## History of the Moore-Irwin House 1: The Moores

We believe that the house began as a log structure built sometime between 1752 and 1774 by John Moore (1726-1778.) John's grandfather had acquired land from the Aubreys, the Aubrey family having acquired the land through William Aubrey who was the husband of Letitia Penn. Letitia Penn's "Manor of Mount Joy" encompassed almost all of the area of today's Upper Merion Township.

The original land was subsequently divided between John and his brother, Mordecai Moore (1735-1802.) The 1774 tax records show Mordecai owning 100 acres, while John owned 275 acres (fig. 1.) This uneven division could be explained in two ways. John may have bought out his other siblings, or it may have been the case that Mordecai ended up with less land because he inherited the family house. Indeed, later tax records show that Mordecai had a stone house, while John's two sons had log dwellings (shown later.)

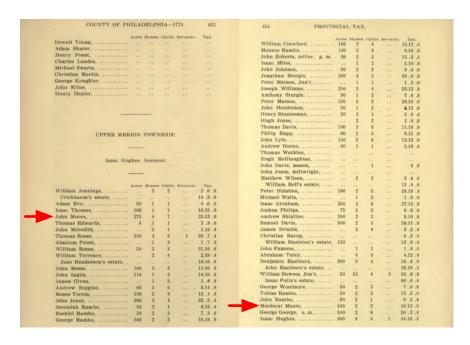


Fig. 1. 1774 Upper Merion Tax Records, County of Philadelphia Provincial Tax. Republished in William Henry Egle, ed., Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series, Volume 14, pp. 453-454. Accessed at The Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/ pennsylvaniaser314harruoft/page/ 724/mode/2up

The division of the land between Mordecai and John can be seen on a map of the encampment produced by the Valley Forge Park Commission in 1897 (fig. 2.) Mordecai's land is currently part of Valley Forge National Historical Park, and his home, shown on the map as "COMMISSARY GENL'S HEADQRS," is now the ranger station not far from North Gulph Road. The current Moore-Irwin House is marked on the map as "GEN'L MUHLENBERG'S HEADQRS."

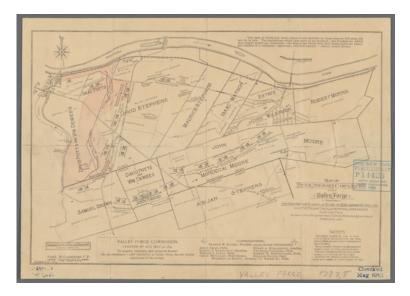


Fig. 2. 1897 Valley Forge Park Commission Map. New York Public Library, accessed at https://nypl.getarchive.net/media/map-of-revolutionary-camp-ground-at-valley-forge-showing-ownership-of-lands-2768ff

It seems quite likely that John built the original log structure before the division of the property in order to have a place to live and raise his family. In her graduate thesis for Penn State, Beth Twiss (who later worked for the Historical Society of Philadelphia and is currently executive director of Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center) created a family tree for the Moore family based on her research (fig. 3; Twiss' thesis is included as a separate attachment.) The house may have been built at about the time John and his wife Jane had their first child in 1752. But almost certainly by 1774 the house must have existed when we know for sure that the land had been divided.

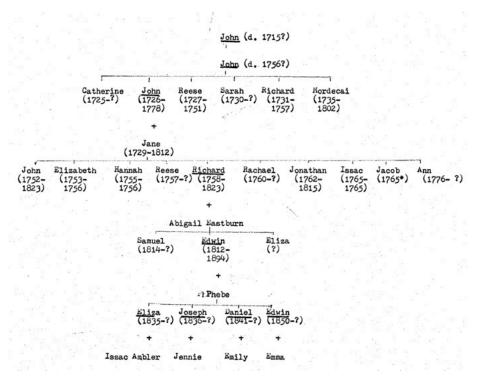
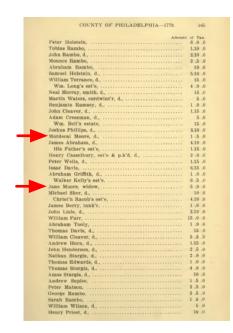


Fig. 3. Moore Family Tree, from Beth Ann Twiss, Wintering 1777/1778: The History of Peter Muhlenberg's Headquarters, Honors Thesis, Penn State University, 1979. Originally accessed at the PHMC website, but no longer available. Note that Twiss traces the ownership of the house by underlining, however we believe that the ownership of the house began with John Moore (1726-1778.)

In the 1779 State Tax records for Upper Merion, Mordecai Moore is still listed, however Jane Moore is listed as a widow. This date is consistent with Twiss' research that John died in 1778. John's oldest son John (1752-1823) is also listed "p.h'd" which is an abbreviation of "per head." That would mean that he was a male in majority but didn't own any land (fig. 4.)



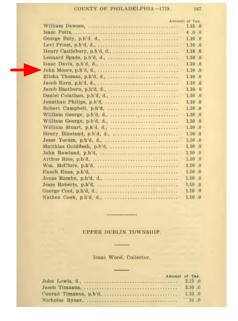


Fig. 4. 1779 Upper Merion Tax Records, County of Philadelphia Five Shilling Tax. Republished in William Henry Egle, ed., Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series, Volume 15, p. 165, 167. Accessed at The Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/ pennsylvaniaser315harruoft/ pennsylvaniaser315harruoft/

In the 1783 Philadelphia County Federal Tax records, Jane Moore is listed as owning 270 acres. John, the oldest son and his brother Richard (1758-1823) are listed. While John owned livestock on which he was taxed, neither owned any land as yet (fig. 5.)

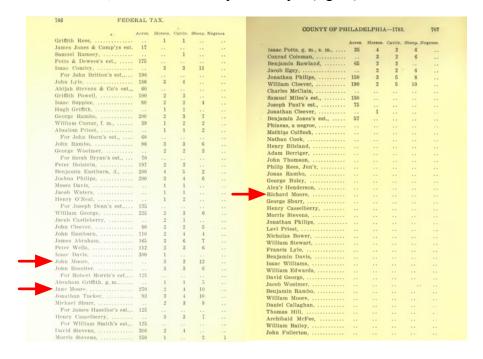


Fig. 5. 1783 Upper Merion Tax Records, County of Philadelphia Federal Tax. Republished in William Henry Egle, ed., Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series, Volume 16, pp. 706-707. Accessed at The Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/ pennsylvaniaser316harruoft/ pennsylvaniaser316harruoft/

In the 1785 Philadelphia County Federal Tax records, John and Richard are each listed as owning 135 acres - half of what their mother Jane was previously listed as owning (fig. 6.) Jane Moore is no longer listed. Richard is also taxed separately as a single man, and would be until he married in 1807.

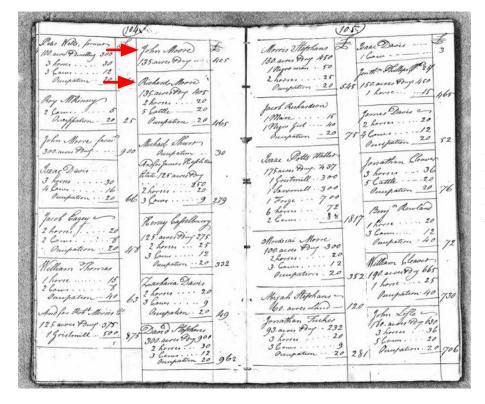


Fig. 6. 1785 Upper Merion Tax Records, Pennsylvania Tax and Exoneration, 1768-1801. Pennsylvania Museum and Historic Commission. Accessed at Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com/search/ collections/2497/

The first definitive record of a house on the property is in the records of the 1798 Federal Glass Tax, where John and Richard are listed as having log dwellings, while Mordecai, their uncle, is listed as having a stone dwelling (fig. 7.) We may infer that at the time of the 1779 tax record, John had moved out and perhaps had built or would soon build his own log dwelling, leaving Jane and Richard in the original log dwelling listed under Richard in the 1798 Glass Tax. It was a one-story, 20' x 35' log house, which we believe was incorporated into the present Moore-Irwin House (evidence to follow.)

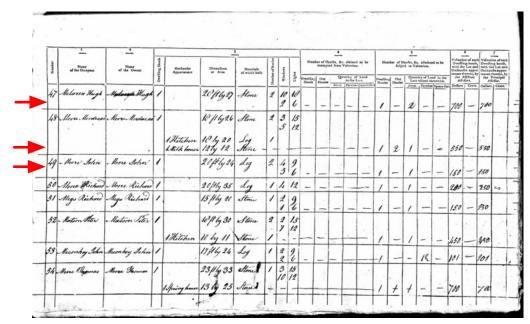


Fig. 7. 1798 Upper Merion Tax Records, U.S. Direct Tax Lists, 1798, known as the "Window Pane Tax" or "Glass Tax." National Archives and Records Administration. Accessed at Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com/search/

collections/2060/

Note that this record was listed under "Abington," however, on the first page of the record is clearly written "Upper Merion," and the names in the record match previous Upper Merion tax records.

Considering both John and Richard have log dwellings in 1798, we may well wonder whether Richard's house was the original log dwelling built by his father. There are several lines of evidence that would suggest that this was indeed the case. First, consider the fact that John married well before Richard, and would presumably have moved out of the original house to start a family. This line of thinking is further reinforced by the fact that Jane most likely remained in the house she shared with her husband, and we know that Jane was paid rent by Richard, according to the 1787 indenture. Finally, we note that in the 1798 Glass Tax, Richard's single-story, 700 square foot log dwelling was assessed at \$250, whereas John's two-story, 960 square foot log dwelling was assessed at only \$150. Being an older dwelling, Richard's house would have had more time to accrue structural conveniences.

Although the 1798 tax list is the first definitive record of the existence of the house, there are two prior historical connections for the house: as the quarters of General Peter Muhlenberg during the 1777-1778 Valley Forge encampment, and as the house of Jane Moore that George Washington, in the company of Gouverneur Morris and his wife, visited during the 1787 Constitutional Convention.

As for the first historical connection, multiple secondary sources consider the current Moore-Irwin house to be the quarters of General Peter Muhlenberg during the Valley Forge encampment, however these mostly seem to stem from two sources. The first is an 1833 map drawn by William Davis who is said to have lived in the encampment during 1777-78, as attested to by General Anthony Wayne's son (*Valley Forge Historical Research Report III*, Wayne K Bodle and Jacqueline Thibault, 1980, p. 17.) Although done 55 years after the encampment, it is the only known rendering of the encampment done within living memory. Muhlenberg's Quarters are shown in the approximate location of the current Moore-Irwin house (fig. 8.)

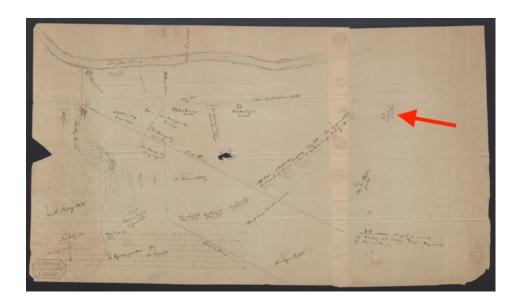


Fig. 8. The 1833 Davis-Sparks-Armstrong Map showing the encampment. Cornell University Digital Collections. Accessed at https://digital.library.cornell.edu/ catalog/ss:545279

The second source for the current house being Muhlenberg's Quarters is more specific, but more removed from the time of the encampment. Henry Woodman wrote a series of letters circa 1850 mainly based on the stories told to him his mother and father which were published in book form in 1920. Woodman's father Edward was a soldier in Washington's army during the encampment, and his mother Sarah grew up on a farm on the periphery. Henry Woodman grew up in Valley Forge and was considered to be an expert in the oral history.

The [Moore] property embraced in the lines of the encampment, and lying in the northeastern and northern section of it, in the county of Montgomery, will claim our notice in this communication. The greater portion of this property at that time belonged to John and Mordecai Moore, and has been noticed in some former numbers. On this property fortifications were constructed and pickets placed. At John Moore's, which was the furthest from Headquarters, Muhlenberg was quartered in company with a number of inferior officers; and at the house of Mordecai Moore, the Commissary General of the army was stationed, and General Morgan was occasionally quartered at the place. [...]

The farm or rather farms of John Moore will now claim our attention. As noticed in a former letter, John Moore, the owner of them, at the time Muhlenberg took up his headquarters at the place, died soon after, on the first day of the year 1778. Two of his sons, John and Richard Moore, took possession of the property. The mansion where Muhlenberg was quartered was taken by Richard Moore, and was the farthest extent of the lines of encampment in a northeastern direction, and nearest to the city of Philadelphia.

Henry Woodman, The History of Valley Forge, published 1920, pp. 124-125. The HathiTrust. Accessed at https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008427875

Previous to the publication of Woodman's letters, the Valley Forge Park Commission published a report in which they listed the current Moore-Irwin house as Muhlenberg's Quarters, based on the research of William John Campbell of Berwyn (fig. 9.)

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Name of Officer. Owner's Name, 1777-78. Owner's name, 1898.		Abel Reese,	Est. Mary Reese; near Lime Kil Cassatt avenue; on road from wyn; original house.

Fig. 9. Quarters of the Officers at Valley Forge in 1777-78, from The Report of the Valley Forge Park Commission 1906. Library of Congress. Accessed at: https://www.loc.gov/item/11015909/

For the Moore-Irwin house to be Muhlenberg's Quarters during the encampment, we would have to take these accounts at their word, and assume that the original log dwelling has been incorporated into the current house.

As for the second historical connection, the visit to Jane Moore's house, we do have direct primary source evidence in the form of George Washington's diary entries for July 30 and 31, 1787.

Monday. 30th. In company with Mr. Govr. Morris, and in his Phaeton with my horses; went up to one Jane Moores in the vicinity of Valley-forge to get Trout.

Tuesday 31st. Whilst Mr. Morris was fishing I rid over the old Cantonment of the American [army] of the Winter 1777, & 8. Visited all the Works, wch. were in Ruins; and the Incampments in woods where the ground had not been cultivated.

On my return back to Mrs. Moores, observing some Farmers at Work, and entering into Conversation with them, I received the following information with respect to the mode of cultivating Buck Wheat, (cont.) and the application of the grain. Viz.—The usual time of sowing, is from the 10th. to the 20th. of July—on two plowings and as many harrowings at least—The grain to be harrowed in. [...] On my return to Mrs. Moores I found Mr. Robt. Morris & his lady there.

"[July 1787]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/01-05-02-0002-0007. [Original source: *The Diaries of George Washington*, vol. 5, 1 July 1786–31 December 1789, ed. Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979, pp. 173–179.]

Consistent with this description, the current Moore-Irwin house is situated very close to what is now known as Trout Creek. For the visit described by Washington to have happened at the current house, we would only have to assume that the house of Jane Moore was in fact the log dwelling later attributed to Richard in the 1798 Federal Glass Tax record and that the original log dwelling was incorporated into the current house.

In 1787 a series of indentures were signed between the siblings, Richard, John (and his wife), Rachel and Jonathan Moore, settling the estate, their father having died intestate. The settlement in essence codified the 50-50 split of the land between Richard and John already noted in the 1785 Upper Merion tax assessment, with the other siblings relinquishing their claims on the estate. Jane, their mother, is also mentioned as the recipient of rent payments, which is consistent with Richard living in the house still owned by her. Although houses and buildings are generally mentioned in the indentures, no specific house is described (figs. 10-13.)



Fig. 10. 1787 Indenture: Jonathan Moore and Rachel Moore to Richard Moore. Photographed at the Historical Society of Montgomery County.



Fig. 11. 1787 Indenture: Richard Moore to John Moore. Photographed at the Historical Society of Montgomery County.



Fig. 12. 1787 Indenture: John Moore & Wife to Richard Moore. Photographed at the Historical Society of Montgomery County.

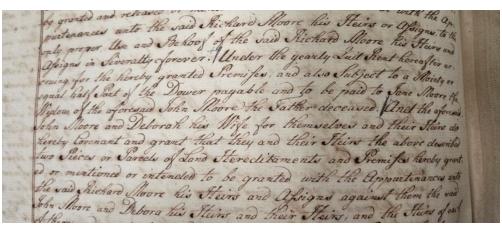


Fig. 13. 1787 Indenture: John Moore & Wife to Richard Moore - the portion mentioning Jane Moore is shown. Photographed at the Historical Society of Montgomery County.

In 1998, Westfield Architects & Preservation Consultants (WAPC) executed an architectural survey and assessment of the house for Upper Merion Township. This assessment is included as a separate attachment. In that assessment, WAPC conclude that the first stone portion of the house was constructed sometime between 1798 and 1810, with the most likely date being closer to 1810. The WAPC survey cites 1810 and 1811 Upper Merion tax assessments where the assessed value of the land and house jumps from \$1,700 to \$7,500. Unfortunately, we have been unable to access those documents.

While we agree with the WAPC assessment with respect to the timing of the construction of the first stone portion of the house, we note that the assessment does not consider the possibility that the original log dwelling could have been incorporated into the house. In fact, the assessment documents the log dwelling mainly as evidence that the currently existing house could not have been General Muhlenberg's quarters.

The WAPC assessment is also concerned with disputing the account of the house's history put forth by Beth Twiss in her graduate thesis for Penn State (WAPC, pp. 2.9-2.10; Twiss' paper is included as a separate attachment.) Twiss asserted that the first stone portion of the house predates the 1777-1778 encampment (Twiss, p. 6.) We believe that WAPC are right to dispute Twiss' assertion and her chronology of the changes to that part of the house given the evidence of the 1798 Federal Glass Tax records. However, we note that if the log dwelling were incorporated into the current house, then one could argue that the house does indeed predate the encampment and that it could have served as General Muhlenberg's quarters and could have been visited by George Washington.

The circa 1810 stone addition faced the creek and was two stories with an attic. We believe that the stone addition was attached on the west side of the log dwelling, sharing the fireplace wall. The WAPC places the date of the next addition to the building circa 1820, based on the inventory of Richard Moore's estate when he died in 1823. The addition would have been 2 stories with two rooms on each level, attached on the west side of the circa 1810 stone portion. At some point, the roof of the older stone portion would have been raised to match, leaving a window mismatch still visible today. The log structure may have been altered at the same time or at some point afterward, as photos of the house circa 1900 show a unified stucco exterior (fig. 14.) After Richard's death, the house passed to his son Edwin who retained ownership of the house until his death in 1894.



Fig. 14. The south side of the house circa 1900, looking northward from Trout Creek. From the William Burwell Collection, courtesy of the Tredyffrin Easttown Historical Society. The different sections of the house are noted.

Before describing the history of the house after Richard's ownership, we now consider the evidence that the original log structure was incorporated into the current house. There are three lines of evidence in favor of this hypothesis: (1) the materials evident in the fireplace wall between the circa 1810 stone portion and the proposed location of the original log structure, (2) the shape of the fireplace wall, and (3) the asymmetry of the 1810 portion of the house.

The fireplace wall is on the east side of the circa 1810 stone section of the house shows signs of having been part of an older structure. The fireplaces were later sealed up on the first floor. Figs. 15 & 16 show the fireplace wall on the first floor.



Fig. 15. The fireplace wall, viewed from west side, that is, from the circa 1810 addition.
From the archive of the King of Prussia
Historical Society.

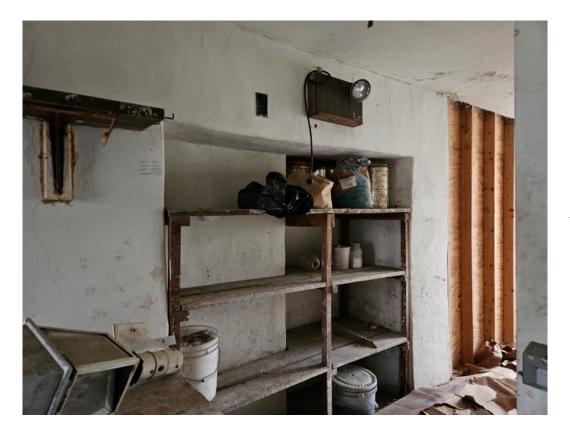


Fig. 16. The fireplace wall, viewed from east side, that is, from the proposed location of the log structure. From the archive of the King of Prussia Historical Society.

That same wall in the basement has an fireplace-like opening in the stucco which shows very rough wood, one piece of which is cylindrical in shape (figs. 17 & 18.). The rough wood and cylindrical shape are consistent log construction.



Fig. 17. An opening in the fireplace wall in the basement, showing rough wood. From the archive of the King of Prussia Historical Society.



Fig. 18. An opening in the fireplace wall in the basement, showing rough wood, one piece of which is cylindrical in shape. From the archive of the King of Prussia Historical Society.

Furthermore, the wall is quite thick and has an irregular shape (fig. 19.) If the circa 1810 stone portion of the house were built as a stand-alone structure, it would be odd to construct an unusually thick, irregularly shaped outer wall. Indeed, in the addition put on only about 10 years later, fireplaces were constructed along more regular lines at either end.

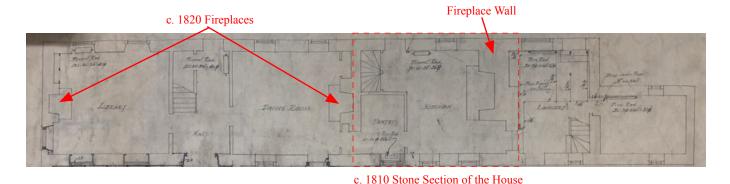


Fig. 19. Location of the circa 1810 stone section of the house in relation to the fireplace wall, shown on plans drawn up in preparation for the 1932 addition to the house. From the R. Brognard Okie Architectural Papers. Photographed at the Pennsylvania State Archives in Harrisburg.

Finally, a comparison of the north and south elevations of the c. 1810 portion of the house reveals an unusual asymmetry in the window and door layout (fig. 20 & 21.) On the south elevation, the circa 1810 stone portion of the house is three bays wide. The north elevation, in contrast, has a blank wall where the third column of bays should be, which is precisely where the fireplace wall joins the front face. This goes against what is commonly accepted as one of the hallmarks of the Federal Style: "The design of the Federal style emphasizes balance and symmetry. This may be seen in the arrangement of windows, chimneys, doors, porches, and balustrades." (Federal Style Architecture, Hamilton Grange Memorial site on the National Park Service's website. Accessed at: https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/federal-style-architecture.htm#:~:text=The%20design%20of%20the%20Federal,stacks%20protruding%20above%20the %20home.)



Fig. 20. North and south elevations of the c. 1810 portion of house, annotated. Created from current photos.

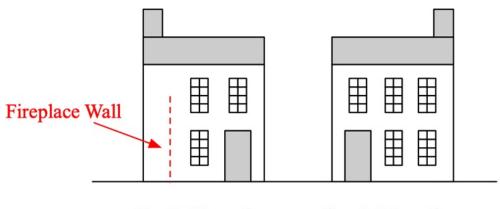


Fig. 21. Line drawing of the north and south elevations of the c. 1810 portion of house, showing the location of the fireplace wall.

**North Elevation** 

**South Elevation** 

Thus from three separate lines of evidence, the composition of the fireplace wall, the irregular and thick nature of the fireplace wall, and the unusual asymmetry of the circa 1810 stone portion of the house, we infer that this part of the house was an addition onto the original log dwelling built by John Moore sometime between 1752 and 1774, and that the two parts were attached at the fireplace wall.

Thus the current Moore-Irwin house contains the fireplace that would have been present for the visit to the house by George Washington and Gouverneur Morris and his wife in 1787, and for Peter Muhlenberg's stay during the 1777-1778 Valley Forge encampment. Although one could argue that a single wall does not substantially connect the house to the past, a fireplace is the very heart of any house. Possibly Jane Moore cooked the trout that Gouverneur Morris caught in that fireplace, and relaxed by the fire after dinner with Morris and his wife, George Washington and her son Richard.

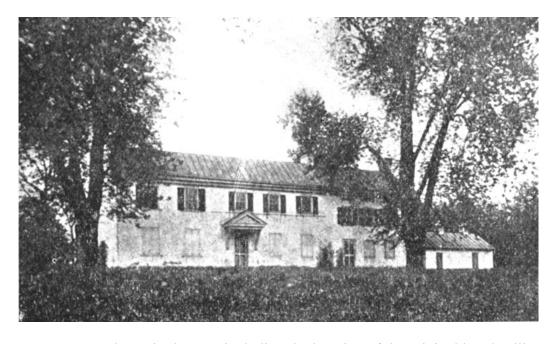


Fig. 22. Photo of the house c. 1920 showing the unified stucco facade and metal roof. From Henry Woodman, The History of Valley Forge. Accessed at the Hathi Trust website: https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc2.ark:/13960/t58c9rh91&seq=150

By 1900, the entire house - including the location of the original log dwelling - has a unified stucco or whitewash facade and the entire structure has a metal roof (fig. 22.) It is not clear whether the log dwelling is still there under the stucco/whitewash, or had been rebuilt when the photo was taken. That portion of the house was afterwards renovated twice - by Alexander Irwin in 1918 and again by Irwin in 1946 according to designs by Richardson Brognard Okie. Yet there is an odd collection of mismatched wood joists underneath that section, some of which show evidence of being worked by hand tools. This sort of re-use of hand-worked wood is far more likely to have happened earlier in the house's history.

In contrast to the mismatched joists under the eastern section of the house where we think the log dwelling was, photos of the joists under the circa 1810 stone addition show even, parallel, vertical saw marks, indicating that they were produced by a machine operated pit saw in a mill (figs 23 & 24.).



Fig. 23. Joist under the circa 1810 stone addition showing vertical, evenly spaced saw marks. From the archive of the King of Prussia Historical Society.



Fig. 24. Joist under the circa 1810 stone addition showing vertical, evenly spaced saw marks. From the archive of the King of Prussia Historical Society.

Most of the joists under the circa 1820 stone addition also show even, parallel, vertical saw marks, while a few (possibly added for strength during the Okie alterations) show curving marks indicating a circular saw blade (figs. 25 & 26.)



Fig. 25. Joist under the circa 1820 addition showing vertical, evenly spaced saw marks. From the archive of the King of Prussia Historical Society.



Fig. 26. Support beam under some of the joists in the circa 1820 addition showing curved saw marks. From the archive of the King of Prussia Historical Society.

Under the section of the house where we believe the log structure existed east of the circa 1810 addition, we find a variety of mis-matched wood joists, some darker in color than others (figs. 27 & 28.)



Fig. 27. Joist under the house, east of the circa 1810 addition, showing different colors of wood. From the archive of the King of Prussia Historical Society.



Fig. 28. Joist under the house, east of the circa 1810 addition, showing different colors of wood. From the archive of the King of Prussia Historical Society.

Some of the wood joists have cuts in them that appear to have been done by hand tools as well as other marks not consistent with a machine operated saw (figs. 29-34.)



Fig. 29. Joist under the house east of the circa 1810 addition, showing marks not indicative of machine sawing. From the archive of the King of Prussia Historical Society.



Fig. 30. Joist under the house east of the circa 1810 addition, showing marks not indicative of machine sawing. From the archive of the King of Prussia Historical Society.



Fig. 31. Joist under the house east of the circa 1810 addition, showing marks not indicative of machine sawing. The holes may have been for wood dowels, which were often used before iron nails became available in large quantities. From the archive of the King of Prussia Historical Society.



Fig. 32. Joist under the house east of the circa 1810 addition, showing a cut possibly made by hand tools. From the archive of the King of Prussia Historical Society.



Fig. 33. Joist under the house east of the circa 1810 addition, showing a cut possibly made by hand tools. From the archive of the King of Prussia Historical Society.



Fig. 34. Joist under the house east of the circa 1810 addition, showing marks not indicative of machine sawing. From the archive of the King of Prussia Historical Society.

We surmise that these wood joists were reused from a part of the house older than the circa 1810 addition, possibly from the original log structure.

Fig. 35 visually shows what we think is the chronology of the house up to circa 1820 based on the evidence we've uncovered.

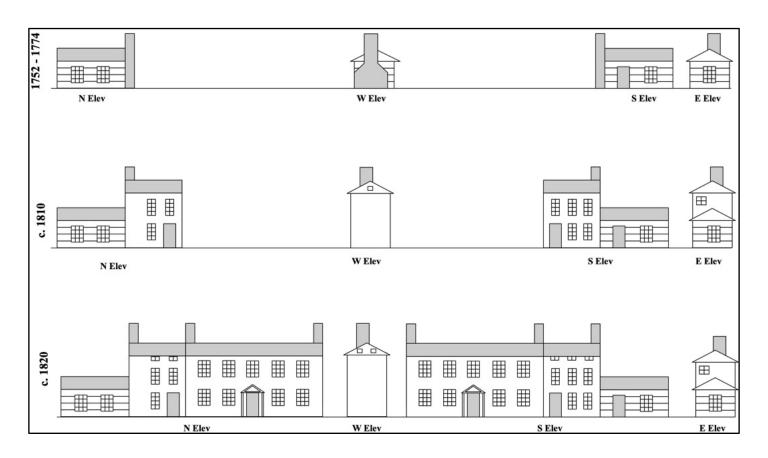


Fig. 35. King of Prussia Historical Society recreation of the evolution of the house 1752-1820.