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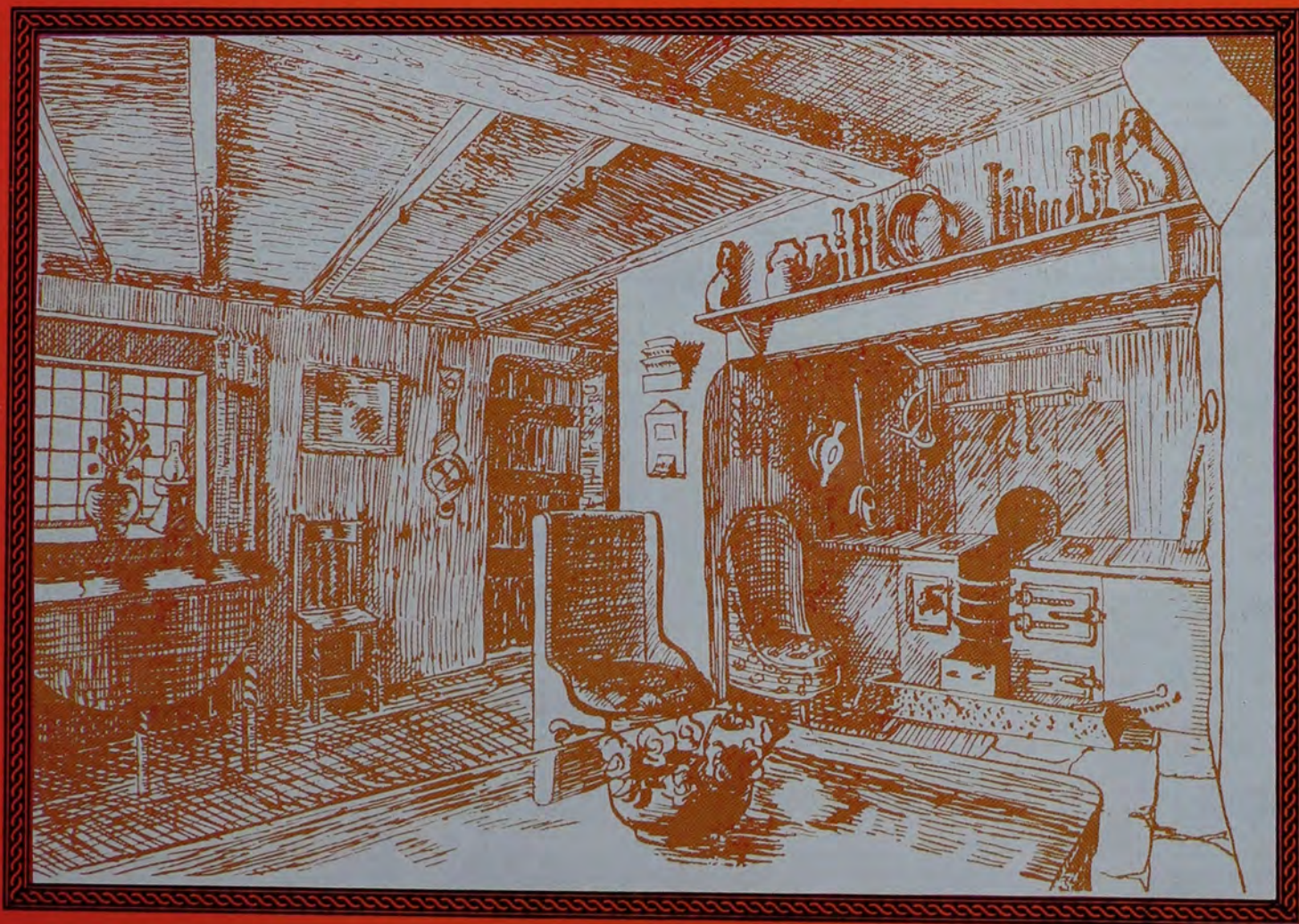
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Pennsylvania FOLKLIFE

WINTER 1973-1974



Welsh Emigration to Colonial Pennsylvania

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Pennsylvania FOLKLIFE



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WILLS AND INVENTORIES OF THE FIRST PURCHASERS OF THE WELSH TRACT

By JANE SPENCER EDWARDS

The purpose of this paper is something of an experiment: Selecting a band of Welshmen about whom a certain amount is known as a group, I set out to discover how much could be learnt about their material culture from their wills and inventories, with the broader purpose of establishing the extent to which such documents may be useful in the study of the history of material culture.

It was necessary to severely limit the number of documents to be studied, for two reasons: firstly, the study of documents for someone untrained in paleog-

raphy and calligraphy is a lengthy, exhausting, and often frustrating business; and secondly, without strict limitations one can find oneself establishing too high a cut-off point, that is, pursuing fascinating clues which lead to interesting but sometimes irrelevant information.

My reasons for selecting the "First Purchasers" is that they constitute a group with certain unities; and considering the early date of the settlement, they are well-documented, though not from the aspect of their material culture. They all came from PenLlyn, in Merionethshire in Wales, and they all bought land



Merion Friends Meetinghouse, from Glenn, Merion in the Welsh Tract.

in the Welsh Tract, to the extent of 5000 acres, in an area which they named Merion—currently Lower Merion—in the suburbs of Philadelphia. Those members of the party who for one reason or another did not settle on the land they purchased I will briefly dispose of presently, considering them to be of only peripheral interest in a study of the community which did in fact settle on this tract. The rest I have investigated as far as possible.

Before turning to these men, the available information about their settlement, and finally the documents themselves, I would like first to mention some of the problems inherent in this kind of research. The researcher into Pennsylvania history is fortunate in the existence of such organizations as the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which has a helpful and knowledgeable staff, and where, incidentally, one may encounter other researchers ranging from Mennonites to Mayflower descendants, frequently of some interest to the student of folk culture. Unfortunately for the student of material culture, however, such societies tend to be genealogically oriented, which means that many possible sources treat material culture only incidentally if at all. Furthermore much of the material is written by nonacademic researchers, and one may be tantalizingly informed of “quaint costumes” and old mills and ruins, without being given any further information, or indication of source.

So much for relevant material; now a word on the documents themselves. The wills are on microfilm at the Historical Society, and abstracts of them are kept there as well, but the originals are to be found together with the inventories at the Annex of City Hall. My experiences here would, I imagine, be paralleled by those of any researcher working in any city archive. Firstly, there is the problem of the Missing Will, a phenomenon encountered with frightening regularity. When a document is missing, there are, I am told, three possibilities as to its whereabouts. Firstly someone Higher Up in City Hall may have borrowed it, and neglected to return it for a few days—or a few years. Secondly, it may have been misfiled, and will be discovered in the wrong century six months after the researcher has finished his work. Thirdly, a trophy hunter may have stolen it. Assuming that the document is in fact where one might expect to find it, there is the problem of obtaining it. This is entirely dependent on the whim of the Man in Charge. If one is studying old or rare wills they will be kept in a safe, to which he seems to be the only one currently in possession of the combination; and since he has very little to do, and is in any case far more interested in Politics (or golf, or model engines) he may well

not be there at all when the researcher arrives. Or assuming he is there, he may have forgotten the combination, as happened to me on one occasion. When the documents are finally produced there are hindrances in the form of the Man in Charge’s many friends—the traffic warden, elevator mechanic and other gentlemen—who, having little to do, spend much of their time in his office, indulging in joke and anecdote sessions distractingly interesting to the folklorist. The compensations for the time wasted are many: lunch or coffee are frequently provided, the company is excellent and the study fascinating; but every beginner should be aware of the problems.

Turning now to the First Purchasers. William Penn assigned 40,000 acres for the Welsh in Pennsylvania, 30,000 of which were engaged by the leaders of groups, and 10,000 of which Penn passed out in small lots to individuals.² The history of the whole Welsh Tract is well documented in histories of Pennsylvania, and there is no need to enter into it here: we are concerned with a group of seventeen people, led by Edward Jones and John ap Thomas, who collectively purchased 5,000 acres west of the Schuylkill River. Merion, when it was established under that name, was the area now known as Lower Merion, and extended inland as far as the lands of William Penn, Jr., and including the land next to his, which was purchased by a group of English adventurers headed by John Pennington. The other purchasers of large acreages in this area were later than the First Purchasers, many of whom sailed in the “Lion” in 1682. Before proceeding any further it would be useful to present the list of their names and the land they bought.³

“An account of wt sum of money every ffriend in Penllyn hath layd out to buy land in Pennsylvania & wt quantity of Acres of Land each is to have and wt sum of Quit Rent falls upon everyone”

	pounds	acres	quit rent
John Tho'	25 0 0	1250	i2 6
Hugh Robt.	12 10 0	625	6 3
Edd. Jones	6 5 0	312½	3 1½
Robt. David	6 5 0	312½	3 1½
Evan Rees	6 5 0	312½	3 1½
John Edd	6 5 0	312½	3 1½
Edd Owen	6 5 0	312½	3 1½
Will Edd	3 2 6	156¼	1 6
Will Jones	3 2 6	156¼	1 6¼
Edd Rees	3 2 6	156¼	1 6
Tho Rich	3 2 6	156¼	1 6
Rees John W	3 2 6	156¼	1 6
Tho. Lloyd	3 2 6	156¼	1 6
Cadd Morgan	3 2 6	156¼	1 6
John Watkin	3 2 6	156¼	1 6
Hugh John	3 2 6	156¼	1 6
Gainor Robt.	3 2 6	156¼	1 6
	100 0 0	5000	2 10

²Wayland F. Dunaway, “The Early Welsh Settlers of Pennsylvania,” *Pennsylvania History*, XI (1945), 253.

³Glenn, p. 63.

¹Thomas Allen Glenn, *Merion in the Welsh Tract* (Norristown, 1896), p. 57.

Not all these people, however, actually settled on their land. John Thomas died before he could emigrate; Edward Owen of Dolyserre settled at Dutch Creek and his land went to his brother Griffith, about whom I will include some data presently. Gainor Roberts of Kiltalgarth sold her land to Robert David and settled at Pen-coid—she was the sister of Hugh Roberts; Thomas Lloyd of Llangower did not settle on this piece of land but died in Wales. John Watkin of Gwernevel sold his lands to Hugh Roberts; Hugh John of Nant Lleid-iog sold his land to Cadder Morgan and went to Plymouth. Evan Rees of Penmaen sold his land to Robert David and Griffith John who came to Merion in 1690. Thomas Pritchard (ap Richard) resigned his rights to Rees John William. For a detailed account of the holdings and dealings concerned with all this land I would refer the reader to *The Lands of Edward Jones and Co. in Merion* (1902), which gives an exhaustive account.⁴

These people were all Quakers. The reason for their emigration at that time seems fairly clear: during the 17th Century fervent Protestants in Wales had a hard time, with the imposition of impious English preachers on their communities,⁵ which led them to appoint Welsh lay preachers. Levick gives a full account of the conversion of the Welsh to the Society of Friends,⁶ and Dodds has a more recent account of the huge protest and enthusiasm which grew up in Wales, leading to the establishment of a Baptist Church which has thrived ever since.⁷ Towards the end of the 17th Century there was a great deal of persecution of Welsh Quakers by the English. Jenkins has a full report of John Humphrey's persecution,⁸ which led him to emigrate to Pennsylvania in the year 1683. Later emigrations probably continued for a variety of reasons, among them, as Conway suggests, the idealistic desire to set up a sort of Zion in the Wilderness, similar to that of the Mormons in the mid-19th Century.⁹ Emigration certainly continued long after persecution ended in 1689 and was not necessarily from the infertile, impoverished areas of Wales.

For the First Purchasers religious persecution was the prime motivation, combined with a pious desire to live in an environment where they could live as they felt they should: John Bevan who emigrated in 1683 came, for example, because of his wife's desire

⁴Benjamin H. Smith, *The Lands of Edward Jones and Co. in Merion* (Philadelphia, 1902).

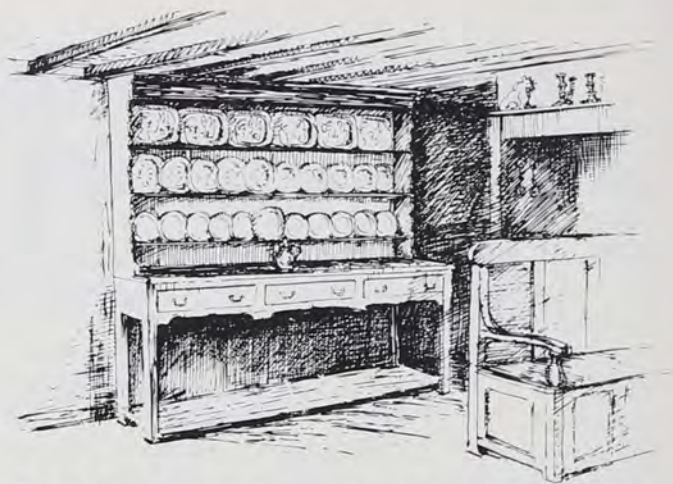
⁵James J. Levick, "The Early Welsh Quakers and their Emigration to the United States," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XVII (1893), 388.

⁶Ibid. See also his "John ap Thomas and his Friends," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, IV (1880).

⁷A. H. Dodds, *The Character of Welsh Emigration to the United States* (Cardiff, 1953).

⁸Howard M. Jenkins, *Historical Collections Relating to Gwynedd in the Welsh Tract* (Philadelphia, 1884), pp. 77 ff.

⁹Alan Conway, *The Welsh in America* (Minneapolis, 1961), p. 7.



Welsh Dresser and Screen (from Rees, *Life in a Welsh Countryside*).

to bring up their children in a healthy atmosphere.¹⁰ It has been suggested that they were of a better class socially than their English counterparts, and the bias to be expected in sources such as the *Welsh Society Charter and Bylaws* is corrected by this statement in Proud's *History of Pennsylvania*:

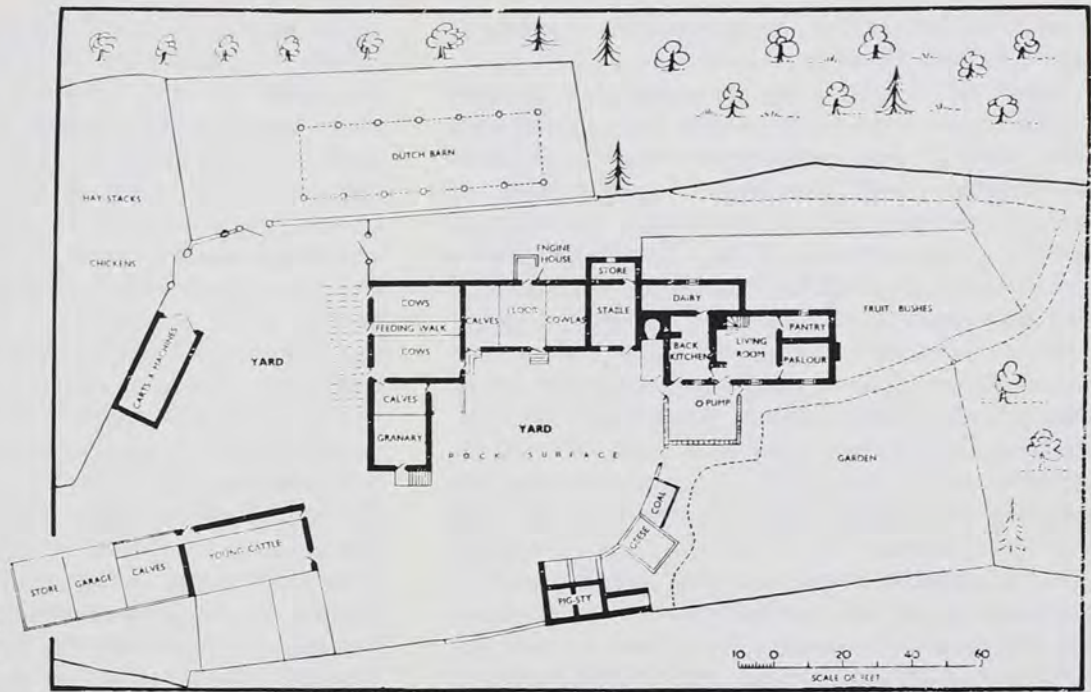
Divers of these Welsh settlers were persons of worthy and excellent character; and several of good education, family and estate chiefly Quakers; and many of them either eminent preachers in that society, or otherwise well-qualified to do good, in various capacities, both in religious and civil, in public and private life.¹¹

This impression is confirmed by a study of their wills. Several of them are signed with a mark—those of John David and John ap Edward for example—but several of them show not only comparative wealth, but highly intelligent disposition and excellent signatures. All the purchasers except Edward Jones, Chirurgeon; Edward Rees, Grocer; Edward Owen, gentleman; John Watkin, Batchilor; and Gainor Roberts, Spinster, are listed as yeomen, which is not unexpected since they emigrated from a farming community. Later Welsh settlers however included wheelwrights, smiths, laborers, and weavers.

Some information is available as to what their transatlantic voyage must have been like, and about what they found when they arrived. An account of the arrangements made in 1697 by Owen Thomas, owner of the "William Galley," to transport a party from Rhayader to Philadelphia gives us some details. The cost was £5 per head, 50 shillings down and 50 shillings to be paid on boarding. Children under twelve years were half-price and "sucking babies" went free. The shipowner contracted to provide food and drink. There was to be a ship's doctor, to whom each married man

¹⁰Levick, "The Early Welsh Quakers and their Emigration to the United States," p. 404.

¹¹Robert Proud, *The History of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1797), II, 220.



Layout of Welsh Farmstead (from Rees, *Life in a Welsh Country-side*).

except servants was to pay 5 shillings. We know that the "Lion" took eleven weeks over the journey.¹²

It was a wild place at first sight apparently, once outside the settlement at Philadelphia. Glenn gives an interesting account from a letter¹³ written to Hugh Jones in Wales by John Jones, in 1708, in which he describes how his father, arriving in Pennsylvania in 1681, the year before the First Purchasers, wandered alone in the forests around Philadelphia, as he has it, "na thy na ymoger"—"without house or shelter"—until he was taken in by some kind Swedes. He then purchased some land freehold from the Indians and settled down, pretty roughly at first, "making huts beneath a cliff, or under the hollow banks of rivulets." He had no cows or horses. The first purchasers had an equally difficult time at first. The best source as to what they had and what they lacked materially is a letter from Edward Jones written in the sixth month (August by the Quaker calender) of 1682.¹⁴

Here is a crowd of people striving for ye country-land for ye town lot is not yet divided, and therefore we are forced to take country lots . . . butter and cheese is at 6d per lb. here if not more. We have oatmeale to spare, but it is well, yt we have it, for here is little or no corn until they begin to sew their corn . . . the Indians brought venison for 6d the quarter. There are stones to be had enough at the Falls of Skoolkill, that is where we

are to settle, and water power enough for mills, but thou must bring millstones and ye irons that belong to it, for Smiths are dear. Iron is about two and thirty shillings or fourty shillings per hundred; steel is about 1s.6d. p.1. Ye best way is to make yr picken axes when you come over, for they cannot be made in England, for one men will work with ym as much as two men with ours. Grindle stones yield good profit here; ordinary workmen hath 1s. 6d. a day. Carpenters three of four shillings a day; here are sheep but dear, about twenty shillings a piece. I cannot understand how they can be carried from England . . . Taylors have 5s. and 6s. a day . . .

I would have you bring salt for ye present use; here is coarse salt, sometimes two measures of salt for one of wheat, and sometimes very dear. Sixpenny and eightpenny nails are most in use, horse bars are in no use, good large shoes are dear; lead in small bars is vendible, but guns are cheap enough . . . They plough, but very bungerly, and yet they have some good stone. They use both hookes and sickles to reap with . . . My wife desires thee to buy her one Iron Kettle, 3s. or 3s.6d; 2 paire of shoes for Martha, and one paire for Jonathan let them be strong and large. . . .

This insight into pioneer living is suggestive of a close if primitive community already flourishing, though evidently not having got as far as crop harvest yet. One wonders exactly what he means about the axes. Were the people in Pennsylvania stronger, or is he referring to the amount of use they get, or to Indians, who seem to be friendly enough, or what? Sheep, as we shall see, fairly rapidly dropped in price, and cows, horses, and other livestock were very generally kept, so they

¹²W. F. Corbit, "Welsh Emigration to Pennsylvania: An Old Charter Party," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, I (1877).

¹³Glenn, pp. 46 ff.

¹⁴Glenn, pp. 67-68.

must either have solved the transportation problem or got them from elsewhere.

Proud has a little to say about their first houses—"either caves in the earth, or such huts, erected upon it as could be most expeditiously procured, till better houses were built."¹⁵ He also tells us that their first crop was of Indian corn, but in a year or two they were growing wheat and other grain. The general impression is one of hardship and scarcity at first. However, they were evidently an industrious and efficient group: Ebenezer Edwards (1899) quotes Judge Futhey's *History of Chester County*: "the people of this blood were among the best that established themselves in this country, and for intelligence and enterprise were not excelled by any."¹⁶ Day (1843) has two quotations;¹⁷ the first from Townshend—"also a place called North Wales was settled by many of the Ancient Britons, an honest inclined people, although they had not then made a profession of the truth as held by us." This refers to the settlement of Gwynnedd; Townshend of course was a Quaker. Oldmixon, writing in 1708 and quoted by Day, was apparently rather more enthusiastic.

Tis very populous and the people are very industrious by which means this country is better cleared than any other part of the country. The inhabitants have many fine plantations of corn and breed abundance of cattle, in as much as they are looked upon to be as thriving and wealthy as any in the province.

The initial situation is summed up by an account from the family Bible of one of the families of the First Purchasers, quoted by Glenn although he doesn't say where he obtained it, or to which family it belonged.

In the fall of 1682 William ap Edwards with his family Edward Jones, Ed. Rees, Robert Davis and many others settled on the west side of Schuylkill six or seven miles distant from the city, there dug caves, walled them and dwelt therein a considerable time where they suffered many hardships in the beginning the next season being wet and rainy about their barley harvest they could not get their grain dry to stack before it swelled and it began to sprout rendering it unfit for bread. They were in their necessities supplied by the natives with venison and wild fowl. Their first cows to milk were obtained from Newcastle, Del. [then Pennsylvania], and divided among the neighbours, and not having enclosures for them they were obliged to tie them with rope of grape vine some to a tree or stake driven into the ground, there being plenty of grass and sweet weeds . . .¹⁸

It is a surprise to find grape vines in Pennsylvania, being used as cow tethers. As to what the Welsh made

out of all this, it is well known that they were disappointed in their hopes of a Welsh-speaking Barony. The history of Penn's "treachery" over the Welsh Tract is well known, though reactions are not always as strong as Williams who declares a little wildly that the English were determined to destroy Welsh autonomy.¹⁹ In any case, before the end of the 18th Century the Welsh were being classed with the English for survey purposes, and from the presence of English, and occasionally Swedish names as witnesses in the wills one can infer that there was a prevailing spirit of cooperation which helped the Welsh to integrate very rapidly. Many attempts were made to establish and maintain a Welsh-speaking settlement in America long after the last hopeful nationalist had realized that Pennsylvania was a lost cause;²⁰ for although the Welsh clung together, they followed the English or rather American ways of living, rather than attempting to preserve their own customs to any great extent. They were, however, singularly involved with the community at home and with later emigrants, as may be judged from the early establishment of the Welsh Society in 1720, which helped many unfortunate arrivals in Pennsylvania.

At the beginning it was a distinctive community: when they built they would follow the styles current

¹⁹J. Ambler Williams, "The Influence of the Welsh on the History of Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania History*, X (1943), 122.

²⁰Conway, *passim*.

Titlepage of early volume on Welsh settlement of Pennsylvania.



¹⁵Proud, II, 225.

¹⁶J. Smith Futhey and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania, with Genealogical and Biographical Sketches* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 48.

¹⁷Sherman Day, *Pennsylvania Historical Collections* (Philadelphia, 1843).

¹⁸Glenn, p. 69.

in Wales,²¹ they continued to speak Welsh although all their documents are in English except for the meetinghouse records for 1702, and they maintained close contact with Wales and with the other Welsh communities in the area. Radnor, Haverford, and Merion shared their meeting in the early years until meetinghouses were built in the separate communities.

There has been much controversy over the date of Merion meetinghouse, the earliest of the three, but it is merely necessary to note here that a log building was superseded by a stone one begun about 1695, and refer the reader to Bunting's exhaustive study.²² The meeting was held in private houses when the meetinghouse could not be used, and before it was built. Stone houses were being built by from 1691, and Katherine, widow of John Thomas, Edward Rees and John Roberts all had stone houses by this time. Wynnstay, the home of Thomas Wynne, who was a prominent member of the community, was built in 1690 and still stands, much altered. Houses of unbarked logs were, however, evidently more common, for Hugh Evans described the house where Penn stayed in 1700 thus: "Their house was then superior, in that it was of barked and hewn logs, a refinement surpassing the common rank. At that house William Penn ascended steps on the outside to go to his bedchamber . . ."²³

Roads too were very primitive, apparently for thirty years after their arrival. Browning gives a long survey of the development of roads in the area, but in the early stages roads were much needed between the plantations and the city in which farmers conducted their business.²⁴

Their life, all in all, was apparently very similar indeed to that of the English settlers of the same period, which is to be expected considering the similarity, outwardly at least, of their lives at home. Dunaway suggests that they ate mutton, kid seethed in milk, venison, barley cakes, broth and Indian corn bread, milk and cheese.²⁵ They drank spirits and liked nice clothes, wore their hair short and went clean shaven. As to other aspects of their lives, information is hard to come by for this early period.

* * *

To treat Pennsylvania wills separately from the inventories attached to them in seeking information about specifically material culture would make no sense. Firstly, by no means all the wills have inventories attached; secondly, information about material culture is rare in wills, which contain more that is

²¹A study of this would be possible, but I have had to abandon it owing to lack of time and the difficulty of establishing dates here and in Wales, and my ignorance of other styles of building in Pennsylvania.

²²Samuel J. Bunting, *Merion Meeting* (n.p., 1945).

²³Day, p. 483.

²⁴Charles Browning, *The Welsh Settlement of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1912).

²⁵Dunaway, p. 245.

of interest to the genealogist, and a certain amount of information about lands held, together with money legacies. This is true of wills until the 1750's, and I have no reason to believe that there is any significant change from my much sketchier study of later wills. Occasionally there are snippets about material possessions, and there is information about the kind of provision made for wives and children, which tends, in such a homogeneous community, to be fairly standardized: the estate is left to a son, obviously the one most nearly concerned with it at the time, not necessarily the eldest if he has already settled elsewhere, and often to the wife for her natural life. Financial provision is made for younger children and unmarried daughters, overseers are appointed if necessary. Where there are no heirs, a nephew seems to be the most popular inheritor.

The method which I have used in dealing with this sample is to take each member of the community in turn and furnish the main details about his family and life, and anything else noteworthy in the arrangements of his will, except for the rare mentions of material possessions other than land which I have included with the information from the inventories. It would probably be possible to carry this study into the conjectural by determining the prevailing type of an object in Wales and in America at this time; I decided against this because it would be purely conjectural without careful study of museum exhibits and private collections, and because data from this early period is scanty and difficult to come by. Furthermore, although it would be useful perhaps in specific cases to be able to do this, as an exercise it has little value.

A. JOHN THOMAS (d. 3.3.1683).

He died in England, but his will is in Philadelphia. His wife Katherine came to Pennsylvania with their sons and three daughters, of whom two died at sea. He makes careful provision for his family. If his sons, of whom there are five, have no lawful issue, then the estate is to go to the daughter of his eldest daughter Elizabeth, then to his brother's son, then to his nieces.

Katherine and her sons did extremely well in Pennsylvania. She acquired the tract erroneously entered to William Sharlow on Holmes' map (Fig. 1) in addition to the estate her husband left including his land at Goshen.

B. HUGH ROBERTS (d. 18th of 6th month 1702).

Hugh Roberts was the minister at Merion. He acquired a good deal of real estate including a large part of what is now Fairmount Park.²⁶ He left his "land, dwelling and appurtenances" to his son Edward, but these were his Chestnut Hill lands; his land at Merion went to his sons Robert and Owen. He left £5 to

²⁶Glenn, p. 77.

Merion Meeting, and 50s. each to two old servants, Morris and John Roberts. It would seem he had followed the common practice of bringing poor relations with him as servants, which lessened the expense of the voyage and made the master eligible for more land. The servants would work out their term in payment for their passage, and then be given this land for their own.

The total money willed in this will is £155, of which £60 is a debt from his son Owen, which is now cancelled.

C. EDWARD JONES (d. 1737).

In the will file is a slip of paper with a quotation from Bunting (1945) on the subject of Edward Jones and the political activities of his descendents, placed there I imagine by some genealogist.

Edward Jones died at the age of ninety-two. The most interesting provision in his will is for his son Thomas, who is left 1s. Sterling (the elder brothers are left 10s. Pennsylvania money each), and John, the son to whom the estate is left, is to "sufficiently support and maintain my said son Thomas with good and sufficient meat drink apparel washing lodging and all other necessities (as well as he hath been heretofore maintained)" for life. It goes on "or otherwise on default after repeated admonitions . . . the yearly sum of tenn pounds to be paid out of the estate after his removal". This is evidently some matter of family concern. Perhaps Thomas was handicapped in some way or mentally deficient.

Dr. Jones cautiously maintains all rights to his property until his death. He leaves £100 to his three daughters, and by the size of his estate and the number

of slaves owned we can deduce that he was a man of substance.

D. ROBERT DAVID (d. 19th of 8th month 1732).

Robert David was a yeoman. His will is signed with his mark but his estate is rather large. His will is straightforward and undistinguished. He was however related to Rowland Ellis of Bryn Mawr, whose pedigree is immaculate. One gathers then that he was a well-bred but unlearned farmer rather than an ordinary smallholder.

He left in his will £4 towards the building of a wall about the graveyard, which indicates that it was still not finished. In fact it changed locations and there is some confusion as to its original location and when it was relocated. In any case the Quaker practice of having unmarked gravestones has led to the loss of any possible information from such a source, as in 1834 it was ruled that "no monuments, neither of wood or stone be affixed to graves in any of our burial grounds, & if any yet remain therein, that they be forthwith removed"²⁷

Out of seven children only three survived infancy. Thomas, who inherited; Jane, who married John Roberts; and Elizabeth, who was to divide the personal estate which was quite extensive (see Appendix) with her mother. Robert David also left 40s. to Margaret Roberts, a kinswoman who lived with them.

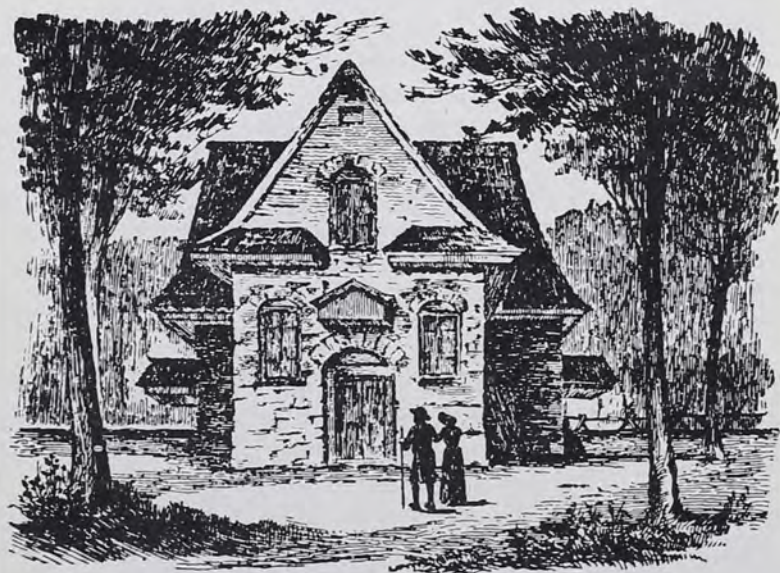
E. JOHN AP EDWARD (d. 1683).

John ap Edward died soon after his arrival leaving all his goods except those he left to his daughter Elizabeth (see below) to be sold, and the money to be given to his two sons Evan and Edward. There are two copies of both will and inventory, in different hands, but there is no indication as to why this is so, and though one can tell the original the copy is not much later. This will too is signed with a mark. The estate is a long list of various items worth little—the whole lot only comes to £63 15 9 English money £79 14 8 Pennsylvania money, and this was in the early days when one would expect, from Edward Jones' letter that many of these items would have been hard to come by. The impression is that of a small shop rather than of personal possessions, though John ap Edward is listed as a yeoman. What would one man with only two sons want with a parcel of 26 pairs of shoes?

F. EDWARD OWEN (d. 1716).

His land went to *Griffith Owen*. It seems that Griffith Owen came to Merion in 1684, and lived there until he conveyed the land to Robert David in 1694, and moved to Goshen. He practised "Physick," and was evidently a cultivated man. The original of the will is missing but there is a good clear photostat copy. The

²⁷Early Families of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, Collections of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, letter 1935.



Merion Friends Meetinghouse (1829), from Glenn, Merion in the Welsh Tract.

items connected with his profession I have included among the material possessions in the section on inventories.

G. WILLIAM AP EDWARD (d. 9th December 1714).

William ap Edward was one of those who arrived in the "Lyon" in 1682. He bought a tract of land at Blockley where he lived until he died, after moving there from Merion in 1693. That land he sold to Robert William in 1703. He left his land to his wife for the term of her natural life, then to his only son. He left 20s. each to his daughters Sarah and Ellen, but to his daughter Mary he left £10, and then £25 unless his wife should decide on someone else to receive it. He then suggests that another £5 be given Mary by his wife, if "my daughter shall take the counsel and advice of my trustees hereafter named." Presumably there was some kind of friction going on in the family about something Mary wished to do. This will is signed with a mark.

H. EDWARD REES (d. 1728).

The will of Edward Reese is one of those that are mysteriously missing from the city hall annex, and according to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania records. Edward Rees purchased various pieces of land apart from his land at Merion. He granted the use of half his estate to his son Rees ap Rees (Prees) on the occasion of his marriage in 1705.

I. WILLIAM JONES (d. 1685).

William Jones died soon after his arrival in Pennsylvania, if he did remove at all for which there is no proof. His noncupative will exists only in photostat. Tantalizingly it has a photostat of the longest of all the inventories attached, which is almost impossible to decipher, at least for someone who is not an expert. Where I have managed to decipher parts of it I have included the information under the relevant section. The total of the inventory is £805 14 11 and since no less than thirteen Negroes are listed he was evidently a wealthy man. Since the inventory is listed in sections, apparently according to rooms in the house and areas of the farm, it would be of some use in telling us about the arrangement of houses.

J. THOMAS AP RICHARD resigned all his rights to Rees John William.

K. REES JOHN WILLIAM (d. 1702).

Rees John William and his family came to Pennsylvania on the "Vine" in 1684. The part of the estate where he settled is now Merion Station. Leaving half his personal estate to his wife Hannah, he leaves his wife and elder children to manage the estate until his son Richard comes of age. He also makes provision for his other sons and daughters. His inventory, totalling £107 5 0, suggests that he was of more modest means than some of the settlers.

THE PEDIGREE

OF

William Griffith, John Griffith and Griffith Griffiths (sons of Griffith John, of the Parish of Llanddewi Brefi, in the County of Cardigan, South Wales, Great Britain), who removed to the County of Chester, Pennsylvania, in the early part of the XVIIIth Century.

Compiled in South Wales, Great Britain

BY

THOMAS ALLEN GLENN

One Hundred Copies Privately Printed
PHILADELPHIA
NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FIVE

Griffith geneology traces Pennsylvania family to medieval Wales.

L. CADWALLADER MORGAN (d. 1711).

He emigrated with his family in 1683. His will is dated 1711, and in it he leaves, by "act of parliament" £50 to the use of friends of the yearly meeting at Philadelphia, to be kept in stocks and the interest used as they see fit. This is the only mention of stocks we find in this sample. He also leaves £20 towards the building of Merion Meetinghouse "to be paid by my executors when it is a building to the same use," indicating that at this time the meeting house was not yet finished, but it was begun. He also leaves £2 10 towards building Gwynnedd meetinghouse, and he was a "minister among friends." According to Eleanor Evans of Gwynnedd, he "had an excellence at advice and teaching in his conversation . . . he had much to say in favour of watchfulness & keeping the mind trusting upon God."²⁸ He also tells us in his will that at this time the evening meeting was kept in the house of his daughter and her husband Robert Evan, on which account he leaves them all the seats and chairs he possesses. According to the inventory, they amounted to seven and were worth £1 5 0.

M. THOMAS LLOYD

Thomas Lloyd of Llangower is not to be confused with the Deputy Governor under Penn, whose name was the same. This one died in Wales without issue, leaving his land to his nephew John Roberts. The other held land adjacent to that of the First Purchasers, and made his will in 1694.

²⁸Glenn, p. 87.

N. JOHN WATKIN, O. HUGH JOHN, and P. GAINOR ROBERTS all failed to settle on their land, although Gainor Roberts settled with John Roberts at Pencoid

* * *

I have divided the goods in the inventories into sections, under which I have included any relevant data from the wills. I have been hampered by occasional illegibilities and of course by the frequent absence of any inventory at all. The inventories are appended in chronological order, and this is the way in which I have dealt with them. This is the order: John Thomas 1683, John ap Edward 1683, William Jones 1685, Thomas Lloyd 1694, Hugh Roberts 1702, Rees John William 1702, Cadwallader Morgan 1711, William ap Edward 1714, Griffith Owen 1716, Edward Rees 1728, Robert David 1732, Edward Jones 1737.

Finding it quite impossible to make adequate copies of the documents, and in any case wishing to spare the reader the task of deciphering them, I have made typed copies in which I have taken the liberty of occasionally standardizing spelling where it was evidently a mistake, and since this is not relevant to this study I have given no indication of the places where I have done this. I have indicated words of which I am uncertain by bracketing them. I have not included the names of witnesses since these are not relevant here. All relevant genealogical information is to be found in *The Early Families of Montgomery County in Pennsylvania* and in Glenn's *The Welsh Founders of Pennsylvania* (1911).

1. SLAVES AND SERVANTS

Servants, as we have already seen, might well be poor relations. Servants were often brought, though, and Negro slaves were evidently common, and they were listed in the inventories like any other properties. William Jones had thirteen slaves, all named, most of whose names are illegible. Their worth ranges from £14 to £30 each. In Hugh Roberts' inventory two servant lads are listed at £30 the two. It does not say, however, whether they were black. Nowhere else is there any mention of slaves except in Edward Jones' will, where he leaves his Negro Primus to his son John, and three Negro girls to other relations. He also has a Negro woman who is pregnant and he wills her unborn child to his grandson if it is a boy, and his granddaughter if it is a girl. There is no mention of their worth.

Thomas Lloyd the deputy governor stipulates in his will that his five Negroes be hired out and the proceeds go to his family. It is possible that in an agricultural community there would be such hiring out in times when the work was heavy.

It is impossible to tell whether the others merely did not keep slaves, or whether they were not listed. This is a good time to mention that I am quite sure that

the inventories are not always a complete list of all possessions.

2. LIVESTOCK

All the inventories except that of John ap Edward list horses. Evidently since they were used both for farm work and for riding they were of great importance. Horses, mares, and colts are listed separately. Prices vary, and show no significant upward or downward trend, but in any case the horses were presumably valued by an expert and the price would depend on the quality of the horse. The least at which a horse is valued is £1 10, for William ap Edward's old mares. The highest value is on Robert David's dark bay horse, at £6 10. The largest number of horses owned is seven, as Rees John Williams and Robert David owned. Five of the six horse owners had at least one mare and colt. Only in Rees John William's inventory are horses named as "work Horses". In William ap Edward and Griffith Owen's inventory and will horses are referred to as "riding horses." Griffith Owen, a physician, and Cadder Morgan, a minister, do not appear to own other horses, but Hugh Roberts, also a minister, does. Those who were engaged in other professions than farming would presumably be less dependent on their land, but this is not indicated by their livestock.

The price of cows seems to drop. Hugh Roberts and Cadder Morgan's are listed at £4, and Rees John William's at £3 5. By 1732 they only fetch about £2 6 8, and fat cattle £3 10. I suspect that the value of livestock would fluctuate depending on availability and that at first in any case they would have been kept almost exclusively for milk. Robert David has by far the largest herd, having 21, including a bull and three calves. Griffith Owen only mentions 1 cow. The only other bull mentioned belonged to William ap Edward.

Sheep were as we know very expensive at first. None of the inventories before 1702 mention them at all. The price from then on fluctuated between 3s. and 8s., but there is no knowing if they were the same breed. Flocks seem to be getting larger, culminating with Robert David who has 25 sheep. He is, however, a larger owner of livestock than the others anyway.

Rees John William, William ap Edward and Robert David kept pigs but the prices are mystifying, ranging from 4s to £1. This must have been dependent on the type of pig, since the rise is not chronological. Rees John William also kept two geese and a hive of bees.

3. FARM IMPLEMENTS AND TOOLS

There seems to be little point in enumerating all the tools and implements owned by various people. These vary in cost and in type but I am satisfied that there is no pattern to be drawn. It might be useful indeed in the study of the development or use of a particular

type of tool to know when these things were used and what they were called. They are all there to see in the inventories, but since the description is confined to the occasional reference to the fact that they were made of iron I do not feel the need to go through them here. John ap Edward, the possible shopkeeper, has more of this kind of thing than the others—5 sickles and 6 spade heads for example. None of these things cost more than a few shillings, then or later.

Cadwallader Morgan seems to have none at all; and in Rees John William's inventory they are all listed together as implements of husbandry. Edward Jones leaves his ploughs and appurtenances to his son John.

4. CROPS AND FOODSTUFFS

As to foodstuffs apart from crops, John ap Edward seems to have kept all the necessities that are not mentioned elsewhere: salt at 5s. a barrel, "mawlt," "biskets," oatmeal, beef, at only 3s. for 18 lb., butter, and pepper. The quantities in which he has these things leave little doubt that if he did not intend to sell them he was a very prudent man.

Robert David seems to have gone in more for spirits, of which he had 20 gallons, which with casks, and two old desks, are priced at £2. He also had syder (cider) and casks in the cellar to the value of £7, and 40 cheeses, which is no surprise when we remember that he had a herd of 21 cows.

William ap Edward had 4 casks of flour in the mill, which had presumably been taken there for grinding. There were problems with milling in the area when a monopoly was granted preventing the Welsh from setting up their own mills.

As far as grain crops go they are listed in various ways which prohibit any comparison of prices. Hugh Roberts had wheat and barley to the value of £42; Rees John William had 4 bushels of wheat worth £13; William ap Edward had wheat in the barn to the value of £2 5; Robert David had 90 bushels of wheat in the mill worth £43 10.

William ap Edward had rye in the barn worth 16s.; and Robert David had further wheat, plus rye, barley oats and hay all worth £28. Wheat then seems to have been the most popular crop, but since the amount of grain a man had would depend on the season and how good the harvest had been, it is difficult to draw conclusions from the information available.

5. HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS

This is again a very mixed selection of miscellaneous articles and there is no point in going through all the items in meticulous detail. There are, however, certain recurring factors, such as the materials from which items are made; for instance, there are four types of vessel apart from those which are named as being made of iron and those which must have been—wood, brass, copper, and pewter.

Hugh Roberts and Rees John William are the only ones who are said to have wooden vessels: the latter to the value of 15s. and the former to the value of £1 3 with a spinning wheel. The only other spinning wheel mentioned is valued at 12s., so the wooden vessels can't have been worth very much. While on the subject of spinning wheels, it seems curious that out of all seven inventories only two should be mentioned. It is possible that they were considered the property of the women of the family. Rees John William also had a weaver's loom, which was worth £2. There is no list of materials in his inventory however, though there are in others. The inventories are full of such puzzles, to which one can only suggest that they are incidental, contingent on what was considered to belong to the women, and what was in the house at the time the inventory was made.

Brass is far more common in this sample than wood, and seems to be rather valuable. Pans range from 2s. to £1. The price is evidently determined by the size. John ap Edward, Hugh Roberts, Rees John William, William ap Edward, and Robert David all had brass pans, John ap Edward a brass spoon (10d.) and Robert David two small brass kettles, which were valued with a flour box at 10s.

Cadwallader Morgan owned a copper pot which was valued at 5s. with a dropping pan, and Robert David a large copper pan which together with a trivet was valued at the very high sum of £8. One gathers that copper was not much in use for household ware.

Pewter was more common: having spent many hours during my childhood cleaning pewter plates made in Wales in the 18th Century, I can testify that these are very practical and when used regularly are very attractive, but they do not withstand heat very well. Hugh Roberts, Cadwallader Morgan and William ap Edward all have pewter listed merely to the value of £3 3, £1 2, and £2 5, respectively. William Jones too had pewter plates and porringers, and Robert David has listed six dishes, ten plates, a basin, two tankards and four porringers all worth £2 14.

As for the iron goods, these range from iron pots through andirons, gridirons, frying pans (skillets), toasting irons, branding irons, candlesticks, a "smoving" or flat iron, to an iron baking plank. These are all indispensable items in a house where the fire is open and all the cooking is done over or in it. Their use is evident, and the dictionaries do not in fact add very much that the imagination cannot supply. John ap Edward had 40 lb. of iron, from which anyone who happened to know how could presumably make what they needed. Perhaps he did it himself. There must have been a smith, if only an ad hoc one, within reach, in order to shoe the horses. There is one mention of a tin plate, and there are all sorts of items whose material is unspecified—chafing dishes, warming pans, and

so on. The only Welsh warming pan I have ever seen,—from the 18th Century—was of copper, and very finely made, but I believe that they were also made of brass.

An item which appears twice is a still: Robert David and Griffith Owen owned them, and also the worms, which were the long tubes connected with a still. What it was that they distilled is uncertain. There are also mentions of pairs of “stillars,” and since in none of the dictionaries, even those concerned with obsolete and technical usage, have I been able to find this word, one must assume that it was a colloquialism for “distillers” or a stilling apparatus.

Griffith Owen, being a doctor, also lists his “drugs, glasses, sally pots, atills, simbeths etc.”

I have already mentioned the spinning wheels and loom. As for the raw materials and fabrics, curiously it is William ap Edward who has a really large collection, and he is not even listed as having a spinning wheel, which may support my hypothesis as to ownership by women. John ap Edward keeps linen, flannel, cheesecloth and fustian. William ap Edward has linsey woolsey, ticking, coarse linen and diaper, which is a coarse linen fabric with a woven pattern. He also has hemp, flax, dressed hemp, woolen and tow yarn. Robert David has spun worsted, wool and homespun. In general clothes would have been made in the home although John ap Edward keeps some men’s and children’s clothes.

6. WEARING APPAREL

Hugh Roberts, William ap Edward and Robert David all have “wearing apparel” listed in their inventories; Hugh Roberts’ is listed with cash, £25 for the whole, and the others were valued at £5 and £5 15 respectively. In the inventory of John ap Edward there is an amazing variety, however: bulk parcels of 26 pairs of shoes and a pair of boots in a parcel at what must have been about 3s. a pair and a parcel of stockings at £6 5. Then suits of “cloaths” for man and boy; a two piece suit, I think; a “jump” which I have been unable to identify; shirts and “little shirts”. Leather was evidently not the prized material it is now, for a “wastcoat” cost only 2s. and a “drass” which is apparently a kind of jerkin, 1s. 9d. Pumps—soft shoes—were 10½d. a pair; and he had “seven cours hats” at about 1s. 5d. each. These prices assume that all the hats, for example, cost the same; but I suspect that in making an inventory the process was much more one of simply putting a price on a lot, without too much consideration of the individual worth of an item. There are also listed in this inventory three “ladies bodyes” (bodices) at two shillings each.

Presumably clothing in such a community would have been functional and not overelaborate. What the items

actually looked like might be established by consulting a history of costume in America and another of costumes of the period, plus any portraits that remain. Those that I have seen of early Quaker settlers show a plain, rather dark style of dress, but these are of the upperclasses among the settlers rather than those who constituted the folk community that must of necessity have remained rather isolated from the town, if only due to lack of good roads.

7. FURNITURE AND BEDDING

This section provides something of a surprise, in that it shows so very little in the way of furniture. The bare necessities must have surfaced, not only in the early years but probably for half a century, except among the wealthiest.

No furniture at all is listed for John ap Edward, and for William ap Edward only four cushions are listed. We find that Hugh Roberts, Rees John William, Cadwallader Morgan and Robert David at least had tables and chairs, and that all these except Rees John William had some trunks and boxes—as might be expected among people who had just crossed the Atlantic, and must have put their possessions in something. They were probably brought from Philadelphia docks by boat, since transport would have been difficult and the river and Mill Creek were very near at hand. The chairs and tables of Robert David were of walnut, and he owned two benches; other than that no details are given.

Beds and bedding at least were something that everyone had. Blankets are listed in all the inventories, at prices ranging from 6d. to 10s. Again there is the mystifying kind of arbitrariness about the evaluations. In John ap Edward’s inventory the word is spelt “planket” testifying to the heavy Welsh accent of the man dictating, or the man writing, or both.

Prices here are almost impossible to disentangle, because the items are frequently listed together. Hugh Roberts’ bedding is listed all together, at £33 15; sheets and bolsters are often listed together; sheets range from about 1s 6d, and bolsters about the same. Coverlids and “hillings”—also covers—are listed for everyone at prices ranging from 6s. to 18s. There are no upward or downward trends in price apparent: they seem to vary quite arbitrarily, depending, perhaps, on the whim of the evaluator or the quality of the objects listed, to which we have no clue except the occasional “old” or “new”. Featherbeds too are an item in general use, at least £1 in cost, occasionally varied by flock or chaff beds. These are mattresses, rather than the big slumber-downs of the Germans and Scandinavians, which were not in use in the British Isles. The quantity of bedding owned by a man evidently depended on the number in his family, but since the number of people to a bed is not constant this is not always a direct correlation.

8. DEBTS

In three of the inventories we find listed debts and bonds due. Cadwallader Morgan is owed no less than £237; perhaps this was to do with his position as a minister among the Quakers—possibly he had come with more ready money than most, and since he does not seem to have invested largely in stocking his farm probably had money to spare when any of the community needed it. Griffith Owen the physician also has debts due to him which he leaves to his sons, and Robert David is owed £72/7 in various bonds. Of course income in a farming community is dependent on harvests and good luck with stock, and so on; and in order to function there must be some capital available to buy seed and so on when necessary, and this probably accounts for the surprising amount of money-lending in such a small sample.

9. MISCELLANEOUS

Finally let us glance at some of the miscellaneous items in the inventories. John ap Edward has a number of items such as tanned hides, thread, fishing hooks and a gun. Saddles and bridles are listed in Hugh Roberts', William ap Edward's and Robert David's inventories; what is surprising is that they are not listed in the others. Since horseback was virtually the only method of transport these men must have ridden, and there is no question that they would ride with saddles. Yet another inexplicable feature. John ap Edward has a variety of bridle bits, spurs and other accoutrements.

That tantalizing inventory of William Jones seemed to be full of interesting miscellanea such as a boat with oars and rudder, and a small looking-glass, priced at 1s. 6d. The mention of what appear to be painted quilts and curtains and carpets suggest that his house was better furnished than the others.

CONCLUSIONS

In this survey I have attempted to describe the kind of thing that is to be found in wills and inventories which might be of use to the student of specifically material culture, and there is no doubt that the results are rather negative. There is so little detail that we can only state with confidence that such and such a man owned these at a certain time. It seems that not all possessions are listed in the inventories—I refuse to believe that William ap Edward had no furniture besides four cushions in his house.

I do think however that there is a use for wills and inventories in the study of material culture, for although the findings can never be complete or conclusive, they can at least indicate both the probable standard of living within a community, and the items that are in general use at a particular time.

My sample although providing some interesting material has shown no general trends to which I wish to

point—but since the span is only half a century and the movement of a folk community is slow, I did not really expect it to. I would advocate the use of wills and inventories for use in solving specific problems, rather than for use independently.

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APPENDIX

JOHN AP EDWARD

"Hear is an account of John ab Edwards goods and what they were sold for"

	£	s.	d.
6 spade heads		4	0
(plon iron vrig one sout) and 2 coulthers		8	0
one iron barr		6	0

four mattogs	11	6
five hamers	2	0
one square	1	0
one dung fork	1	0
5 dozen harrow pins	6	0
4 naugers	3	0
1 fire shovel pare of tons		
1 flesh fork	2	4
1 pare of iron dogs to draw timbers	0	6
2 iron cheesels & five files	8	0
5 files more one cheesel	1	10
3 pare pot hooks & two pot links	2	7
6 small axes	9	0
1 handsaw 1 chafing dish	2	0
3 pair of iron stirops i dozen of bridle bits	3	6
2 dozen of stirop leathers i dozen of bridle reins	14	0
2 new ladles	12	0
1 old ladle	3	0
2 pair horn links	1	6
2 old chanies	1	6
2 pairs of bellows	2	0
1 fran one drawing knife & 1 old hand saw	2	0
2 little cow bels	1	0
2 small gimlets 2 dozen of girth buckles	1	6
4 powder horns	0	8
one iron baking plank	3	0
32 pound of steel	14	2
40 pound of iron	10	0
3 tand hides	2	10 0
3 pieces of sole leather	12	0
a parcel of shoes 26 pares & a pare of boots	£4	10 0
a parcel of stockings	6	5 0
3 pieces of linnen cloath 55 yards	3	4 6
seven cours hats	10	0
2 pieces of blew flanen 65 yards	3	5 0
2 pieces of sad coulour cruel flanen	2	0 4
27 yards of weaving cloath	3	7 6
28 bushels of oatmeal	4	18 8
2 verrels of butter	1	8 8
2 little peices of flannen 15 yards	15	0
10 yards of flannen [flew linen]	12	3
2 hundred of chese	3	0 0
1 double hiling	6	0
1 coverlid	7	0
3 plankets	10	0
4 old plankets & one hiling	6	0
7 sheets	10	0
4 shirts	8	0
11 band	3	4
4 sheep skins	3	0
5 old sickles	1	3
5 sack	10	0
1 pair of lad cloaths	15	0
1 jump for a boy	5	0
1 pair of a mans cloath	2	15 0
2 jump one coat one breeches	12	0
2 lether drases	3	6
1 lether wascoat	2	0
33 pound of tallow	11	0
1 gun & a mould	1	0 0
2 little shirts pety coat & wastcoat	7	0
2 old shirts	2	0
2 little wastcoat	2	6
2 shipsaw 2 frameing saw	17	6
3 bodyes for women	6	0
1 dozen of knives	2	6
4 sisorns	1	0
4 dozen of hall brade	1	0
12 dozen of alcam buttons	4	0
12 dozen of gimp buttons	1	6
half a pound of thrid	1	6
20 fishing hoks		4
1 piece of black fustion 18 yards & a half	15	3
2 pound & a half of flax	1	8
a pound & a half of peper	1	0
1 spectacle		6
5 pound of stargs	1	6
1 cord	1	0
a pound & a quarter of hand sope	1	0
half a firkin of soft sope	5	0
one barrel of salt	5	0

2 pair of pumps	1	9
1 pair of spures		6

ROBERT DAVID

	£	s.	d.
Wearing apparel	5	15	—
Feather bed bolster two pillows 2 sheets blankets coverlid bead & (Teshor?) cloths and bedstead	5	—	—
Feather bed bolsters 2 pillows	3	10	—
Three coverlid & nine blanketts	3	12	—
Six sheets	1	16	—
Ten pound worth of spun worsted	2		
Walnut table old chest trunk & box		12	—
20 gallons of spirits and casks & 2 old desks	2	—	—
Piece of old iron Frame & old iron		12	—
40 cheeses	2	0	0
Chaff bed bolster 2 sheets old blankets & coverlid & bedstead	1	5	—
Four wheels & 2 pair combs	1	10	—
Old whip saw		5	—
12 bags & 6 yards bagging	1	10	—
18 wooll		18	—
sadle & bridle		15	—
half busell		5	—
old iron		4	—
4 scythes		12	—
old chest & tubb	1	0	0
Flock bed & appurtenances	2	0	0
Kneading trough & chest		6	—
6 pewter dishes 10 plates bason			
2 tankards 4 porringers	2	14	0
2 small brass kettles flour box		10	—
warming pan		8	—
Large iron pott and frying pan		15	—
Box iron & 4 candlesticks		5	—
Endirons tongs shovel		8	—
Stilliards 2 sheep shears & lanthorn		15	—
Table and 2 benches		7	—
	44	14	—
Feather bed bolster 2 pillows 2 sheets blanket rug suit curtains Tester cloth & bedstead	7	0	—
Walnut oval table and chest	2	0	—
8 walnut chairs	1	5	—
2 table cloths and napkins		12	—
19 yards new homespun stuff	3	15	—
Large copper pan and trevett	8	—	—
3 brass pans	2	10	—
brass pott & iron ketlet & pott	1	5	—
Lumber		6	—
trevett 2 pothooks and flesh fork		5	—
Still worm and tubb	5	—	—
2 iron crows wedges maul & grubbing howes and 2 weeding ditto ax addice & c.	2	10	0
Old cast (Tire or Fire)	2	10	0
2 pair old plough irons Dwingle trees and 3 pair (treases or freases) chain etc	1	11	0
syder and casks etc. in cellar	7	0	0
Harrow & iron teeth Iron square hammers & pinchers		16	0
Bay mare	8	0	0
2 year old horse colt	5	0	0
3 year old ditto	4	0	0
Dark bay horse	6	10	0
2 old mares & old gray horse	6	0	0
25 sheep	4	0	0
2 hogs	2	0	0
(90) bushells of wheat in mill at 35	13	10	0
Wheat rye barley oates & hay in barn	28	0	0
2 Fatt cattle	7	0	0
3 calves	2	10	0
8 cows & bull	21	0	0
4 steers	6	10	0
3 heifers	4	10	0
grindstone & iron axis & handle		10	0
5 sickles 3 pitchforks dungfork and seives		10	0
debt due and bond from Rees David and Wm Melcher and interest	19	00	0
ditto from Daniel Jones and William Warner	25	00	0
ditto due from Rees Philips	9	12	0
debt due from Robert Roberts	5	00	0
debt due from son Thomas	13	15	0
	£282	16	0

HUGH ROBERTS

"A TRUE inventory of the goods and chattels, household stuff and ready money of Hugh Roberts deceased"

	£	s.	d.
Wearing apparel and in cash	25	0	0
Bedding bed clothes and bedsteads all valued at	33	15	0
Seven brass pans	7	0	0
Pewter valued at	3	3	0
Tables chairs and quishens	2	12	0
Chests and trunks	1	10	0
warming pan tongues and fireshovel	1	3	0
four potts pott hooks and links	2	3	0
wooden vessels and a spinning wheel	1	3	0
Bookes	1	10	0
A paire of stillars		10	0
Plow irons and horse gears	2	4	0
Axes and hows	1	1	0
wedges and rings	1	0	0
iron crows and harrow pinns	1	16	0
cross cut saws, hand saw, (ogers) and chisels	1	2	0
sadle and bridle	1	0	0
wheat and barley	42	0	0
four horses and one mare and one colt	26	0	0
six cows	24	0	0
Eleven hundred acres of land in the welsh tract	242	0	0
Four hundred acres lying on the east side of the Schullkill River	152	0	0
That part of the land formerly belonging to Woods and Sharlow, lying between Shullkill and the runn reputed to be about one hundred and thirty acres	130	0	0
Two servant ladds	30	0	0
	£733	12	0

REES JOHN WILLIAM

	£	s.	d.
7 cows	3	05	p. head
2 geese	2	05	"
2 young heiffers	1	10	"
2 working horses	4	0	
1 mare & colt	4	0	
1 colt	2	0	
one filly & yearling	3	0	
4 ewes & lamb		6	
2 sows 3 hogs			
& 3 small pigs	3	10	
1 hive of bees		6	
40 bushells of wheat	13	0	
4 brass pans 2 skilletts	6	10	
some old ?	?		
2 iron pots		18	
fire brand baking iron frying pans,			
pot hooks chain			
grid iron spit		13	
wooden vessels		15	
2 beds 2 tables & stools	1	10	
1 feather bed 3 bolsters	6	0	
4 new blankets	4	0	
6 old blankets	3	0	
2 coverlids	3	0	
6 sheets	1	16	
3 old rugs & some old cloths	1	0	
18 yards ticking for bags	2	0	
1 spinning wheels		12	
weavers loom		2	0
implements of husbandry		2	15
one peice (cresey)		3	0
total	£107	5	

CADWALLADER MORGAN

	£	s.	d.
Bonds due from Rees Thomas	7	10	0
Samuel Carpenter	20	0	0
Rowland Ellis	25	0	0
Thomas Willson	7	10	0
Owen Owens	7	0	0
Johm and the way	8	0	0
Hugh Evans	57	0	0
Robert Evan	90	0	0
Thomas Ffoulke	7	10	0
Samuell Carpenter	7	10	0

four steers at	9	0	0
two horses at	8	0	0
4 blankets at 8s apiece and a coverlid at 10	2	2	0
a rug at 1s 6d hilling at 20s & another at 12	2	18	0
3 old blankets at 5s apiece 4 cushions at 10s apiece		18	4
2 old boulsters & a pillow 5s		5	0
one old feather bed at	2	0	0
one old trunk		5	0
pewter valued at	1	2	0
a dropping pan & an old copper pott		5	0
warming pan at		7	6
one old chaffing dish one old trunk two boxes 10s		11	0
one kettle and pothooks at		5	0
one brandard and iron gridiron toasting iron		4	0
table cloth and 9 napkins	1	4	0
painted linen and two sheets at	1	10	0
one feather bed and furniture at	8	0	0
one large pan & chest of drawers at	4	10	0
seven chairs at	1	5	0
2 cows at 4£ 5 sheep at 5s a peice	5	5	0
	£286	16	10

WILLIAM AP EDWARD d. 9th december 1714

	£	s.	d.
His wearing apparel	5	0	0
his riding horse saddle and bridle	6	0	0
4 cows II, 4 heifers in calves 9	20	0	0
a bull and a steer	3	10	0
2 old mares 3. 2 colts 6	9	0	0
14 sheep at 8s. apiece	5	12	0
1 sow and 4 pigs	1	4	0
wheat in the barn 2.5 rye in the same 16s.	3	1	0
4 caskes of flour in the mill	3	10	0
about 9 acres of corn in the ground	4	10	0
implemnts of husbandry plow harrow, grybering hows, axes, (agot) chisells			
maulrings, wedges, iron crow	2	0	0
a remnant of gray linsey woolsey at 3	1	7	0
a peice of linsey woolsey	1	17	0
2 yards and a half linsey woolsey		6	3
2 pieces of flannen		17	6
5 yards of grey cloth at 3s. 6d.		17	6
9 yards of hemp ticking at 3s.	1	7	0
4 cushions at 1s. 6d. apiece		6	0
10 yards of diapar at 2s. 6d a yard	1	5	0
12 sheets at 6s. apiece	3	12	0
1 feather bed 3 bolsters and 2 pillows	6	0	0
3 coverlids at 18 s. apiece 6 blankets at 10s.	5	14	0
30 l. woolen yarn at 1s, 6. a pound	2	5	0
20 l. tow yarn at 1s a pound	1	0	0
4 yards of course linen at 1s. a yard		4	0
25 yards of worste druggett at 2s. 6d. a yard	3	2	6
8 yards of linen at 2s. a yard		16	0
about 120 l. of course hemp	1	0	0
about 20 l. of flaxe at		10	0
41. dressed hemp at 1s the pound		4	0
one large brasse pan at	3	10	0
3 small brasse pans at	2	0	0
pewter at	2	5!	0
	£100	13	3

GRIFFITH OWEN

Will, No Inventory

- 1) "practitioner in physick"
- 2) leaves horse, two "lotts," and appurtenances
- 3) the land the meeting base stands on and the graveyard
- 4) "Books, papers and medicines drugs glasses sally potts and stills both new copper simbeths and glass and great copper still and worms to sons"
- 5) "little chest in the closet under my books and all the papers and things in it to youngest son"
- 6) Residue of household goods to wife except one bed and furniture or appurtenances will be given to son. They may also enjoy the use of the shop and closet until they settle elsewhere
- 7) Riding horse and cow to his wife Sarah
- 8) Watch to son in law William Sanders
- 9) £5 to daughter in law Mary
- 10) Debts to 3 sons

TEN TULPEHOCKEN INVENTORIES

What Do They Reveal About a Pennsylvania German Community?

By CAROL KESSLER

Ten Tulpehocken inventories,¹ mere lists of possessions left by the deceased, when considered as a group can reveal a surprisingly detailed view of an 18th Century Pennsylvania German folk community. Such a view rests upon a body of scholarly theory, called Folk-

¹All of the inventories used are on file at the Office of the Register of Wills, Berks County Courthouse, Reading, Pennsylvania, whose staff I wish to thank for helping to locate the ten inventories used. Also, I thank the staff of the Berks County Historical Society, who aided in finding genealogical and historical information.

life Studies or Folklife Research, and described as the "twentieth century rediscovery of the total range of the folk-culture (folklife)."² While the concept and the techniques can be applied on a world wide basis, the movement is important for us in that it represents the application of ethnographic techniques to the folk or traditional levels of the literate cultures of Europe, the British Isles, and now the United States.³ A Swedish ethnologist, Åke Hultkranz, emphasized the necessity for comparative studies of a variety of regional cultures, such studies to utilize current findings in sociology, history, and psychology.⁴ From a somewhat different point of view, Robert Redfield stated that "in a civilization [i.e., culture] there is a great tradition of the reflective few, and there is a little tradition of the largely unreflective many The little tradition works itself out . . . in village communities." These two traditions, Redfield continued, are interdependent.⁵ In *The Little Community*, he considered a variety of ways of thinking about such communities, that which he called "a kind of person" being pertinent for this study. Here he emphasized the "use of documents coming from the people themselves" as basic expressions of the people making them.⁶ Call these people "peasants" or call them "folk"; they are here farmers for whom agriculture was both a livelihood and a way of life. Thus from a consideration of Tulpehocken inventories, I hope that such a picture of the sorts of individuals constituting that early community will begin to emerge.

What initially interested me in the Tulpehocken community was the announcement of a Tulpehocken area house tour.⁷ But who were the advertised "33 Palatine families"? Would it be possible to find their

²Don Yoder, "The Folklife Studies Movement," *Pennsylvania Folklife* (hereafter abbreviated, *Pa. Folk.*), 13:3(1963): 44.

³*Ibid.*
⁴Åke Hultkranz, *General Ethnological Concepts* (Copenhagen, 1960), p. 133.

⁵Robert Redfield, *Peasant Society and Culture* (Chicago, 1960), pp. 41-42.

⁶Robert Redfield, *The Little Community* (Chicago, 1960), p. 72.

⁷"Open House Tour," *Historical Review of Berks County* (henceforth *HRBC*), 37(1972): 139-140, 153-156; see page 1a here.

Inventory of the Goods & Chattels, Rights, and Credits which were of Gottfried Fidler Junior late of the Township of Tulpehocken in the County of Berks Deceased made and appraised the 9th day of February 1754 as follows To wit

	<i>L</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
To the Decedent Riding Horse & Apparce	16	30	00
To 3 Horses	20	00	00
To a Mare & Colt	10	00	00
To Horned Cattle	14	00	00
To 3 Hogs	00	15	00
To a Waggon	8	00	00
To Goods belonging to the Waggon	2	10	00
To 2 Plows & a Harrow	1	10	00
To a Wind Mill, Straw Bench & Hay Fork	2	10	00
To a Weavers Loom & Tackling	2	00	00
To Axes, Iron Nidges & Grooving Saw (new)	00	15	00
To a Large Iron pot	00	5	00
To 4 old Sachel	00	1	00
To Pester Lashes	00	5	00
To 3 Caggs & a Tub	00	5	00
To 6 Caggs	00	12	00
To an old Saddle	00	5	00
To 3 Hammers and two chisels	00	8	00
To 2 Hammers, a little anvil & Pinchers	00	7	00
To a Large Bible & some other Books	1	00	00
To a new Straw Knife	00	4	00
To a Chest	00	10	00
To a Grinding Stone	00	2	00
To the Improvement	150	00	00
	232	2	6

George G L Lanch
mark
Cathar K S Stumpf
mark } Appraisers

Inventory of Gottfried Fidler (1754).

inventories? The most competent and accurate discussion of who the families were I believe to be Frank G. Lichtenthaeler's "Storm Blown Seed of Schoharie."⁸ In 1723, fifteen families are reported in an official memorandum of a letter from James Mitchell to James Logan in Philadelphia,⁹ while sixteen are recorded by Godfrey Fidler in a 1726 deposition found among the Penn-Physick Papers.¹⁰ It is also possible that some Palatine settlers may have been in the area even earlier.¹¹ There is, however, reference to 33 families in a Land Petition of 1725,¹² which has 15 signatures. Lichtenthaeler believes that these 33 families can be identified with some reliability from tax lists of 1726 and 1727, and that the 15 or 16 families, who immigrated from Schoharie, New York, are likely among them.¹³ C. Lindemuth, using old land patents, drew a map of tracts, which he believed to be accurate for 1723¹⁴; Walter Allen Knittle noted that this date is probably too early.¹⁵ In fact, *Christian Lauer*, whose patent appears on the map, arrived in Philadelphia only in 1733.¹⁶ It is also important to note that variant spellings are rampant, thus making absolute certainty very difficult. Levi Oscar Kuhns noted that very early a tendency to anglicize name spellings existed.¹⁷ Doubtless one factor hastening this practice was the keeping of official records by an English-speaking government.

The actual choice of the particular ten inventories was determined rather by chance finding of names appearing upon any of the lists mentioned, than by any decision ahead of time to use this or that name. Berks County was established only in 1752, so that inventories filed before that time would be in Lancaster, or even in Philadelphia. This means that in some cases the inventories will be for progeny of original settlers. Another problem is that such documents just do not exist for every person known to have lived in the area.

⁸Frank G. Lichtenthaeler, "Storm Blown Seed of Schoharie," *Pennsylvania German Folklore Society* (henceforth *PGFS*), IX (1944): 3-105.

⁹Lichtenthaeler, p. 68 (a quotation from *Col. Rec. of Pa.* III, p. 231).

¹⁰Lichtenthaeler, p. 69 (a transcription from M. Montgomery, *HRBC*, July 1936).

¹¹Lichtenthaeler, p. 91.

¹²*Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania (Col. Rec. of Pa.)* (Philadelphia, 1852), III, pp. 322-323.

¹³Lichtenthaeler, pp. 92-94. A confusion of lists and documents can be found in:

a) Morton L. Montgomery, *History of Berks County in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1886).

b) Israel Daniel Rupp, *A Collection of 30,000 Names of German, Swiss, Dutch, French, and Other Immigrants to Pennsylvania from 1727-1776* (Philadelphia, 1876).

c) I. D. Rupp, *History of the Counties of Berks and Lebanon* (Lancaster, 1844).

¹⁴C. Lindemuth, "The Tulpehocken Settlement," *The Pennsylvania German*, V (1904), 190-192.

¹⁵Walter Allen Knittle, *The Early Palatine Emigration* (Philadelphia, 1936), p. 300.

¹⁶Lichtenthaeler, p. 88 (a reference to Strassburger, *P.G. Pioneers*, p. 122).

¹⁷Oscar Kuhns, *German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1945); pp. 231-240, an appendix on surnames.

Poorer settlers would have left little to inventory; therefore, this type of record automatically selects for a modest level of means. However, since this population is agriculturally based, the fact of modest means does not remove it from the realm of folklife study.

Interest in supporting information about the people whose inventories are to be studied resides less in the individual for himself than in each as a representative case. Each inventory represents a sort of human individual one could expect to find in this community for the scant century from about 1723 (a convenient date, since a documented arrival for the earliest known large group of settlers in the area) to 1815, the date of the last inventory to be considered.

Taking the names chronologically, save when supposed family ties exist, we begin with *Gottfried Fidler, Jr.* (also spelled *Fiedler, Filler, Fitler*), whose inventory was recorded February 9, 1754. The name is already familiar as the writer in 1726 of one of the few documents fixing the number of Palatine families arriving in 1723. Whether the man represented by the inventory is the original settler or his son, it is hard to be certain, but the date is consistent with this being the inventory of an original settler. In any case, a *Godfrey Feidler* is known to have departed as a family head from Rotterdam (port of departure for Rhine Valley emigrants) for England during the summer of 1709.¹⁸ In 1710 and 1712, he was listed as heading a family of two persons on Governor Hunter's Ration List, where it was stated that he resided on the west side of the Hudson River,¹⁹ doubtless one of the several camps established for the homeless Palatines sent to the colonies to produce naval stores for Queen Anne.²⁰ He and his wife sponsored the baptism of a child in 1717, according to the Kochertal records.²¹ His signature appears on the Land Petition of 1725 and his name on the tax lists for 1726 and 1727.²² In 1735, he is reported to have been joined at his home by *Conrad Weiser*, where they burned Lutheran and Reformed catechisms, preliminary to retreating to Ephrata under the spell of Conrad Beissel;²³ however, he is also known to have been a member of the Tulpehocken Church between 1743 and 1746, a body of Lutherans and Reformed.²⁴

Second is *Philip Brown* (also *Braun*), yeoman, whose inventory is dated January 21, 1775. It is believed that he was one of the family of *John Yost Brown*, whose name appears on the Ration Lists of 1710 and

¹⁸Charles Adam Fisher, "Biographical Data about the Palatines," *HRBC*, II:4 (1937), 115.

¹⁹Fisher, p. 115; Knittle, p. 284.

²⁰For the history of this project, see Knittle, footnote 15.

²¹Fisher, p. 115.

²²Lichtenthaeler, p. 92.

²³P. C. Croll, *Annals of Womelsdorf and the Tulpehocken Community* (Reading, 1923, apparently part of a bicentennial recognition), p. 21.

²⁴Rupp, *Names*, p. 466.

1712 with five people over, and three under, ten years.²⁵ Kochertal recorded his first communion in 1711, when he would have been 14 or 15 years old,²⁶ thus we can surmise a birth date around 1696. In 1722, he and his wife sponsored the baptism of Conrad Weiser's son.²⁷ His signature appears on a 1727 petition for a road from Oley to Tulpehocken,²⁸ his name on tax lists for 1726 and 1727,²⁹ and for 1759.³⁰ Lindemuth located his land abutting Weiser's western boundary.³¹ Apparently his and his wife's burial plot can yet be seen.³² No known data exist for John Brown, whose inventory was filed March 8, 1784; presumably he is a direct descendent of Philip for two reasons: 1) a "clock and case", a substantial item given the same value, occurs on both inventories; 2) families frequently repeated Christian names, this John perhaps being named for his grandfather, John Yost.

The third surname, *Anspach* (*Ansbach*, *Onspach*), presents the greatest difficulty, there being inventories filed for three Johns: March 7, 1777; December 12, 1787; and March 16, 1795, the fourth, fifth and sixth inventories of the group studied. A man named *John Balthasar* (*Johann Balthus/Balzer*) *Anspach* appears from several documents to have been in Tulpehocken at the time. Born in Middle Franconia circa 1683, he is supposed to have come from Europe, as a family head,³³ and is recorded both on the New York Subsistence (or Ration) Lists³⁴ and on the Simmendinger Register of names and locations of Palatine emigrants, this last covering the period from 1710 to 1717.³⁵ In 1711, he is reported to have served as Private in a company of Palatine volunteers in the expedition against Canada in Queen Anne's War.³⁶ The birth of a son John is recorded in 1720, in Schoharie, New York,³⁷ in conflict with Lichtenthaeler's statement that Balthus came to Tulpehocken directly from the Hudson Camps. "Paltus Unsf," appearing on the Land Petition of 1725, Lichtenthaeler transcribed as Balthasar (Balthus) Anspach.³⁸ A land warrant was issued to him in 1734³⁹ and his grant appears on Lindemuth's map. Both Balthus and son Johannes are listed as Tulpe-

hocken Church members between 1743-1746.⁴⁰ Balthus is reported to have died in 1748, leaving a German will filed in Philadelphia.⁴¹ John (Johannes), born in 1720, is reported to have died in 1777, leaving eight children among whom were Johannes, born in 1763, and Eva Christine, married to Christian Lauer in 1775.⁴² On the basis of this marriage and an inventory book debt, one might suggest that John took over Balthus' property, which abutted the northeast corner of the Lauer property. The 1777 Anspach may thus be identified. In 1755, he is mentioned in a letter to Weiser as reporting an Indian attack,⁴³ and the name also appears on the 1759 tax list.⁴⁴ Might either of the other inventories have been for his son Johannes, known to have had a wife and two daughters?⁴⁵ Both 1777 and 1795 Johns were listed as yeomen on the inventories, whereas the 1787 John was a blacksmith. Another son of Balthus, Leonard, had a son John, born 1749, who also had a son John.⁴⁶ The 1795 John, reported born in 1750, is supposed to have been a second lieutenant in the Continental Army in 1776 and a captain in 1780, and is known to have had a wife and daughter.⁴⁷ The 1779 tax list also includes a John Anspach.⁴⁸ The 1787 and 1795 Johns cannot be conclusively identified, but it seems likely that they are descendents of John Balthus Anspach.

Two *Lower* (*Lauer*, *Laur*) inventories of January 15, 1787, and of January 23, 1807, are less problematic. *Christian Lower* arrived in Philadelphia by ship in September, 1733.^{49a} His land appears on the Lindemuth map; on this was a mill (likely the second in the area) operating during the French and Indian War, 1755-1763, according to Lindemuth,⁴⁹ though the inventory offers little support for its existence. A 1756 letter from Weiser refers to Lauer's arrival in Philadelphia to help obtain pay for men hired to serve as guards to the community.⁵⁰ He once owned Moselem Forge⁵¹ and appeared on the tax list for 1759.⁵² His son Christian was born in 1740, married an Anspach daughter (a neighbor) by whom he had seven children.⁵³ Christian the son was reported a second major of the Womelsdorf company during the Revolutionary War⁵⁴ (although the inventory called him "Gen'l").

²⁵Charles Adam Fisher, "Early Tulpehocken Settlers," *HRBC*, IV:4 (1939), 104; also Knittle, p. 283.

²⁶Fisher, p. 104.

²⁷Paul A. W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser* (Philadelphia, 1945), p. 33.

²⁸Knittle, p. 300.

²⁹Lichtenthaeler, p. 92.

³⁰Montgomery, p. 1086.

³¹Lindemuth, p. 191, see page 3 above.

³²*HRBC*, XXXVII (1972), 140.

³³Donald R. Anspach, *Genealogy of the Anspach Family*, unpublished typescript (Historical Society of Berks County, Reading, 1954), unpag.

³⁴Knittle, p. 283; Fisher, *HRBC*, II (1937), 115.

³⁵Knittle, p. 293; Lichtenthaeler, p. 29, for discussion of Simmendinger.

³⁶Fisher, p. 115.

³⁷Anspach, unpag.

³⁸Lichtenthaeler, p. 90.

³⁹Anspach, unpag.

⁴⁰Rupp, *Names*, p. 466.

⁴¹Anspach, unpag.

⁴²*Loc. cit.*

⁴³Wallace, p. 410.

⁴⁴Montgomery, p. 1086.

⁴⁵Anspach, unpag.

⁴⁶*Loc. cit.*

⁴⁷*Loc. cit.*

⁴⁸Heber G. Gearhart Collection, Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, folder for "Anspach."

^{49a}See note 16.

⁴⁹Lindemuth, p. 190.

⁵⁰Wallace, p. 426.

⁵¹Gearhart Collection, folder for "Lower/Laur."

⁵²Montgomery, p. 1086.

⁵³Gearhart, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁴Croll, p. 64.

The original homestead stands, and burial plots may be seen in the Trinity Tulpehocken Church Cemetery.⁵⁵

The ninth inventory, for *Casper Rieth* (*Reed, Ried, Riet, Ritt*), filed October 9, 1804, again is a difficult case: there are too many "Casper Rieths" to choose among. Lichtenthaeler, in a genealogical study, indicated that family tradition makes the Rieths leaders of a scouting party to Tulpehocken in 1713 and of the migration to the same area in 1723.⁵⁶ The family is said to have come from Mannheim to London, near which they camped with other Palatines in 1709. Records listed the father, *John George Riet*, with wife, one unnamed and four named (Leonard, Michael, George, Peter) sons, and three daughters.⁵⁷ He must have died during the ocean crossing, since his son Leonard was listed as the head of the family on the Simmendinger List, but with "five brothers and mother," perhaps an easy confusion to have occurred between people not speaking the same language; the daughters are not mentioned.⁵⁸ It is suggested that the name of the fifth brother was Casper, recorded to be seven in 1709, thus born in 1702.⁵⁹ Probably this is the Casper Rieth who appeared on the tax lists for 1726 and 1727, signed the Oley road petition in 1727, and is mentioned by Moravian Bishop Cammerhoff in a 1747 letter to Count Zinzendorf as having, with others, obtained a deed for the land on which the old church stood, demolished it, and built a new one.⁶⁰ This "new" church still stands, the land for it having been given in 1727 by Leonard.⁶¹ The tax list of 1759 recorded Casper Rieth and Casper Rieth, Jr., the latter likely being the paymaster of the Womelsdorf Company during the Revolutionary War,⁶² and perhaps the man behind the 1804 inventory. Other Caspers existed: the Gearhart Collection suggests a Casper between the two here discussed, but the data is too incoherent for conclusions to be made from it.⁶³ One Reed family first home still stands on the Tulpehocken Creek.⁶⁴

Finally *John Forrer* (*Fohrer, Fuhrer, Furr*), whose inventory was filed October 24, 1815, completes the group. "Johannes Fuhrer" is found on the New York Subsistence Lists for 1710-12, with a family of four people over, and one under, ten years.⁶⁵ "John Furr" occurs on the tax lists for 1726 and 1727,⁶⁶ but "John

Forrer" on the list for 1759,⁶⁷ as on the inventory. Lindemuth placed a land tract for "Johann Fohrer" sharing part of Leonard Rieth's eastern boundary.

Even from this fragmentary biographical data, one can begin to see the areas in which the Tulpehocken community kept to its own—the religio-social sphere of baptisms, marriages, and doctrinal schism, and as the inventories will show, agricultural and craft production. It is also clear that a world outside entered—Indians from whom protection or land was sought, and colonial officials to whom taxes were paid or roads requested, to whom military services or goods were rendered. Some feeling also is elicited for the hardships they endured in the transplanting process from a German-speaking homeland to an English-speaking colony, the areas which they would in the future call home, yet to be cleared for western habitation. It was no mean feat they achieved. The inventories provide ample evidence. By 1794, Womelsdorf was reported by the French Swiss agent of the Holland Land Company, Theophile Cazenove, as a "town where there are a German Lutheran church, about 50 houses, among which some are of stone and three or four new ones of brick, the rest are of logs and mortar. The neighborhood is remarkably well cultivated, therefore pleasant. The road from here to Meyer Town is very bad, clay or pebbles or rocks."⁶⁸ Cazenove noted, too, the richness of the land, planted in clover and grains, large barns and teams of strong horses. He observed that "if the farmers liked money less, they would surround themselves with more conveniences and live in plenty." The high price of grain since the French Revolution had made them rich, he explained, but even though they had accumulated idle cash or bought land left unused, they had provided all sons with their own farms. For the most part, Cazenove's observations are supported by the inventories.

Without exception the inventories begin with the apparel of the deceased, as if in being concerned first with the most personal items belonging to him, the appraisors paid final homage to the life recently completed. Two inventories place "his riding horse" second (F-1754, L-1787).^{68a} Rarely is the apparel itemized (perhaps an intrusion upon privacy?), save for one

⁵⁵Montgomery, p. 1086.

⁵⁶Theophile Cazenove, *Journal 1794*, R. W. Kelsey ed. (Haverford, Pennsylvania, 1922), p. 44.

⁵⁷Key to notation:

F-1754—Inventory of *Gottfried Fidler, Jr.*, February 9, 1754.

B-1775—*Philip Brown*, January 21, 1775.

B-1784—*John Brown*, March 18, 1784.

A-1777—*John Anspach*, March 7, 1777.

A-1787—*John Anspach*, December 12, 1787.

A-1795—*John Anspach*, March 16, 1795.

L-1787—*Christian Lower*, January 15, 1787.

L-1807—*Gen'l Christian Lower*, January 23, 1807.

R-1804—*Casper Rieth*, October 9, 1804.

F-1815—*John Forrer*, October 24, 1815.

⁵⁵HRBC, XXXVII (1972), 156.

⁵⁶F. E. Lichtenthaeler, "The Schoharie-Tulpehocken Rieths (Reeds)," unpublished typescript (Historical Society of Berks County, Reading, 1939), p. 1.

⁵⁷Lichtenthaeler, "Reeds," pp. 2-3.

⁵⁸Knittle, p. 297.

⁵⁹Fisher, HRBC, IV:4 (1939), 108.

⁶⁰Wallace, p. 245.

⁶¹HRBC, XXXVII (1972), 153.

⁶²Croll, p. 64.

⁶³Gearhart Collection, folder for "Reed."

⁶⁴HRBC, XXXVII (1972), 140.

⁶⁵Knittle, p. 285; HRBC, IV (1939), 105.

⁶⁶Lichtenthaeler, "Seed", p. 92.

instance (F-1815), where "One Fine Hat" and "one Pair Boots" are listed. (One wonders whether these might have been Westphalian in style, such as Cazenove reported worn for church about two decades earlier.)⁶⁹ Sabra Petersmann also found apparel grouped in the inventories that she studied.⁷⁰ Other personal items include razors and various sharpening implements (among the latter, "turquoj oilstone"—is "turkey" or "turquoise" meant? A-1787, L-1807), and silver buttons, shoe and knee buckles, and spurs (L-1807). Clearly the possession of silver items is so remarkable that even buttons are listed. "General" Lower, as a Revolutionary War participant, was perhaps a hero to his community. His inventory shows the greatest detail of any of the ten, even though its total value was not the highest; his father's was that. This care may be a reflection of status he was felt to have within the community. Items are less frequently lumped together and usually only one type of item appears on a line. Among the ten inventories, surprisingly, only six list weapons, five having guns, one (F-1815) listing a "rifle" and a "fowling piece." Lower, in addition to two guns, appropriately owned two pistols and a sword. Forrer's inventory is the only one that shows evidence of hunting or fishing equipment. This suggests that the community relied upon its farms, rather than its forests and streams, for foodstuffs.

Six of the inventories list yardgoods next. Probably the order reflects position in the house (Petersmann found that house items were separated from all others).⁷¹ For the most part, this is also true of these inventories, but how explain a bedstead between "two sweins" (note German spelling) and "two bee-hives" (A-1787)? Only one inventory (F-1754) lists no cloth stores, and all that do, record impressive amounts, ranging from a minimum of eight yards wool (B-1784) to a maximum of about 172 yards linen (A-1787). James T. Lemon reported that wool seemed to be used by the poor (only one inventory here reported wool cloth) and that flax was considered a necessity (eight reported varying amounts and grades of linen).⁷² Linen is carefully reported as "tow" (coarser grade), or "flax" (finer). Pattern, as "check" (five inventories) or "stripe" (L-1807), is noted, but not color, save for "1 3/4 yds Brown Cloth" (A-1787). Henry J. Kauffman found that "blue squares" existed, but that natural colored linen was most frequent.⁷³ Although Frances Lichten reported various dyestuffs in use, there is little evidence from these inventories.⁷⁴ She also noted that

"tow" was a natural brown color and that flax linen was bleached;⁷⁵ however, "26 yds of white tow" is listed once (A-1777). Cotton fabric occurred only on the two latest inventories (L-1807, F-1815), certainly not a local product, its presence suggestive of an increased contact with the outside. A consideration of fiber stores really goes along with yardgoods, even though such

An Inventory of the Goods & Chattels of John Anspach, late of Tulpehocken Township Yermans, deceased; Appraised by us the Subscribers on the Seventh Day of March, 1777.

registered 28th Jul, 1777

To his Apparel	L 13 1 6
Shirts & Dowlis	4 6
several tow bags & white tow linen	2 6
four baskets	6
five yars	1 1 6
three Bedsteads & Bedding	6 10
two bags with fine tow & a chaff bag	11 6
forty pounds of Flax	3 6 8
galia & three quarter pounds of Ramp	1 4 9
thirty five yards of tow linen	3 11 6
two saddles, one pair of saddle bags & three bridles	3 8 6
four wooden kitchen furniture	15 5
two barrels	12
a Weaving Loom with the Gears	6 5
some old Boots & several Knives	5
two ploughs	2 15
several old Iron Implements of Husbandry	6 13 6
a Waggon, along with a pair of blades	6
some Hamps & some yars for ropes	1 1
a wheelbarrow	2 6
three yars	5 4
two iron chains	7 6
a grind stone	6
eight hundred feet of split boards	3
a Wheel with four boards in the bars, iron chains, & calling box	4 14
some old fiddles	2
a spinning Wheel	5
	L 77. 10 11

Inventory of John Anspach (1777).

stores seem to occur in no recognizably regular position on the inventories. Eight of them include flax in varying stages of processing, a finding also reported by Gehret and Keyser.⁷⁶ There are bags, barrels, and

⁶⁹Cazenove, p. 45.

⁷⁰Sabra Petersmann, "Goschenhoppen Heritage Wills of the 18th Century," *Goschenhoppen Region*, III:2 (1970), 15

⁷¹Petersmann, p. 16.

⁷²James T. Lemon, "Household Consumption in 18th Century America," *Agricultural History*, XLI (1967), 67.

⁷³Henry J. Kauffman, *Pennsylvania Dutch American Folk Art* (New York, 1964), p. 28.

⁷⁴Frances Lichten, *Folk Art of Rural Pennsylvania* (New York, 1946), p. 63.

⁷⁵Lichten, p. 52.

⁷⁶Ellen J. Gehret and Alan G. Keyser, "Flax Processing in Pennsylvania: From Seed to Fiber," *Pa. Folk.*, XXII:1 (1972), 23.

pounds recorded of hatched or swingled flax, and tow or flax yarn, as well as wool yarn (three inventories report wool yarn, perhaps for knitting rather than weaving) and even one record of "colored yarn" (A-1795). Impressive amounts of household linens might be noted here, too: one to 31 tablecloths, up to 21 sheets, up to five "wallets." This last item is a bit of

inventories, usually not among household items, but it makes sense to consider them in conjunction with the household implements their existence required. Beverages included cider, whiskey (including "three gals rye whiskey"), liquor, "cherrybounce" (L-1807), and probably beer, as hops occur twice. A total of four inventories are here involved, not quite supporting Benjamin Rush's observation that "few use distilled spirits."⁷⁸ In view of Rush, it is surprising, then, that only one inventory listed cider. Vinegar occurred only three times, also low when the prolific apple orchards are considered: Cornelius Weygant noted that the orchard was a usual component of the farm.⁷⁹ Only three mentions of salt seems low, given salting as a major means of preservation. This is, of course, another item that came from outside. A meat tub and "meat of six Hogs," a kraut tub and two cabbage tubs (two ways of denominating the same commodity), bushels of potatoes and onions, a barrel of flour, and three listings of dried apples complete the food stores. In general the foods are meagerly recorded, perhaps because it was assumed that what there was, belonged to the living? Or perhaps because the production of foods had already passed on to a younger farmer's hands, and consequently the ownership? There is no mention of turnips⁸⁰ or pumpkins,⁸¹ reputedly dietary staples. This may simply be that the sample of ten is too small to represent a full spectrum of the possibilities that did exist. Given the existence of cows, geese, and bees on these inventories, it is clear that dairy products, eggs, and honey must have been consumed. Grains, of course, occur on the inventories but often are listed as "in the ground" and always occur among barn items, so will be treated later.

As Petersmann noted, kitchen utensils are itemized with care on rural inventories.⁸² Six churns are recorded. Coffee roaster, mills, pots; and tea boxes, kettles, pots, cups, and ware also appeared. Lemon found that coffee and especially tea were common after 1750 in southeastern Pennsylvania.⁸³ All inventories report items connected with tea: only five, beginning in the late 1780s, report coffee. "Tea" may well be borrowed from the British settlers. This increases the possible choice of beverage. Implements for making sausage and preparing sauerkraut occur. Several items for preparing apples are listed: a mill, a peel, and "four apple hurts" (R-1804). What the last might be

Carried over 77 16 4

To a brass Kettle	1 10
a Gun with a touch & powderhorn	1 15
a pewter Dish & some Spoons	12
some Tobacco	5
some Hops	6
Six Heads of Hops	149
Eight Heads of Horned Cattle with two Calves	18 5
Eleven Sheep	6 12
Six Swines	6 2 6
Hay - first crop	8 15
Hay - second crop	6 10
forty three bush O of Wheat	11 5 9
two hundred fifty three bush O of Oats	37 19
Cash	79 7
a Bond of George Gehret, was payable to 8 th Feb 1775	3 7 6
D ^o of Jacob Anspach, was payable to 11 th Novemb 1775	23
D ^o of Jacob Selzer, was payable to 20 th March 1772	25 15
D ^o of Philip Leppin's debt simple, partly was pay ^d 4 th May 1775	50
D ^o of D ^o & D ^o - was payable to 1 st May 1776	50
D ^o of D ^o & D ^o - payable to 1 st May 1777	50
D ^o of D ^o & D ^o - payable to 1 st May 1778	50
D ^o of D ^o & D ^o - payable to 1 st May 1779	50
a Note of Michael Kehl, was payable 4 th October 1772	3
D ^o of Christian Leiser payable 4 th May 1777	33 10
a Book Debt of Christian Leiser	17 5
a D ^o of Jacob Anspach	5 6 6

L 776, 18, 2

Taken and Appraised by us the
 subscribers, amounting in the whole to
 the sum of seven hundred twenty six pounds
 18/2 the tenth year past within mentioned
 Leonhardt Roth Jacob

Inventory of John Anspach (1777).

a puzzle: it occurs on four inventories, but always in conjunction with linens or bedding. It may therefore have been a cloth container or envelope in which night-clothes were kept; the *Oxford English Dictionary* does list as an older meaning, "a bag for holding clothing."⁸⁴

Another category of stored item of course was food-stuffs. Again these are scattered throughout the in-

⁸⁴*Oxford English Dictionary* (London, 1933), XII, 51.

⁷⁸Benjamin Rush, *An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania*, ed. Theodore E. Schmauk with I. D. Rupp's notes revised (Lancaster, 1910), p. 63.
⁷⁹Cornelius Weygant, *The Red Hills* (Philadelphia, 1929), p. 15.
⁸⁰Rush, p. 63, and Russell Wieder Gilbert, *Pennsylvania German Wills*, PGFS XV (1950), 46.
⁸¹Petersmann, p. 16, and Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The Middle Colonies* (New York, 1938), p. 280.
⁸²Petersmann, p. 15.
⁸³Lemon, p. 66.

is not clear: maybe a sort of mill (none was listed on the inventory, but why 4?) or maybe a sort of press for making pomace. One "hurt" was among kitchen items and three were listed with farm items, the usual place for a mill. (A study of "apple culture" is needed.) Pepper mills occur four times and sugar containers, twice, again commodities from the outside. "Mehlspeisen" preparation is represented in bread-baskets, cakepans, grid- and waffle-irons, bake plates and patty pans. Numerous pots, kettles, frying pans, skillets, and Dutch ovens attest to various methods of meat preparation, but it is surprising to find two listings of drip pans (R-1804, F-1815) since Henry Kinzer Landis maintained that these were used with spits, the latter being an English method of roasting meat requiring very hot fires, not a frugal use of one's wood supply.⁸⁴ In his view, the Pennsylvania German roasting method used a reflector oven, requiring hot coals, but this item does not appear on any of these inventories. Baking (Dutch oven), boiling (kettle), and frying (skillet) seem to have been the preferred methods here. Open hearth cooking is represented by pot racks and hooks; bakeoven cookery, by an "oven ketch" or scraper. Numerous containers, some likely for carrying water and milk, exist, but their use is not indicated. Among kitchen utensils, the presence of watering cans attests to a garden, otherwise not noted. Washing tubs (F-1815) occurred only once, though up to 86 lbs. of soap are recorded (F-1815), and barrels of ashes, presumably for making soap, occur twice (R-1804, L-1807).

Implements for serving and eating food are also recorded in some detail. It is again possible to note change at work: one of the earliest included "trenchers" (B-1775), the only inventory to list a utensil that we know to have been made only from wood, and one of the latest (L-1807) recorded "six silver teaspoons." Each of these inventories is unique in the mention of a given material, representing a varying range through time from the humblest to most elegant of materials, from reliance upon materials at hand to acquisition of materials from outside. All inventories but one (R-1804) list pewter items, the total value of which ranges from five shillings (F-1754) to 11 pounds (F-1815), on a more or less chronologically increasing scale. Half of the time, pewter items are listed individually rather than grouped as "pewterware." A good index of what was made in pewter is thus available, though of course this was not made locally, thus representing an outside influence from the beginning, unless such items may have been imported or brought with the settlers from Europe, a distinct

possibility. In any case it appears, from the care with which it is recorded, that pewter was a valued possession. Tinware, made for the colonial trade by the English, occurs only on the last three inventories, in accordance with Lichten's findings.^{85a} Earthenware was sometimes itemized, sometimes grouped, once specified as "stoneware" (L-1807), on the five inventories where it occurred. Excess numbers of pots (13, A-1787; 42, L-1807) suggest that pottery may have been made locally. Queensware (F-1815), an English product, and a china tea set (L-1807) certainly were not, and again attest to outside influence. Glassware, on the contrary, was a Pennsylvania German product. If any bottle listed can be assumed to be made of glass, then seven inventories include this material. In fact, two inventories list "green bottles" (R-1804, F-1815): it is possible that these are Stiegel-made, since he is known to have produced green glass.⁸⁵ This is one of the few instances when color occurs on an inventory (save in the enumeration of livestock, where color would be a distinguishing characteristic of individually valuable items), therefore, it is possibly a valued item. However, Landis noted that fine flatware, hollowware, china and glassware were likely imported from Europe.⁸⁶ He also found that "forks were rare for a long time."⁸⁷ This group of inventories again represents a range, three generally earlier inventories lacking forks. Other materials indicated for utensils associated with food include leather (one "blkjack" or blackjack, L-1787), copper and brass (usually kettles, five persons having an item of one or the other material, three something of each), and the ever present iron pots and pans, likely made by local smiths.

What furnishings were listed do appear sparse, as Cazenove observed.⁸⁸ Usually furniture is listed individually, but occasionally it is grouped, as "some wooden Kitchen furniture" (A-1777). Kitchen dressers occur on only five of the latest inventories in spite of their reputedly being usual.⁸⁹ Cupboards occur only twice and a corner cupboard once (B-1807, L-1807). Tables occur on all but one. "A round table" and "12 Windsor chairs" (L-1807) occur, English influence once again, the Windsor chairs being especially popular among Philadelphia Quakers in the view of John Joseph Stoudt.⁹⁰ Benches, occurring on three inventories, would not necessarily be for sitting: they might as well have been for resting buckets of milk or water upon.⁹¹ A total of only three desks occurs, and those on later

^{84a}Lichten, pp. 151-152.

⁸⁵Kauffman, p. 23.

⁸⁶Landis, p. 85.

⁸⁷Landis, p. 78.

⁸⁸Cazenove, pp. 16, 42, 76, 84.

⁸⁹Landis, p. 77.

⁹⁰John Joseph Stoudt, *Early Pennsylvania Arts and Crafts* (New York, 1964), p. 93.

⁹¹Amos Long, Jr., "Pennsylvania Summer Houses and Summer Kitchens," *Pa. Folk.*, XV:1 (1965), 17.

⁸⁴Henry Kinzer Landis, "Early Kitchens of the Pennsylvania Germans," *Proceedings, Pennsylvania German Society* (henceforth *PPGS*), XLVII (1939), 61.

inventories; the household table must have served all needs for large flat surfaces. Five inventories list clocks with cases, but I suspect that a total of three clocks is involved since two of these clocks were probably passed from father to son, the appraisals being identical (B-1775 & B-1784, £15; L-1787 & L-1807, £12). One 8-day clock occurs (R-1804). Probably these were made from imported parts; Stoudt maintained that no clockmaker is known to have produced clockworks in Pennsylvania at that time, though cabinetmakers did produce the cases.⁹² All inventories included at least one chest, but there is no indication regarding their appearances. Presumably these are the traditional blanket or dower chests in form since "chest of drawers" is differentiated (L-1807). Only one wardrobe (B-1775) and one clothespress (F-1815) are listed: perhaps others had already been given to family members, since these were usual items. Five inventories list "looking glasses." Bedsteads, common after 1725,⁹³ occur on all but one inventory (F-1754), varying from one to eight in number. Since more persons slept in one bed then than is now customary, it is not possible to draw conclusions regarding family size from the number of bedsteads. "Beds" (meaning "featherbeds", though never so specified; Abbott Lowell Cummings is careful to point out this distinction)⁹⁴ occur with most bedsteads. Only one cradle occurs (L-1807). Pillows are mentioned on only two inventories (L-1787, F-1815). Bed curtains, which were common, are mentioned on only four later inventories, while window curtains, often missing even in New England,⁹⁵ do occur once (L-1807). Only the Lower inventory listed quilts (characteristic of the 19th Century⁹⁶), or coverlets⁹⁷ (these were usual, however much heavier than our bedspreads because they were to weight down a featherbed⁹⁸). Another point, his inventory, the only one to do so, listed items bequeathed to the widow, among which the customary bedstead and bed,⁹⁹ and items owned in part by his son. An item that occurs on no inventories is carpets. Rush noted that even in Philadelphia, carpets were not used until after 1750.¹⁰⁰

Most inventories included items related to heating the house. Stoves occur on two (one L-1787, three L-1807); likely these were 5- or 6-plated since unspecified,¹⁰¹ but one 10-plated Franklin stove occurred (F-1815). Rush noted that stoves were more econom-

ical than were open hearths for heating rooms, and that therefore the whole house could be kept comfortable and available for productive use; everyone need not be cramped by the fire or shivering in a corner.¹⁰² Cummings referred to the New England practice of heating only one room continuously in winter.¹⁰³ How much of Pennsylvania German industriousness can be attributed to this factor of useable space in winter? It is surprising, however, that inventories include no mention of customary firewood supplies;^{103a} these were not taken for granted since wills specify amounts of firewood to be supplied the widow.¹⁰⁴ Six inventories record hearth equipment, tongs being the most common item. Only two (L-1787, L-1807) record items analogous to andirons: handirons, fireholds, and firehounds.

Lighting equipment was an item Petersmann found no mention of on 10 of 15 inventories.¹⁰⁵ Here five report lamps or candlesticks, and another includes beeswax and tallow, presumably for candle-making. The candlesticks seem to be scattered through the inventories, not relegated to the kitchen as Cummings found,¹⁰⁶ and this makes sense since in Pennsylvania German households, fire for candle lighting was not restricted to the kitchen. But on none of the inventories is any sort of lamp oil.

All of the inventories include books, but they are usually grouped. When books are mentioned individually, they are usually religious: six inventories mention Bibles. Others have found this also.¹⁰⁷ Arndt's *True Christianity* occurred once (L-1787); apparently this was a popular item as it is found also by Gilbert, and Rush reported it to have been published in America in 1751 as *Wahres Christenthum*.¹⁰⁸ Five hymnbooks occur, (L-1787, L-1807) including the *Art of Dying*, which must have been for funeral use, and two prayerbooks (L-1787, L-1807) including *Schmolkens Prayers*, also found by Gilbert.¹⁰⁹ In addition, there are a psalmbook (R-1804) and a sermonbook (L-1807). This makes a total of five such books itemized on one inventory (L-1787) and seven on another (L-1807), not including four Bibles also occurring on the second mentioned. The emphasis upon books with a religious content is hardly surprising since for many, religion was a major reason behind transplantation to a new world. That Pennsylvania Germans were a religious group is a fact noted both by Cazenove and by Rush.¹¹⁰ But one must not be misled by the recordings of an

⁹²Stoudt, p. 133.

⁹³Stoudt, p. 91.

⁹⁴Abbott Lowell Cummings, *Rural Household Inventories: New England 1675-1775* (Boston, 1964), p. xviii.

⁹⁵Cummings, p. xx.

⁹⁶Stoudt, p. 258.

⁹⁷Rush, p. 63.

⁹⁸Lichten, p. 66.

⁹⁹Gilbert, p. 18.

¹⁰⁰Rush, p. 63.

¹⁰¹Gilbert, p. 31. See also Edwin G. Brumbaugh, "Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans," *PPGS*, XLI (1930), 29.

¹⁰²Rush, pp. 60-61.

¹⁰³Cummings, p. xiv.

^{103a}Amos Long, Jr., "The Woodshed," *Pa. Folk.*, XVI:2 (1966-1967), 38.

¹⁰⁴Gilbert, p. 31.

¹⁰⁵Petersmann, p. 16.

¹⁰⁶Cummings, p. xvii.

¹⁰⁷Lichten, p. 81; Petersmann, p. 16.

¹⁰⁸Gilbert, p. 89; Rush, p. 46.

¹⁰⁹Gilbert, p. 90.

¹¹⁰Cazenove, p. 18; Rush, pp. 93-103.

appraiser, who decided what it was important to itemize and what not, and in so doing, reflected a community's values. Non-religious books were read, too, as is quickly apparent from the one itemized library included in the group of ten; it is just that these books were not generally judged to be as important. In Lower's library, in order of frequency after the 11 religious books, come nine volumes having legal content and nine having to do with travel and the natural world. For a military man the legal matters are appropriate; the latter seems to reflect both contemporary taste and also the particular interests of a rural community living close to its land. One item classed as legal is not clear: "Addison's Tryals." Joseph Addison wrote no such work though his father Lancelot wrote several martyr's trials.¹¹¹ Addison did in 1713 write a politically satiric 'trial,' "the late tryal and conviction of count Tariff"; maybe this is Lower's volume. If so, perhaps the categorization is not too far stretched; but if "Addison's Tryals" refers to a book of martyrs, then the count of religious books increases to 12. Third in interest are philosophy and the classics, having four items, *Improvement of the Mind* being borderline perhaps between this category and religion. Tied for fourth place in rank of interest are history, technology, and ethnicity: the first again appropriate to the military, the second to the rural community in being concerned with surveying and the use of plaster of paris (probably Richard Peters: *Agricultural Enquiries on Plaister of Paris*, Philadelphia, 1797), and the third, meager evidence of a foreign language background. It is surprising that more German language books are not mentioned, unless they are hidden in "sundry books." This lack indicates ongoing acculturation. The book on plaster of Paris is interesting because it attests to the progressiveness of the German farmers: numerous uses for plaster of Paris existed from fertilizer for clover¹¹² to aphid insecticide for flax;¹¹³ also on this inventory is an ample supply of the material, 2 3/4 tons, to practice what was read. Miscellaneous items include a dictionary and "Read's Digest." Perhaps this last might be an example of an almanac, a usual in fact necessary component of a German farmer's household if he is to follow the moon in farm management as recorded by Rush and Yoder.¹¹⁴ Lower's library contained 46 itemized books plus others, which together were worth over £24, or about the value of a good mare. The collection shows outside influences working inwards; in fact as a military man, he lived in two worlds, quite reflected by the contents of his inventory. Just for comparison we might note Paul A. W. Wal-

lace's brief itemization of Conrad Weiser's library of 145 books and pamphlets, including four Bibles, a dictionary, law books, books on heraldry and genealogy, eight on the doctrine of Ephrata, six on the United Brethren, Voltaire's biography of Charles XII of Sweden.¹¹⁵ The similarity is obvious. Topically associated with Lower's books are six maps and 12 pictures, unique examples. No mention is made of examples of fraktur, but perhaps such pieces as a "taufschein" were safely stowed in the family Bible. The variety and level of reading material is impressive; therefore it is surprising to find two appraisors not writing, but making "their marks" on the inventories. One wife made "her mark" also; however, it was common for wives and daughters not to be able to write, even though most could read, according to Rush.¹¹⁶

One last important group of implements is found in the house, namely those associated with weaving and spinning, the former usually men's and the latter usually women's work. Six inventories have a loom; eight, spinning wheels. Of the last, two wool and two cotton wheels are indicated (the former on earlier and the latter on later inventories). Households have anywhere from one to six wheels, there being a total of 23 spinning wheels on the eight. One inventory lacking loom or wheel listed "instruments for making weavers' tools" (R-1804). The other inventory (L-1787) having no loom, had no other items of the category. Once fiber has been spun into yarn or thread, and then woven into cloth, clothing had to be made and cared for. There are three sorts of irons listed for this purpose: "box," "sad," and "flat," in chronological order of appearance. Landis did not specify how these differed.¹¹⁷ The box-iron probably had coals placed inside to provide heat; the sadiron seems to have had several bases to fit one handle frame; and the flat iron is likely a type we are still familiar with. Most inventories include some sorts of weighing devices, seven having steelyards; two, scales and weights. Another item that seems to occur with fabric tools is a "spring lancet," perhaps a sort of penknife for cutting threads and yarns (L-1787, A-1795, L-1807). Woolcards and hatchels for flax and hemp also usually occur among household items, the combing of the fiber being done indoors during the winter.¹¹⁸ The flaxbrakes and "swingle trees" (B-1775), used by the men, were in the barn, the former (13 occurring on seven inventories) to break the tough outer shell of the flax stalk and the latter to beat its fragments out of the fiber.¹¹⁹ "Swinglestock" ("schwingschtock" in the dialect¹²⁰) is the usual term, but "stock" and "tree" being similar in meaning, it seems that

¹¹¹British Museum Catalog of Printed Books, London, 1962.

¹¹²Cazenove, p. 29.

¹¹³Gehret and Keyser, p. 15.

¹¹⁴Lichten, p. 81; also Don Yoder in Folklore 550, course at the University of Pennsylvania, lecture given November 1, 1972; Rush, p. 71.

¹¹⁵Wallace, p. 573.

¹¹⁶Rush, p. 105.

¹¹⁷Landis, p. 102.

¹¹⁸Gehret and Keyser, pp. 28-29.

¹¹⁹Op. cit. pp. 23-28.

¹²⁰Op. cit., p. 33.

To a pair of She. with Wights	59
To a paper Mill &c	16
To 8 boxes &c	30
To a powder Sack & two half Dozen	36
To a Sander	46
To a Glass Bowl &c	56
To a half Dg of Fine White &c	38
To a powder Sack that had half but	113
To 2 powder Sacks	60
To 15 Bells	60
To a Demachow	50
To a Tub with four Cherybances	83
To a Sack and half	83
To 1/2 the Tea House &c	46
To a Sack &c	26
To a Halfyard	39
To a Basket	26
To 8 Bags	140
To 12 Sacks	180
To 2 Sacks White	140
To 2 Osh	126
To 2 Osh	90
To 2 Osh	50
To 2 Osh	113
To 2 Osh	76
To 2 Osh	80
To 2 Osh	50
To 2 Osh	50
To 2 Osh	50
To a Bag	13
To 2 Bells	20
To a quantity of Yellow Cases	39
To a half Dg pair of Osh	120
To 4 Tub	20
To 2 Bed Cases	6

To 2 Shells	26
To 2 Osh	180
To a Curtain	126
To a Bed Quilt	50
To 8 1/2 yard of Osh	100
To 8 1/2 yard of Osh	86
To 2 Baskets	21
To 2 Baskets	113
To a Basket	150
To a Osh	300
To a Sack	600
To a Sack	50
To 9 Baskets	39
To a half Dg of Osh & Osh	39
To a half Dg Osh	20
To 2 Sacks and Osh	50
To 2 Osh	16
To a Sack &c	20
To a pair of Osh, Shaw and Osh Baskets	109
To 2 Boxes	113
To 2 Sacks of Osh	21
To 2 Sacks and Osh	76
To 2 Sacks of Osh	20
To a Spring Lament	60
To a Gold Weight	39
To a Sack Buttons	50
To a Sack	20
To 3 Cases	50
To a Picture	10
To a pair of Sacks	600
To a Sack	600
To a Sack	126
To a Coffee Pot	50

To a Bag	26
To 2 Sacks Brown Bells	180
To a Sack &c	126
To a Sack &c	50
To a Sack &c	100
To a Sack &c	86
To a Sack	21
To 2 powder Sacks	113
To 2 powder Sacks	150
To 2 Sacks	300
To 2 Sacks	600
To a Sack &c	50
To a Sack &c	39
To 3 Sacks	39
To 2 Sacks	20
To a Sack	50
To a Sack	16
To a Sack	20
To a Sack	109
To a Sack	113
To a Sack	21
To 2 powder Sacks	76
To a Sack	20
To 2 powder Sacks	60
To a Sack of powder White	39
To 2 Sacks of powder	50
To 2 Sacks &c	20
To a Sack	50
To 2 Osh	10
To 2 Osh	600
To 2 Osh	600
To 2 powder Sacks	126
To 2 powder Sacks	50

Inventory of Christian Lower (1807).

noted is here: horses, cattle, swine, sheep, and poultry.¹²⁷ Horse color was almost always noted, there being from one to nine horses on any one of the six inventories listing horses. Cattle, from one to 35 head, occur on all ten, three heifers (L-1807) being reported “splated”; is “spayed” meant? Swine, up to 24 animals, are present on all but one (L-1787), attesting to the popularity of pork and sausage. Oxen are listed on the last two (L-1807, F-1815), evidence once more of the accuracy of Cazenove’s observations: “they are beginning to use oxen.”^{127a} Six farms kept sheep, varying from seven to 20 head. Two flocks of geese were included on these (A-1795, F-1815), although Petersmann found no poultry on the documents she consulted.¹²⁸ Both of the inventories listing geese also list bags of feathers. One would expect more poultry to be around the farms than seems to show up, perhaps an oversight on the part of appraisors. Bees, too, were listed on five inventories (Cazenove wrote that “all keep bees”¹²⁹), but honey, which must have been available, never occurred although beeswax was mentioned once (A-1795).

Usually last on the inventory were notations of cash, bonds, book debts, and other records of financial activities. Rush observed that the Germans “often assist each other by loans of money for a short time, without interest.”¹³⁰ This is documented by the inventories, only two of which show no loans: an Anspach inventory (A-1777) recorded two loans to his neighbor Christian Lower. Apparently overdue interest was charged, as noted on both Lower inventories. The large amount of funds so let out suggests that the Lowers performed a banking service for the community: a loan to B. Spyker on the earlier inventory (L-1787) was still not paid completely on the later (L-1807). Only one inventory (A-1795) showed any indication of hired help, £10 recorded as “one year wages for a servant girl which was bound to said deceased being to the time when free.” Even this much is surprising since most observers have recorded the fact that the whole family worked, seldom hiring extra help,¹³¹ that it was a point of family pride that all were required to contribute and all received a share of the produce.¹³² Finally, the inventories present a range of social and economic differences, a factor that

¹²⁷Wertenbaker, p. 276.

^{127a}Cazenove, p. 29.

¹²⁸Petersmann, p. 16.

¹²⁹Cazenove, p. 34.

¹³⁰Rush, p. 186.

¹³¹Rush, p. 66.

¹³²Weygandt, p. 7.

18 powder Dishes	1	179
18 powder Plates		70
18 1/2 lbs. S.		30
18 1/2 Hops &c		90
18 1/2 frying Stone		106
18 1/2 Handbars		26
18 1/2 Wire bands		76
18 1/2 Wood and Staps		50
18 1/2 Wire hells		40
18 1/2 Knives &c		26
18 1/2 Kitchen Origan		2 50
18 1/2 Oil		4 00
18 1/2 Best Case		20
18 1/2 Sells		184
18 1/2 Paper Mill		39
18 1/2 Bench		26
18 1/2 Oil		20
18 1/2 Clock and Case		10 100
18 1/2 Knife		6 00
18 1/2 Hat Press		100
18 1/2 Can Chain		20
18 1/2 Wheel and Staps		50
18 1/2 Oil		39
18 1/2 Crankbar &c		1 50
18 1/2 Cooking Glass		30
18 1/2 Can &c		53
18 1/2 Best and Bedstead		5 100
18 1/2 Cupboard		39
18 1/2 Corner Cupboard		2 100
18 1/2 The Case		13
18 1/2 Wire Bands		2 50
18 1/2 Candle Sticks		180
18 1/2 Finning Wheel & a Reel		183

18 1/2 Lute and Bristle		150
18 1/2 Axes		13
18 1/2 1/2 Lute & Bristle		150
18 1/2 pair of Salt Bags		113
18 1/2 Saws		20
18 1/2 Mops of the World		150
18 1/2 quantity of Mops		40
18 1/2 1/2 Flour Brakes		113
18 1/2 1/2 Appl. Mill		50
18 1/2 Barrels &c		150
18 1/2 Hay		150
18 1/2 quantity of Bricks		16
18 1/2 Bushels of Wheat at 7/6 p. B.		11 50
18 1/2 Bushels of Rye at 7/6 p. B.		5 126
18 1/2 Bushels of Buckwheat at 7/6 p. B.		1 68
18 1/2 Bushels of Hops at 7/6 p. B.		2 80
18 1/2 quantity of Rabbit Skin		2 00
18 1/2 1/2 of Flaxen Yarn		180
18 1/2 Wire Bristle		113
18 1/2 Hand Water Engines		76
18 1/2 1/2 of Wood		1 80
18 1/2 Dough Knigh		16
18 1/2 quantity of Bags		39
18 1/2 Barrel of wild Dried Apples		113
18 1/2 quantity of Station		39
18 1/2 1/2 yards of thin Linnen at 2/6 p. B.		2 89
18 1/2 1/2 yards of Tule at 1/6 p. B.		1 47
18 1/2 1/2 yards of Yellow Linnen at 3/4 p. B.		3 85
18 1/2 1/2 of Linnen		100
18 1/2 1/2 Carthen Potts		34
18 1/2 1/2 Barrels &c		1 80
18 1/2 four Barrels with Ash		123
18 1/2 Barrel with Iron and Iron Latt		50
18 1/2 1/2 Bushels of Ouzen		1

18 1/2 1/2 a Bushels of		10
18 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2		50
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		1 00
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		176
18 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2		3 00
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		39
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		13
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		106
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		113
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		13
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		30
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		46
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		10 00
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		39
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		150
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		4 100
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		7 6
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		5 63
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		7 100
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		100 00
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		5 100
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		14 00
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		19 39
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		25 00
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		7 176
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		47 0 84
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		257 0 2
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		162 5 2
18 1/2 1/2 1/2		190 17 8

Bank County
 On the second Day of February 1802 Presently appeared before me the Subscriber one of the Justices of the Peace and for said County the above named Christian Lower and Peter Hoffmann officers of the State of New Brunswick who being sworn and examined according to Law that the above Appraisement is taken according to their best Knowledge and abilities.

Inventory of Christian Lower (1807).

Cummings emphasized must be considered in interpreting them.¹⁴¹ The total value varies from £232 to £6268, of which six are below £1000 and four over £2000, the two Lower, Rieth, and Forrer inventories being in the second category. This indicates marked stratification. As one would expect, evidence of outside influence occurs on inventories from this group (L-1787, L-1807, F-1815); they happen also to be the later inventories. Perhaps the time factor—the longer the families were there, the wealthier they became—reduces to some the extent the apparent stratification. From the inventories one can also glean signs of dialect influence. Numerous sorts of examples occurred:

- 1) Confusion between B & P with each other or with another consonant:
 bouch for pouch (A-1787)
 tumpler for tumbler (L-1807)
 robe for rope (B-1775)
 clothes prep for press (F-1815)
- 2) Confusion of T & D with each other:
 spate for spade (L-1807)
 patlock for padlock (A-1787)
 powder for pewter (L-1807)
 dowels for towels (A-1777)
 mint for mind (L-1807)

- 3) Confusion between CH & J:
 demochan for demijohn (L-1807)
 journ for churn (L-1807)
- 4) Confusion between K & G:
 kridiron for gridiron (L-1807)
- 5) Evidence of German orthography:
 schaff bag for chaff (F-1815)
 woolchard for woolcard (L-1807)
 chavis for shaves (B-1784)
- 6) Evidence of translation:
 "Spring lancet" (A-1787) from "sprengstock,"¹⁴⁴ where one part of the word is anglicized and the other translated.
 "Oven ketch" (R-1804) from "backoffekitsch."¹⁴⁵ where each part is anglicized.
 "Fleshfork" for "meatfork" is often listed in the category of translations,¹⁴⁶ but since it is also frequent on Cumming's New England inventories, it can hardly be classed as Pennsylvania German.¹⁴⁷ Vowel variations, too, are often remarked, but these are much more difficult to attribute to a dialect basis since English

¹⁴¹A. R. Horne, *Horne's Pennsylvania German Manual* (Allentown, 1905), pp. 280, 326.
¹⁴²A. Long, Jr., "Bakeovens in Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Culture," *Pa. Folk.*, XIV:2 (1964), 23.
¹⁴³Gilbert, pp. 6-7.
¹⁴⁴Cummings, p. 59, plus 11 other references.

¹⁴⁰Cummings, p. xxxix.

spelling was regularized only toward the end of the 18th Century. Cumming's inventories show some of the same vowel variations as these. That Lower's inventory is cited more than others in this matter derives more from the fact that his is the longest (15 pages, the next longest being five, and most two to three), rather than that his shows a greater proportion of items of dialectal interest.

These word variants both provide information and make it difficult to obtain. And there are other problems involved in dealing with inventories. In addition to questions arising from legibility, nonstandard spellings, and dialectal influences, the referents for many items are unclear: various containers, some utensils, differences between types of a tool. Another difficulty is lumping items: "gear" for a loom, wagon gear, horse gear, even smithy tools. When goods are listed in quantity, one cannot differentiate between what was for home use and what was for market. When a modifier occurs at the beginning of a line, it is not clear whether it was meant to apply to all of the items following or only the first; a similar problem, does "18 forks and knives" mean 18 of each or a total of 18 items? Other difficulties arise from the procedure of appraising an estate. According to Petersmann, a family member accompanied the appraisors about the farm.¹⁴⁸ She believes that some odd sequences of items can be accounted for by items being recalled out of context and immediately being recorded. A comparison of the appearances of the inventories indicates that some were done hastily, on location, as many items listed on a line as would fit (B-1775). Others seem to have been re-written in tranquility, only one or two items to a line, complete with flourishes (L-1807). The disadvantage of the last is that the scrivener apparently could not always read his notes: one line read "To a half bushel of . . . 1 shilling"; other lines indicate that a word was not clear and pretenses of letters are written.

In spite of these problems, the inventories were interesting to work with; however, there are several lessons to be learned from this tentative and preliminary survey. 1) The inventories would be even more interesting if read in conjunction with the corresponding will since this would provide a more complete view of household contents as well as providing insight into social factors regulating family practices. 2) In order to deal adequately with items occurring on the inventories, one really needs to be a specialist in or have access to specialists' studies of each of the crafts or practices implied by the items. These particular inventories raised problems in the areas of apple culture, clothing care, woodworking, and blacksmithery. 3) Hopefully,

¹⁴⁸Petersmann, p. 15.

¹⁴⁹Lichten, p. 150.

the presentation of the sorts of items one can expect to show up on inventories from the Tulpehocken area, the amount and kind of detail, the gaps existing and questions raised, will prove suggestive for future research. For example one might study the cost of living since items have values attached to them; or from the loan notations at the ends of the inventories, one might study communication networks within the community.

One of the several characteristics that emerges from the inventories is a sense of change over time. Contacts with the outside (or intrusions therefrom) increase, especially with respect to those from the English-language culture. Such contacts range from cooking methods and utensils to building materials and books (*Pilgrim's Progress*, for example, L-1807). Another aspect of change is the increasing wealth of the farmer as each generation benefited from the accumulations of the previous and from its own capacity to produce a surplus. Excess amounts of linen cloth, for example, or lumber or grains, enabled them to acquire through trade increasing amounts of English tinware and china-ware (especially the colorful Staffordshire "Gaudy Dutch"¹⁴⁹).

From the equipment and produce listed on the inventories, one can also form an amazingly complete view of the Tulpehocken community's make-up. The inventories of only 10 men, representing at most eight farm families (if each Anspach should be unrelated), include the skills of cobbler, candlemaker, cook, baker, seamstress, tailor, shoemaker, weaver, spinster, potter, basketmaker, carpenter, smith, miller, lumberman, husbandman, soldier, lawyer, banker, soap-maker, laundress, dairymaid, butcher, thresher, tanner, and surveyor. These skills impressively attest to the industry and many-sidedness of the Pennsylvania German settler.

This small community was just one of many such, existing from 1730 to 1830, a period during which Pennsylvania served as a center of population distribution.¹⁵⁰ English, French, Welsh, and especially Scots-Irish arrived in the German settled areas. Contacts among the variety of cultures resulted in a new Pennsylvania Culture, made up of contributions from the various European sources. When settlers moved on, they carried with them this new culture, a "transmutation" of European components.¹⁵¹ And one of the elements in that whole was the Palatine, which the Tulpehocken community of Womelsdorf predominantly represented.

¹⁵⁰Wayland F. Dunaway, "Pennsylvania as an Early Distributing Center of Population," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LV (1931), 134, 164.

¹⁵¹Joseph W. Glass, *The Pennsylvania Culture Region: a Geographical Interpretation of Barns and Farmhouses*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Penn. State Univ., 1971), pp. 8, 246.

WAGON TAVERNS AS SEEN THROUGH LOCAL SOURCE MATERIAL

By RONALD L. MICHAEL

Taverns or inns were common in America from the 17th through the 19th Centuries. They literally dotted the landscape along every well traveled road. Some served stage coach travelers, others catered primarily to wagoners, and they all received individual travelers. Regardless of their class of clientele, taverns have been considered a colorful part of America's past. How much of the folklore about them is true can only be hypothesized, but certainly little is known concerning the activities that were ongoing at taverns other than those which were recorded by travelers. While travelers wrote about what they observed during a brief stay at a tavern, their writings seldom reflected more than a superficial account of tavern life. They frequently wrote of the bad food and sleeping accommodations or the rowdiness of the guests, but rarely did any of them chronicle tavern architecture, acceptance of innkeepers and taverns as part of the local community, innkeeping as a profession, and the longevity of taverns. Further, practically no published material exists about those numerous taverns which were largely freight wagon and not stage coach stops; wagoners' strengths were not oriented toward keeping diaries.

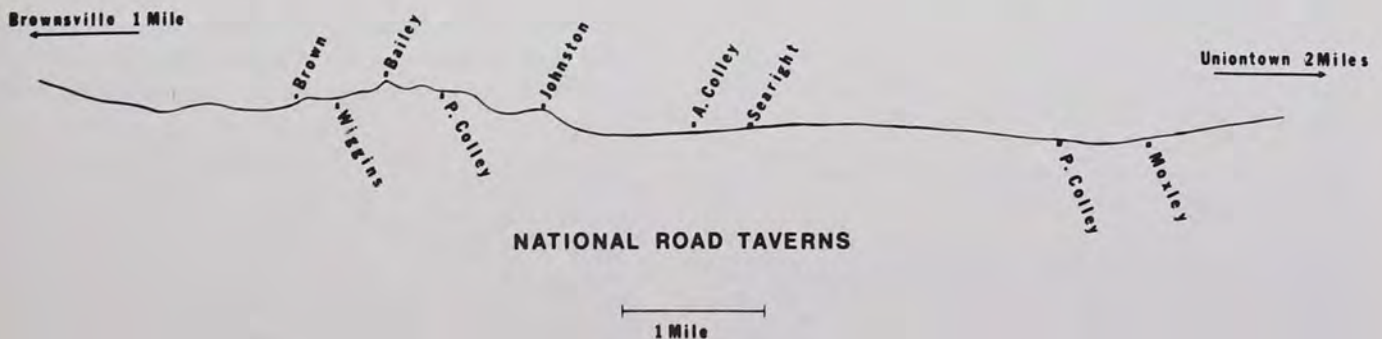
It is not that cultural data relating to wagon taverns do not exist. Instead, such material has been largely overlooked by researchers. As an example of the type of cultural data that can be compiled about wagon tavern life, nine wagon taverns along a twelve mile stretch of the original National Road in Southwestern Pennsylvania were studied through local sources. All of the taverns which existed between the outskirts of Uniontown and Brownsville, Fayette County, operated

during the period of heaviest traffic along the National Road—the period from its opening until the Baltimore and Ohio and Pennsylvania railroads reached Wheeling, West Virginia, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, respectively—the period from 1818-1854. The geographical placement of the taverns, their basic architectural features and their floor plans, the arrangement of out-buildings around the taverns, the social status of the innkeepers, the phenomenon of innkeeping as a profession, and the longevity of the taverns were examined.

The taverns were fairly uniformly spaced at about 1½ mile intervals (Figure 1).¹ Instead of referring to them by numbers, they will be referred to by the name of one of their most popular innkeepers. From Uniontown to Brownsville the taverns were: Thomas Moxley's, Robert Hunter's, William Searight's, Abel Colley's, Robert Johnston's, Peter Colley's, Isaac Bailey's, John Gribble's, and Wilks Brown's. From looking at a map showing all of the taverns, one of the easiest misimpressions to obtain is that they all operated simultaneously. In truth, no more than seven were licensed during any of the thirty-seven years from 1818-1854 (Figure 2). In fact, during 70% of the time there were less than seven taverns operating, and during 43% of the years, five or fewer taverns were doing business in any given year. As might be expected, as the years passed and freight volume increased on the National Road, the number of taverns increased. During the

¹Thomas B. Searight, *The Old Pike: A History of the National Road with Incidents, Accidents, and Anecdotes Thereon* (Uniontown, 1894), pp. 244-255.

Figure 1: Shows tavern locations from Uniontown to Brownsville. The Abel Colley Tavern may have been on the other side of the National Road.



	Thomas Moxley Tavern	Robert Hunter Tavern	William Searight Tavern	Abel Colley Tavern	Robert Johnston Tavern	Peter Colley Tavern	Isaac Bailey Tavern	Duthbert Wiggins Tavern	Wilks Brown Tavern
1815	x				x	x		x	
1816	x				x	x		x	
1817	x				x	x		x	
1818	x				x	x		x	
1819	x				x	x		x	
1820	x				x	x		x	
1821					x	x		x	
1822					x	x		x	
1823	x		x		x	x		x	x
1824	x		x		x	x		x	x
1825	x		x		x	x		x	x
1826	x		x		x	x		x	x
1827	x		x		x	x		x	x
1828	x		x		x	x		x	x
1829	x		x		x	x		x	x7
1830			x		x	x		x	x7
1831			x	x7	x	x		x	x7
1832			x	x7	x	x		x	x7
1833			x		x	x		x	
1834			x		x	x		x	
1835			x		x	x		x	
1836	x	x	x		x	x		x	
1837	x	x	x		x	x		x	
1838	x	x	x		x	x		x	
1839	x	x	x		x	x		x	
1840	x	x	x		x	x		x	
1841	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
1842	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
1843	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
1844	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
1845	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
1846	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
1847	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
1848	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
1849	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
1850	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
1851	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
1852	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
1853	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
1854	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
1855	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
1856									
1857			x						
1858			x					x	
1859	x		x						
1860			x						
1861	x		x						
1862	x		x						
1863			x						
1864			x						
1865			x						
1866			x						
1867			x						
1868			x						
1869			x						
1870			x						
1871			x						
1872			x						
1873			x						
1874									
1875									
1876									
1877									
1878									
1879									
1880									

Figure 2: Years during which specific taverns operated.

	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	
W. Moxley	3	3	3	3	1	2	3	3	3			3	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	-42
Hunter			2		1					3	3	3	2	1		2		3	2	3	-25
Searight			2	3	1	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3			3	3	3	-64
A. Colley			2		1	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	1	2	3	3	3	2	3	3	-39
Johnston			3	3	3	3	3					3	1							2	-21
P. Colley												3	2	1	2		3		2	3	-16
Bailey																					-0
Gribble			3	3		2														3	-11

Figure 3: Patronage comparison for all taverns, 1818-1854. Highest to lowest point total indicates greatest to least patronage. Based on innkeeper occupational tax valuations.

	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	
Moxley	3	2	2	2	2	2						1			2	3	3			3	-25
Hunter	1	3	1	1					1	3	2	2	2		2	3	2	3	3	3	-29
Searight	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	-94
A. Colley			1	2	2	2	3	3	2	1		2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	-36
Johnston			3		2	2	2													3	-15
P. Colley							3	3				2	3	2		2	3	3			-21
Bailey																					-0
Gribble			2																		-2

Figure 4: Patronage comparison for all taverns, 1818-1854. Highest to lowest point total indicates greatest to least patronage. Based on tavern license fees.

early years, only three or four inns were licensed annually, but by the mid-1830's that number had increased to six or seven.²

Of the taverns that operated in any given year, several may have been able to claim that they were more popular. By checking the number of years that each tavern functioned between 1818 and 1837, it was clear that the Robert Johnston and the William Searight taverns enjoyed the greatest longevity, operating 97% and 89% of the years respectively. The only other establishment catering to the wagon trade during more than 2/3 of the span of thirty-seven years was the John Gribble stand which was open for 30 years or 81% of the time. If popularity can be measured by survival, the Johnston, Searight, and Gribble taverns should have been the most popular ones. That they were the oldest was obvious, but whether they were the most patronized during the years when five to seven taverns operated is not totally clear from counting the years they were open for business.³

To ascertain the presumably most heavily patronized tavern during the years when five or more taverns were functioning, the period from about 1835 until 1854, two types of data were examined. First the annual occupational tax assessment for each of the innkeepers during the period was collected. Presumably, the tavern with the innkeeper having the highest occupational tax valuation should have been the one doing the greatest business—that is, if occupational taxes were directly proportional to the volume of tavern business with the innkeepers of the taverns doing the greatest business being assessed the most. To rate taverns on that basis, a point system was selected. The tavern with the innkeeper having the highest tax valuation for a given year was awarded three points. The second highest was given two points, and the third highest was given one point. This was one for each year between 1835 and 1854. In cases where two or more innkeepers were equal in tax assessment, identical points were awarded. For example, if two or three innkeepers were each evaluated at \$300.00, they each received three points. The points for each tavern were then totaled. Based on the results, the tavern with greatest business was Searight's followed in order by Moxley's, A. Colley's, Hunter's, Johnston's, P. Colley's, Gribble's, and Bailey's (Figure 3).⁴

Then using the same rating system with the tavern rental figures used by the Fayette County Court of Common Pleas to determine annual tavern license fees,

²Fayette County, Clerk of Court's Office, Court of Common Pleas, Quarter Court Sessions Dockets, No. 4, pp. 244-251, No. 5, pp. 304, 443, 466, No. 6, pp. 190, 204, 347. Hereafter referred to as Quarter Court Dockets.

³Ibid.

⁴Fayette County, Treasurer's Office, Property Rolls, Menallen and Redstone Townships, 1836-1855. Hereafter cited as Property Rolls, 1836-1855.



Figure 5: Robert Hunter Tavern (photographed in 1972). Porches are 20th Century.

the assumed patronage statistics were again compiled. These results differed slightly from the ordering obtained using occupational tax valuation. The ordering this time was Searight's, A. Colley's, Hunter's, Moxley's, P. Colley's, Johnston's, Gribble's, and Bailey's (Figure 4).⁵

From these two types of data, it appears that the Searight Tavern was doing the greatest business annually. It was also apparent that the Gribble and Bailey taverns were doing the least amount of business. However, how the other taverns were ordered in volume of business cannot be positively ascertained. It seems likely that the A. Colley, Moxley, and Hunter taverns were more prosperous than Johnston's, but how they ranked in comparison to P. Colley's is hard to determine since the P. Colley Tavern did not operate for the first seven years of the period being considered. During the years when they were all functioning (except Bailey's which only operated two years), the P. Colley Tavern competed on a level nearly equal to the A. Colley, Moxley, and Hunter taverns.

A question that now merits an answer is, why was the Searight Tavern the most popular tavern along the National Road between Uniontown and Brownsville? The answer to this probably lies in the fact that the Searight Tavern stand consisted of more than an inn. At least by near mid-19th Century, William Searight had constructed a wagon shop, a blacksmith shop, a shoe shop, a large livery stable, and a general store in the vicinity of his tavern. As nearly as can be determined, no other tavern stand offered the vari-

ety of services that Searight's did.⁶ Only the Johnston Tavern may have had other services associated with it. By 1872, there was a saddle shop, a wagon shop, and a blacksmith shop in the tavern area. However, the Johnston Tavern property consisted of 3 acres during the years of this study and none of the folk crafts referred to were practiced on that acreage.⁷ Therefore, it is entirely possible that the rural services were established after the demise of the freight heyday of the National Road and during the ensuing period when the area around the former Johnston Tavern was known as Tuckertown.

Returning then to the question of why the Searight Tavern did the largest volume of business along the road, an examination of William Searight's political activities may help supply the answer. The fact that Searight was commissioner of the National Road in Pennsylvania and later commissioner of the road in Fayette County plus being a high ranking Democrat in the state of Pennsylvania probably did not discourage feighters from visiting his tavern.⁸

There seems to be no other obvious explanations why Searight's was the leading tavern. One item that might be suggested as an interpretation was the size of the various inns. However, since wagoners generally slept around the barroom or kitchen fireplaces, if not

⁶Ronald L. Michael, "The Searight Tavern on the National Road: An Archaeological View," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Autumn 1971, p. 28.

⁷*Atlas of the County of Fayette and the State of Pennsylvania From Actual Surveys and Official Records* (Philadelphia: G. M. Hopkins and Company, 1872), p. 51. Property Rolls, 1836-1855.

⁸Michael, p. 29.

⁵Quarter Court Dockets.

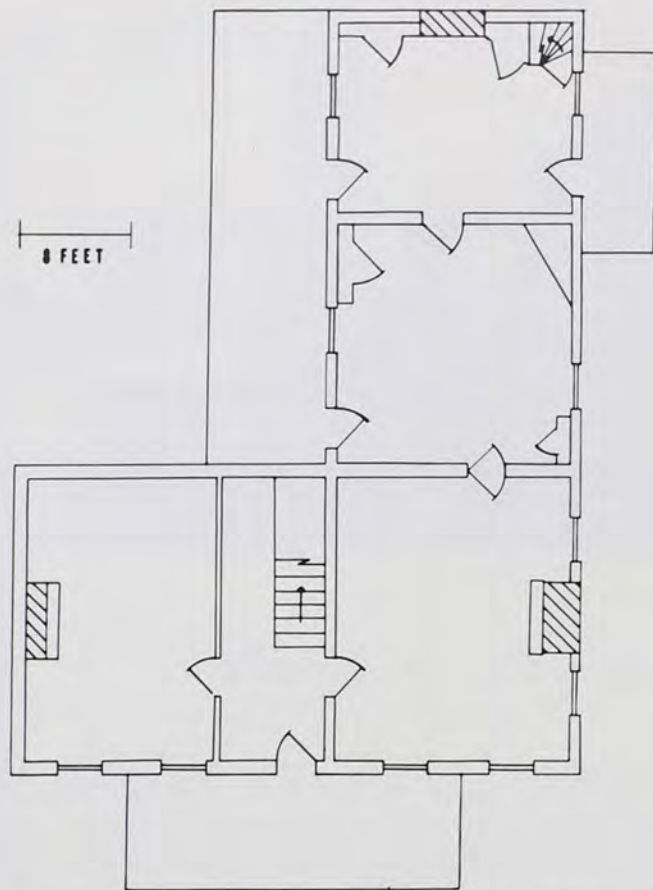


Figure 6a: Robert Hunter Tavern. Floor plan of main floor.

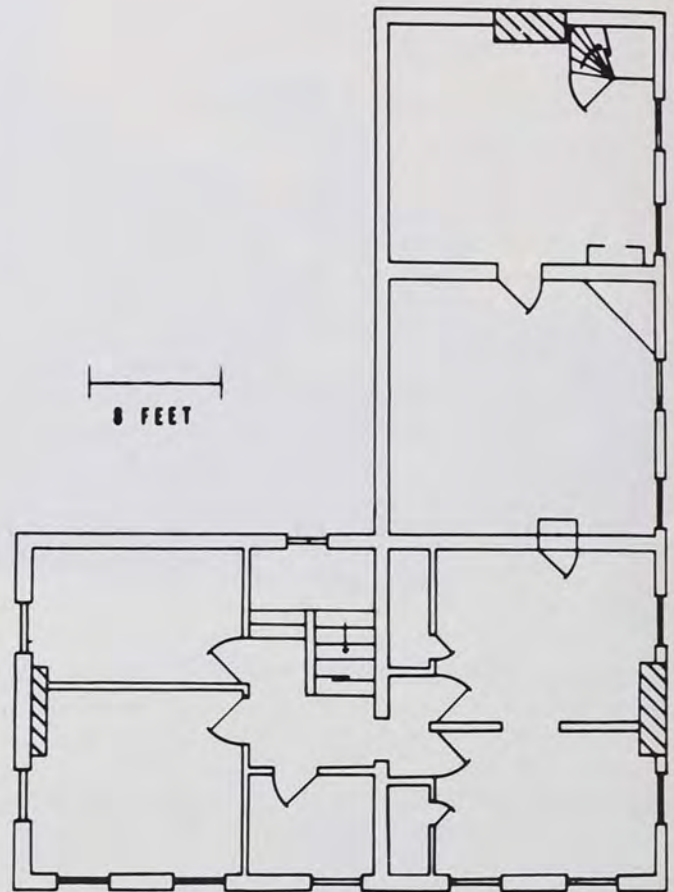


Figure 6b: Robert Hunter Tavern. Floor plan of second story.

under their wagons, tavern size should not have been an important factor in a freighter's selection of a tavern although it may have influenced private travelers. Furthermore, there was nothing really distinctive architecturally about any of the inns. At least that is true of the Hunter, Searight, Johnston, and P. Colley taverns for which detailed data have been collected.

The original portion of the Hunter Tavern consisted of a nearly symmetrical rectangular two story brick building. After a brick addition was attached, it was an L-shaped structure. The addition was 1½ stories (Figure 5). As the schematics for the main and second floors show, it had a simple room layout (Figure 6). The main floor of the original building consisted of nearly equally sized rooms on both sides of a central hallway. There were three bedrooms on the second floor, and like the main floor rooms, they each had fireplaces. The addition consisted of a kitchen and dining room on the ground floor and a large bedroom on the ½ story above. Like all four taverns to be described, the stairway leading to the second story was at the right side of the central hallway. The original structure possessed several Greek Revival characteristics including one fireplace with pilasters and a side lighted front door with a transom above.

The Searight Tavern "was L-shaped and had a five-bay window facade, a veranda or porch across the entire front, a central main hall . . . , and chimneys at each of the gabled ends. The house had two stories and an attic except for the 'L' which was one story with a loft above." It was built entirely of stone. Upon entering the front door, the barroom was to the left and two sitting rooms were to the right. Directly above the barroom was a ballroom and above the sitting rooms were two bedrooms. The kitchen was to the rear of the sitting rooms.

The Johnston Tavern was a two-story stone structure (Figure 7). Both to the left and to the right of the central hallway there were two rooms. The upstairs was divided very similarly (Figure 8). The cooking fireplace and the kitchen were in the cellar. Unlike the other three taverns visited, the Johnston Tavern had batten instead of plastered walls. Originally it also had a porch across the front.

Peter Colley's tavern was built similarly to Johnston's. The first floor of the stone building consisted of two sitting rooms to the left of the main door and the barroom to the right of the door. The second floor was divided into two bedrooms on each side of the hallway. The kitchen was in the cellar. A stone ad-

dition, built about 1842, provided for a dining room and one other room on the main floor and another cooking fireplace and second room in the cellar.⁹

The Bailey Tavern was the smallest of the taverns recorded (Figure 9). The stone building had one room to the left and right of the central hallway on both floors (Figure 10). A summer kitchen stood to the rear of a wooden addition which had been attached to the tavern during the 1870's; the kitchen predated the addition.¹⁰ No cooking facility was apparent in the original building.

There was virtually nothing architecturally about any of the four tavern buildings that would distinguish any of them from a 19th Century residence. The only exceptions were the ballroom in the Searight Tavern and the bar in the P. Colley Tavern. The ballroom seemed like an anomaly for the house, but the bar could have been removed from the P. Colley Tavern or added to any of the other taverns without architecturally modifying their basic structure. In the Searight

and P. Colley taverns, the barroom fireplaces had larger fireboxes than did the fireplaces in the other rooms with the exception of the kitchen. However, other than those similarities, none of the tavern buildings contained unique features.

The fact that only the Searight Tavern had a ballroom either meant that dancing was not common to these wagon taverns or that the dancing was done in the barroom. The barrooms of the Searight and Johnston taverns were probably large enough for such activities, but dances in the barrooms of the other taverns would have been crowded if more than a dozen or so people attended. The suggestion by Karen Spitulnik, "The Inn Crowd," that as a dance or party progressed the guests recessed for supper and later continued the ball in the dining room seems unlikely for wagon taverns.¹² For the four taverns studied, the barroom was probably the dining room; no other room was available for dining unless guests ate in the kitchen which may have been the case.

Returning to the question of whether taverns pos-

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹⁰Ronald L. Michael and Ronald Carlisle, "The Peter Colley Tavern, 1801-54," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Autumn 1973.

¹¹Margaret Bowser, Interview, Spring 1972.

¹²Karen Spitulnik, "The Inn Crowd: The American Inn, 1730-1830," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Winter 1972, p. 30.



Figure 7: Robert Johnston Tavern (photographed in 1972).

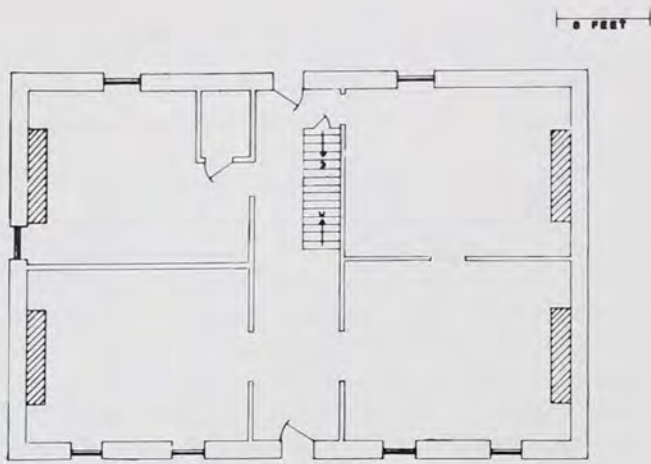


Figure 8a: Robert Johnston Tavern. Floor plan of main floor.

essed attributes that would distinguish them from residences of the same era, only one item in addition to the rare ballroom and the occasionally larger bar-room fireplace could possibly have distinguished taverns from residences, that is, arrangement and construction of outbuildings. Unfortunately a spring-house at the Johnston Tavern was the only outbuilding found standing at any of the locations. Michael in the Autumn 1971 issue of *Pennsylvania Folklife* and Michael and Carlisle in the Autumn 1973 issue of the same journal reported on outbuildings discovered by the Center for Prehistoric and Historic Site Archaeology, California State College, California, Pennsylvania, during excavations at the Searight and P. Colley taverns. But none of their conclusions or the intact Johnston Tavern spring-house provided clues that suggest tavern outbuildings differed from typical farmstead outbuildings of the 19th Century.

What then separated the five taverns in question, or for that matter, the nine taverns between Uniontown and Brownsville from farm houses between the same two towns? Evidently only the wagon yards where teamsters halted their freight wagons for the night and the bars in the tavern buildings can be used to identify tavern stands. Since bars could be removed without a trace of their existence and wagon yards are nearly impossible to locate unless they were paved or the area has been untouched since the demise of the taverns, only historic documentation and excavated artifactual remains can identify tavern stands.

With this in mind, what can be determined about the life at a tavern or specifically the nine taverns in question? From the material available, it was possible to learn the most about innkeeping and innkeepers. The easiest recognized characteristic about these innkeepers was that they were not titled or military men as innkeepers often were at least in the eastern United

States prior to 1830.¹³ None of them was known by General, Captain, etc. Instead they were common men, some of whom had been wagoners or possibly were still part time wagoners.

Another relatively easily identified attribute of the group was that innkeepers were of two types. There was the tavern owner-innkeeper variety who both owned and operated the establishment and there was the professional innkeeper variety who simply operated the inn. Of the nine taverns being studied, the Moxley, Hunter, Searight, A. Colley, Johnston, and P. Colley taverns were operated during some of the thirty-seven years from 1818-1854 by the owner of the property. That can be misleading, though, when you consider that the nine taverns were collectively operated for 197 years and during only 93 of those years or 47% of the time were the taverns operated by their owners. In actuality, of the nine taverns, about one half were kept by professional innkeepers and about one half by owner-innkeepers. There were two different purposes for owning a tavern. One was for self-employment and the other was for business profit. Likewise there were two different purposes for keeping an inn—self-employment and wage earning.

Part of the explanation for why professional innkeepers existed and why individuals were motivated to purchase and operate taverns was economic and social. With the exception of preachers and teachers, whose occupational tax assessment was lower than their social status, assessments during the 19th Century reflected affluency and social status. Therefore, by applying several simple statistical computations to the assessment data, it was possible to determine if individual innkeepers, or innkeepers as a group, differed economically and socially from the other residents

¹³Spitulnik, p. 33.

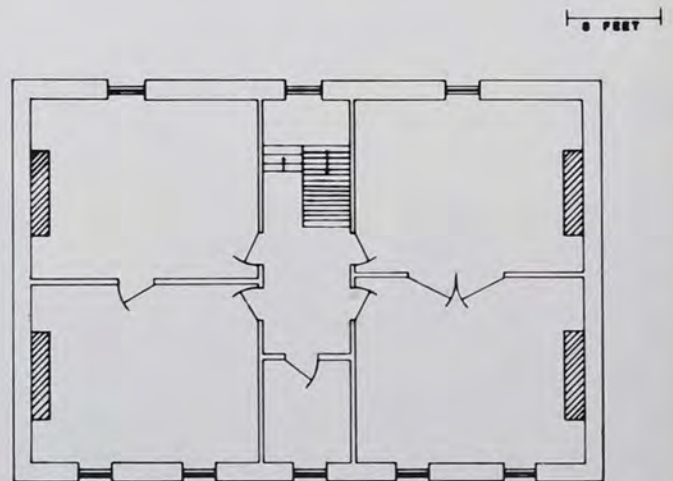


Figure 8b: Robert Johnston Tavern. Floor plan of second story.



Figure 9: Isaac Bailey Tavern (photographed in 1973).

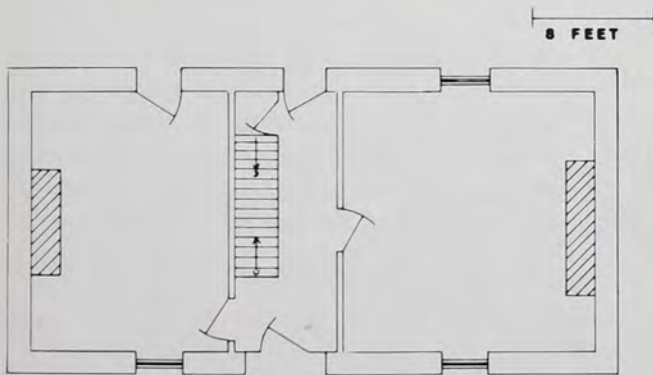


Figure 10a: Isaac Bailey Tavern. Floor plan of main floor.

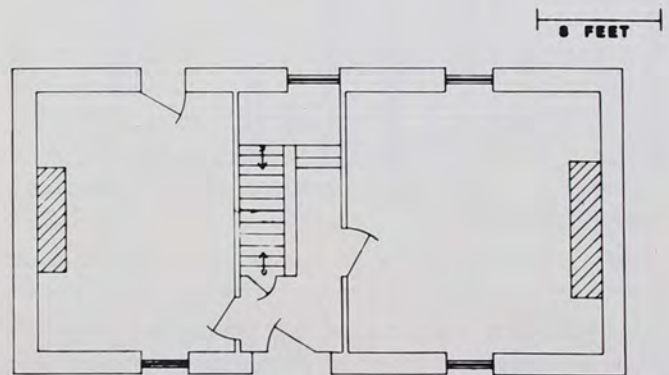


Figure 10b: Isaac Bailey Tavern. Floor plan of second story.

of the townships in which the taverns existed. Township units were used because the tax assessments were made on a township basis and indeterminate variables undoubtedly had subtle effects on the assessment within a particular township. Also, instead of measuring the positions of innkeepers in the township economic structure annually, data were collected every five years

or as near to that interval as complete tax records were available.¹⁴

Figures 11 and 12 show the results of the testing. The mean and median occupational assessments for the entire taxed populous from the two townships involved, Menallen and Redstone, were computed.

¹⁴Property Rolls, 1836-1855.

Year	Number	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation	95% Level of Confidence	90% Level of Confidence
1820	210	100.69	70.00	57.03	194.22	173.69
1822	228	121.84	100.00	133.90	341.44	293.23
1830	210	113.49	75.00	50.97	197.00	178.67
1836	223	137.11	100.00	59.80	235.18	213.65
1840	242	78.46	75.00	32.77	132.20	120.41
1845	252	85.24	80.00	30.00	134.44	123.64
1850	213	69.38	65.00	40.46	135.73	121.17
1854	171	62.48	60.00	18.47	92.77	86.12

Figure 11: Menallen Township: Population statistics for occupational tax valuation.

Year	Number	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation	95% Level of Confidence	90% Level of Confidence
1820	189	72.20	60.00	30.90	122.88	111.75
1822	235	132.00	100.00	80.49	254.00	225.03
1830	204	86.02	75.00	38.36	148.93	135.12
1836	204	64.29	80.00	33.84	119.79	107.60
1840	207	84.84	80.00	28.53	131.62	121.35
1845	372	69.37	60.00	33.36	124.08	112.07
1850	247	79.99	75.00	30.58	130.14	119.13
1854	373	82.28	80.00	38.03	144.63	130.95

Figure 12: Redstone Township: Population statistics for occupational tax valuation.

Year	Moxley	Hunter	Searight	A. Colley	Johnston	F. Colley	Balley	Wiggins	Brown
1818	200				200	100		100	
1819	250				100	200		125	
1820					100	200		125	
1821	300				100	200		125	
1822	300		500		100	200		600	400
1823	300		500		100	200		500	350
1824	300		500		100	200		500	250
1825	300		200		200	200		200	200
1826	300		300		200	200		200	200
1827	300		300		200	200		200	200
1828	300		300		200	200		200	100
1829	300		300		200	200		200	100
1830	300		300		200	200		200	100
1831			250	1007	150	200		100	100
1832			250	807	150	200		100	100
1833			250		150	200		100	100
1834			250		150	200		100	100
1835	200	100	120		200	200		200	200
1836	200	100	100		200	200		200	200
1837	150	100	7		100	150		100	100
1838	100	100	150		100	150		100	100
1839	100	100	100		100	150		125	100
1840	200	150	200		100	200	100	100	100
1841	175	150	175		175	110	110	100	100
1842	200	150	200		100	120		100	100
1843	155	125	115		150	120		100	100
1844	100	150	150		125	120		100	100
1845	150	200	200		100	120		100	100
1846	200	200	200		200	200		100	100
1847	195	200	225		175	200		100	100
1848	210	200	225		200	200		100	100
1849	200	150	225		200	200		100	100
1850	200	150	200		200	125		125	100
1851	200	150	150		200	100		100	100
1852	150	150	150		100	100		90	90
1853	100	100	150		100	100		90	90
1854	100	100	100		100	100		90	90

Figure 13: Innkeeper occupational tax assessment by taverns 1818-1854.

Year	Moxley	Hunter	Searight	A. Colley	Johnston	F. Colley	Wiggins	Brown
1820					NO	95%	95%	
1822	90%		95%		95%	NO	95%	95%
1830			95%	NO	NO		95%	NO
1836	NO	NO	NO	NO	95%		95%	
1840	95%	NO	95%	95%	95%		NO	
1845	95%	95%	95%	95%	NO	90%	NO	
1850	95%	95%	95%	95%	90%	90%	90%	
1854	95%	95%	95%	95%	NO	NO	NO	

Figure 14: Innkeeper confidence levels. Based on a comparison with township populations. "NO" indicates that neither the .05 or .10 (95% or 90%) levels of confidence were met.

Year	County-wide License Rental Fee Median	County-wide License Fee Median	County-wide Standard Deviation (\$)	County-wide Confidence Test at <= .05	County-wide Confidence Test at <= .10	Uniontown-Brownsville License Rental Fee Mean (\$)	Uniontown-Brownsville License Fee Mean	Uniontown-Brownsville Number of Tavern Licenses (N)
1831	117.80	117.50	70.00	217.80	195.80	145.00	125.00	6
1836	143.10	100.00	66.00	251.30	227.50	150.00	150.00	6
1842	203.10	200.00	74.20	324.80	298.10	152.90	150.00	7
1846	173.23	110.00	159.90	436.40	378.90	185.70	200.00	7
1851	140.37	100.00	105.00	312.60	274.80	153.60	175.00	7
1854	114.70	100.00	45.10	188.70	172.50	100.00	100.00	6

Figure 15: Fayette County tavern licensing data.

Thomas Moxley Tavern	Robert Hunter or Peter Colley Tavern	Robert Johnston Tavern	Colbert Wiggins Tavern
1815-19 None Listed	1835-40 Robert Hunter	1815-43 Robert Johnston	1815-17 Outburt Wiggins
1820-28 Basil Wiggins	None listed	184. Arthur Wallace	1818-20 John Hogue
1822-28 Basil Wiggins	1841-48 William Darlington	1845-49 Charles Outtery	1821-24 George Richards
1829-34 None listed	1849-54 Peter Colley	1850 John Foster	1825-27 None listed
1835-38 William Cox		1851 A. H. Holmes	1828-27 John Grizzle
1839-42 Thomas Moxley		1852-53 William Hatfield Sr.	1838-39 Fielding Frasier
1843 Joseph Gray			1840-48 Thornton or Ruston Todd
1844-52 Thomas Moxley			1849 Peter Frasier
1853 None listed			1850-54 Charles Outtery
1854 Thomas Moxley			1855-56 None listed
1855-57 None listed			1857 George Friend
1858 Alfred Wolf			
1859 None listed			
1860-61 Matthias Fry			

*These lists have been compiled from Fayette County Property Rolls and Quarter Sessions Deeds (Civil). The Searight and P. Colley innkeepers can be found in Michael, 1971 and Michael and Carlisle 1974.

Figure 16: Names of Innkeepers at taverns between Uniontown and Brownsville.

The standard deviation for each year studied was calculated, and a confidence test was performed to ascertain whether the innkeepers' annual assessments differed significantly from that of the township population as a whole. Several interesting results were obtained. First, the annual assessment for the innkeepers was, without exception, higher than either the mean or median assessment for the residents of the two townships in which the nine taverns were located (Figure 13). Second, it is 90% or 95% certain that innkeepers differed significantly from the general township populations at least 66% of the time during the years sampled. That is, 66% of the innkeepers operating taverns during the period examined had occupational tax assessments significantly above that of the general township populations. Third, the comparison of the specific innkeeper valuations to the .05 or 95% and .10 or 90% levels of confidence shows that the Searight Tavern innkeepers differed significantly from the township population consistently at a higher level than the innkeepers of the other taverns (Figure 14).

In summary, since income, which occupational assessment probably closely paralleled, was equal during the 19th Century to affluency and social status in all cases with the exception of teachers and ministers, innkeepers rated very high socio-economically. Evidence from the nine taverns supports Spitulnik's statement that "the innkeepers and tavern proprietors were men of consequence and social position."¹⁵

¹⁵Spitulnik, p. 31.



Figure 17: *Thomas Moxley Tavern (photograph circa 1890, courtesy Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh).*

By using county-wide tavern licensing data, additional characteristics of innkeepers were also obtained. By performing statistical computations similar to those employed in studying the economic and social rankings of innkeepers, the social and economic position of the innkeepers between Uniontown and Brownsville was measured against all innkeepers in Fayette County. It was also possible to tell how prosperous the nine taverns were in comparison to all taverns in Fayette County (Figure 15).

With the exception of 1842, the mean and median licensing rental figures for the taverns between Uniontown and Brownsville were above the mean and median figures for the county. However, the rental figures never differed significantly at either the .05 or the .10 levels of confidence. Possibly taverns along the National Road did a greater business than inns in hamlets, but since other National Road taverns to the east of Uniontown and taverns within the towns of Uniontown and Brownsville were included in the licensing rental figures, the higher status of the nine taverns examined in the study was not apparent. By determining which taverns the various innkeepers, in whose names the licenses were written, were keeping, the precise status of the nine taverns in relation to all the other taverns in Fayette County could be ascertained. However, the scope of the existing project prohibited such a study.

The tavern licensing information did additionally yield an impression of innkeeper mobility, at least within the confines of a single county. Six of the innkeepers who kept taverns along the segment of the road studied were innkeepers at other Fayette County taverns between 1818 and 1854. Following is a list of the mobile innkeepers and the years and townships or boroughs in

which they acted as proprietors of inns. Whether these inns were along the National Road, in Uniontown or Brownsville, to the east of Uniontown, or along secondary roads was not apparent in the licensing records. But those innkeepers working in Wharton Township were probably working at National Road wagon taverns since the township is mountainous and even today few other roads exist in the township.

John Risler, 1832-39, Wharton Township
 William Cox, 1839, Union Borough (Uniontown)
 Matthias Fry, 1844-45, 1848, Union Township
 Matthias Fry, 1852-53, North Union Township
 Arthur Wallace, 1848, Bridgeport Township
 William Darlington, 1849, Wharton Township
 William Shaw, 1850, Wharton Township

The study of innkeeper mobility would increase in significance if carried beyond county lines but for that matter so would the results of the other innkeeper and tavern stand characteristics examined. The intent of this paper was only to study nine taverns using basically locally available materials and that has been done. A more rounded view of innkeeping and tavern operating could be obtained by a thorough regional study of the phenomenon, but even on the limited framework used in this study several hypotheses concerning taverns can be offered.

First, it seems clear that other than an easily removed bar and a probably no longer extant wagon yard nothing distinguished a 19th Century tavern stand from a 19th Century farmstead.

Second, it was found that taverns seldom operated continuously for long periods of time. Many taverns experienced several year periods of non-operation and some taverns only operated for a few years. Even those that operated nearly continuously employed a variety of different innkeepers. Never did one person run a tavern for over twenty-six of the thirty-seven years under study.

Third, evidence was offered to support the existence of two separate classes of innkeepers. The one was a professional innkeeping group while the other was an owner-operator class. With the professional innkeeper class, mobility was found to have operated at least on a limited scale.

Fourth, innkeeping was found to be an economically rewarding and a socially desirable occupation. Innkeepers were found to differ significantly, in terms of occupational assessment, from the general population of the two townships involved at the .10 or .05 level in 66% or 2/3 of the years tested.

Lastly, a perusal of the names of innkeepers for the Uniontown to Brownsville taverns shows that with few possible exceptions, the innkeepers were of English, Welsh, or Scots-Irish descent (Figure 16). Their composition reflected the nationality composition of Fayette County during the first half of the 19th Century.

EMIGRATION MATERIALS FROM LAMBSHEIM IN THE PALATINATE

By HEINRICH REMBE

Translated and Edited by Don Yoder

[We are fortunate to be able to introduce American readers to a new series on West German regional genealogy entitled *Beiträge zur Bevölkerungsgeschichte der Pfalz*—"Contributions to the Population History of the Palatinate". The series is a new project of the Heimatstelle Pfalz in Kaiserslautern, and is edited by Dr. Fritz Braun, director emeritus, and Director Karl Scherer. Volume I in the series is Heinrich Rembe, *Lambsheim: Die Familien von 1547 bis 1800—für Maxdorf bis 1830—mit Angaben aus Weisenheim a.S. Eysersheim und Ormsheim* (Kaiserslautern, 1971). This volume of 297 pages is what German scholarship calls an *Ortssippenbuch*—a lineage book constructed on the basis of archival sources for one municipality, and alphabetized so that one can trace relationships as far back into the past as there is genealogically relevant documentation.

The book begins with a thorough description and history of the town of Lambsheim and its dependencies: Maxdorf, Ormsheim, Eysersheim, and Burghaselbach, describing ecclesiastical, educational, and economic development. There are sections on the local nobility, biographies of prominent citizens, estimates of the work of earlier local historians, and an historical and statistical section on the development of the population. Actual lists of the population at various times, from 1547 to 1652, are included as documents. The largest sections of the book are C: The Families of Lambsheim from 1547 to 1650 (pp. 29-58); and D: The Families from 1650 to circa 1800 for Lambsheim and circa 1830 for Maxdorf (pp. 59-259). Appendices and full family-name and place-name indexes and bibliography conclude the work.

There is a great deal of social history presented in the genealogical section D, giving Americans a good insight into what life must have been like in a small Rhineland town in the period between the Thirty Years War and the 18th Century emigration to America. The town included Reformed, Lutheran, and Catholic families living together and sharing church buildings. For example, the Reformed and the Catholics shared the church building after 1705, in a *simultaneum* arrangement that somewhat resembled the "union church" pattern that was to develop in Pennsylvania between Lutherans and Reformed.

Occupations are listed with most entries and from them we can build up a picture of the economic struc-

ture of a village like Lambsheim. In addition to the professional classes (ministers, schoolmasters), we have the master craftsmen of the various trades (shoemakers, tailors, linenweavers, stockingweavers, wagonmakers, etc.). Innkeepers were important in the social culture of the village and the book includes full materials on the history of all the town's inns. The lower class of workers include day laborers (*Tagelöhner, Handfröner*) and even migrant laborers, as for example, harvesters from neighboring areas "who mowed here during the harvest" and had children baptized in the village church during their stay in Lambsheim. In addition to *Oberschultheiss* and *Unterschultheiss*—the top level of village official—the lesser village officialdom was represented in the beadle (*Büttel*), the night watchman (*Nachtwächter*), the field watchman (*Feldschütz*), even the church constable (*Kirchentreiber*). There was a considerable number of herdsmen—*Kuhhirte, Pferdehirte, Ochsenhirte*, performing labor for the community. There were small tradesmen (*Tuchkrämer*, etc.), specialists like the *Sauschnitter* (which needs no translation for a Pennsylvania German), and finally a class of "vagi" or "vagabundi" as the scholarly ministers or town scribes called them—traveling poor people who occasionally are mentioned in the church or town records.

The ethnic makeup of the town's population is interesting. In addition to the old families of Lambsheim that were there before the Thirty Years War, there was considerable migration of other elements, particularly after the Thirty Years War. For example, a large number of French names appear in the records, most of them Huguenots: *Beaufort, Bouquon (Buquin), Bouton, Burree, Burqui, Cajoux, Chabot, Chally, la Combe, Convert (Confer), Deffaa, Defrand, Dupré, Dupont, Grandmange, Hügenell, Levasier, Leveaux, Lojet, de Malade, Strompiers, Voison (Fossé)* and others. From Switzerland migrated many families, among them *Epprich (Epprecht), Geiger, Hauser, Hausswirth, Hollinger, Josy, Maurer, and Schowalter*. From the Tirol came some Roman Catholic families, and Protestants from Brabant in Belgium and Franconia and other provinces of Germany. Mennonites (*Wiedertäufer*) were represented in Lambsheim in the families of *Fellmann, Finger, Hochermuth, Hirschberger, Neukumeter*, and *Schowalter*, some of them of Swiss origin. Finally a few Jewish families were resident in the town



Lambsheim in the Palatinate – from Merian's *Topographia Germaniae* (1672).

after 1700, supporting themselves by trade and merchandising—for example, six families, 34 persons in all, being listed in 1746.

For connections with Pennsylvania history Lambsheim is important particularly for the contributions of two of its emigrants: *Johann Philipp Boehm* and *Matthäus Baumann*. Boehm was the churchman, Baumann the sectarian, and both are remembered in the annals of colonial Pennsylvania. Boehm graduated from schoolmaster status to lay reader to ordained clergyman in Pennsylvania, and is considered the founder of the German Reformed Church in the United States. Baumann was a radical pietist and separatist who got caught in the meshes of the state church machinery in Germany and migrated to Pennsylvania where he was free to propagate his message. In the court case of 1702 in which Baumann was accused of pietism, he testified that he recognized no written confession, but belief in God alone, with whom he had spoken, and who had sent him to call the people to repentance. Furthermore, Baumann declared that the clergy of the state churches preach false doctrine. By 1706 he had converted *Jakob Berg*, *Jakob Bossert*, *Philipp Burkhard*, *George Hört*, *Valentin Kilian*, *Philipp Kühlewein* and other members of the Kühlewein family, *Adam Pfarr*, *Hans Georg Ritter*, and *Johann Traut*. The men were in 1706 imprisoned and sentenced, on bread and water, to clean out the town ditches, on which most of them took the oath. *Andreas Bossert*, who refused to take the oath to the elector, was banished on April 29, 1719 from town and province. *Philipp Kühlewein* left with the Palatine migration of 1709, and *Matthäus Baumann* followed in 1714. In 1719 his brother-in-law *Abraham Zimmermann* and mother-in-law *Dorothea Kühlewein* joined Baumann in Pennsylvania.

The emigration to America from Lambsheim was to increase in the 19th Century. The book estimates a total of 1133 Lambsheimer emigrants to America in the years 1832-1877, or an average of 25 per year. In editing the 18th Century emigration materials we have added the American materials in bracketed sections to each emigrant's sketch as found in the Rembe volume. Will readers who have additional data on these emigrants, particularly information on where they settled in the American colonies, please contact the editor?

We are grateful to Heinrich Rembe, compiler of the book, whose decades of archival research and insistence upon accuracy of transcription are evident on every page, and to Dr. Fritz Braun, director emeritus, and Dr. Karl Scherer, director of the Heimatstelle Pfalz in Kaiserslautern, for permission to make these materials available to our readers. Because of its basic importance as a genealogical aid and as model for similar work in this country, this book—and its successors in the series—should be in every genealogical library in the United States, as well as every historical society library in the Pennsylvania German counties.—EDITOR.]

1. *Matthäus Baumann* (No. 57), Reformed, “a Pietist and originator of this sect” [*ein Pietist und Urheber dieser Sekte*], 1702. Emigrated to Pennsylvania about 1714, founding there the sect of “Baumannites,” and died about 1727. Married 1697, *Katharina Kielewein*, Reformed, single, daughter of *Hans Theobald Kühlewein* (No. 107), Reformed, farmer, field surveyer, almoner, who died before 1697, and his wife *Dorothea*, of Lambsheim, where they had a house in the Hintergasse. *Matthäus* and *Katharina Baumann* had a daughter *Sara*, baptized November 22, 1700; Sponsors: *Johannes Fischer* and wife *Sara*.

[Matthäus Baumann was well known in colonial America. He was a radical pietist who after a conversion experience accompanied by trances in 1701 gathered to himself other believers at Lambsheim. Emigrating to Pennsylvania in 1714 he transplanted his sect to American soil. In the history of religion in America Baumann is recognized as one of the pioneer advocates of the doctrine of perfectionism which in the 19th Century was to flower into the Holiness movement. About 1723 Baumann wrote a volume entitled *Ruf an die Nicht Wiedergeborenen* which was published in Germany in the Pietist work *Die geistliche Fama*. One of the first Reformed ministers in Pennsylvania, Georg Michael Weiss, answered it with the pamphlet *Der in der Amerikanischen Wildnusz unter Menschen von verschiedenen Nationen und Religionen hin und wieder herum wandelte und verschiedentlich angefochtene Prediger* (Philadelphia, 1729). For a translation of his work, which is set as a "conversation" between a "politicus" and a "New Born," see *Penn Germania*, I (1912), 338-361. For Baumann and his conversion, see "Matthias Baumann and the New-Born Sect," in P. C. Croll, *Annals of the Oley Valley in Berks County, Pa.* (Reading, 1926), pp. 17-20. The *Chronicon Ephratense* (1786) describes Baumann as having been "an upright man, and not to have loved the world inordinately; but Kuehlenwein, Jotter and other followers of his were insatiable in their love of the world". This refers to *Philip Kühlewein* (q.v.), brother-in-law of Baumann, and *Hans Joder* (1672-1742), brother-in-law of Philip Kühlewein, who came to America together via London in 1709 and settled in the Oley Valley, where they were joined by Baumann in 1714. For a facsimile of Baumann's will of 1727, see John Joseph Stoudt, *Sunbonnets and Shoofly Pies: A Pennsylvania Dutch Cultural History* (New York, 1973) pp. 187-188.]

2. *Hans Jakob Baumann* (No. 59), "the carpenter," became citizen of Lambsheim 1717, coming from Wallenburg, Canton Basel, Switzerland. Emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1727 on the ship *Adventure*, from Rotterdam via Plymouth.

[*Jacob Bauman* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Adventure*, October 2, 1727 (Strassburger-Hinke, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers*, List 4 A-B), along with *Michel Müller*, *Johannes Ullerich*, and *Peter Rool* (*Ruhl*), all of Lambsheim. *Jacob Baumann*, carpenter, was a member of the Reformed Church at Germantown, and one of four trustees who in 1734 planned the erection of a church building. He appears to have been a friend and consultant of the Reverend *Johann Philipp Boehm* (q.v.); see William J. Hinke, ed., *Life and Letters of the Rev. John Philip Boehm, Founder of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, 1683-1749* (Philadelphia, 1916), pp. 241-242, 250, 293, 297, 374.

The will of *Jacob Bauman*, carpenter, of Germantown, Philadelphia County, was signed April 30, 1749, and probated May 19, 1749. It mentions his wife *Margaret* and five daughters: *Margaret*, *Susanah*, *Elizabeth*, *Catherine*, and *Sybilla*. Executors were *Dirck Keyser* and *Christopher Meng*; witnesses: *Christopher Sowers*, *Christ[ian] Lehman*, and *John Dewald End*. It is recorded in the Register of Wills Office, Philadelphia, G, 271.]

3. *Maria Katharina Bechtold* (No. 71) emigrated in 1738 to the "New Land". She was the widow of *Zacharias Bechtold* (No. 70), non-citizen [Beisass] of Lambsheim, whom she married January 8, 1730. It appears that she was the widow of *Hans Martin Bentz* of Hessheim; she had a daughter, *Maria Katharina*, from the first marriage, who was eight years of age in 1730. The source for her emigration is the Lambsheim Council Protokol for 1738, p. 92. Her husband *Zacharias Bechtold* was the son of *Hans Stephan Bechtold* (No. 68) and his wife *Anna Elisabetha* of Lambsheim. He had been previously married also. He was buried at Lambsheim January 29, 1734, at the age of 50 years.

[Rembe (p. 22) assumes that *Katharina Bechtold* came to Philadelphia on the Ship *St. Andrew* in 1738, with other Lambsheimers, but since women's names are not given in the lists of passengers on this particular ship, it is impossible to know for sure. Two Bechtold emigrants are listed for 1738 in Strassburger-Hinke.

Town Layout of Lambsheim, showing churches and school-houses, inns (the "Hirsch" is No. 6), three town bake-houses, and other details (from Rembe, Lambsheim).



LIFE AND LETTERS

OF THE

REV. JOHN PHILIP BOEHM

FOUNDER OF THE REFORMED CHURCH
IN PENNSYLVANIA

1683-1749

EDITED BY THE

REV. WILLIAM J. HINKE, PH. D., D. D.

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Philadelphia

PUBLICATION AND SUNDAY SCHOOL BOARD OF THE
REFORMED CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
1916

The organizer of Pennsylvania's German Reformed churches was a Lamsheim schoolmaster, John Philip Boehm. This is the titlepage of the standard biography of Boehm, by William J. Hinke.

Hennrich Becholdt arrived on the Ship *Thistle*, September 19, 1738 (List 57 A-C), and Veit Bechtoldt, aged 26, on the Ship *Friendship*, September 20, 1738 (List 58 A-C), the latter in the same list with Adam Pence, aged 22, and Vallentin Benz, aged 48. Will readers inform the editor if these, or other *Bechtolds* (*Bechtels*) in the emigrant lists are connected with the Lamsheim family?]

4. *Johannes Bender* (No. 115), blacksmith, of Windecken, was received as citizen of Lamsheim, May 7, 1696. Emigrated to Pennsylvania April 20, 1719. His wife, *Anna Helena*, was living in 1706, died before 1719. His children remained in Lamsheim. One is mentioned: *Anna Dorothea*, who married in 1716 *Veit Dörr* (No. 342), Lutheran, blacksmith, who was received into citizenship at Lamsheim October 22, 1728, was a member of the town council, and died at Lamsheim October 30, 1767. *Anna Dorothea Dörr* was buried at Lamsheim April 11, 1760. Their son *Erhard Dörr* (1715-1752), No. 343, farrier, left descendants in Lamsheim. According to the Lamsheim deed and contract records, *Johannes Bender* on May 7, 1716, sold his smithy to his son-in-law *Veit Dörr* [*Joh. Bender verkauft seine Schmiede seinem Tochtermann Veit Dörr*]. The archival sources for *Johannes Bender* are the *Bürgerbuch*, the *Rechnungen*, and the *Kauf- und Kontraktbuch*.

[Can readers inform us where *Johannes Bender* settled in America? Of interest is the fact that a later emigrant named *Philip Bender* was born "in the city of

Windeck in the County of Hanau," March 28, 1752 (*The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, I:20 [November 1949], 6).]

5. *Johann Philipp Böhm* (No. 187), Reformed, was received as citizen at Lamsheim April 14, 1706. In his earlier years he was innkeeper of the Stag Inn [*Hirschwirt*] at Lamsheim. From 1708-1715 he was Reformed schoolmaster at Worms, 1715-1720 schoolmaster at Lamsheim, emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1720. He was born at Hochstadt, November 25, 1683, and died at Hellertown, Pennsylvania, April 29, 1749. He was the son of *Philipp Ludwig Böhm* and *Maria (Engelhard) Böhm*, of Wachenbuchen. He married, about 1706, *Anna Maria Stehler*, Reformed, daughter of *Hartmann Stähler* (No. 1847), and his wife *Anna Maria*, who on April 17, 1682, bought the Stag Inn [*Herberg zum Hirsch*] from his brother-in-law *Heinrich Ruhl* (No. 1605), and died before 1697. The Widow *Stähler* married *Johann Philipp Scherer* (No. 1685), q.v.

The children of *Johann Philipp Böhm* were (1) *Anna Maria*, who married *Adam Moser*; (2) *Sabina*, who married *Ludwig Bitting*; (3) *Elisabeth*; (4) *Maria Philippina*; (5) *Johann Philipp*; and (6) *Anton Wilhelm*, born at Worms April 27, 1714, died in Upper Saucon Township, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania.

[The schoolmaster Boehm, on emigrating to Pennsylvania, became a lay reader in the Reformed congregations, and finally at the request of the Pennsylvania congregations, was ordained by the Dutch Reformed authorities of New York. The definitive biography is William J. Hinke, ed., *Life and Letters of the Rev. John Philip Boehm, Founder of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, 1683-1749* (Philadelphia, 1916), which includes translations of Boehm's annual reports to the Reformed Classis of Amsterdam, and other correspondence and documentation, 1728-1749. It supersedes the biographies by Henry Harbaugh, *Fathers of the Reformed Church*, I, 275-291; and Henry S. Dotterer, *Rev. John Philip Boehm* (Philadelphia, 1890). See also the *Dictionary of American Biography*, II, 404-405. The present publication clears up one point about which Hinke was uncertain. He states (p. 18) that Boehm married a *Stehler* in Lamsheim but Pennsylvania sources indicate that his wife's father was *Philip Scherer*. He even goes so far as to state (p. 145) that "after leaving Worms Boehm's first wife died and he married again at Lamsheim, *Anna Maria Scherer*". The mystery is cleared up when we read in the present source that Boehm's mother-in-law, *Anna Maria Stähler*, widow of *Hartmann Stähler*, married as her second husband, *Johann Philipp Scherer* (No. 20, below).

Additional material on Boehm's children can be found in Hinke, Chapter IX, "Boehm's Family and Descendants," pp. 145-151. Of these, the *Bittings* lived in what is now Lower Milford Township, Lehigh

County, and the *Mosers* in Philadelphia County. *John Philip Boehm, Jr.*, lived in Whitpain Township, Philadelphia County, before moving to Philadelphia. *Elizabeth Boehm* married *George Shamboh*, weaver, of Upper Milford Township, Bucks County. The youngest daughter, *Maria Philippina*, married *Cornelius Dewees*, cooper, of Whitemarsh Township, Philadelphia County, and later of Gloucester County, New Jersey.]

6. *Jakob Bossert* (No. 213), Reformed, day-laborer, was received as citizen of Lamsbheim, May 7, 1696. He was a Pietist, who in 1706, with other adherents of the sect, was punished by having to clean out the town ditches. Emigrated to Pennsylvania on the Ship *Allen* in 1729. He married *Anna Eva Wagenmann*, daughter of *Hans Valentin Wagenmann* (No. 2050), who was received as citizen of Lamsbheim December 2, 1663, coming from Hessheim, and his wife *Barbara Jakob and Anna Eva (Wagenmann) Bossert* had a daughter *Eva Katharina*, baptized April 26, 1699.

[*Jacob Bossert (Possart)* is listed among the passengers of the Ship *Allen*, arriving at Philadelphia September 11, 1729 (List 10 A-C). He was accompanied by *Johannes Possart* (under 15), and *Susanah, Marilis*, and *Eve Possart*, in that order. Other Bosserts and Bosharts arrived later. One *Jacob Bossert*, of Berks County, made his will September 12, 1753; it was probated in Philadelphia November 29, 1753. In *Egle's Notes and Queries*, 3d series II (1896), 445-448, there is a lengthy Bible record of another *Jacob Bozart (Bostart)* who was married at the age of 25, on Michaelmas day 1721, to *Esther Mellinger*. "We also left our Fatherland," he writes, "in the year 1726, and betook ourselves upon the journey to Pennsylvania, and through the aid of the Almighty reached our destination on the 8th of November". From its intermarriages (*Mellinger, Denlinger*) this latter family appears to have been Mennonite.]

Andreas Bossert (No. 214), Reformed, from Pfaffenhofen, was received into citizenship at Lamsbheim May 7, 1696. He was also a Pietist who in 1719, on refusing to take the oath to the Elector, was banished from the city and the province. His wife, *Katharina Werner*, was still in Lamsbheim in 1719. For *Andreas Bossert* and his wife, see Nos. 2172, 2173, and 2174.

[Did this *Andreas Bossert* come to America? Was he, for example, identical with the *Andrew Buzard* who is listed as a taxable in Colebrookdale Township, Philadelphia (now Berks) County, Pennsylvania in 1734 (Morton L. Montgomery, *History of Berks County in Pennsylvania* [Philadelphia, 1883], p. 964)? An emigrant named *Andreas Bussart* also arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Isaac*, September 27, 1749 (List 138 C). Will readers who have information on the Bossert (Boshart, Buzzard) families of Pennsylvania consult us on this identification problem?]

7. *Leonhard Christler* (No. 286) was received as citizen at Lamsbheim March 1, 1709, coming from Fussgönheim. His wife's name was *Anna Maria*. He sold his house to Thomas Deffaa (No. 316) and emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1719.

[*Leonard Christleer* is listed with 200 acres among those who paid quit rents in Franconia Township, Philadelphia County, prior to 1734 (I. Daniel Rupp, *A Collection of Upwards of Thirty Thousand Names of German, Swiss, Dutch, French and Other Immigrants in Pennsylvania from 1727 to 1776* (Philadelphia, 1875), Appendix XVI, p. 471). One *John Jacob Christler*, aged 42, arrived in Philadelphia on the Ship *Harle*, September 1, 1736 (List 41 A-C), with a *Johann Philip Wageman*, aged 23. Were these connected with the Lamsbheim families of Christler and Wagenmann?]

8. *Heinrich Grünewald* (No. 643), Reformed, was received as citizen of Lamsbheim, October 22, 1728. He married on June 21, 1725, *Anna Maria Ferbert*, Reformed, daughter of *Nikolaus Ferbert* (No. 438), farmer, and his wife *Anna Katharina (Weinheimer) Ferbert*, who lived next to the Stag Inn. *Nikolaus Ferbert* had been received as citizen March 18, 1678, and served as councilman and assistant mayor of Lamsbheim, 1706-1711. *Heinrich Grünewald* sold his house and land September 21, 1737, and emigrated to America in 1738. Source: Lamsbheim Deed Protocol, 1719-1749.

Heinrich and Anna Maria (Ferbart) Grünewald had the following children in Lamsbheim: (1) *Maria Katharina*, died January 26, 1729; (2) *Peter*, born 1729; (3) *Johann Adam*, born 1731, died 1732, aged 4 months; (4) *Albert*, born December 3, 1733; and (5) *Sophie*, born January 9, 1737, buried December 2, 1737.

[No *Heinrich Grünewald* appears in *Strassburger-Hinke. Rembe* (p. 22) suggests that he may have been identical with the *Johann Henrich Wald* who arrived on the *St. Andrew* in 1738 with *Stähler, Hortt* and other Lamsbheimers, but an examination of the facsimile lists in Volume II rules out this possibility. Can readers identify this emigrant for us? Others of the name arrived later, *Abraham Grünewald* in 1740, aged 40 (List 76 A), and *Jacob Grünewald* in 1741, aged 18 (List 84 A-C). The *Philip Lorentz Greenawalt* who emigrated in 1749 and settled near Ephrata in Lancaster County, was born in 1725, at Hassloch near Böhl in the Palatinate (Egle's *Pennsylvania Genealogies* [Harrisburg, 1896], pp. 303 314).]

9. *Johann Adam Hauck* (No. 685), Reformed, married for the third time August 16, 1733, *Anna Margaretha Borntäger*, Reformed, a native of Hohensülzen. Their children were (1) *Johann Jakob*, born November 11, 1734 (was 30 years old in 1764), and (2) *Anna Maria*, born August 4, 1741 (was 23 years old in 1764). According to documents in the town archives

dated August 1, 1749, and in the state archives at Speyer dated July 28, 1764, both of these children remained in Lamsbheim, and did not, like their mother and stepfather, go to America. It appears that *Anna Margaretha (Bornträger) Hauck*, widow, from Hohen-sülzen, married again on July 1, 1749, to *Jakob Hönig* (No. 805), Reformed, son of *Georg Hönig* (No. 801) and his wife *Anna Elisabetha (Ferbert) Hönig* of Lamsbheim. Both *Jakob Hönig* and his wife went to Pennsylvania about 1764 (document in Speyer state archives dated July 28, 1764). They had a daughter *Katharina*, born March 10, 1751.

[*Jacob Hönick* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Hero*, October 27, 1764 (List 248 C). It may be significant that on the same passenger list appear the names *Jacob Hauck*, *Johannes Hauck*, *Christian Schow-alder*, and *Johannes Gress*. Do any of these connect with the Lamsbheim families of the same name?]

10. *Georg Adam Hochemuth* (No. 772), Mennonite [Mennist], linenweaver, was received into citizenship at Lamsbheim February 15, 1709. He was born at Hassel-bach in the Helmstadt dominions [*Helmstädtische Herr-schaft*]. He is mentioned in the town records, 1702-1708. His wife's name was *Barbara*. They both emigrated to America in 1709.

The Hochemuth house in the Hintergasse was purchased in 1709 by *Bernhard Schowalter* (No. 1770), Mennonite, who is mentioned in the Lamsbheim town records, 1704-1719. He was received into citizenship at Lamsbheim January 2, 1709, his birthplace being given as Strengelbach in the Aarburg district of Canton Bern, Switzerland [*Strengelbach, Aarburger Amt, Berner Gebiets*]. He was single in 1709; his wife's name was *Magdalena*.

[*George Adam Hoherluth (sic)*, aged 45, with wife, sons 12 and 9, and daughters 17 and 14, Baptist (= Anabaptist, i.e., Mennonite), is named among the cloth and linenweavers in the list of "first arrivals" of Palatines in London in 1709 with *Philip Kühlewein* ("Lists of Germans from the Palatinate who Came to England in 1709," *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, XL [1909], 53). *Mathias Adam Hogermöd* is listed among those from what is now Berks County, Pennsylvania, who were naturalized between January 9, 1729 and 1730 (*Votes of Assembly*, III, 131, reproduced in I. Daniel Rupp, *A Collection of Upwards of Thirty Thousand Names* [Philadelphia, 1875], Appendix II, p. 435).

For *Showalter (Schowalter)* genealogy, see *The Men-nonite Encyclopedia*, IV, 479-480, 516-517. In 1936 the surname *Schowalter* was the third most common Mennonite name in the Palatinate, after *Krehbiel* and *Stauffer*. Various *Schowalter* emigrants arrived in Pennsylvania in 1744, 1750, and 1764, branching from there into the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia.]

Signature of Boehm while schoolmaster at Lamsbheim.

11. *Johannes Hörd* (No. 824), son of *Hans Georg*, Reformed, and *Sara (Wagemann) Hörd*, Reformed, was received into citizenship at Lamsbheim January 15, 1734, and emigrated to the New Land in 1738. His father *Hans Georg Hörd* (Nos. 818-819), farmer, who had come from Hesse-Darmstadt territory, had become a citizen of Lamsbheim May 7, 1696. He had become a Pietist and in 1706, with others, was penalized by having to clean the town ditches. *Sara Wagemann*, his second wife, was the daughter of *Hans Valentin Wagemann* (No. 2050), who was received as citizen of Lamsbheim December 2, 1662, coming from Hessheim. She died before 1721 and *Hans Georg Hörd*, after a third marriage, died in 1732. Source: Testa-ment of 1732 in the town archives, and other documents.

[*Johannes Hertt*, brother-in-law of *Jacob Bossert* (No. 6, above), arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *St. Andrew*, October 27, 1738 (List 62 A-C), with *Johann Nickolas Stähler* of Lamsbheim (q.v.). In the same list are emigrants named *Behringer*, *Wisler*, *Böhm*, and *Messer*, all names found in Lamsbheim and vicinity.]

12. *Philipp Kielewein* (No. 1074), Reformed, had become a Pietist, for which in 1706 he was punished, with others, by being forced to clean the town ditches. He was the son of *Hans Theobald Kühlewein* (No. 1071), Reformed, farmer, field surveyor, and almoner, and his wife *Dorothea*. *Hans Theobald Kühlewein* had been received into citizenship December 2, 1663, and is mentioned in the town archives from 1653 to 1691. In 1673 he is listed as having "five small children". He died before 1697 and his estate was divided by his widow among eight children on February 28, 1707. The children's names were *Sara*, *Sebastian*, *Veronika*, *Albert*, *Katharina*, *Anna Maria*, *Maria Elisabeth*, and *Philipp*. *Philipp* was still single in 1707. On January 20, 1712, *Abraham Zimmermann* (q.v.) of Lamsbheim stated to the town council that *Philipp Kielewein*, his brother-in-law, had, before his departure for the "Island of Pennsylvania," sold him a quarter of an acre of land. Source: Lamsbheim Deed Protocols, 1712.

The children of *Hans Theobald* and *Dorothea Kühlewein* were the following: (1) *Sara*, born circa 1665, buried January 8, 1735, aged 70 years; married *Johannes Fischer* (No. 458), miller, who died before 1717, leav-

ing descendants in Lambsheim; (2) *Sebastian*, (No. 1072), who died before 1723, married *Margareta Weissbecker*, leaving descendants in Lambsheim; (3) *Veronika*, married *Abraham Zimmermann* (No. 2249), q.v.; (4) *Albert* (No. 1073), born circa 1670, died January 6, 1726, aged 56 years; (5) *Katharina*, married *Matthäus Baumann* (No. 57), q.v.; (6) *Anna Maria*, buried at Lambsheim December 16, 1735, married *Johann Valentin Stahl* (No. 1830), born circa 1665, died January 1, 1726, aged 61 years; their son *Johann Jakob Stahl* (No. 1838), q.v., emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1738.

[*Philipp Kühlewein* was an early settler in the Oley Valley in what is now Berks County, Pennsylvania. He came to America in 1709 with *Jean LeDee*, of Eppstein in the Palatinate, near Lambsheim, and *Hans Joder* (1672-1742) (*The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, XL [1909], 51-52). Both Joder and Kühlewein married daughters of Jean LeDee. Both also were followers of the New Born sect of Matthäus Baumann (q.v.), who married Kühlewein's sister Katharina. *Philip Kühlewein* is listed among those who paid quit rents on land (200 acres), in Oley Township, Philadelphia County, before 1734 (I. Daniel Rupp, *A Collection of Upwards of Thirty Thousand Names* [Philadelphia, 1875], Appendix XVI, p. 475). He was also naturalized 1729-1730 (Rupp, p. 434). The surname was spelled *Killwaine* and *Coolwine* in early records.]

Dorothea Kühlewein (No. 2327), widow of *Theobald Kühlewein* (No. 1071), requested permission to leave for the "Island of Pennsylvania" on March 8, 1719. Source: Deed protocols of Lambsheim, 1719-1749.

13. *Albrecht Dietrich Marterstock* (No. 1233), born at Lambsheim, married (second) on September 5, 1710, in West Camp, Ulster County, New York, *Elisabetha Rübenich(ts)*, from Sitters (Rockenhausen), widow of *Matthäus Rübenich*. The family had originated in Lambsheim/Frankenthal, and emigrated 1709/1710. The original place of settlement, 1710-1714, was West Camp, Ulster County, New York. Source: the Kocherthal Records in Macwethy's *Book of Names*. Four children were born in West Camp: (1) *Johann Dietrich*, born November 26, 1711; (2) *Johanna Maria*, born December 17, 1714; (3) *Daniel*, born December 23, 1716; and (4) *Maria Christina*, born March 17, 1719. The name *Marterstock* could not be located in the documents in the Lambsheim Archives.

[*Albert Friedrich Marterstock* is listed among the Palatines in Livingston Manor, New York, in the winter of 1710 and the summer of 1711 (I. Daniel Rupp, *A Collection of Upwards of Thirty Thousand Names* [Philadelphia, 1875], Appendix VII, p. 446). *Johannes Marder Steck* and *Johann Martin Martersteck* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Adventure*, from Hamburg, September 25, 1754 (List 217 A-C). Were they connected with the Lambsheim family?]

14. *Christian Merkel* (No. 1296), Reformed, cartwright, married *Katharina Bender* in 1711. Is mentioned in the Lambsheim records beginning with 1704, when his property was valued at 100 florins. On April 19, 1719, he sold his house in the Vordergasse to *Dietrich Roth* and emigrated to America. He died in Pennsylvania in 1766.

Maria Katharina Merkel, daughter of *Christian* and *Katharina (Bender) Merkel*, was baptized at Lambsheim January 21, 1715. She married *Johann Kaspar Stoever* (1707-1779), and emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1728. The sponsor at the baptism of *Maria Katharina Merkel* was *Katharina Ursula Schmidt*. Information from the Reverend Carl T. Smith, 7109 Erdrick Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, February 19, 1958.

[*Christian Merckel* of Philadelphia County made his will April 25, 1749, probated May 22, 1766. It lists his sons *Peter*, *George*, *Christian*, and *Casper*, and daughters *Catherine Stover*, *Frankiena (Franzina?) Rugh*, *Mary Hill*, *Anna Maria Cramer*, and *Anna Lena Merckel*. In the Berks County tax lists of 1759, the Merckel family was concentrated in Richmond Township, where they were members of the Moselem Lutheran Church; and in Reading, where *Christian Merckel* had property (Morton L. Montgomery, *History of Berks County in Pennsylvania* [Philadelphia, 1886], pp. 655-656, 1035-1036, 1038). In upstate Pennsylvania the name became *Markle* as reflected in place names (e.g., Marklesville in Perry County, and Marklesburg in Huntingdon County.)

For Pastor Stoever, see John W. Early, "The Two Stoevers: John Caspar Stoever of Virginia and John Caspar Stoever of Pennsylvania," *The Pennsylvania-German*, XI (1910), 267-275. Additional materials can be found in P. C. Croll, *Ancient and Historic Landmarks in the Lebanon Valley* (Philadelphia, 1895), and in the various histories of Pennsylvania Lutheranism.]

15. *Georg Heinrich Mörschheimer (Morsheimer, Mörsheimer)* (No. 1351), Reformed, was received into citizenship at Lambsheim, July 3, 1749. He was born about 1722 (was 21 years old in 1743), son of *Johann Konrad Mörschheimer* (1681-1737), No. 1350, schoolmaster in Grosskarlbach 1718 and in Lambsheim 1728 (received citizenship at Lambsheim October 22, 1738) and his wife *Luisa Eleanora (Müller)*. *Georg Heinrich Mörschheimer* married on January 14, 1749, *Franziska Rhode*, Reformed, daughter of *Johann Georg Rothe (Rode)*, 1699-1735 (No. 1591), master tailor, a native of Frankenthal formerly in Oppau, and his wife *Anna Margareta (Wagner)*, a native of Lambsheim, daughter of *Jakob Wagner* (1675-1735), No. 2056, and his wife *Petronella* (1672-1731).

According to documents in the state archives at Speyer (Kurpfalz No. 1330), *Georg Heinrich Mörschheimer* and his wife were in Pennsylvania in 1770. Their children were the following: (1) *Johann Hein-*



House in which Boehm died, Hellertown, Pennsylvania.

rich, born November 24, 1749; (2) *Johann Philipp*, born January 17, 1751; (3) [a second] *Johann Philipp*, born April 23, 1753 (godfather: *Johann Philipp Roob*, schoolmaster in Hassloch); (4) *Sebastian*, born February 23, 1755; (5) *Anna Margaretha*, born May 22, 1757; (6) *Maria Elisabetha*, born March 26, 1761; and (7) *Johann Heinrich*, born August 2, 1763.

[*Henrich Morschheimer* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Britannia*, September 26, 1764 (List 245 C). *Henry Mershimer* is listed as an inmate in Vincent Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, in 1771 (*Pennsylvania Archives*, 3d Series, XI, 773).]

16. *Michael Müller* (No. 1371) was born at Steinweiler in the Oberamt Lautern. When he was received into citizenship at Lamsbheim, June 4, 1721, it was stated that he was formerly on the farm property at Weilach which belonged to the counts of Leiningen. He arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Adventure*, October 2, 1727.

[*Michel Müller* heads the list of passengers on the Ship *Adventure*, arriving at Philadelphia, October 2, 1727 (List 4 A-B). On the same ship were *Johannes Ullerich*, *Jacob Bauman*, and *Peeter Rool (Ruhl)*, all from Lamsbheim.]

17. *Peter Ruhl* (No. 1608), Reformed, was received into citizenship at Lamsbheim, November 10, 1721. He was born at Lamsbheim, son of *Hans Jakob Ruhl* (No. 1607) and his wife *Anna Barbara*. His occupation was wineloder [*Weinläder*] and night-watchman [*Nachtwächter*], and he was one of three non-hereditary tenants [*Temporalbeständer*] on the *Sturmfeder* property. He paid his emigration tax in 1727 and emigrated to Pennsylvania on the Ship *Adventure* in 1727. He married, about 1718, *Katharina Stumpf*, Reformed, from Lamsbheim, daughter of *Martin Stumpf* (No. 1944) and his wife *Katharina*. *Martin Stumpf* had been received into citizenship at Lamsbheim, May 7, 1696, coming from Bocksberg.

On March 30, 1731, it was reported that *Peter Ruhl* "has sent from Pennsylvania a power of attorney, to auction off the goods inherited from the deceased *Margaretha Stumpf*" [*hat aus Pensilvanien Vollmacht geschickt, die von der verstorbenen Margaretha Stumpf ererbten Güter zu versteigern*].

[*Peeter Rool* made his mark in the list of passengers on the Ship *Adventure*, arriving at Philadelphia, October 2, 1727 (List 4 A-C), along with *Michel Müller*, *Johannes Ullerich*, and *Jacob Bauman*, all from Lamsbheim. An evidently younger *Peter Rule (Rulle, Rool)* is listed in Rockhill Township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, 1779-1786; and another in Rapho Township, Lancaster County, 1782 (*Pennsylvania Archives*, 3d Series, XIII, 79, 297, 386, 439, 594, 686; XVII, 787. Will readers help us to identify the emigrant?]

18. *Johann Philipp Scherer* (No. 1685), Reformed, farmer, innkeeper of the Stag Inn [*Hirschwirt*] and city councilor, was received into citizenship at Lamsbheim May 7, 1696, from Heuchelheim. He married *Anna Maria Stähler*, widow of *Hartmann Stähler* (No. 1847), circa 1696, and had a son *Hans Peter*, baptized November 10, 1697.

[We have added *Johann Philipp Scherer* as emigrant from the fact that a deed given by the daughters of *John Philip Boehm* to his youngest son *John Philip Boehm, Jr.*, July 1, 1749, mentions "their grandfather Philip Scherer," who is to be supported "with all necessaries during the Term of his natural Life" (Recorder of Deeds Office, Philadelphia, G-12, 450 ff., recorded 1751). The deed was witnessed by *Johann Nicholas Staehler* (No. 20, below). *Philip Scherer* lived at White-marsh north of Philadelphia, where he was a deacon of the Reformed Church, 1739-1744 (Hinke, *Boehm*, pp. 148, 284, 292, 316, 340, 363, 395, 476-480).]

19. *Johann Jakob Stahl* (No. 1838), Reformed, farmer, was baptized at Lamsbheim January 8, 1697, son of *Johann Valentin Stahl* (1665-1726), No. 1830, Reformed, and his wife *Anna Maria (Kielewein)*. *Johann Jakob Stahl* was received into citizenship at Lamsbheim November 10, 1721, and married on January 24, 1736, *Anna Maria Strupp*, Reformed, who was born in Eppstein and appears to be the daughter of *Hans Georg Strupp* of Eppstein. On April 28, 1738, the *Stahls* sold their entire property for 1201 florins and emigrated to North America (Ratsprotokol 1738, pp. 87, 92). They had two children born in Lamsbheim: (1) *Johann Georg*, born August 12, 1736; and (2) *Susanna*, born February 16, 1738.

[*Johann Jakob Stahl*, aged 30, heads the list of passengers on the Ship *Winter Galley*, arriving at Philadelphia on September 5, 1738 (List 52 A-C). Another *Johann Jakob Stahl* arrived in 1739 (List 73 A-C). Various emigrants named *Strub(b)* are listed in Strassburger-Hinke. *Stahl (Stall, Stoll, etc.)* is a not uncom-

mon name in Pennsylvania and it is difficult to identify this emigrant in the tax lists. It would be of interest if he were the *Jacob Stahl* who settled with the *Stählers* in Upper Milford Township, now Lehigh County, where a *Jacob Stahl, Sr.*, is listed in 1772 (*Pennsylvania Archives*, 3d Series, XIX, 11).]

20. *Johann Nikolay Stähler* (No. 1851), son of *Johannes Stähler* (1675-1727), No. 1848, innkeeper of the Stag Inn [*Hirschwirt*], and his wife *Anna Katharina (Ferbert)*. *Johann Nikolay Stähler* was the eldest son and married, on December 3, 1730, *Maria Magdalena Maurer*, Reformed. In 1738 *Nikolay Stähler* sold his entire property for 1044 florins and the family emigrated to North America. The *Stähler* children were (1) *Friedrich*, born October 23, 1731; died 1733; (2) *Johann Georg*, born January 22, 1734; and (3) *Anna Katharina*, born November 11, 1736, buried February 22, 1738. *Johann Nikolay Stähler* was a nephew of *Johann Philipp Böhm* (q.v.).

[*Johann Nickolas Stähler* arrived in Philadelphia on the Ship *St. Andrew*, October 27, 1738 (List 62 A-C), with *Johannes Hertt* of Lamsbheim and possibly other Lamsbheimers (see above, No. 11). According to the Mathews and Hungerford *History of Lehigh and Carbon Counties, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1883), pp. 352, 359, 367, *Johann Nicolaus Stähler* settled in Milford (later Upper Milford) Township, Bucks, now Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, about a mile southwest of the village of Zionsville. His name appears in both the Lutheran and Reformed registers of the Upper Milford churches at Zionsville. He made his will September 17, 1794, mentioning six sons: *Anthony* (died 1797), *John Nicholas, Jr.*, *Philip*, *Ludwig* (executor), *Henry*, and *Peter*. The son *Ludwig* was Justice of the Peace, 1787-1821, and a grandson, *Daniel Stähler* (1781-1854), established the first hotel in Dillingersville, 1812, and the same year was appointed post-master of the first post office in Upper Milford, *Stähler's P.O.*, later renamed Dillingersville. His nephew *Joshua Stähler* was Register of Wills for Lehigh County, 1851-1854, Coronor 1855, and was elected Associate Judge of Lehigh County, 1856 and reelected 1861. The name is spelled *Stähler* in Lehigh County today.]

21. *Johannes Traut* (No. 1980), Reformed, brewer, accused of Pietism in 1706 and sentenced, with others, to the cleaning of the town ditches. According to the Lamsbheim deed registers, he sold his house in the Kirchgasse to *Adam Fauth* in 1709. His wife's name was *Anna Katharina*, Reformed, and they had a son *Johannes*, baptized at Lamsbheim, July 5, 1699. *Johannes Traut*, brewer, and his wife *Katharina* were sponsors at the baptism on January 4, 1699, of *Johannes Traut*, son of *Hans Georg* and *Anna Maria Traut* of Lamsbheim, both Reformed.

[Among the "first arrivals" of Palatines in London in 1709, along with *Philip Kühlewein* and *Georg*

Adam Hochemuth, appears the name of *John Truat (sic)*, aged 40, Reformed, brewer, with wife and two sons aged 10 and 6 respectively ("Lists of Germans from the Palatinate who Came to England in 1709" [*The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, XL (1909), 52].)]

22. *Johannes Ullrich* (No. 1996) was received into citizenship at Lamsbheim, November 10, 1721. His name appears in the account registers [*Rechnungen*] for 1727 and he may be identical with the *Johannes Ullrich* who emigrated to Pennsylvania with other Lamsbheimers on the Ship *Adventure* in that year.

[*Johannes Ullrich* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Adventure*, October 2, 1727 (List 4 A-B), along with *Michel Müller*, *Jacob Bauman*, and *Peeter Rool (Ruhl)*, all of Lamsbheim.]

23. *Sebastian Weber* (No. 2092) and his wife *Apollonia (Geyger) Weber* were listed as in Pennsylvania in 1751. She had an inheritance of 270 florins coming to her after the death of her parents (document in the town archives dated May 11, 1751). The wife was a daughter of *Nikolas Geyger (Geiger, Geyer, Geier)*, No. 557, Reformed, stonemason, from Dettlingen in Switzerland, who was received into citizenship at Lamsbheim February 16, 1701, and his wife *Katharina Müller* (1670-1743), Reformed, a native of Lamsbheim, daughter of *Matthäus Müller* (No. 1357), who "came to Lamsbheim as a single man from Böhl and married here in 1671" and his wife *Apollonia*.

[*Sebastian Weber* is not listed among the emigrants before 1753 when an emigrant by that name arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Rowand*, September 29, 1753 (List 209 A-C). Several *Sebastian Weavers* are listed in the Pennsylvania tax lists. One was a tailor in Exeter Township, Berks County, 1779-1781; there is a *Bastian Weaver* in Reading, 1785; and a *Sebastian Weaver* in Mt. Pleasant Township, York County, in 1783 (*Pennsylvania Archives*, 3d Series, XVIII, 222, 356, 481, 799; XXI, 801). Will readers working on these families inform us if any of these is identical with the Lamsbheim emigrant?]

24. *Abraham Zimmermann* (No. 2249), Reformed, town beadle [*Büttel*], is mentioned in the town records from 1704 to 1719. He married *Veronika Kielewein*, Reformed, daughter of *Hans Theobald Kühlewein* (No. 1071) and his wife *Dorothea* (see No. 12, above). The *Zimmermanns* sold their house and farm fields on April 24, 1719 and emigrated to Pennsylvania.

[*Abraham Zimmermann* settled in what is now Maxatawny Township, Berks County, not too far from the families of his brothers-in-law *Matthäus Baumann* and *Philip Kühlewein*. As *Abraham Timberman* he is listed as among those who paid quit rents on land in Maxatawny prior to 1734 (Rupp, p. 475). His name also appears among those naturalized from Philadelphia County, 1734-1735 (Rupp, p. 435).]

Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 32:

Household Furnishings

In a former questionnaire we asked for layouts of farmhouses in Pennsylvania. In this one we wish to study the furniture and other contents of individual rooms. Will readers share with us their memories of the way the houses they were familiar with in their growing-up years were furnished? If possible, include drawings showing where the furniture was positioned in each room.

1. The Kitchen. *Was the kitchen actually the main room of the house, and if so, why? What type of stove did it have? If a wood or coal stove, what were the problems in its use? Had there been a kitchen fireplace earlier? Was there a woodbox? Where were the kitchen table, benches, and chairs placed? Was there a dry sink, a pump; where did the water supply come from? Was there a couch in the kitchen? Where were dishes and table utensils stored? Was the table set for the next meal? If so, what utensils remained on the table?*

2. Living Room or Parlor. *If the house had a special or "best" room like a parlor, describe it and all its furnishings. When and for what occasions was this room used? If there was a stove in it, was it taken down in the summer? What was used to decorate the stovepipe hole in the summer? Were there blinds and curtains; if so, describe them?*

3. Bedrooms. *How many bedrooms were there in the house? Describe them and their contents. Was there a guest room? Was there a downstairs bedroom? Were there fireplaces or stoves in any of these rooms, i.e., how were bedrooms heated, if at all?*

4. Closets, Chests, and Clothes Presses. *Earlier houses had no clothes closets, and huge clothes presses (wardrobes), or wall hooks, were used for hanging or storing clothing. If such was the case in your past, why do you think closets were not a feature of earlier house planning? If there were hooks for clothing on the walls of some rooms, what rooms of the house were involved? Did bedrooms have blanket chests? If so, describe them. Were they "dower chests" originally? Did any of them contain taufscheins (baptismal certificates)?*

5. Homemade and Factory-Built Furniture. *The 19th Century brought factory-built furniture into the farmhouses. If this was so in the case of your family, where did such manufactured pieces come from, where were they bought, how were they advertised? Were there also in your home pieces of hand-made furniture inherited from earlier stages in your family's house-keeping? Were any of these considered then, as now, intrinsically more valuable than factory-made furniture?*

6. Pictures and Wall Decoration. *Were the room walls paneled, papered, painted, or decorated in other ways? What pictures were there on walls—landscapes, portraits, symbolic prints, mottoes—and in which rooms were they found? Was what we now call "fraktur" ever framed and displayed on the wall in the 19th Century? Was the document known among the Pennsylvania Germans as a "himmelsbrief" (letter from heaven) ever framed and displayed on the wall of a room?*

7. Reading Matter in the Home. *Were there books, pamphlets, magazines, newspapers in the home you are describing? If so, list the ones you remember, i.e., the ones in particular that made an impression on you as a child or teenager. Was the almanac a part of your family's reading matter? If so, where was it kept? What sort of family Bible did your home have? Was it used for reading; if so, on what occasions? Were castoff books, almanacs, newspapers, etc., stored in the attic or elsewhere?*

8. Hallways and Stairways. *Describe the furnishings, and uses, if other than passage to and from rooms and floors, of the hallways and stairways in the houses you are most familiar with.*

9. Storage Spaces in the House. *Describe the cellar and attic (garret) as to their contents. Was food ever stored in the attic?*

10. Lighting Appliances. *Describe the lighting facilities of a house in the days before the electric light. How much of a large house was lighted at night in the days of the kerosene or coal oil lamp? Were candles made or used on any occasion in your home?*

11. Bathing and Toilet Facilities. *In older houses, before modern bathrooms were added, how and where and when were baths taken, and with what equipment? Was there any sort of schedule for bathing? In bedrooms, describe the wash stand and its use. In older houses, before toilets, what arrangements existed inside, outside? Describe the various pots, jars, and other accoutrements used. If the house you are describing had an outdoor privy, describe it and its "decor".*

12. Lore and Dialectology of House Furnishings. *As usual, we ask our readers to write down for us dialect terms for house furnishings, and any songs, jokes, jests, sayings, or tales they recall about house furnishings in the past.*

Send your replies to:

Dr. Don Yoder
Logan Hall Box 13
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19174



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