 1 Mesel 5 Nagel boren
8 brace bits, 1 chisel, 5 [awls?]

14 howel eisen 8 feilen
14 plane irons, 8 files

1 beiszang 2 Zerckel ein Zoll stab ein trotzang
1 pair pincers, 2 compasses, a measuring rule, a pair [ ? ] tongs

1 schneid messer 3 winckel ein Zam gebiβ
1 cutting knife, 3 squares, a bridle

1 hand beil 3 hemmer ein dengel stock 3 wetzstein
1 hatchet, 3 hammers, a whetting block, 3 whetstones

1 par woll kratzen 2 sigeln
1 pair wool cards, 2 sickles

Ein bartmesser 1 Jagbaug 2 lichter eine bottel
A razor, 1 hunting bow, 2 candles, a bottle

Zwey stiel 3 back kerb 2 benck
Two chairs, 3 baking baskets, 2 benches

Noten
Notes

buchschaften
book debts

[Total] £119:13:07

[signed] Philipb Knauβ
Johannes Helffrich
NCA Inventory #1778

Das breisment von der hinderlassenschaft des verstorbenen
Christopher Eschbach in Salisbury Township, Northampton County, which is made today the 31st day of December 1796 by us Michael Wewer [Weber] and Cadarina Eschbach, executors of the last will and testament of the above named deceased Eschbach, is as follows:

The land with the saw mill and the buildings belonging thereto

£600:00:00

A house clock

6:10:00

Knives and forks

0:02:00

6 spoons

0:01:00

2 sling glasses

0:02:00

Crockery ware

0:02:00

A coffee mill

0:02:06

A razor

0:01:00

4 pewter plates one pewter platter

0:12:00

A large bible

2:10:00

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Ein hant biebel
A pocket bible

9 bicher
9 books

Ein gleider schranck
A clothes cupboard

Eine flinde
A gun

Ein eussener kössel
An iron kettle

Ein eusen haffen
An iron pot

Ein brat pan ein rost
A frying pan a roasting [pan]

Ein kuchen blatt
A kitchen platter

Ein zinen schissel
A pewter bowl

Erden gescherr
Earthenware

schlegel und keil
mallet and wedge

ein blcy3 haven
a plain pot

Ein zuwerge ein eimer
A tub a bucket

2 eusen haffen
2 iron pots

Ein kuchen pann
A cooking pan

Ein dutzent Ihmen kerb
A dozen bee hives

4 back kerb
4 baking baskets
Ein breid beil  bunt axd und zwerch axd
A broad axe  mortising axe and twibil

Ein graud scherb
A cabbage pot [for pickling?]

4 erden haffen
4 earthen pots

2 spin Retter
2 spinning wheels

geil& gescherr
horse equipment

ein weibs sattel
a woman's saddle

Ein drum seeg
A cross-cut saw

Walni3 bort
Walnut boards

2 hawerref
2 oat cradles

6 Gumen
6 basins

5 fässer
5 casks

8 sensewerf  2 hacken
8 scythe snaths  2 hoes

Ein hackdiel  2 hackmesser  ein schaufel
A chopping board  2 chopping knives  a shovel

Ein greg& Rath
A large wheel

2 hoblen
2 planes

Ein glumen alt eusen
A pile of old iron

2 bellen
2 [bells?]
Ein halbuschel
A half bushel [container]

ald helsen gescher
old [ ? ]

Ein waggen deck und 3 sicheln
A wagon cover and 3 sickles

3 settel und 3 zeem
3 saddles and 3 bridles

Ein gießkan ein blechene botel
A watering can  a tin bottle

2 seck mit hanff
2 sacks with hemp

ein schaaf schez
a sheep shear

Ein hanf högel
A hemp comb

Ein sack mit hanf saamen
A sack with hemp seeds

3 dreß buschel seck
3 three-bushel sacks

Ein kist
A chest

Ein bet und betlath
A bed and bedstead

Ein Tito
A ditto

Ein Tito
A ditto

Ein Kobul rock und 4 pahr hossen
A [ ? ] coat and 4 pairs of pants

Eine quaditet schreiner gescherr
A quantity of joiner's tools

7 bohren
7 brace bits
Ein eussernen offen 6:00:00
An iron stove

Einne quandiedet schreiner hol3 0:03:09
A quantity of joiner's wood

Ein schleif stein 0:07:00
A grindstone

Ein eussern merschel stein bohren ald eussen 0:15:00
An iron chisel, stone augers, old iron

2 botlen ein grug 0:01:06
2 bottles a jug

Ein hiebel banck und dreebanck 0:03:09
A planing bench and lathe

Ein waggen mit dem batte 12:00:00
A wagon with the body

Ein schiebkarg 0:05:00
A wheelbarrow

Ein schnitzel banck 0:02:00
A cutting bench

Ein schlitten 0:07:06
A sleigh

2 mist gabel ein mist hacken 0:06:00
2 dung forks, one dung hoe

ein flax brech 0:03:00
a flax break

Ein Kuh 5:00:00
A cow

Ein Tito 5:05:00
A ditto

Ein bull und ein kührhint 3:00:00
A bull and a [young bull?]

3 küh köttten 0:09:00
3 cow chains

5 Paar Geils gescher 2:15:00
5 sets horse equipment
hey leidern hey sch[ ? ]el
hay ladders, hay [shovel?]

4 schwein
4 hogs

Ein block schliten
A log sled

Ein gaul
A horse

Ein meere
A mare

Ein Tito
A ditto

Eine quantitet heÿ den Zentner [f?] 2
A quantity of hay, [f?] 2 per hundred weight

7 stick schaaf
7 sheep

Ein wint miel
A wind mill

2 schaufeln 2 dresch fliegel 2 heÿ gablen
2 shovels 2 threshing flails 2 hay forks

Ein kist 2 sieber
A chest, 2 screens [for sifting grain]

Ein stroh banck
A straw bench

Ein nagel schmit gescherr
A nailsmith's tools

Ein quantitet kohlen daß buschel 6
A quantity of coal, 6 [pence?] per bushel

3 fässer
3 casks

2 stener ein dar fa 7 felgen
2 water tubs, a [tar?] cask, 7 felloes

5 genssen
5 geese
Ein brant wein kössel
A brandy cauldron

2 heb eussen ein wenring
2 iron crowbars, a [snubring?]

Ein kötten wag
A chain balance

2 sper kotten ein küh kött
2 log-dragging chains, a cow chain

2 schwerm bienen
2 swarms of bees

Ein Pflug
A plow

2 Tito
2 ditto

Ein eisene age
An iron harrow

2 schliten liefer und holá vor ein batte
2 sleigh runners and wood for a body

Ein seider miel
A cider mill

4 haxet fösser
4 hogshead casks

Ein grub hack und schipen
A grubbing hoe and shovels

5 berl füsser
5 barrel casks

Ein faö mit esig 2 halberl fesser
A cask with vinegar, 2 half barrel casks

5 haxset seýder Eil
5 hogsheads of cider ale

ein fessel ein eimer ein dorlockel (?)
a small cask, a bucket, a [  ?  ]

Ein seýder drechter
A cider press
Ein berl fəβ und 2 stener 0:07:06
A barrel cask and 2 water tubs

Ein berl fəβ mit seyder 0:15:00
A barrel cask with cider

Ein Tito 0:06:00
A ditto

Ein axd 0:02:00
An axe

In buch schulden 31:03:04

Total £822:16:00

Dieses bekönen wier als dreły und richtig gebressen nach unsern gut
dencken

This we verify as true and correctly appraised to the best of our
knowledge

[signed]

Martin Ritter

Michel Horlacher
NCA Inventory #1851

Inventory or Appræcement of the Goods And Chattles and Tenement of George Kauffman Late of the Town & County of Northampton State of Pennsylvania Deceased which said Estate is Now Under the Hand Care & Direction of Abraham Rinker & George Kauffman Juř Executors of the said Estate and In the same as followes Viz

- a Wallnut Table £ 2:10:00
- a Ditto 0:15:00
- a Corner Covert [cupboard] 4:00:00
- 8 Chears 1:02:06
- a Ten plated Stove & pipe 7:10:00
- a Do Do Do 4:10:00
- a Ditto Do Do 5:05:00
- a Croa Barow (?) 0:12:00
- a Dung fork 0:05:00
- 2 Garden Hows [hoes] 0:05:00
- a Iron Cittle [kettle] 1:02:06
- a Iron Pott 0:12:06
- a Do Do 0:05:00
- a Fryeng Pann 0:03:09
- a Cake plate 0:07:06
- a familia Tresser [family dresser] 1:05:00
- ten Tin Dishes & plates 0:15:00
- 5 Bewter Plates 0:07:06
- Iron Latch & forks 0:02:00
- a Coffee pott & funnel 0:05:00
Cantle Stiks & Snuffers 0:02:06
a Coffee mill 0:02:00
2 Lamps 0:02:00
a Spate [spade] 0:03:09
2 Bakits [baskets] 0:02:06
a Baking Tup 0:12:00
a Wheelbarow 0:15:00
a Little Tup & Yarn 0:07:06
3 Banshes [benches] 0:07:06
2 Lathers [ladders] 0:02:00
a Hogshead & 6 old Barrels 0:15:00
3 Barrels 0:15:00
a half Hogshead & a Barrel 0:15:00
a Bewrer [bureau] 3:15:00
a Trunk 0:07:06
Coats waists & hads [hats] 11:06:00
15 Spinning wheels 13:02:06
5 Reels 1:05:00
2 D° 0:12:00
a Spinning wheel 0:17:06
a Silver wach 5:12:06
a Gun 2:02:06
a Bed & Bed Stetd 5:00:00
a D° D° 5:00:00
a Bed 0:15:00
a Looking Glass 0:02:00
a Chest 0:11:03
8 old Barrels & 5 [?] Casks 0:15:00
6 old Boxes 0:10:00
a half Bushel & a half peck 0:06:00
2 Trunks 0:15:00
a Rittle (?) & a Roup [rope] 0:05:00
a Spinning wheel 0:07:06
Old window frams 0:10:00
a Crettel [cradle] 0:03:09
a Gen Box 0:01:00
a pair Carts [cards] & woole 0:02:00
2 Brass Candle Stiks 0:15:00
a Sarver & 10 Earthen plates 0:03:09
a Large Bible 2:05:00
Stark's prayer Book 0:07:06
a Testament & Spelling Book 0:03:09
about Eight Loeds of Stones 1:10:00
a maul wage & Ax 0:10:00
a Cow 3:15:00
a Ditto 3:15:00
three Sheeps 1:10:00
three Hogs 3:00:00
Eight Geess 1:00:00
Cash 14:17:01
Book accounts Due
the House & Lott
2 Lotts adjoining the aforesaid
two Rakes
a Brass Cittle [kettle]
a Hammer Chissel & Sundris

Household Goods
the whole [sic] £545:10:04

We whose Names are Hereunto Subscribed Testified herewith that the above is a True State & Account of the said George Kauffman Deceased aforesaid, Valued and Appraised By us. According to the Best of Skill and our Acknowledgements the 31st Day of August 1798

[signed]
Jacob Newhard
Abraham Albert

Invontary for Apraisment of the Turning Tools & Wood of the Said Geo. Kauffman Deceased as Aforesaid And the same as followeth Viz

All the Turning wood £11:10:00
a Cross Cutt Saw 0:15:00
2 Crine Stones [grindstones] 1:02:06
a Turning Loom 7:10:00
a Ditto Loom 6:15:00
a Large Iron Screw [vice] 1:15:00
4 Saws 1:07:06
2 Drawing knifes 0:06:00
a Brase & 30 Bitts 2:18:03
a Ditto & 7 Bitts 0:11:03
a Hulduck (?) 0:07:06
a Chisle & Pinshers 0:02:06
three plains 0:10:00
a Sett of Punshers 0:04:00
a Meshain [machine] 0:02:06
5 Aukers [augers] 0:12:00
22 Turning Bitts 1:05:00
12 Wooden Screws [clamps] 1:04:00
Files & Cumperce [compass] 0:07:06
4 Spintles [spindles] 0:04:00
13 Chisles 0:14:03
14 D° 0:17:06
5 hooks 0:05:00
11 Files 0:03:00
a Oil Stone 0:03:09
6 Teaberin [tapering] Bitts 1:05:00
3 Hammers 0:07:06
a plyer Nipper & Sun$ 0:07:06
a Rule 0:01:06
5 Cutt Irons 2:12:06
a Screw [vice] 0:07:06
a Press 0:15:00

The hwole [sic] amounts of Turning Tooles as afore: £47:06:06
We Whose Names are hereunto Subscribed & Testified Herewith that the
Above is a true Account of the Turning tools of the said Geo. Kauffman
Deceased Aforesaid Vallued & Appraised By us According to the Best of
Our Aknowledgements the 31st Day of August 1798

[signed]

Jacob Newhard

Martin Leibert
NCA Inventory #1898

Inventario Or Appracement of the Goods & Chattles of Jacob Spinner Late of Sallesbourgh Township Northampton County State of Pennsylvania Deceased Which Said Estate is Now Under the Hands Care & Direction of Jacob Spinner JR & John Spinner Administrators of the Estate and in the Same as followeth Viz [taken in 1799]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14 Acres of Rie at £1/10 pÉ Acres</td>
<td>£21:00:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Acres of Wheat at £3/10 pÉ acre</td>
<td>7:00:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Wind mill &amp; Sund£</td>
<td>1:10:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Cutting Box &amp; knife</td>
<td>0:15:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Aplemill</td>
<td>1:00:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all the Horses Gears</td>
<td>3:00:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Pitch Dung fork &amp; Dung hook</td>
<td>0:03:09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a few Rakes &amp; thrash fleals</td>
<td>0:02:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Cheans at</td>
<td>1:00:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Crine Stones [grindstones] &amp; Wheebarrow</td>
<td>0:07:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Hoppels at</td>
<td>0:04:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Waggon &amp; 3 pair of Lathers [ladders]</td>
<td>5:00:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Hand Screw</td>
<td>0:15:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Plows &amp; S£</td>
<td>1:00:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to Clappboads Scandlings &amp; Sun£</td>
<td>0:07:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Staks of Bees</td>
<td>1:00:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Maul &amp; 3 wages [wedges]</td>
<td>0:05:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Drawing knife &amp; Sunds.</td>
<td>0:05:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1200 Lathels of 1/0d pÉ 100</td>
<td>0:12:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to Sith£ 2 Cradles 2 Cutting knifes</td>
<td>0:05:00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
3 Ax\$ 0:03:09
a Cutting Banch & 0:01:00
a Harrow & Log Slate [sled] 0:05:00
to Old Iron 0:01:00
a Large Blain [plane] 0:03:09
Sund\$ Other Blains at 0:07:06
2 old Bedstets & Chest 0:02:06
A Cotting Wool [cotten wheel?], & Spinning wheel at 0:05:00
4 old Straw Baskits 0:02:00
3 Bells at 0:02:00
to Carpenter Tools 0:15:00
to 3 Board Saws 2:00:00
2 hechels [hackles] 0:07:06
a Woomen Sadle & Sun\$ 0:02:06
a Cloth Tresser [clothes dresser] 0:07:06
2 Old Chests at 0:10:00
2 Beds & Bedstets 6:00:00
3 Bushels of Wheat at 1:07:00
3 Bushels of Rie 0:12:00
about 5 Bushels of Bukwheat 0:12:06
2 half Bushels 0:02:00
a 24 houer Clock 5:00:00
a pipe Stove & pipes 6:00:00
3 Tables & a Stand 1:15:00
4 Chears 0:15:00

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
a Family Tresser 0:05:00
a Ditto 0:15:00
3 Iron potts & Kitle 0:12:00
a Copper Ditto 0:07:06
2 Panns & Cake plate 0:10:00
14 Bewter Plates 0:12:00
3 Ditto Dishes & 2 Large plates 0:15:00
20 Ditto Spoones quarts & pints 0:10:00
4 Brass Ladles & fork 0:10:00
to Tin Were & Coffee mill 0:03:09
a pott Chane Toungs, Spates & Great Iron [grate?] 0:15:00
12 Bukits & a pale 0:07:06
2 Guns & 2 powder Horns 0:10:00
to Reesors [razors] a Case & Sund\textsuperscript{5} 0:01:00
2 Tups, funnel & Sun\textsuperscript{5} 0:15:00
3 Hogsheads 1:00:00
2 Casks & a Barrel 0:05:00
8 Smale Casks & a Churn 0:08:03
To Earthen Were 0:02:00
to 5 Hows [hoes] & 3 Spates [spades] 0:07:06
3 Hammers Pinchers & Sun\textsuperscript{5} 0:10:00
a Man Sadle Bridle & Sadle Bags 2:00:00
a Silver Watch 3:00:00
a Large Bible & 19 other Books 3:00:00
2 fine Hats 1:10:00

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
a Crate Coat 2:00:00
2 Chakits [jackets] & 2 pair of Bridches 0:15:00
a Coat 0:15:00
3 pair of Trousers 0:07:06
one pair of Boots & 2 pair of Shoes 1:02:06
a Brown Horse at 15:00:00
a Sorrel Mare 15:00:00
a Bay Coald, 2 years 12:00:00
a Mare & a Coald 4:00:00
4 old Gees & 3 young of 0:10:00
4 Cows at 15:00:00
a Heffer 1:10:00
7 Sheep at 2:12:06
5 Hogs at 5:00:00
a Stiliard 0:10:00
a Sheep Sheer & Slate 0:02:06
10 Saw Logs 1:00:06
Book Accounts Against Sund$ Peopel 54:00:02

The Appracement of Said Estate Amounts To the Sum of £223:02:11
On Bonds the Sum of 60:00:00

[Total] Amounts £283:02:11
Figure 1. Clothes press; Salisbury Township, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania; 1792. Tulip and white pine, no microanalysis; H. 81-7/16" (206.8 cm) W. 83" (210.8 cm) D. 26" (66.0 cm). Inscribed "Jacob Bieber." Private collection (photo: the author).
Figure 1a. Detail, drawer front (photo: courtesy, Benno M. Forman).
Figure 2. Drawer (inverted) from chest; poss. Northampton County, Pennsylvania; 1796. Tulip and white pine, no microanalysis. Northampton County Historical Society (photo: the author).
Figure 3. Drawer (inverted) from high chest of drawers; attr. to shop of Major John Dunlap I; Bedford, New Hampshire; c. 1780. Maple and white pine, no microanalysis. Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum (photo: the author).
Figure 4. Chest; Salisbury Township, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania; 1792. Wood(s) not known; H. 30½" (77.5 cm) W. 53" (134.6 cm) D. 24" (61.0 cm). Inscribed "Nachtdalena Leabelsperger." Private collection; illustrated in Monroe Fabian, The Pennsylvania-German Decorated Chest, p. 202, fig. 227 (original photo: Geoffrey Clements).
Figure 5. Chest; Salisbury Township, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania; 1783. Tulip, no microanalysis; H. 30-3/4" (78.1 cm) W. 52-3/16" (132.5 cm) D. 24" (61.0 cm). Inscribed "MGP." Annie S. Kemerer Museum (photo: the author).
Figure 5a. Detail, painted compass-work design (photo: the author).
Figure 5b. Detail, back dovetails of drawer (photo: the author).
Figure 5c. Detail, bottom of drawer (photo: the author).
Figure 5d. Detail, peg attaching molding to front edge of lid (photo: the author).
Figure 6. Chest; Salisbury Township, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania; 1784. Tulip, no microanalysis; H. 30-3/8" (77.2 cm) W. 51-3/4" (131.5 cm) D. 23-1/4" (59.0 cm). Inscribed "Maria Keller." Private collection (photo: courtesy, the owner).
Figure 7. Chest; Salisbury Township, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania; 1789. White pine and tulip, no microanalysis; H. 30-3/4" (78.1 cm) W. 52-5/8" (133.6 cm) D. 23-5/16" (59.2 cm). Inscribed "Michael Finck." Barnes Foundation.
Figure 8. Chest; Salisbury Township, Lehigh County (?), Pennsylvania; 1797. Tulip and white pine, no microanalysis; H. 30" (76.2 cm) W. 52-5/8" (133.6 cm) D. 24-11/16" (62.7 cm). Inscribed "Maria Griesmer." Private collection (photo: the author).
Figure 9. Chest; Oley Valley, Berks County (?), Pennsylvania; 1789. Tulip, no microanalysis; H. 27-9/16" (70.0 cm) W. 48-1/4" (122.5 cm) D. 22-1/2" (57.1 cm). Inscribed "Elisabeth Guldin." Mr. and Mrs. Richard Levengood (photo: the author).
Figure 10. Chest; Salisbury Township, Lehigh County (?), Pennsylvania; 1797. Wood(s), dimensions, and current whereabouts unknown. Inscribed "Johan Griesmer." Illustrated in brochure dated May 29, 1947 for Kleinfelter's Auction Rooms, Lebanon, Pennsylvania. (Photocopy, courtesy Monroe Fabian. Photo: the author.)
Figure 11. Chest, Lower Macungie Township (?), Lehigh County, Pennsylvania; 1762. Pine, no micro-analysis. H. 26" (66.0 cm) W. 53" (134.6 cm) D. 23-3/4" (60.3 cm). Inscribed "E.V.A.ST.N.R.II." Mr. and Mrs. John Leh, on loan to Lehigh County Historical Society (photo: courtesy, Winterthur Libraries, Decorative Arts Photographic Collection).
Figure 12. Chest; Alsace, France; early 19th century. Wood(s) not known; H. 33-1/2" (85.0 cm) W. 65" (165.0 cm) D. 26-3/4" (68.0 cm). Made for Magdalena Elvin of Duttenheim. Private collection; illustrated in Georges Klein, *Le Mobilier Polychrome en Alsace*, plate XXIVa.
Figure 13. Detail from cupboard; Alsace, France; 1776. Wood(s) not known. Private collection; illustrated in Georges Klein, Le Mobilier Polychrome en Alsace, plate XIXa.