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## The Tanner and Boundary Maintenance: Determining Ethnic Identity

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THE TANNER AND BOUNDARY MAINTENANCE:  
DETERMINING ETHNIC IDENTITY

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A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology  
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Masters of Arts

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by

William James Sheppard

1988

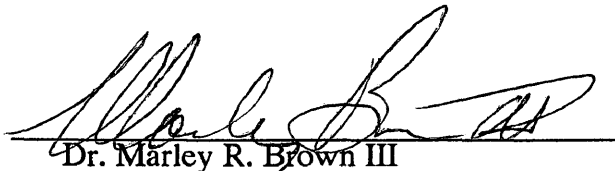
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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to compare 19th century tanners of Franklin County, Pennsylvania, to determine if their ethnic backgrounds were reflected in their material culture. To determine ethnic background, a definition of ethnic identity as it relates to historic archaeology was needed. Ethnic identity was defined as the maintenance of a boundary between members of different cultural groups as they come into first-hand contact. This boundary could be reflected through the use of language, dress or social behavior to differentiate oneself from persons seen as members of another group. For this study, the boundary was reflected by the different values placed on household furnishings as expressed in the probate inventories these persons left behind.

Pennsylvania Germans, as a group, placed less value on the acquisition of finer household items and instead placed assets back into the business or invested in family members through loans. This pattern of behavior is apparent among Pennsylvania German tanners of Franklin County.

Thirteen tanners whose probate inventories survived for Franklin County were compared and the Pennsylvania German tanners had less expensive household furnishings despite the fact they were as successful as their Anglo-American counterparts. The conclusion was then drawn that this pattern reflects the maintenance of a cultural boundary and that tanners adhering to this pattern were symbolizing their ethnic identity through their behavior.



THE TANNER AND BOUNDARY MAINTENANCE:  
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## Introduction

This study began with this authors acceptance in 1987 of an internship for the Renfrew Museum and Park in Waynesboro, Pennsylvania. The Board of Directors and staff of Renfrew had taken on the task of developing the museum into a cultural resource for the surrounding community. The goal is to interpret the museum as a pre-1830 Pennsylvania German farmstead as the property was originally developed by one, Daniel Royer, beginning in 1796. Sometime between the years 1796 and 1798, Royer built a tannery operation along the banks of the Antietam creek in Franklin County, Pennsylvania and it is understanding his legacy which prompted this intership. The goals of the internship were to develop an understanding of the components of an early 19th century tannery, of the tannery's relationship to its rural setting in Franklin County, of what is meant by the term Pennsylvania German and to determine what ethnic markers might be reflected in the material culture of a Pennsylvania German tanner.

Daniel Royer (B.1762,D.1838) was at the least a second generation tanner and would have worked on his father's tannery also located within Franklin County (Franklin Co. Tax Returns 1790, 1791, 1794, 1796, 1799). Daniel Royer's great-grandfather, Sebastian Royer, had emigrated to Pennsylvania from the Palatinate in 1718. The Palatinate was one of the numerous provinces in the region which had made up the Holy Roman Empire and which, after 1870, would become Germany (Arthur & Keiper 1987: 116). From the county tax returns, it appears that Daniel Royer and his son David built a successful tannery which survived until 1862 (Franklin Co. Administration #8097).

Besides having the knowledge of Daniel Royers ethnic background from genealogical sources, one specific pattern of behavior also emerged. From his probate

inventory, Royer spent just 7% of his total income on furnishings for his home. Authors such as Swank, Yoder and Lehman had defined that as a group, Pennsylvania Germans, placed low monetary value on household goods (Smith 1987). Swank defined this behavior as a Pennsylvania German proxemic pattern, with proxemics being the relationship of people, furniture and space within the home (Swank 1983: 35). Swank's model will be further refined within Chapter II.

For this study, patterns within the material culture of the Pennsylvania Germans can be defined through historical accounts, personal inventories, museum collections, oral histories and in some cases archaeological data. This thesis suggests that culture change or acculturation can be demonstrated in the form of boundary maintenance by the ethnic identity reflected within Pennsylvania German material culture. The attempt here is to demonstrate a method for testing such a statement with the limited data available at this time. At this level, acculturation and boundary maintenance may be tested by studying the probate inventories of a 19th century tanner's life. If Swank's proxemic pattern is correct as reflected by Daniel Royer's inventory, then this pattern should also be apparent for other tanners in this rural setting through inventories.

Tanners are studied on a personal or micro-level because of the dichotomy present between the public and private life of a craftsman. This dichotomy arises from a conflict between an economic need to survive as a minority in a larger community, and a more traditional need to maintain an ethnic identity with the domestic life. This dichotomy has also been expressed as the conflict between one's public and private face (Glassie 1975, Carson et.al. 1981). The material traits of a tanner that relate to the operation of a tannery as a whole will retain less traditional attributes than those of a tanner's personal inventory. This thesis will attempt to demonstrate that those material aspects which are presented to the public, such as tools, buildings and even language will represent Anglification (Swank 1983). The aspects of the personal inventory, such as furniture and household items will represent a more traditional Pennsylvania German pattern.

The following thesis will be composed of four chapters beginning with a brief discussion of the study of ethnicity as it relates to historical archaeology. The discussion will emphasize how the study of acculturation and material culture have influenced the study of ethnicity. These influences culminate in a definition of ethnic identity as the maintenance of a boundary between those individuals within a contact culture perceived as "we" and those perceived as "they". This boundary is then expressed within Pennsylvania as Swank's proxemic pattern or in the cultural value placed on household goods in comparison to other properties owned. The second chapter will first define Pennsylvania German from an historical perspective. From this basis, a definition of the material culture of Pennsylvania German will be drawn. This definition will reflect the patterns used by Pennsylvania Germans to maintain a boundary between themselves and the larger Anglo-American society. The final two chapters will deal with the data available on 18th and 19th century tanners. The technological process for leather production is important in understanding the material culture required by a tanner in his public life. The technological level of a tanner represents a macro-level of culture while the maintenance of his ethnic identity would represent a micro-level. To study the micro-level of a 19th century tanner, this thesis will study the components of a tannery as well as the personal inventories of tanners. The goal of this thesis is to test the hypothesis that a 19th century Pennsylvania German tanner's ethnic identity will be represented by the value of household furnishings; as compared to rest of his property owned and that this is a representation of the cultural value placed on household items by Pennsylvania Germans. The result of this research will then be presented in the Conclusion of this paper.

This introduction will also emphasize the importance of the tanner prior to 1900 A.D. The processed leather the tanner produced was an invaluable part of the economy and everyday life. Scholarly studies have been lax in regard to studying the tanner. Most works dealing with the 19th century tanner have either been rambling, nostalgic prose (Broderick 1971, Lerch 1947, Wagonen 1949, Warner 1936) or have been short, general

works on the history of a specific region (Welsh 1964, Spotts 1973, Weiss 1959, Craigie 1968). The tanner is not the only Pennsylvania German craftsperson who should follow the patterns to be developed in this thesis. Potters (Powell 1972), tinsmiths (Lasansky 1982), blacksmiths (Lasansky 1980) or gunsmiths, etc., should also follow these patterns, but this is for future studies to determine. This emphasis on tanners and the material culture required to cope with the 19th century environment of which they lived, form the bases for the following thesis.

The tanner is one craftsperson in early American life who has received little investigation from historians but especially archaeologists. Tanning had long been considered an important aspect of everyday human life. A tannery was part of almost every community. In 16th century England, it could be found that "...in most villages...there is some one dresser and worker of leather and...in most of the market towns, 3, 4 or 5 and many great towns 20, and in London and the suburbs...200 or very near." (Waterer 1956:157). "There is no city in England, no cooperation, but have heads working at this tan-fatti..." wrote one English Lord in 1629 (Leather 1629:9). This same Lord stated that "...leather value is under our feet..." and that the world could live without Peru's gold, Brasile's [Brazil's] trees, and Virginia's smoake but not English leather (1629: 7-8). This situation had not changed by the 19th century when there were 131 towns and villages of Cornwall and Devon that had tanneries operating within their boundaries (Waterer 1956:157). The situation was similar in early America when Henry Plumb in 1790 wrote that tanneries started at the beginning of every new settlement in the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania (Fletcher 1950:413). Wilmington, Delaware and the Pennsylvania counties of Lancaster, Chester and Berks had developed into a major leather producing hinterland for Philadelphia by the time of the Revolutionary War (Welsh 1964:43). Tench Coxe stated to Congress in 1812 that tanning was of the utmost importance to the health, facilitation of industry, diffusion of knowledge, and to the military operations of the United States of America. This importance had not diminished by 1861 when J. Leander

Bishop wrote that a "...tannery did not usually...tarry long behind the first occupants of a new town." (1964: 3). The tannery was important because leather was such an important resource to pre-industrial life.

Leather provides a material which is strong, flexible, and water resistant. Its uses were almost limitless in a pre-industrial society. The petitioner to Parliament in 1629 listed nineteen craftsmen who used leather in their trades. These included such items produced as shoes, saddles, bookbindings, aprons, coach aprons, belts, hoods for hawks, gloves, etc. (Leather 1629:10). The Saxon shoe-wright AElfric's Cologuoy (c. 1000 A.D.) lists "...leather breeches, bottles, bridlenthongs, flasks and budgets, leather neck pieces (above armour breast plates), spur-leather, halters, bags and pouches..." besides boots and shoes as some of the items he produced as part of his trade (Waterer 1956: 170). Sewing was the basic method used by the shoe-wright to manufacture his goods. Thread of hemp or flax was used along with beeswax, which prevented the thread from unraveling. The fibrous nature of leather meant that it was "...very tenacious of stitches..." even if the stitches were near the edge of the leather (1956: 170). Leather could also be riveted together. The first applications were to rivet the leather to wood or metal, but later it was simply riveted to form buckets or hoses. With the use of glue, leather could be attached or laminated to the outside of other materials. Probably the most interesting method used for working leather was that of moulding. Leather would be softened with water and then coaxed, pressed or beaten into moulds or over cores of hardened clay, wood or wet sand. The leather would stay permanently in the shape of the mould after being allowed to dry at a moderate temperature. The degree of heat would determine the objects rigidity. A harder and quicker setting could also be obtained by placing the object momentarily into very hot water (1956: 171). Moulding of leather provided such objects as scabbards, trunk-corners, cups, bottles, jugs (bombards) and black-jacks. Leather drinking vessels would also be lined with pitch or resin (1956: 171). In the early Colonies, leather was an important commodity based on the scarcity of other materials such as woolen for clothing (Faulkner 1931: 95).

Leather was also important as a trade item being shipped back to Europe (1931: 95). By 1720, woolens, linen or tow garments had replaced leather clothing in areas with access to European markets. Leather clothing was used on the frontier in Pennsylvania until the time of the Revolutionary War and was still being used in the Wyoming Valley until 1831. Leather hunting shirts were popular in Pennsylvania until the 1820's (Fletcher 1950:414). Other items important to Colonial life were lanterns, blankets, shoes, harness, and black-jacks which were great leather jugs for drinking beer or ale (Earle 1925:95). Leather was also used for water-buckets, which were bags so large that they could only be carried on horse back. Water-buckets were used by water-sellers who roamed the streets of many a city or town (Waterer 1956:187). Gloves were also important to pre-industrial life, not only the fine, white tawed hand glove, but also the utilitarian work gloves and mittens used in Europe and America. Leather gloves were used as early as the Germanic tribes of Roman times. Luttrell Psalter (c. 1338 A.D.) depicted the use of gloves by farmers in his wood carvings (1956: 177). Leather was also used as part of furniture in many homes. Leather was a component in chair seats and as table and chair covers. Leather could be manipulated for wall paper, wall hangings, bedcovers and fire screens. Fire buckets, helmets and hoses were constructed out of leather due to leather's tensile strength and water resistant nature (1956: 178-184).

The largest need for leather goods come in the area of transportation in Pre-industrial and emerging Industrial society. Leather was the material used for harness and saddles. Luggage, bags, clothes-sacks, gardeviance (food carrier), and water-buckets were all made of leather and were an essential part of travel in the 18th and 19th centuries (Waterer 1956:182-3). Leather was also used for the aprons on both coaches and stage-coaches, which were the main forms of transportation in eastern Pennsylvania in the first quarter of the 19th century (Palmer 1818:11). Of course, shoes were needed to assist the most basic form of transportation, that of walking. The earliest shoes in Europe appear to have been Roman attempts to modify sandals to deal with northern winters (Waterer

1956:176). The common foot-wear of the 19th century was a direct development from the numerous military campaigns of the 17th century. The foot-wear prior to that consisted of pieces of cattle hides only an eighth of an inch thick. The heavier shoe was developed for long military marching (1956: 177). The objects mentioned above reflect some of the materials produced from the tanner's leather for everyday life.

Besides testing the hypothesis expressed earlier, this work was designed to emphasize two important aspects of 18th and 19th century life in America. These being the pre-industrial tanning process and Pennsylvania German ethnic culture. These are two subjects which should not be left within the realm of historians, folklorists, and local historical societies. This thesis then not only provides data for a single researcher or for a single institution, but hopefully opens the door for further research on both subjects within historic archaeology.



## CHAPTER I THE STUDY OF ETHNICITY IN HISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY

Much has been written in recent years on ethnicity as it pertains to archaeology (Deetz 1977a, Ferguson 1980, Schuyler 1980, Kelly & Kelly 1980). These works represent a similar attempt to define ethnic groups based on attributes expressed in the material culture of those groups, such as Afro-American traits apparent in house structures (Deetz 1977a) or pottery types (Ferguson 1980). The ethnic approach within historical archaeology reflects the influence of anthropology on this subdiscipline. Ethnicity studies for the historic archaeologist amount to the opening of a proverbial "...can of worms..." with the archaeologist having to deal with the problems inherent in the anthropological concept of "culture" (Kelly and Kelly 1980: 133). Studies along this approach address at the least the theories of culture change and acculturation as they apply to 16th through 20th century American society; and the formal analysis of material culture and the development of patterns of behavior from this analysis.

In the 1940's and 1950's, anthropologists reacted against the historical particularism of the Boasian school. The reaction was toward a return to general theory building along the lines of cultural evolution purposed by Leslie White and Julian Steward (Willey & Sabloff 1980:181-2). This general theory was also termed culture change or culture process. Simply, culture change is the theory that cultures are not static but in a state of motion or change. Some of the causes of culture change include culture contact, acculturation, diffusion (at a similar level as acculturation), assimilation, fusion, isolation, bicultural behavior, incorporation, environment, and technological influences (Spicer 1961:521). With this emphasis on culture change, acculturation studies have dominated problem-oriented archaeology (Praetzelis et. al. 1987:39). Acculturation is the process important in the development of the theory of ethnicity to be used for this study. Robert Redfield, Robert Linton and M. J. Herskovits formulated a definition of acculturation as the following:

"Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which results when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups (Redfield et al.1936:149)."

With contact, cultures do have internal mechanisms which become a factor in acculturation. Cultural systems have at least three internal variables or mechanisms which work to effect the rate of acculturation. These mechanisms include one of boundary-maintenance which limits the subgroups access to contact with the outside culture by the use of ideology or some other technique. Self-correcting mechanisms may also be present in a culture and work to maintain equilibrium. The final variable is the flexibility or rigidity of the social structure of a culture usually reflected by the autocratic powers of individuals or small groups (Broom et al. 1954: 976-7).

For my purposes, acculturation will be defined as the phenomena which occur when two cultural groups are in contact. This phenomena is then reflected by boundary maintenance which occurs among individuals of different groups who are in continuous first-hand contact. For this work, acculturation occurs between a large minority comprised of German immigrants within an Anglo-American culture of the Eastern United States. Acculturation can be non-directed in cases that lack the development of superordinate and subordinate roles within the cultures in contact (Broom et al. 1954: 976-7). In the case of the Pennsylvania Germans, the Anglo community of Pennsylvania does demonstrate a superordinate role and this was the intention of William Penn the founder of the colony (Myers 1902, Lemon 1972, Garvan & Hummel 1984). Pennsylvania reflects the contact community with continuous first-hand contact between European German and British cultures. With these two cultural groups in contact, boundary maintenance will occur.

As pointed out by Kelly & Kelly (1980:134), anthropological theories on ethnic identity have been aided by Fredrick Barth's theory of boundary maintenance. Barth lists three aspects of social behavior important to boundary maintenance. These being:

- 1) criteria for determining membership and ways of signalling membership and exclusion;

- 2) complex organizations of behavior and social relations which implies a sharing
- 3) situations of social contact between persons of different cultures and...a structuring of interaction which allows the persistence of cultural differences. (Barth 1969:15).

Barth's criteria is similar to the definition of acculturation being applied for this study. The point which Barth provides for this thesis is the "...structuring of interaction which allows the persistence of cultural differences." (1969: 15). This structure becomes apparent as a dichotomy between the cultural value an individual places on household furnishings (Swank 1983). While outward cultural forms may change, subtler aspects of culture and their meanings remain more constant (Tax 1960). The important indicators of ethnic identity are those which express self-image (Kelly & Kelly 1980: 138). This identity is expressed in the private sphere. Household furnishings become a useful cultural marker for Pennsylvania Germans tanners because "...the shifting of personal interaction with household furnishings occur more slowly..." (Swank 1983: 35). Cultural identity would then persist longer in household proxemic patterns than with the more adaptive material culture of a tannery's components. The theory that a dichotomy exists between the private and public sphere of cultural behavior has been represented in historical archaeology by the study of the changes of house patterns through time (Glassie 1975, Carson et. al. 1981). It is the self-image or the mind of the individual which is being sought. The cultural value placed on household furnishings is then an expression of cultural identity within the material culture of the group.

Material culture reflects the mental template of its producers. The mental template is the idea or norm which the culture or the individual producer has about the proper form and construction of the material culture. Changes in the mind set of Puritian New England can be represented in the changes in popularity of grave stones motifs and ceramic styles (Deetz 1977a). Cognition may also be reflected in the symmetrical folkhouse type in Middle Virginia (Glassie 1975). Glassie supports the view that material culture is a "...mental dynamic..." rather than "...an element of performance..." (1977: 27). The study of

ethnicity or ethnic identity is then an attempt to define one subgroup of a larger society. This is done by classifying types within the material culture of a group to discern patterns of behavior and cognitive values. Patterns are "...those arrangements of systems of internal relationships which give to any culture its coherence or plan" (Kroeber 1963: 119). As Stanley South has expressed, all site development is a by-product of many activities such as raw material acquisition, product manufacture, form, distribution, use, breakage, reuse and discard behavior. Patterns are therefore developed by determining the quantitative relationships between by-products (South 1977). Here the by-products to be quantified are those items needed for product manufacture, those needed for domestic uses, and those items which are luxury or more elaborate than the basic needs they satisfy. This is to study the relationship between inventory items and the ethnic value placed on certain aspects of everyday life.

For Scott Swank, ethnic value was expressed by proxemics which he defined as "the study of the structuring of space and the process of interaction between man and his objects and space..." (Swank 1983: 36). For his definition, Swank relied on the works of Edward T. Hall including The Silent Language (1959), The Hidden Dimension (1966), and Beyond Culture (1976). The basic Pennsylvania German proxemic pattern is to place little of the household income into furnishings except for two items. The clock and bed were both symbolic to the Pennsylvania Germans. The clock represented a need to monitor time and the physical world, while the bed represented four stages of life. These stages being conception, birth, sickness and death (Keyes 1978, Swank 1983). While their Anglo-American neighbors were adding tea furniture, finer ceramics and using more expensive materials such as walnut and silver, the Pennsylvania German household had fewer and less expensive pieces of furniture made of pine or poplar and locally manufactured earthenwares (Swank 1983: 50-51). For the Pennsylvania Germans, cultural value was placed on reinvesting monetary gains into farm, business and family through bonds made to family members.

This study is not the first attempt to explore cultural identity. Material culture studies have been used to explore ethnic patterns (Collier 1967, Cowan 1976, Laumann & House 1970). The acculturation of Amerian Indian households were reflected in the quality and conditions of home furnishings (Collier 1976). Household or domestic items were used to demonstrate socio-economic and ethnic difference within the city of Detroit (Laumann & House 1970) and within early 20th century homes (Cowan 1967). The kitchen remains from metizo households and the percentage of aboriginal to Spanish types of ceramics was used to demonstrate the persistence of traditional culture traits in the domestic setting (Deagan 1973). Ceramic types i.e., imported storage jars, and faunal remains were also compared to demonstrate Chinese ethnicity in 19th century California. For that study, a larger percentage of pork remains than on comparable Anglo sites and the evidence of butchering with a Chinese cleaver reflected retained culture traits. Beer bottles and other items reflected Anglification at least as far as to the goods provided within the Lower China Store (Langenwalter 1980).

A study based on one subsystem of culture such as ethnicity will not be able to divorce itself completely from the other subsystems of social status, economic status or spatial variations. While this is true, studies which attempt to explain multiple subsystems inevitably remain general and vague. Several attempts have been made with acculturation studies of historic sites with limited success (Ascher & Fairbanks 1971, Drucker 1981, Otto 1980, Mudar 1978). Work with slave quarters on Cumberland Island, Georgia, did demonstrate that conditions on the site reflected a scarcity of goods and the presence of hunting materials, but one African trade bead makes ethnic determination with documentation tenuous at best (Ascher & Fairbanks 1971). The artifact assemblages did not appear quantitatively different from what could be expected for that of a poor, white tenant farmer in the region. While the 41% hollow-ware assemblages recovered from Black Lucy's garden suggests preference of stews, it was documentation that provided ethnic identity for the site (Baker 1980:29-38). To limit these problems, this study tests

ethnic identity within the frame work of a single craft group. Economic, social or spatial factors can be somewhat controlled by concentrating on one occupation in the rural setting of Franklin County, Pennsylvania in the time frame of 1780 to 1860. When two tanners within a rural setting had similar economic position based on the amount of their taxes and on probate inventory values, then some other factor must have been responsible for differences within their household inventories. This factor may be cultural boundary maintenance.

What this thesis tests which differs from past studies is ethnicity rather than race. These other studies have looked at subgroups of American culture whose physical appearance differentiates them from the larger culture. The question might be, do distinct racial groups need material symbols to express their differences? The physical appearances of Pennsylvania Germans or central Europeans differ little from the larger European population as a whole. This group must then differentiate itself through culture. For the Pennsylvania German or other ethnic persons within the European stock, the acceptance of language, custom, and costume can allow an individual to blend into the superordinate culture of the public domain. The maintenance of a boundary mechanism would then remain in the private sphere. This thesis will test this theory and also demonstrate that this occurs with other ethnic groups who are not physical differentiated. Ethnicity or ethnic identity can be effected by many variables. Some of these variables can be expressed as questions: do individuals perceive themselves as ethnically distinct ? are individuals perceived by others as ethnically distinct ? and do the individuals participate in shared activities ? (Yinger 1976: 200-216). For this study, ethnic identity will be defined as the maintenance of a cultural boundary, by individuals which recognize themselves and are recognized by others to be ethnically but not racially different within a contact community.

Boundary maintenance is influenced by many factors. Three variables are important in the formation and change through time of a ethnic boundary: competition, ethnocentrism and differential power with differential power as the most influential

(McGuire 1982). As two cultures near an equilibrium of power within a contact community, the degree of ethnic boundary maintenance will decrease. This should be reflected within Pennsylvania of the 18th and 19th century. Through the design of William Penn and the numerical superiority of the English settlers, the English held the power edge from 1683 through 1770's (Garvan & Hummel 1982, Lemon 1972). The increase of the Pennsylvania German population through this period, the political and social changes associated with the American Revolution and the economic success of the German immigrants would have worked to disperse this power difference. This should be apparent as a change in the symbols which the Pennsylvania Germans used to express their identity.

From a historic perspective, the question or recognition of ethnic groups were evident early in American politics. The division between the Whigs and Democrats were evident along ethnic and religious lines (Current et al. 1983:304). The Democratic Party was seen as the party of the immigrant. Anti-immigrant parties such as the Supreme Order of the Star-Spangled Banner or the Native American Society were formed to counter this in the mid-19th century (1983: 323). For the Pennsylvania Germans, the first public recognition of their identity is credited to Benjamin Franklin in 1754 (Yoder 1980, Garvan & Hummel 1982, Swank 1983).

A fundamental problem within archaeology, either prehistoric or historic, is that the material recovered from the ground has an inferred rather than a causal relationship to past cultures (Binford 1962, Stone 1976, Wylie 1985). Inference can be a very effective tool when supported by a strong data base and artifacts are not the only data available to the archaeologist (Deetz 1977b, Glassie 1975, Stone 1976). Historic archaeologists have given the 19th century tanner little attention. Historical documents then become a major source of data for testing this thesis. These documents include the 1798 Federal Direct Tax which provides details on architecture, dependencies, industries and economic conditions for a large sample of most counties for the Eastern United States (Swank 1983: 20-21). County tax assessment records are also available for many counties but have less detail and

vary from township to township. The study of craftspersons or artisans of the 19th century is also aided by the Census of Manufactures starting in 1810. Probate inventories provide a view into the material culture of a household (Deetz 1977a, Stone 1976, Swank 1983). The monetary value assigned to the items of an inventory tend to be either overstated or understated than those actually received at public sale, but should correctly represent the relationship between items within a single inventory. This becomes apparent when administrators of an inventory are also responsible for a public sale of said property. It is the relationship between the items of these inventories which reflect ethnic boundary maintenance.

The next chapter of this thesis will demonstrate that Pennsylvania German represents an ethnic identity recognized both now in the present and in the past. The individuals of German descent in the areas of Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia were not only seen as a distinct cultural group by their Anglo-American neighbors, but saw themselves as distinctive. The we verses they dichotomy has been represented in anthropological thought (Barth 1969:15). Even for an ethnic identity which is generally accepted such as Pennsylvania German (Glassie 1968, Swank 1984, Garvan & Hummel 1983, Lemon 1972) it should be studied, for "...we (as historic archaeologists) should attempt to examine even the obviously clear ethnic affiliations..." (Kelly and Kelly 1980:138). The next chapter will further define Pennsylvania German and the proxemic pattern to be tested through the probate inventories of Franklin County tanners.



## CHAPTER II DEFINING PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN MATERIAL CULTURE

The ethnic group referred to as Pennsylvania German or "Dutch" has been a recognized ethnic unit within American society for two centuries. From a scholarly approach, Pennsylvania German material patterns have been recognized within many works (Murtagh 1957, Glassie 1968, Lemon 1972, Powell 1972, Yoder 1980, Lasansky 1982, Garvin & Hummel 1982, Swank et. al. 1983, Borie 1986). Pennsylvania German refers to an ethnic group whose boundaries exceeded that of the colony and then the state of Pennsylvania (Glassie 1968, Weeks 1978, Garvin & Hummel 1982). To define Pennsylvania German for the historic archaeologists, one must demonstrate that the German descendants within eastern North America both viewed themselves and were viewed by others to be a distinct group, and that the members of this group took part in shared activities (Barth 1969, Yinger 1976). Pennsylvania German will also be described in a spatial and temporal setting. This will be accomplished by a review of some of the studies which have been done on the Pennsylvania German culture and a definition of a pattern of this groups' material culture.

Pennsylvania German folk region included southeastern Pennsylvania, western New Jersey, northern Delaware, central and western Maryland, and Loudon County, Virginia (Glassie 1968: 36). The Germans assimilated quickly into Anglo-Pennsylvanian culture, with the development of a Pennsylvania German identity arising from the growing minority (Swank 1983: 20). The heartland for Pennsylvania German culture would arise in Northampton, Lehigh, Montgomery, Berks, Schuylkill, York, Lancaster, Lebanon, and Dauphin counties, with a periphery of Chester, Philadelphia, Bucks, Monroe, Luzerne, Columbia, Northumberland, Union, Snyder, Mifflin, Juniata, Perry,

Franklin and Adams counties (1983: 21). It was this area of southeastern Pennsylvania which became the foci of Pennsylvania German material culture.

The major historical factors directly involved in the first German or Palatine migrations to the New World were the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) and the French invasions of the Palatine in the late 17th century under Louis XIV (Weeks 1978: 5). The Neckar and Rhine river valleys were laid to waste through wars with Sweden, Holland, other Germanic states, and France from 1672-1714, with England joining these wars after 1689 (Garvant & Hummel 1982: 15). The French under Louis XIV invaded the Palatine as reprisals for their acceptance of French Huguenots and decimated the regions population. One estimate is that the population of this region declined from 500,000 to 50,000 between 1688 and 1697 (Weeks 1978: 7). Assistance to this region was minimal, although Queen Anne did supply food to Palatine German refugee camps which sprang up around Blackheath near London in 1709 (Yoder 1980: 108). There were three major waves of German emigration into Pennsylvania. The first were the followers of Francis Daniel Pastorius who came from the Kerfield region near the Netherlands border and settled around Germantown, Pennsylvania. The second wave was the Palatinate Exodus of 1709-1727. The final wave of emigration consisted of people from numerous German and Swiss provinces between 1727 and 1776 (Borie 1986: 4). Emigration was by a young population with half between the ages of 20-40 years. Approximately 75,000 migrated to Pennsylvania from 1683-1820. Southeastern Pennsylvania formed a German hinderland for the English merchants of Philadelphia. Access to world markets were then provided through Philadelphia and Lancaster (Swank 1983: 5-13).

The Palatine emigrants were seen as a distinct ethnic group early in American history. Benjamin Franklin was one of the earliest Anglo-Americans to write about the Palatine Boars or the German emigrants of Pennsylvania in 1753 (Yoder 1980: 109). He felt the German minority was taking over the culture of Pennsylvania through the use of their language represented by:

- 1) importing German books
- 2) teaching few of the children in the country English
- 3) of the 6 printing houses in the Province, 2 printed in German, 2 printed in English and 2 printed half and half
- 4) 1 strictly German newspaper and 1 that printed half German and English
- 5) general advertisements were both German and English
- 6) streets signs were either in both languages or in German
- 7) making own bonds and legal writings in German (1980: 109).

Franklin at that time urged the breaking up of emigrants as to be better incorporated into English settlements. German communities were associated with towns like Lancaster, York, Reading, Germantown, Bethlehem and the Oley Valley (Wolf 1976, Garvant & Hummel 1982, Swank 1983). These areas were noted for their knowledge of the world outside of their communities (Palmer 1818, Birkbeck 1818, Neff 1980). The Pennsylvania Gazette printed in Reading was reported to have had wide circulation in 1795. LaRocheffoucauld-Liancourt in his traveling account stated that there was great interest in the region in the daily news and political affairs (Garvant & Hummel 1982: 40).

In contrast to Franklin's account, an account by Jonas Gudehus who attempted to emigrate to America in 1822 shows German culture as being very subordinate to the Anglo-American culture (Neff 1980: 208-242). Gudehus had difficulty in finding Germans who would speak to him in German. Even those he did find used slang terms and intermixed English terms in their speech (1980: 209). The school at Germantown, Pennsylvania, had stopped teaching both languages and after 1821 taught only English (1980: 215), while the education of German was provided by the family within the home (1980: 298). The best example Gudehus gives for the dichotomy between the public and private sphere and the role language played was provided by his account of a walking trip through Gettysburg, Pennsylvania in 1823 (1980: 240). Gudehus had been told that the barber in Gettysburg had emigrated from the same region of Germany as he had. The barber, named Wasmus, would not speak to Gudehus in German but told him to wait. Gudehus had to wait for an hour and a half until all the English customers had left before

Wasmus would speak to him in German. Wasmus told Gudehus that "...you have to adapt to the people (Anglo-American)...To do everything, everything as the people here want it." (1980: 240). To succeed in Pennsylvania, one had to act Anglo-American in the public sphere. Wasmus would not even speak German in front of his English wife. The German language might be used at home but it was to be avoided in public. The image the Anglo-American community had of the Pennsylvania German was important within 19th century American culture.

As expressed by Don Yoder (1980: 105-123), three terms have been historically associated with the German emigrants and their descendants within Pennsylvania. These being Palatine, Hessian and Dutchman. The first was used as a generic, non-negative term to describe all German emigrants of the colonial period whether or not they were actually from the Rhenish Palatine and was in vogue until the late Eighteenth century. The other two terms were both derogatory and reflected a change in the attitudes toward German emigrants in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. Hessian referred to German mercenaries who aided the British during the Revolutionary War. Pennsylvania Germans tried to divorce themselves from the Hessian image, sometimes by changing to an English spelling of their last name (1980: 112).

The use of the term Pennsylvania German reflects current attempts to avoid the 19th and 20th centuries stereotypes associated with Pennsylvania "Dutch". For the English, Dutch original was the term for all peoples of the lower lands of north central Europe of the 15th and 16th centuries. The term Dutch did not become associated with only the Netherlands until after the United Provinces became independent in the 17th century (Yoder 1980: 123). The stereotype of the the "dumb dutchman" developed in the 1830's and 1840's over a struggle against Anglification through public schools. The concept of the "dumb dutch" was fueled by the "...resistence of public schools,... (by) proponents of rapid urbanization by depicting rural as ignorant..., (the) New England bias of late 19th and early 20th century historians," and the fear at the same time period of

ethnicity "...as a threat to Democracy..." (Swank 1983: 61). Other terms such as "cabbage-head" or "krauthead" were used to spread the image of the Pennsylvania German as dumb and drunk (Yoder 1980: 124). Pennsylvania "Dutch" did become the popular term to describe the folk art or craft industry associated with southeastern Pennsylvania of the early 20th century. German identity was then hidden from public life (Neff 1980:240).

Pennsylvania German culture can then be defined as the ethnic identity developed by the descendants of 1683 to 1776 Palatine emigrants. The foci of this culture was southeastern Pennsylvania and the adjoining colonies. Since "...children become American, not the Emigrant..." (Yoder 1980: 123), Pennsylvania German was a hybrid culture of German and Anglo-American. The material components of the Pennsylvania Germans then became the tools for maintaining traditional identity within the larger Anglo-culture. The members of this ethnic group saw themselves as Pennsylvania German and not as part of European German culture. Jonas Gudehas had felt isolated on his arrival to Pennsylvania because "the German American is among others the most (likely) to mock the German people and to make the German name disdainful...then called the Germans in general strawheads,...but (then) rather often go through much trouble to get German day laborers, servants and maids..." (Neff 1980: 281). Public display was then contradicted by the preferred behavior expressed in private.

Pennsylvania German identity was expressed in the home. Part of the definition for ethnic identity and boundary maintenance, is that members of the ethnic group take part in shared activities which reinforce identity (Barth 1969, Yinger 1976). For the historic archaeologist, material culture provides the best model for testing boundary maintenance by the Pennsylvania Germans. This is not to exclude the importance of the social sphere to ethnic identity, but merely to provide the most useful source for comparison.

There are many examples of social expression by Pennsylvania Germans. The burial habits of the Pennsylvania Germans expressed a difference from their English

counter parts. The English preferred to bury the dead on small plots contained on the family farm, while the Germans preferred burial in church plots (Neff 1980: 251). Dress was another form of social expression. Gudehus accounted that he "...saw from their clothing they were German immigrants..."(1980: 243) after meeting two men on the road. Plain clothing is still used by the Anabaptist sects (i.e. Amish, Mennonites) to express their social identities (Yoder 1953, Swank 1983). One noticeable distinction in social behavior was seen as the allowance of Pennsylvania German women to work at jobs considered to be male by Anglo-American standards (Palmer 1818). Pennsylvania German women could have been seen riding and driving horses, and even smoking cigars (Neff 1980: 257). Timothy Dwight the president of Yale University in 1800 was shocked when he found these women dressing flax and raking hay (Yoder 1980: 111).

Many studies have been done on aspects of the social lives of the Pennsylvania Germans. Some of these include studies of their minority status (Parsons 1976), their dialect (Reichard 1915, Huffines 1984), folk songs (Buffington 1974), their expressions of ethnicity (Barone 1986, Homrighaus 1986) and their ties to communities in Virginia (Smith et.al. 1964, Wust 1969, Fromm 1987). Much work has been devoted to religion (Barnes 1983, Kring 1983), the Amish (Hostetler 1980, Gougler 1981, Hopple 1981), the Lutheran and Reformed churches (Glatfelter 1980), the Anabaptists (Miller 1983), Anabaptist persecution (Trace 1984) and to community and rural life (Lemon 1972, Lewis 1972, Kessler 1973, Wolf 1976, Zelinsky 1977, Hostetler 1980).

What might have been the most important social behavior, was that of the celebrations of holidays. For the Pennsylvania Germans, Christmas and Easter were important holidays even prior to 1875 when they became national holidays (Lasansky 1982: 50). One part of the Christmas celebration was the custom of "barring out". Students would lock out the school teacher and demand large quantities of cookies as a ransom (1982: 64). The school teacher then supplied the children with cookies. Food, especially holiday treats and associated utensils, were an important part of Pennsylvania

German identity. Tinware objects were important household objects for food preparation and included graters for horse radish and sauerkraut, and tin cheese molds were popular in the 19th century. An egg cheese dish called "tsiarkase" was important to the Easter celebration (1982: 45). The cheese mold was usually heart shaped, although they could also be oblong, diamond shaped or round(1982: 48). For Christmas, there was usually a tin house under the Christmas tree, some with working water fountains. Tin cookie cutters were also important and made from tin scraps. Two type of cookie exclusively made for Christmas were the "Lebkuchen" a dark, thick and chewy ginger cookie and a thin, white cookie which was rolled out and cut into shapes. Lebkuchen cookies were mentioned in association with Christmas celebration as early as 1793 in Philadelphia's Federal Gazette. During the year, cookies had simple geometric shapes but on holidays the shapes were more important. Alfred A. Shoemaker's oral history research found references to cookies in the shapes of pretty girls, large horses, rabbits, stars, stags and some patriotic motifs such as eagles and "Uncle Sams" (Lasansky 1982: 50-54). Another tinware item in the household was the pie safe. A pie safe was a wooden cabinet with tin door panels which were perforated to allow air circulation. A safe could be free standing or suspended from the ceiling and the tin perforation represented distinctive motifs. For the Pennsylvania Germans, these motifs were usually tulips, hearts, swirling crosses, birds or geometric shapes (1982: 48). A ceramic item important to the Pennsylvania Germans was the turkshead mold. This mold was used for fancy puddings or ring-shaped cakes as part of holiday celebrations (Powell 1972: 7). Holiday celebrations represent some of the shared activities of the Pennsylvania Germans.

Material items which have been studied in terms of the Pennsylvania German influence include quilts (Graeff 1946, Bath 1979, Safanda 1980), family farms (Bressler 1955, Long 1972), flails (Borie 1986), decorated chests (Fraser 1925), cabinetwork (Morse 1970), furniture (Weiser & Sullivan 1973), ceramics (Bivins 1972, Wiltshire 1975, Schwind 1983), barns (Dornbusch 1958, Schreider 1967, Glassie 1968),

architecture (Millar 1928, Brumbaugh 1933, Williams & Williams 1957, Lawton 1969, Lawton 1973, Kauffman 1975, Weeks 1978) and architecture and town planning (Murtagh 1967, Pillsbury 1970). In Henry Glassie's book Patterns in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States (1968), he denotes Pennsylvania German patterns for such items as frakturs (p.43), chairs (p.11), sgraffito redware pottery (p.46), conestoga wagons (p.47), bake ovens (p.8), dulcimers (p.79) and buildings (p.145). Glassie's work expresses the range of material culture influenced by the Pennsylvania Germans although more recent studies have contradicted some of his notions on house types (Jordan 1984), barns (Ensiminger 1980) and the spread of cultural traits (Gough 1983, Fromm 1987). Other material culture studies of Pennsylvania Germans include cookery (Frederick 1935, Robacker 1946, Yoder 1961, Hutchison 1966, Stayer 1984, Gehris 1985), baskets (Reinert 1946, Shaner 1964), kitchens (Landis 1938), bakeovens (Long 1964), dress (Yoder 1953, Hershey 1958, Huyett 1961), stoves (Mercer 1914), coverlets (Reinert 1949), folk art (Robacker 1944, Kauffman 1946, Stoudt 1966, Smith 1966, Smith 1968, Richman 1978, Barons 1982, Merrill 1982), frakturs (Borneman 1937, Shelley 1961), Pennsylvania rifle (Kauffman 1960, Kindig 1960) and the conestoga wagon (Coulson 1948). More recent studies included textiles (Gehret & Keyser 1976, Crosson 1978), tableware (Shaner 1980), furniture (Snyder 1976, Keyser et.al. 1978, Fanelli 1979, Shea 1980, Weiser & Sullivan 1980, Forman 1983), chairs (Kindig 1978), chests (Fabian 1978), beds (Keyser 1978), inlay in furniture (Fabian 1977), house types (Lewis 1975, Pillsbury 1977, Jordan 1980, Kauffman 1982, Lay 1982, Milspaw 1983, Cook 1985), barn types (Ensiminger 1980, Noble & Seymour 1982, Ensiminger 1983, Glass 1986), fences and walls (Noble & Danis 1983) and building materials (Noble 1984). These types of items have usually been studied as individual units and little has been done to tie these elements together to form a definition of Pennsylvania German material culture.



Pennsylvania German ethnicity was also reflected in house types. The late 18th and early 19th centuries house styles were that of a Germanic rather than an English Georgian style (Swank 1983: 22) and reflected a crossing of medieval types and Protestant plainness. From 1798 Direct Tax, German townships domestic architecture was mostly log. Of the Pennsylvania German heartland, 55 to 60% of the houses were one-story log structures, with the exception to this rule occurring along the eastern fringe of the heartland and the larger towns. The Pennsylvania German landscape of 1798 can be defined in terms of houses which were one-story stone at the base and one or two story square log above (1983: 25). The log component of the structures represented an ethnic and economic marker (1983: 27). For domestic buildings of persons with similar wealth, the Pennsylvania German would have "...more commodious living accommodations..." (1983: 32) than his neighbors but would have used less expensive building materials and had far less household furniture. Occasionally the stone farmhouse would be part of a complex with a forge, furnace, mill, or inn etc. By the 1830's, the house type within the Pennsylvania German heartland was becoming more English in its architecture (1983: 30).

For this study, the most useful definition of Pennsylvania German material culture is that provided by Scott Swank (1983). Swank's definition is based on proxemic patterns expressed within probate inventories and tax return records; and it is this definition which will form the bases for testing the cultural identity of Franklin County tanners.

"Most German farmers and artisans, regardless of creed, put money into land, livestock, bonds, and notes rather than into houses and household goods." (Swank 1983: 47). This statement was based on research conducted by Swank on Berks and Lancaster Counties, Pennsylvania. Swank relied on two types of data to develop his proxemic pattern model. He first relied on modern analogy based on 1978 and 1979 fieldwork among several members of the Old Order Amish community near Lancaster,

Pennsylvania (1983: 36). From this research, Swank developed what he referred to as an Amish recipe for those furnishings needed for the starting of a household. The Amish still practice a custom of gifting gifts to adolescent boys and girls to prepare them for life on their own. This recipe consists of a bed, bedding, a set of chairs, a chest or chest of drawers and a team of horses (1983: 40). This custom and the importance of these furnishings has also been studied in terms of 18th century Pennsylvania German culture (Kessler 1973, Fabian 1976, Keyser 1978, Matthews 1983). Swank then relies on his studies of "...several hundred inventories from Berks and Lancaster Counties..." (Swank 1983: 40) to demonstrate that these furnishings are represented in Pennsylvania German inventories. These inventories form a constant framework with detailed lists of all personal items: cash, apparel, tools, livestock, household furnishings and outstanding notes and bonds (1983: 43). Swank delineates this pattern by outlining approximately twenty examples of Pennsylvania German inventories of the 18th and early 19th centuries. Despite being successful in an economic sense, each generation retained the pattern of not investing in consumer goods. The sharpest contrast between the Pennsylvania Germans and their Anglo neighbors was that "...only the more Anglicized German or the extremely well-to-do participated in the proliferation of household goods which by the 1760's and 1770's was characterizing town life and English Colonial society in general..." (1983: 48). This proxemic pattern was also expressed within historical accounts of the day. From his travel account of 1794, Theophile Cazenove estimated that a French farmer had four times the amount of household furniture than a Pennsylvania German farmer (Kelsey 1922: 42). The framework probate inventories provide allow for the development of a model of Pennsylvania German material culture.

The Pennsylvania German proxemic pattern represents a comparative model. Swank used three sampling methods for studying probate inventories. He took two random samples. The first being all pre-1830 inventories based on certain letters of the alphabet and then all inventories from A to Z at regular time intervals from 1730 to 1830.

This sampling method was designed to provide a representation simply regardless of time, space and class lines (Swank 1983: 45-6). Swank's third category was more deliberate with the inclusion of inventories of known political and economic leaders and craftsman (1983: 47). A sample of the percentage value of household items for typical Pennsylvania German inventories are provided here on Table 1.

**Table 1**  
Examples of Pennsylvania German probate inventories and the percentage value of household furnishings.

	<u>Net worth of Inventory</u>	<u>Net worth of Household Goods</u>	<u>Percentage of total Spent on Household</u>
<u>Lancaster County</u>			
Abraham Herr III 1824	52,557	180	.3%
John Carpenter 1786	1188	35	3%
Jacob Carpenter 1784	584	25	4%
Casper Walter 1734	180	8	4%
Hans Graff (Groff) 1746	620	30	5%
Christian Musselman 1734	173	8	5%
Rudoff Heller 1734	87	6	7%
John George Camer 1734 (Cramer)	178	16	9%
Jacob Hostetler 1761	247	25	10%
<u>Berks County</u>			
Jacob Allweins 1781	877	13	1%
Michael Rith (Reith) 1754	693	10	2%
Jacob Weikert 1755	310	10	3%
Christian Althouse 1788	245	20	8%

(Swank 1983: 43-7).

These are some of the examples from Lancaster and Berks Counties which Swank used to support his proxemic pattern. The Pennsylvania German inventory is then represented by the fact that less than ten percent of the total inventory is comprised of the household furnishings. This lower percentage represents the lower cultural value placed on household furnishings and was the result of the Pennsylvania Germans non-consumption of expensive personal items which many of their Anglo-American counter parts were.

Probate inventories provide a proxemic pattern of household furnishings which represent cultural values. This should not be construed in terms of simplicity but as a

cultural value expressed by the Pennsylvania German proxemic pattern (Swank 1983: 53-6). Simplicity usually refers to stylistic forms preferred by a cultural group. The proxemic model based on inventories does not deal with style but with the cultural value placed on household furnishings. In terms of style, Pennsylvania German interiors could probably be described as flamboyant (1983: 54). Some Pennsylvania German interiors were noted to have been colored in a polychromed effect with colors ranging from black, blue, red, green and yellow. Jonas Gudehus in 1823 also notes the brightly colored interiors of Pennsylvania German homes (Neff 1980: 217). The home furnishings were of low monetary value not because of the styles but more the materials used. The Germans tended to prefer painted furniture made of soft woods like pine and poplar rather than unpainted furniture made out of hard woods like walnut or mahogany (Snyder 1976, Fabian 1977, Fanelli 1979, Shea 1980, Swank 1983). As stated earlier for the Pennsylvania German pattern, the basic household items would be clocks, beds, and clothespresses (wardrobes), with the clock and bed representing important ethnic markers. The clock in many cases represented one third of the total value of home furnishings and reflected the 18th century desire to monitor time. Nearly all Pennsylvania German households had clocks unlike their English neighbors (1983: 50). For John Carpenter (Earl twsp, Lancaster Co., d.1786), the clock he possessed accounted for 11 pounds sterling out of a total of 35 pounds worth of household furnishings and a total inventory of 1,188 pounds, 17 schillings and 3 pence. Carpenter represented the norm for the basic Pennsylvania German pattern (1983: 50). Carpenter's inventory can be contrasted by the more Anglo-American type inventory pattern of John Weiser. John Weiser (Heidelberg Twsp, Berks Co., d.1776) had what would be English type household goods such as a map, pictures, armchair, teacups, china bowl, tea boy, sugar bowl, mustard pot and more expensive items like walnut furniture, a looking glass and silver items (1983: 49). For the Pennsylvania German, these items were of lesser value from a cultural stand point as they placed value in limited furnishings (Matthews 1983).

Matthew based this assumption on inheritance patterns from 120 wills from Berks County, Pennsylvania. Family Bibles and fraktur were also important markers as these items expressed personal identity (Garvant & Hummel 1982: 71). From Swank's model, the Anglo-American proxemic pattern would be represented by more than 10% of the total inventory in household furnishings and this percentage directly related to the presence tea furniture, silver items and furniture made from hard woods.

The Pennsylvania Germans did not acquire luxury items like tea sets, silver items, china or mahogany furniture. This was not because of a lack of economic ability but because their Pennsylvania German lifestyle was "...comfortable by their non Anglo-American standards..." (Swank 1983: ix). In Cazenove's Journal 1794, he reported that prosperous farmers had little regard for the necessary comforts of life. Within the Cumberland Valley (including Franklin County), he wrote that the Irish were teaching the Germans to enjoy more comforts which included Anglo-American clothing styles (1983: 29). Swank's proxemic patterns were reflected in both urban and rural Pennsylvania German inventories from 1730 through the 1770s. Changes in this pattern start appearing in the towns of Lancaster and Reading in the 1760s through the 1780s (1983: 50). Acculturation was more active in the rural setting of the two counties by the 1790's, after the Revolutionary War, as English goods such as teaware, mahogany furniture, silver, pictures, rocking chairs and umbrellas became available through the public sales of Tory properties. The Pennsylvania Germans were willing to accept English forms and styles, but only those of lower monetary value (1983: 53-58). By the beginning of the 19th century, the Pennsylvania German proxemic pattern had basically become a rural pattern within Lancaster and Berks Counties.

For this study, the personal inventory and the percentage represented by household furnishings reflect boundary maintenance on the part of the Pennsylvania Germans. This should be especially true for a craftsman or artisan for two reasons. The basic need for any cultural craftsman to assimilate into the larger culture for

economic survival and the large numbers of Pennsylvania Germans employed within craft positions. As Wasmus, the Gettysburg barber said, the artisan or business person had "...To do...everything as the people (Anglo-Americans) here want it" (Neff 1980: 240). In the public sphere, ethnic identity had to be hidden or at the least down played. As Gudehus stated in 1823, the Pennsylvania Germans who succeeded were those persons who "...rightly understand the art of getting into the good graces of the American country people, of flattering their childish vanity, of praising them to their face, of elevating America up to the heavens and by contrast of describing their German fatherland as a hell, of cursing their governments and constitutions and of presenting the American by contrast as divine." (1980: 282). For the businessman or artisan to survive economically, he had to be "...able to strip off the German skin and to pull on an American (skin)" (1980: 213). The private sphere or the household became the area of Pennsylvania German life where the ethnic identity could be retained.

One notion of the Pennsylvania Germans has been that "...virtually all American Germans were farmers..." (Lay 1982:3). That was not true for the towns within the Pennsylvania German heartland such as Germantown (Wolf 1976), Reading (Becker 1978) and Lancaster (Swank 1983). Between 1759 and 1788, two thirds of the population of Lancaster and Reading were made up of Germans and 60% of all those appearing on the tax returns were occupied as craftspersons (Swank 1983: 12-13). The impetus around these communities was toward artisan verses agrarian occupations. This was true for Germantown from 1680-1750 and for Reading, Lancaster and York by the 1770s-1780s (Becker 1978: 26). Pennsylvania German culture can not be effectively expressed as strictly a rural culture within the a larger American culture.

As stated earlier any artisan could be studied, the tanner was especially important in the Pennsylvania German heartland. In 1759, Lancaster was a important leather-working center. Of the 249 artisans listed on tax returns, the largest percentage (26%) were employed in leather-working: 34 shoe makers and 19 saddlers (Swank 1982: 13).

Tanners supplied a valuable resource for the rest of the community. The Pennsylvania German tanner should be similar to Anglo-American in the process for tanning and in the make up of the tannery operation. This is the public sphere in which he must appease the larger culture. At the same time, his personal inventory should demonstrate the distinctive Pennsylvania German proxemic pattern outlined in this chapter.

### CHAPTER III THE PRE-INDUSTRIAL TANNING PROCESS: 1750-1850

In order to understand the material culture requirements of a 19th century tanner, one must first review the processes available for the production of leather. In many ways, the tanning process on the verge of the 19th century was a tradition orientated craft experiencing the influences of scientific research stemming from the Enlightenment movement of the 18th century. The centuries of gradual development and variation were giving way to the new science. The time period from 1750 to 1850 covers the transition from the medieval methods up to the introduction of chrome leather, i.e. mineral tanning, which is the basic process still used today (Waterer 1956, Weiss 1959, Welsh 1964). This time period reflects changes in thought and science (Artz 1968, Strayer & Gatzke 1984), and in the scientific understanding of the tanning itself (Dobson 1798, Thomson 1818, Gregory 1818, Bigelow 1829, Thomlinson 1852). With this in mind, a definition of the production of leather will follow with a history of leather leading up to the 18th century and some of the research being done after 1750.

The skins of animals have been a resource for man since Paleolithic times. This exploitation of hides is documented in the archaeological record by many of the stone scrapers early man left behind. By the time of the rise of city states in the Tigris-Euphrates and Nile river valleys, people were already using the three basic methods for processing hides (Waterer 1956, Plenderleith 1971, Lockhart-Smith 1974). The skins of animals consist of several basic elements. These being water, fats, proteins, minerals and carbohydrates (Thomson 1818, Spotts 1973). To produce leather, it is the fibrous dermis or corium which is used. The epidermis and the hair surrounding the dermis is removed (Dobson 1798, & Waterer 1956). The useful layer of derma was also referred to as the



catis and consists of interwoven, irregular fibres (Bigelow 1829:37). The protein of the derma layer consists of 95% collagen. Collagen is a gelatin-like substance or glue which can be obtained from hides which are boiled above 140° (F). Leather is resistant to boiling since the collagen is replaced in the tanning process (Spotts 1973:5-6).

Obviously, not all hides were the same. According to Dobson's 1798 Encyclopedia, in England three types of leather were recognized. These being butt or back leather which came from oxen, hide leather which came from cows or light oxen, or skin leather which referred to practically everything else from calves, dogs, goats, seals, deer, hogs, dolphin, etc. (Dobson 1798:306-8).

If a hide was to be removed from a carcass and allowed to dry on its own, the hide would become stiff and would lack a resistance to both water and decay. To prevent this, three basic methods have been used by man since recorded time. These methods were currying (or curing), tawing and tanning. Leather was created through one process or a combination of these processes (Bigelow 1829:486-8). Between the 11th and the 19th centuries, three basic types of materials were utilized in these leather processes. Oils, minerals, and vegetable materials were used to consolidate the hides. The use of oils to treat hides was usually referred to as currying, although the term could also have been used to refer to smoking the hides. Tawing of hides was done with alum, an aluminum salt. Modern leather is produced with the use of chrome salts. The use of vegetable material was by far the most popular method of producing leather in the 17th, 18th and early 19th century. The use of tannic acid from tree bark was the method properly referred to as tanning (Waterer 1956:147-155). To provide a better understanding of the pre-industrial tanning process, each of these methods will be described briefly.

Bigelow defined currying as the covering of hides with oils to form leather. The oils would penetrate the pores, providing the hides with suppleness and rendering them nearly waterproof. A hide treated in this manner would have the hair and flesh pared off,

be washed and then rubbed with oil (Bigelow 1829:487). The oldest surviving examples of leathers treated this way come from Egyptian tombs. The earliest oils used for currying were animal oils extracted from the brains and livers of the skinned animals (Waterer 1956: 147-9). A method similar to this was still being practiced by the native peoples of North America at the time of European contact. The Crow Indians would first soak the skins in lye made from ash to remove the hair. After scraping off the hair, they would then rub the brains onto the skins. The skins were finished by smoking them in a tent with the smoke from rotten wood (Catlin 1845:45). This method was also used by the early French and English settlers (Lippincott 1914:33). While curriers in some cases still operated separately in the 19th century, the major application of the currying method was as a final stage of vegetable tanned leather (Dobson 1798, Welsh 1964, Weiss 1959, Waterer 1956).

A second method for treating hides was that of tawing. Tawing was usually defined as the method which left the leather white or light tan. This was opposed to the red or brown appearance produced by tannin or tannic acid (Bigelow 1829:488). Alum was the earliest recorded material used in tawing or mineral tanning. Evidence has been found that the use of alum dates at least as far back as the early Egyptians (Waterer 1956:149). Due to the delicate nature of the leather sought by the tawer, skins were used rather than the heavier hides or butts. Sheep, goat, dog and deer skins were usually made into tawed leather. By the 8th century, the Spanish had developed cordovan leather. This leather was produced by a combined process of tanning with summac bark and then tawing with alum (1956: 150). By the late 18th and early 19th centuries the process of tawing had been refined to the following:

- 1) The skin was cleaned and soaked in lime solution to remove the hair and to allow fulling (which is the swelling which will allow the skin to be impregnated with the alum). Afterwards the hair was scraped off over a beam.
- 2) The skin was then soaked in fermented wheat bran, alum and common salt.

- 3) The skin was once again filled with wheat bran and egg yolks (Bigelow 1829:488).
- 4) After "feeding", as the above stage was called, the skins were placed into shallow tubs where they would be trodden. The skin was then hung and allowed to dry for several weeks.
- 5) The skin would finally be staked or stretched out and worked with a "lunette" to finish the surface and to force out any feeding material that might have remained (Waterer 1956:155).

By 1593, oil had replaced alum as the preferred material to be used in this process. This delicate leather would be used for fine gloves or wall hangings. By the beginning of the 19th century, most leather was either tanned with vegetable material and curried or it was tawed depending on the type of animal and the finished leather's intended use.

The most common method for producing leather during the Middle Ages and the Post-medieval period of European history was that of vegetable tanning. Simply defined, "the tanning process aims at separating these fibres without damaging them, thereby making the leather pliable without lowering its tensile strength" (Spotts 1973:5). The collagen of the epidermis of an animal is made up of fibres surrounded by fat. Strength and flexibility were accomplished due to the fact that the fat was removed from the dermis layer. This was then replaced with the astringent, vegetable tannin which would then combine with the collagen to form a new substance. In this synthetic state, leather is water resistant and durable (Bigelow 1829:487).

The process for creating tanned leather had four basic steps. These simply consisted of the washing, dehairing, tanning and the finishing of the hides (Welsh 1964:19). From these four basic steps, a great deal of individual and regional variation was possible (Dobson 1798:308). Procedural variation could also be influenced by the type of animal skin or hide being processed, and the intended use of the finished leather. Sole leather was tanned and made from oxen. Upper shoe leather was also tanned from oxen but shaved thinner and also curried. Cow hides were usually tanned and curried, but occasionally they were just curried. Skins would have been occasionally tanned, in

the case of morocco leather, but it was more common to have tawed and curried them (Dobson 1798, Bigelow 1829, Welsh 1964, Waterer 1956). To demonstrate the variations possible within the tanning process, several historic sources expressing differences in method between butt leathers and between butt, hide and skin leather will be cited.

The following two procedures will demonstrate the variations possible within a particular region, that of England, for producing butt leather. These English methods were recorded within two dictionaries of the 18th century. The first process is from the 1754 A New and Complete Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences which described a process used in the outlying villages of England (Owen 1754: 3096). The second process to be repeated here is from the Encyclopedia edited by Thomas Dobson in 1798. He states that this represented the practice being used within London proper as opposed to the varied process within the outlying areas and that it also reflected improvements developed in the second half of the 18th century (Dobson 1798: 306).

Before any tanning process could be implemented, an animal had to be slaughtered and the hides removed. The butcher fleshed the carcass and the back was then treated with sea-salt, saltpeter or alum to prevent spoiling during the transportation to the tanning house (Owens 1754: 3096-7). Once the back reached the tanner, he would proceed through the four basic steps in this way:

- 1) First, the tanner would remove the horns, ears and tails from the back and then place the back in running water (ie. river or stream) for 30 hours to remove the blood, salts and impurities.
- 2) The back was then placed into a used (weak) lime pit overnight, then allowed to dry next to the pit for 3 or 4 days.
- 3) The back was then placed in a "strong" lime pit for 2 days, then allowed to dry for 4 days.
- 4) For the next 6 weeks, the back was first placed into and then taken out of a "strong" lime pit twice a week.
- 5) The back was then placed in fresh lime for 8 days and allowed to dry

for 8 days. This process was repeated over a period of 12 to 18 months. In hot weather, fresh lime was required every second week. When frost was on the ground, the pits would be left alone for 3 months. During this entire series, the back would be scraped over a wooden leg or horse at 4, 5, or 6 week intervals.

- 6) After all the hair was removed, the back was washed in running water and scraped over a horse. Then the back was rubbed with a wet-stone to remove the water and lime.
- 7) The backs were layed in the tanning vats one at a time and layered with tanbark between each back. Water was then allowed into the vat. The backs would be removed and the tannin's strength increased 5 times for strong backs and 3 to 5 times for weaker backs.
- 8) The back was then allowed to air dry and were stretched out by weights in a moderate place, usually the attic of the shop (1754: 3096-3097).

The above method would take at the least one year and more likely two years to complete the leather.

The tanning process was effected by the new science developing in the 18th century. During the 1780's, attempts were made to both improve and shorten tanning. Several English scholars were analyzing the chemical process involved with the creation of leather (MacBride 1769, MacBride 1778, Davy 1803, Thomson 1818). As a result of these by 1798, English tanners were able to produce back leather in less time (Dobson 1798: 308). Dobson's account may not only reflect a regional variation but also a temporal variation within the production of back leather. After the backs arrived at the tanning house:

- 1) The backs were layed out in heaps and allowed to decay for several days. In the summer, this was only done for 1 or 2 days, but in the winter 5 or 6 days were required.
- 2) Next the backs were left to hang on poles in a smokehouse where wet, used tan was added to the fire to aid putrefaction.
- 3) The next stage was the "beaming" or scraping the backs over a horse. This was done with a crooked knife over a wooden horse or beam.
- 4) The backs were cleaned in a pit or pool of water.
- 5) The backs were beamed again to remove grease, flesh and filth.

- 6) After cleaning and beaming, the backs were placed in pits called "letches" or "taps". These pits contained a strong liquor called "wooze" or "ooze" which consisted of an infusing of ground tree bark and water. The ground bark solution itself was termed "colouring" since it turned the leather dark brown rather than its natural light tan.
- 7) The backs were then placed into pits called "scowerings". These consisted of a strong solution of rye, barley or vitriolic (sulfuric) acid and water. This solution would cause "raising" which distended the pores of the backs and aided in the impregnation by the colouring.
- 8) The next pit, the "binder", had the backs placed in with layers of bark separating each back. The backs would remain in the binder from 4 to 6 weeks. The oldest used bark on the property would be used to make this ooze.
- 9) The backs would be removed and the pits drained. The backs would then be returned to the binder and a stronger ooze would cover them for 2 or 3 months.
- 10) Step 9 was repeated and the backs would remain in a new stronger ooze from 4 to 5 months.
- 11) Step 9 was again repeated and the backs remained in this the strongest ooze for 3 months.
- 12) The backs were removed from the binder and hung on poles to dry.
- 13) The backs were then compressed by the use of steel pins and beaten smooth with wooden hammers called "beatles" (Dobson 1798: 306).

These two methods differ in the processes used to complete the four basic steps defined earlier. The major difference may be that of the time required for the dehairing of the backs and for their tanning. There is no evidence to determine if the use of a smokehouse (Dobson 1798) rather than lime vats (Owens 1754) represent new innovations in the dehairing step or regional difference. It does appear that the smokehouse method shortened the time required, but Dobson does not state this explicitly. A single smokehouse, as opposed to a series of lime vats in the ground, might require less space in an urban (Dobson 1798) rather than a rural (Owens 1754) setting.

Both works also differ in the method for tanning the second class of leathers; those made from cow hides rather than oxen backs. From Owens's work, the time needed to dehair hides was 4 months rather than the possible 18 months for backs. The tanning of the hides also took less time and this was accomplished by:

- 1) A vat or pit was filled with cold water and the hides were placed in and stirred. Luke warm water from a kettle was then added. A basket of tannin was also stirred into the vat. This solution was stirred for an hour and then the hides soaked in cold water for a day.
- 2) The hides were then returned to the same vat and left there for 8 days.
- 3) The hides were then covered 3 times with tannin solutions of increasing strengths. After the first change, they were left to stand for 5 weeks and then 6 weeks after the second change. The hides stood 8 weeks with the final change.
- 4) The hides were allowed to dry on poles and were ready for the finishing stage of currying (Owens 1754: 3097).

Dobson's account for tanning hides was as follows:

- 1) The hides were first washed in running water.
- 2) Hides were then soaked in a pit of lime and water for a few days.
- 3) The hides were scraped over a beam and then washed.
- 4) The hides were beamed to remove flesh and grease.
- 5) The hides were then soaked in a weak ooze for 1 week. During this time, the hides were taken up and put back down 2 or 3 times daily. This was termed "handling" and was done to mix the ooze into the hides.
- 6) Next the hides would be switched to a fresh ooze pit every second or third day over a 4 to 6 week period.
- 7) The hides were placed into a stronger ooze for 2 or 3 months. At this stage, the hides were handled once or twice weekly.
- 8) The hides were placed into a pit called a "layer" where they were laid out flat and seperated by a layer of ground bark. The hides remained in the layer for 2 or 3 months.
- 9) Step 8 was repeated with a fresh supply of ground bark and left for 2 or 3 months.
- 10) The hides were then dried on poles.

- 11) The hides were smoothed and extra tannin was removed by the use of steel pinned rollers and a beetle hammer.
- 12) The hides would then be curried unless they were heavy enough to be used as sole leather, in which case they required no finishing (Dobson 1798: 306-7).

Dobson's Encyclopedia also outlined a process for the tanning of skins. While skins were usually tawed for use as gloves or washing cloths, skins were also tanned for a variety of uses including aprons for coaches. The process for tanning skins differed from that of backs or hides. The process was as follows:

- 1) The skins were washed as the first step.
- 2) The skins were placed into lime pits for 3 weeks where they were handled every 3 or 4 days.
- 3) The skins would then be scraped over a beam and washed.
- 4) The skins were soaked in a pit called a "grainer" or "mastring". This pit would contain a strong alkaline lye made from water and pigeon-dung. The skins would remain in the grainer from 7 to 10 days. The skins would again be scraped over a beam to remove grease, lime and sapornaceous material (organisms that grow on decaying flesh) (Dobson 1798: 307-308). This process was also known as "bating" (Waterer 1956, Welsh 1964).
- 5) The skins were placed into a weak ooze for 4 to 6 weeks. Then skins would be handled and the ooze slowly strengthened.
- 6) The skins were placed into strong ooze for 2 or 3 months.
- 7) The skins were hung on poles to dry and were then finished by a currier. Such skins could be used for upper leather on shoes and boots (Dobson 1798: 308).

The most apparent of the 18th century innovations in the tanning process was probably that of "bating". The method of bating appears to have been developed as a way of giving special leathers the ability to be stretched and to be soft. Bating would reduce the raising or swelling caused by the lime solution as it effected the thinner, weaker and more delicate skins. These skins were already susceptible to impregnation by the ooze, unlike the heavier backs. While removing the lime, the process also removed other impurities that might discolor the skins (Waterer 1956: 152). Leather which was



not properly treated would develop a whitish streak or horn in the middle of the hide or skin. This leather could only be used for sole leather which was less valuable than the other types of leathers (Owen 1754: 517). Bating could be done with either a cold infusion in poultry-pigeon dung or in a warm infusion in dog-dung (Waterer 1956: 152).

It was stated at the beginning of this chapter that the second half of the 18th century was effected by the scientific research which attempted to understand the physical world. Research was then done to understand what was happening during the tanning process. The terms tannin, tannic acid and tanning may not have come into use until after 1750 (Thomlinson 1818: 159). These terms appear to have been developed by French chemists such as Deyeux and Seguin from their research on the production of leather from hides (1818: 159). In 1765, the Society of the Arts in London granted a premium of one hundred pounds for the discovery of a method of tanning using oak sawdust (Dobson 1798: 308). By that time, oak sawdust had been used by some tanners in Germany (Spotts 1973: 8). Other English research on the process included MacBride's innovations on the process. MacBride purposed the use of lime water in the bark vat to create both swelling and impregnation at the same time, thus using the lime as a direct catalyst (MacBride 1769, MacBride 1778). This cut the time required within the bark or tannin stage from twelve to four months. The English, at this time, developed a method for reducing the amount of time needed for backs and heavier hides. They exploited a formula used by the "bleachers of linen" of  $\{H_2 SO_4\}$  as a "raising" agent in the tanning process. This allowed a third of the time to be saved from the tannin impregnation. They also began the use of a sour liquor of rye to aid in the impregnation of sole or back leather (Welsh 1964: 21-26). A Mr. Ashton recieved the first patent for a mineral tanning agent on January 16th, 1794. Ashton developed a method for using the dross of coal pits as a replacement for vegetable tanning. He also suggested using sulphur-stone or pyrites as the impregnation agent as an alternative to coal dross. Other Englishmen were also experimenting with red ochre and yellow ferruginous earth (Dobson 1798: 308). Another

material which was being used by German tanners and which was being chemically tested were nutgalls. Nutgalls are insect excretions which form on oak leaves or trunks from the eggs of the insects. An Englishman, Dr. Lewis, determined that nutgalls worked as well as bark because of the presence of tannin and gallic acids. He was also able to isolate a resin substance from the galls that "...precipitates black with iron oxides..." (Thomson 1818: 159). Dr. Lewis had been able to isolate the specific constituent which had made nutgalls valuable to dyers and tanners. Dyers for several centuries had used nutgalls to darken linen and leathers. The understanding of the chemical reactions involved in these traditional practices lead to further research on the development of artificial tannins. A list of 18th century dissertations or treatise on tanning would include works by Proust, Sir Humphrey Davy, David Macbride, Fiedler, Richter, Karl Meidinger, Merat Guillot and Bouillin Lagrange. Before 1818, these men had succeeded in breaking down tannin to its atomic weight {26.875} and to define tannin as 9 hydrogen atoms, 18 carbon atoms and 12 oxygen atoms {H9 C18 O12} (1818: 167). The chemical reactions within the tanning process were studied and defined. They had developed an understanding that lime reacted with the cuticles or hairs on a hide and left them brittle. This allowed the tanner to break the cuticles from the hide through the beaming action (1818: 364). From these experiments, the tanning process was refined into the method still employed at present. The modern method being the use of chemicals and mineral tanning to achieve what the vegetable tannins once did.

To finish a review of the 18th century tanning process, the final stage or step of the process will be explained. The final stage of finishing was also termed currying. A tanner could do the currying on site, house a separate currier or have the leather shipped to a currier (Franklin Co. Tax Records, Bryant 1891, Gillispie 1959). The leather was usually from 4 to 6 millimeters in thickness when it came to the currier. The currier would have to shave part of the flesh side of the hide in order for the leather to be useable

to the leather workers (Waterer 1956: 152). After the proper thickness was achieved, a currier would proceed to:

- 1) work the leather with a wet-stone or "slicker" which removed the water and extra tannin like a squeegee (Bryon 1988).
- 2) oil the leather and trodden it under foot to work in the oil. It was then beaten with a special wooden mallet called a "bigorne" or "beatle".
- 3) stretch the leather on a frame and rub it with a disk, shaped "lunette" which removed impurities and leveled the surface of the leather.
- 4) work the excess oil out and the leather was grained with a "slicker" and "pommel" (Waterer 1956: 152-4).

From the currier, the finished leather would be shipped to those craftsmen who were leather workers like shoe wrights, harness makers and tailors. Leather was not the only part of animal to be exploited. The tanner would save the horns, hoofs, and flesh that come with the backs or hides and dry these in an attic. The horns would be sold to be used for buttons or combs, while the flesh, hoofs and scrap pieces of the hides would be boiled to produce glue. The hair beamed from the hides would be sold to plasterers to be mixed into mortar (Spotts 1973: 36) or to upholsters to be used for padding in furniture (Gillispie 1959).

While variation is present in the basic methods used for tanning (Owen 1754, Dobson 1798, Thomson 1818, Bigelow 1829), the current data available on the technological process of tanning has been influenced by scale, temporal and regional factors. Ethnic identity does not appear to be a major factor at the level of technology. A German depiction of the tanning process was produced by Jost Ammon and Hans Sachs in their Book on the Trades of Nuremburg printed in 1568. Ammon and Sachs provide a wood carving of "der lader" or a tanner scraping a hide over a beaming horse with a curved knife. The accompanying narrative stated that "...the tanner soaks the hides in a stream, throws them into lime, leaves them a long time in the tan, then dries them on poles" (Rifkin 1973: 64). The overall technology for tanning was a generalized process

practiced in all parts of Europe since the 11th century (Waterer 1956). The tanning process is therefore part of the public sphere of a tanner and represents the general view of the culture rather than the ethnic view of the individual. To locate ethnic boundaries within a 19th century craft, that craft must be dealt with at a micro-level or private level. The final chapter of this thesis will further stress and support this point.

CHAPTER IV  
ETHNIC IDENTITY WITHIN A PRE-INDUSTRIAL  
CRAFT: PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN TANNER

The hope, at the beginning of this study, was to demonstrate that the structures and the tools used by a tanner would reflect the ethnic background from which the tanner came. Unfortunately, the research done on tanneries has been limited. Archaeological research has only been done on a few sites and in most cases the tannery components located were not part of the original research design. The form of the tanning vats, the layout of the tan-yard and subsequent buildings and the type of mill incorporated into the operation may in the future prove to be ethnic markers. At this time the archaeological research needed to test these components has not been done. A source of data which may be tested for cultural identity is that of probate inventories. The application of Swank's Pennsylvania German proxemic pattern, as a simple formula defined in Chapter II, can be tested for at least thirteen early 19th century tanners of Franklin County, Pennsylvania, whose inventories have survived. The tanners to be compared were Patrick Maxwell (1801), Thomas McKean (1806), John Campbell (1808), Christian Oyster (1814), Patrick Mooney (1815), William Reynolds (1822), George McClelland (1823), William McClay (1824), Roland Harris, Jr.(1828), Peter Newman (1831), Daniel Royer (1838), Henry Snively (1845) and David Royer (1860). David Royer was the son of Daniel Royer.

This chapter will begin with a review of the data available on the physical characteristics of tanneries with emphasis on those components which may provide evidence of an ethnic nature. Data on 18th and 19th centuries tanners can be derived from

tax return records, newspaper advertisements, census of manufactures, historical accounts, encyclopedias of the day and in a few cases archaeological reports.

The lack of research done is surprising when one considers that English tanners, have at the least, been in America since 1623. Experience Mitchell and Micah Richmond worked as tanners within the Plymouth Colony from 1623-1630 (Bryant 1891: 34). By 1650, tanneries were operating in Lynn, Salem, Boston, Charlestown and Watertown, Massachusetts, as well as Newbury, Connecticut (Welsh 1964: 5). One of the major products of Pennsylvania in 1790 was tanned hides, along with hats, iron, wool, linen, cotton, paper, metal products and ships. The tax return for Lancaster in 1773 contained 30 shoemakers, 10 tanners, 7 saddlers, 5 skinners, 2 saddle tree makers and a bootmaker employed in leather trades (Guilck 1986). The tanneries of the 19th century were rather numerous. In 1840, Pennsylvania had 1,170 tanneries employing 3,445 workers to produce 415,665 sides of sole leather and 405,993 sides of uppers leather worth \$2,783,636 (Trego 1843: 114), while New York had 1,414 tanneries in 1845 (Wagonen 1949: 161) and New Jersey about the same (Weiss 1959). As it has been expressed earlier, "...every farmer had a tannery in his convenient vicinity" and the tanner "...held his own better and longer than either the growing of flax...(or) wool." (Wagonen 1949: 161). The potential for locating tannery sites should be tremendous.

Multiple components were required for a large scale 19th century tannery operation. A tannery represented a complex system of interdependent working areas which were needed for the basic process to occur and for the resources to be acquired. A tannery therefore consisted of a large and complex physical structure in the ground. The complexity of tanneries was not new to the 18th or 19th centuries tanner. Large tanneries had been operated throughout the Middle Ages (Gimpel 1976: 7). The Cistercian Monastery in Clairvaux, France, had a waterpowered system which interconnected four separate industrial areas for crushing (wheat), sieving (flour), fulling (cloth) and tanning (hides). The water was conducted through wooden or lead pipes and was similar to 742

other 12th century monasteries operated by that order (1976: 3-4). By the early 19th century, a tannery could be described in terms of three basic components: the shop or shops, the bark mill and the vats.

A basic understanding of the make up of a early 19th century tannery in southeastern Pennsylvania is provided by the local newspaper advertisements of the time period. The best surviving newspapers for the Franklin County, Pennsylvania, area may be those from Hagerstown, Maryland (Clark 1982). Hagerstown is located within Washington County which adjoins Franklin County's southern boundary and is within ten miles of this boundary. The basic descriptions of these tanneries should be similar to the Franklin County tanneries to be discussed later in this chapter. The John Clark tannery was comprised of a stone house, a tan shop with flagstone paved cellar and hydrant, a large run of water conducted through and into the tan-yard and a handsome garden (Torch Light & Public Advertiser: June 29, 1819). The need for water to be conveyed through the yard was repeated in advertisements by Jacob T. Towson (June 30, 1813) and by John Ebert (December 29, 1813). The Goll Tannery advertized 24 vats with appropriate buildings (Maryland Herald & Hagers-town Weekly Advertiser: August 29, 1799). Three house lots down from the Public Square in Hagerstown, one Daniel Nead was selling a tan-yard with 17 vats, a bark house with 150 cords of bark and a currying shop (April 28, 1802). John Geiser was trying to rent a tan-yard with 36 vats and a bark house (Feb. 28, 1805). On Main Street in Hagerstown, Matthias Shaffner had a tannery with 46 vats, a currying shop with a marble table, a bark mill house with a iron mill and a large bark house (July 11, 1806). James Hill's advertisement was slightly more expressive with the tannery possessing "...16 lay away vats, 2 limes (vats), 2 pools and handlers (vats)...(while) the water is conveyed in pipes from never failing stream...a good currying shop, bark house, (and) mill house with a metal bark mill" (April 14, 1818). Christian Burckhartt on the southwest corner of E. Washington and Locust Street, Hagerstown, was trying to sell his property consisting of a "...good stone

dwelling house, a tan shop and bark house, 30 vats, 2 bates, 3 handlers , 3 limes, 1 pool with overhead water and all the necessary apparatus..." (July 21,1818). Another good example of the possible layout for a tannery was provided by Henry Forman (1956: 166) from structures which were still standing in 1939. The Scott family tannery operated from 1800-1885 in Baltimore County, Maryland, and consisted of three stone structures on the edge of the tan-yard. A vat house (22 feet by 28 feet), a drying-finishing-currying house (18 feet by 22 feet) and a bark house (22 feet by 44 feet) with the vat house holding the lime vats. The bark mill was horse drawn and the horse was to have supposedly been blind. The currying house was for the oiling and rolling of leather, and the vats within the tan-yard were layed out in long parallel lines (1956: 166). The Direct Tax of 1798 also provides clues to the make up of tanneries. The Daniel Royer tannery consisted of a bark mill and log tan shop (21 feet by 28 feet), while the only other tannery within the same township, consisted of shop (24 feet by 24 feet) owned by Patrick Mooney (Federal Direct Tax 1798). The shop or shops associated with these tanneries were verily nondescript. Their size tends to be small at less than thirty by thirty feet. The building material of log or stone would probably fit Swank's 1798 house pattern of half-stone or log structures in the outlying areas, with stone or brick structures within more urban settings (Swank 1983: 26-29). The tannery buildings which have survived seem to be the larger buildings of about fifty by fifty feet. The simplicity of design and the lack of distinctive features associated with a tannery shop can be illustrated by figures #1 through #3 on pages 44-45. Figure #1 is the restored 1761 Moravian Tannery at Historic Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and is a three story structure, with a drying attic and four large bays on the third floor for moving hides in an out of the shop. The Moravian Tannery is similar to the Heir Chambers Tannery still standing in downtown Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. Chambers Tannery is also three stories plus an attic and appears on historic maps in 1850 and 1867 (Beers 1867: 27). The Path Valley Tannery (fig.# 3) is a three story timber and frame structure built c.1822 (Path Valley News: May 21, 1887)





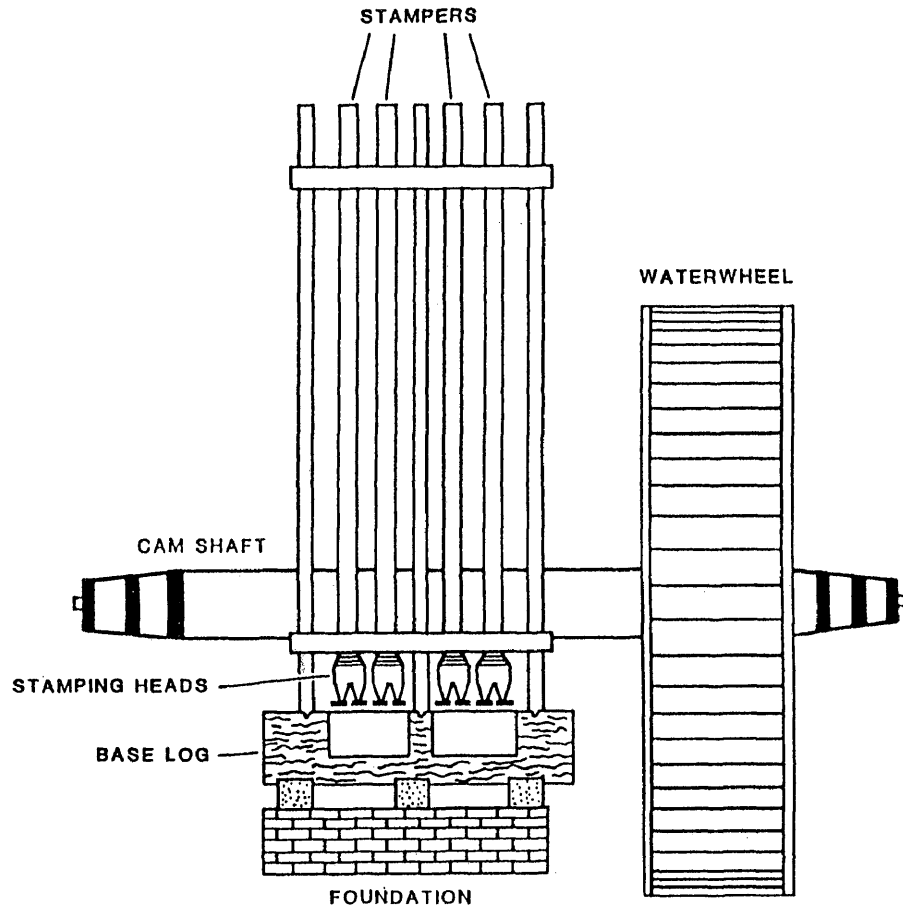
The 1761 Moravian Tannery shop (above) at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.  
Courtesy of Historic Bethlehem, Inc. (the Author 1987). The Heir Chambers Tannery  
(below) on Spring Street, Chamberburg, Pennsylvania (the Author 1988).



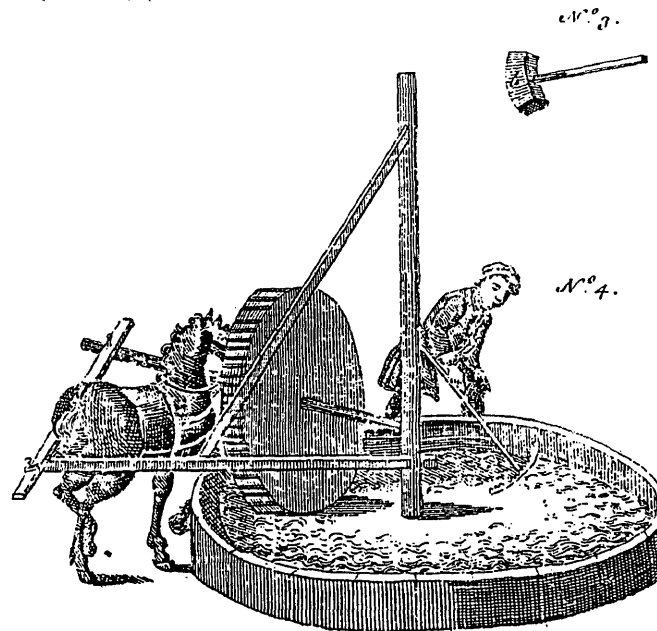


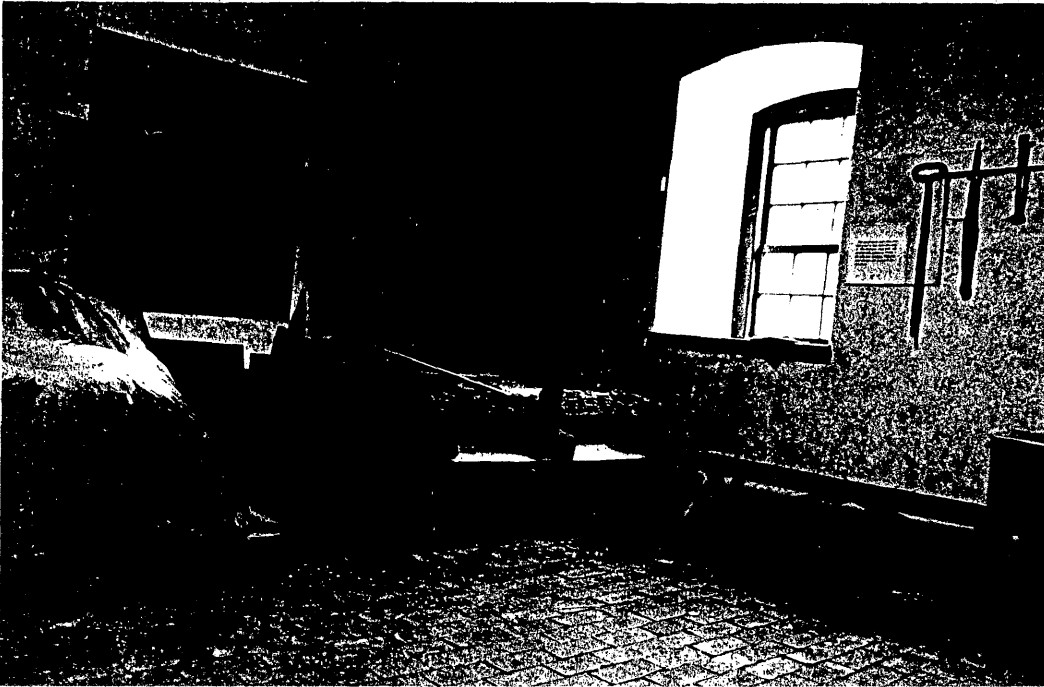
The Path Valley Tannery shop (above) located in Fannettsburg, Pennsylvania, and the bark mill stone associated with the tannery. Courtesy of Leslie Parks current owner of the property (the Author 1988).





The stamper type bark mill (above) (taken from Litchfield et.al. 1984: 55) associated with the tannery at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, as compared to a horse powered bark mill (below)(taken from Welsh 1964: front inside cover).





The vat base (both) on display at the 1761 Moravian Tannery in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Courtesy of Historic Bethlehem, Inc. (the Author 1987).



with the front vernier having been altered at a later time. The tannery shop appears to have been a plain, simple structure and with the current lack of data, a limited source for ethnic comparison.

The bark mill component of a tannery operation appears to be more promising for ethnicity studies. As with complex tanneries, bark mills also existed throughout the Middle Ages (Gimpel 1976: 1). The Romans had developed the vertical, undershot waterwheel by 63 B.C. and were using these wheels to power mills (1976: 7). Water and wind mills were common to the medieval man, including those used by tanners (1976: 1). The earliest recorded water driven tanning mill was at Notre-Dame de Paris in 1138 A.D. (1976: 14). Bark mills were also recorded in the years of 1154, 1217, 1228, 1231, and 1279 A.D. (Weiss 1959: 29). For early America, the type of power manipulated for the bark mill appears to be ethnically motivated. The Moravians at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, followed the German practice of preferring that the "Tanbark was prepared in a stamping mill instead of using the (stone) roller mill technique adopted by most British-American tanbark mills" (Litchfield et.al. 1984: 71). The original bark mill at Bethlehem had an external waterwheel (1743-1750's) which was replaced by a double waterwheel, multiple purpose mill (1984: 21). The 1765 mill at Bethlehem incorporated a bark mill, oilseed press and stampers, hemp stampers and a groat mill on the second story (1984:46). The bark stamping part of this mill consisted of a series of lifter cams connected to the waterwheel which lifted four (18 feet) long poles headed with iron cutting blades (see figure # 5). The wheel action would lift the poles two feet and then drop them down on top of the bark (1984: 56). The Moravians also used the stepped head mill as a fulling mill to remove extra tannin from the leather (1984: 29). One description of a stone crushing mill was provided by Martha Warner in the magazine The Chronicle. In 1925, she purchased a horse drawn bark mill near Litchfield Turnpike, Bethany, Connecticut (Warner 1936: 60). The bark was crushed by a stone, with a corrugated edge, run inside of a stone trough. A similar type crushing stone

appears resting on its side near the Path Valley Tannery Site (see figure # 4). For Warner's mill, the trough was 36 feet in diameter and 18 feet in diameter of the center edge. The entire mill weighed 22 tons and was tentatively dated from 1746 to 1840 (1936: 60). A 1756 horse mill is also depicted on page 46 (see figure # 6). Although bark mills could be powered by horse, water or wind (Gregory 1818), the Germans seem to have preferred water or wind based on the research done by Litchfield et. al.(1984). This author found no archaeological data recorded on bark mills but would assume that large structures such as mills might be located and provide valuable data. Archaeologists have recorded tanning vats as the following section will illustrate.

The archaeological evidence on tanneries and vats are scarce. The Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletters contain reports on two tanning vats from California mission sites. Both appear to be secondary discoveries from other research and little is provided for intrasite comparison (Barka 1987a: 45, 1987b: 38). Two stone vats excavated at the La Purisima Mission site were rectangular in shape, lined with pink plaster, and each vat was 12.2 feet by 13.4 feet and approximately 5 feet deep. The vats contained drains and a system of tile water pipes were located; one which extended for 234 feet (Deetz 1978: 161-4). In 1969 in Nottingham, Drury Hill, England, work on caves sites uncovered four round vats which were staved lined, contained lime and sealed by a plaster floor. An associated cave site excavated in 1939 contained rectangular rock cut vats from the late 16th - early 17th century (Hurst 1970: 177). Charles Tremer excavated a tannery site near Nazareth, Pennsylvania but little is known about this research (Gill 1975: 16). The most extensive excavations were done for the restoration of the Moravian Tannery in Bethlehem. Unfortunately, the site report was not written until several years after the excavations and by a person not originally associated by the project (1975: 2-5). Eleven vats were located within the shop and an additional four were located outside of the shop (1975: 13,30). The tannery would have had a total of 42 vats after expansion of the operation was carried out in 1805 (1975: 16). The vats located

consisted of wooden crates placed into the ground with green potters clay packed in between. The sidings had since rotted away but the vat bases were still evident. The vats within the shop were believed to have been 2 feet and 2.5 feet in depth and varying in size from feature # 51 (3 feet by 4 feet) to feature #44 (6.25 feet by 7.25 feet) (1975: 13-14). The vats were held together with machine cut nails. The lime vats located in the tan-yard exterior to the shop were 5.5 feet by 8 feet in dimension (1975: 30). The most interesting features located (#95 & #98) were described as an early stand-pipe system. Excavations uncovered a wooden vat (feat. # 95) containing a barrel with octagonal wooden piping entering through the top and sides (feat. # 98) (1975: 37). This appeared to be the only section of the original piping system to have been located. Work on the adjacent tawery site, also at Bethlehem, uncovered 5 vats and evidence where water had been pumped into the vat room from a spring (Gill 1976: 15). One of the vat bases was preserved well enough to be placed on exhibit at Historic Bethlehem (see figures #7 & #8). Excavations of the Royer Tannery site in Waynesboro, Pennsylvania, located at least two structures and three separate areas containing vats. In one area, the vats appeared to be set out in parallel rows spaced a foot apart, at least three rows across and five rows deep. One vat excavated consisted of an organic lense with traces of rotten wood underneath and 28 machine cut nails in line around the perimeter of the vat base (6.8 feet by 6.9 feet) (Sheppard 1988). The nails were pointing up with their heads at the bottom suggesting the vat was nailed together before it was placed in the ground. Two other vats were excavated and one foot of repacked clay seperated what survived of the wooden siding. The vats excavated appeared to be similar to those uncovered at Nazareth and Bethlehem (Gill 1975, Gill 1976). Unfortunately, the evidence from a handful of unrelated sites is not enough to test ethnicity. The historical record also provided a few clues. The Census of Manufactures for 1810, 1820 and 1850 occasionally give the number of vats per operation, but never information on the shapes or sizes. A similar problem occurs with newspaper accounts where the information provided is not specific. The construction

material, the size, and the shape of the vats may with future excavations serve as a basis for ethnic study.

The excavations on the Royer Tannery site provided almost nothing that expressed the ethnic identity of the tanners who worked there. If Gudehus's account is to be taken as an accurate depiction of the German emigrant in Pennsylvania, then the physical components of the tannery might not reflect ethnic identity (Neff 1980). If anything, these components might be used to disguise ethnic identity like Wasmus the barber from Gettysburg (1980: 240). The need to survive economically in the public sphere of community life, might have been a greater concern than cultural expression. As stated in the Introduction, Daniel Royer did represent a third generation Pennsylvania German and at the least a second generation tanner. Daniel Royer's probate inventory follows Scott Swank's Pennsylvania German proxemic pattern as defined in Chapter II and this provides an avenue for ethnic comparison. For comparison, thirteen Franklin County tanners of the 18th and 19th century will be compared to the proxemic pattern and to each other. These tanners were located by consulting the Franklin County tax return records for 1786, 1796, 1799 and 1807. From a possible forty-six tanners, these thirteen had probate inventories taken of their estates after their deaths. Thirteen represents a quarter of the possible tanners from that time period and they all would have operated tanneries in Franklin County in competition of each other. Thirteen may be a small sample but it does allow for the pattern to be tested. The number of tanners operating in Franklin County is difficult to determine at any point in time. Of the 11 tanners recorded in 1786, only 3 are still listed in 1796. Even more dramatic is the fact that of the 15 tanners who do appear in the records of 1796, only 3 of those appear with the 10 recorded for 1799 (Franklin Co. Tax Records 1786, 1796 & 1799). None of the tanners listed in 1786 appear on the 1799 record. A high turn over rate for tanners is also supported by Hagerstown newspapers accounts. Several of the tanneries (Baltzer, Lantz, Byers etc.) around Hagerstown changed hands two or more times from 1790 to 1818.



These thirteen tanners were all listed on the tax returns by 1807 and most operated tanners into the 1820s.

Table 2 illustrates the the value of the household furnishings as it compares to the total worth of the tanner's property. For Swank's proxemic pattern to be fulfilled, two criteria must be met. A particular inventory must display a percentage of household furnishings below 10% of the total inventory and a lack of expensive consumer goods like tea sets, silver items, china, etc. (Swank 1983: 40-50). The proxemic pattern is a reflection of the cultural value placed on household furnishings and the type of furniture is important to the definition. The inventories compare as follows:

**Table 2**  
Percentages of household furnishings to total value of the tanners' inventories.

	<u>Net worth of Inventory</u>	<u>Net worth of Household Goods</u>	<u>Percentage of Total Spent on Household</u>
Peter Newman 1831	3311	70.37	2 %
David Royer 1860	12,944	306.42	2 %
Henry Snively 1845	5310.14	169.72	3 %
George McClelland 1823	3101.54	168.62	5 %
Roland Harris 1828	2200*	162.67	7 %
Daniel Royer 1838	5572	370.33	7 %
<u>William McClay 1824</u>	<u>932*</u>	<u>72.80</u>	<u>9 %</u>
Christian Oyster 1814	1674*	296.02	18 %
William Reynolds 1822	3034	563	19 %
Patrick Mooney 1815	1752*	354.30	20 %
Patrick Maxwell 1801	1178	112	22 %
John Campbell 1808	603.37	140.85	23 %
Thomas McKean 1806	1204^	539.58	45 %

(^ based on the 1796 tax returns, \* based on the 1807 tax returns)

For this study, any item that was not part of the business or the farm and external of the home was considered a household item. Household items would then include furniture, apparel, ceramics, food items but not crops which were considered farm items, along with firearms. Most tools, livestock, farm equipment, bonds and cash were considered as part of the farm or business. Negroes owned by Thomas McKean, George McClelland and Patrick Maxwell were listed as home furnishings as they represented a culturally important marker and a rare luxury item for southeastern Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania Germans by in large did not purchase Negroes. It is also interesting to note that none of the tanners owned adult males only females or children.

Two groups of tanners become apparent from the percentages of household furnishings expressed in their inventories. Seven tanners had household furnishings which constituted less than 10%, while six tanners had more than 10% of household furnishings. For the second part of the established criteria, items from the inventories will be discussed in relationship to Swank's proxemic pattern. The six tanners easily fit into the Anglo-American pattern expressed in opposition to the Pennsylvania German proxemic pattern. These will be dealt with first.

Christian Oyster, Patrick Maxwell, Patrick Mooney, John Campbell, Thomas McKean and William Reynolds exceeded the 10% household furnishing threshold due to the presents of consumer goods. Two kinds of items were represented on these inventories. The presence of definite Anglo-American furnishing forms such as tea furniture, silver items, and special serving items. Also, the presence of more expensive raw materials used in furniture like hardwoods such as walnut represent consumer goods. The type of wood used for furniture is not always listed but might be implied by the fact some furniture prices appear usually high. Thomas McKean's (Franklin County Administration # 830) household furnishings totaled \$539.58 contained four tea tables \$8.50, five Negroes, two setts (sets) of china, large waiter \$4, a half dozen teaspoons & a pair of sugar tongs \$5, and with beds of \$32, \$28 and two of \$16 each. Other furniture included two chest of drawers of \$15 and \$14, a desk of \$11 and a corner cupboard worth \$4. Without the Negroes in the household furnishings, McKean's percentage would still represent 28% of his total inventory. In comparison, John Campbell's (Franklin Co. Adm. # 922) furnishings were more modest. He did however own a silver watch \$8, a half set of china, a large pewter dish, fourteen windsor chairs and a library worth \$15. Patrick Mooney (Franklin Co. Adm. # 1339) fits the Anglo-American proxemic pattern fairly well. Mooney had a rather expensive clock at \$60, as well as one

feature bed \$60, another bed \$40, a desk \$40, half dozen silver tea spoons \$5, two stoves \$21, and pewter dishes and plates \$8.50. The values for his beds are three times that of the Daniel Royer's bedstead at \$16. William Reynolds (Franklin Co. Adm. # 1883) is the only other tanner with bed and bedding to rival Mooney. Reynolds had two beds listed as \$40 apiece in addition to three beds worth \$24 and two beds worth \$30. The distinctive items within Reynolds' inventory were a clock \$45, desk & case \$20, a card table \$4, a bookcase \$12; a side board \$45, a tea table \$4 and twenty eight chairs worth \$31.50. Patrick Maxwell (Franklin Co. Adm. # 67) probably had more consumer goods of any of the tanners. His estate included silver tack buckles £1.17.6, six leather bottom chairs £4.10.0, clock £12, six large silver spoons £5, cupboard furniture with china, lot delft and queensware combined worth £3.12.6, and a tea table and stand £2. All of these tanners inventories fit the criteria of a non-Pennsylvania German household.

William McClay, Daniel Royer, Roland Harris, George McClelland, Henry Snively, Peter Newman and Daniel Royer's son, David Royer, all had percentages of household furnishings in the single digits. The household furniture of Roland Harris contained a clock \$40, feather bed \$6, stove \$15, lot queensware \$1.50 and a secretary and bookcase \$22. The clock by itself represented 13% of his total wealth and 30% of the household goods. Clocks have already been demonstrated to be an important part of the Pennsylvania German pattern (Swank 1983: 50). In comparison, Peter Newman's (Franklin Co. Adm. # 2746) \$18 clock represented 26% of the total furnishings. The clock was the most expensive item owned with a stove & pipe \$17, bed & bedding worth \$6.50 and a lot of kitchen furniture worth only \$5. William McClay had the least amount of home furnishings at \$72.80 and only a few items such as a breakfast table \$4 and a lot of chairs \$6. Other than a clock of \$40, Daniel Royer's (Franklin Co. Adm. # 4193) bedstead valued at \$18 was the most expensive item. Only 7% of his personal wealth went into personal items. The inventory of his son was even more extreme. David Royer's household items accounted for just 2 % of his \$12,944 (Franklin Co. Adm. #

8097). Even if the tannery items \$8256.68 were not taken into account, David's household furnishings of \$281.42 would only account for 6% of his value. Most of Henry Snively's (Franklin Co. Adm. # 4722) household furnishings were comprised of beds and bedding. Snively had seven sets of beds and bedding which combined were worth of only \$36.50. He also had an eight day clock worth \$25, two stoves \$11, ten chairs \$4.20 and a large German Bible. None of these tanners had teaware or tea furniture, silver items and most of the furniture items they did have were valued several times less than those of the six tanners above the 10% threshold. This despite the fact that all of these inventories overlapped in time. The only one of these seven tanners who did not fit the proxemic pattern was George McClelland. McClelland's (Franklin Co. Adm. # 1975) household furnishings accounted for only 5% of his total inventory. McClelland had an oval tea table \$5, a square tea table \$1.50, tea tray and teaware \$2.70, half dozen yellow chairs \$2.50, ten beds and bedding combined worth \$40.75, an eight day clock \$21, two beaurrow or beural (bureau) \$5.50 and a Negro girl named Hanah. From this data base, the final step of this thesis will be to determine what these thirteen tanners' probate inventories represent in terms of ethnic identity.

## CHAPTER V CONCLUSIONS

The basic hypothesis to be tested in this thesis was that the pattern expressed by Daniel Royer's probate inventory was a result of his cultural identity. Cultural identity was defined as the maintenance of an ethnic boundary by members of a culture within a contact community. Boundary maintenance represented a conscious attempt by a minority to express their ethnic identity. This could be done through language, custom, costume, material culture, or by the adherence to an accepted pattern of behavior. For the Pennsylvania Germans, the proxemic pattern as defined by Scott Swank (1983) represented an accepted form of behavior within that cultural community. This pattern represents the cultural value Pennsylvania Germans associated with household furnishings. For the Pennsylvania Germans, little cultural value was placed on household items except for clocks and beds (Keynes 1978, Matthews 1983, Swank 1983). Little monetary value was placed on any household furnishings and a similar proxemic pattern is reflected by some Anabaptist religious groups at present (Swank 1983: 40-3). Pennsylvania Germans had a tendency to not spend the profits of a business or farmstead on personal or household items that might indicate success, but to place the money back into the business or into family members through bonds and loans.

Like most European craftsmen, the tanner shared a similar basic understanding of his craft with his counterparts in other ethnic groups. Tanning like most of the crafts, such as weaving, pottery or dyeing, had been practiced throughout the Middle Ages and had been refined into an overall European practice. Any study of just the tanning process remains at a macro-level of culture. If one were studying the tanning process, differences in practices would be more important when comparing European and non-European

cultures. The ethnicity of a tanner or tanners in general should be expressed and therefore studied at the micro-level or individual level of culture.

Artisans formed the largest occupation group within the Pennsylvania German towns of Lancaster, Reading and Germantown (Becker 1978). The proxemic pattern that Swank (1983) defined was based on inventories from both rural and urban communities from Lancaster and Berks Counties before the 1780s (1983: 50). The pattern could be defined by identifying probate inventories having less than ten percent of a total value expressed in household furnishings. More importantly, the pattern reflects the lack of certain items which had higher cultural value for Anglo-Americans culture (1983: 43-7). For this study, boundary maintenance was represented by the opposing behaviors of the two cultural groups in contact. As the Anglo-Americans took part in the consumption of more expensive items such as tea services, items of silver, and furniture of hardwoods; the Pennsylvania Germans, due to their cultural values, accepted these items at a slower rate.

For Daniel Royer's inventory to represent Pennsylvania German cultural identity, Royer's neighboring tanners would have to represent both types of proxemic patterns. The appearance of this pattern should reflect cultural identity rather than the dichotomy between rural and urban inventories or between types of occupations. The urban versus rural variability should be controlled since all of the inventories within the study came from a rural county. By 1860, the same year of the last inventory in the study, 75% of Franklin County's 31,649 residents still lived in rural or crossroad village settings. The county only had five towns: Chambersburg, Mercersburg, Greencastle, Waynesboro and St. Thomas with populations of eight hundred persons or more (Beers 1868: 57). By concentrating on one type of occupation, i.e. tanning, the sample population represent competitors operating under similar social and economic conditions within the county.

The sample population does not represent seven Pennsylvania German tanners and six Anglo-American tanners as a simple look at the percentages might indicate. The

percentages do represent a definite split between the two groups of tanners. The lowest tanner in the above 10% group (Christian Oyster 18%) had twice the investment in household furnishings than the highest tanner in the below 10% group (William McClay 9%). The tanners of the above 10% group all appear to be Anglo-American tanners from their percentages, from the types of household items represented in the inventories, and from cultural affiliations based historic sources. Patrick Maxwell and Patrick Mooney appear to have been Irish or Scots Irish while John Campbell and William Reynolds appear to have been English (Stoner 1947, Franklin Co. Wills). Christian Oyster and Thomas McKean's cultural affiliations are not known although Swank (1983) referred to two Oyster's in Lancaster County who were Pennsylvania Germans. A Pennsylvania German tanner who did not meet the proxemic pattern criteria might be expressed in the case of Christian Oyster. Assimilation and acceptance of Anglo-American patterns was always a possibility. Cazenova in 1790 noted assimilation taking place within the Cumberland Valley (Kelsey 1922). The use of surnames to reflect ethnic background can be very dangerous. Surnames can be changed and variation in spelling and pronunciation could also be affected by the writing skills of the individual themselves or by those persons recording public records. Christian Oyster did have a lot of German books as one possible ethnic indicator.

Of the tanners who's percentages were below 10%, William McClay, Roland Harris, Henry Snively and the Royers have known cultural affiliations. William McClay was Scottish while Roland Harris's father was reported to have been English (Stoner 1947). Both Daniel Royer and his son David and Henry Snively (Wylie 1884) were Pennsylvania Germans. George McClelland's cultural affiliation is unknown but his low percentage of household furnishings might be a reflection of the fact that he was not only a tanner but a store keeper as well. He did own tea services and furniture and could have had access to furnishings through the store which he did not actually own. William McClay has a very sparse inventory and may represent an exception to the rule or the fact

his inventory was taken two years after he had undertaken the construction of the Path Valley Tannery (see figure #3). Roland Harris also appears to be an exception to the rule as his furnishings were below 10% and he had a typical Pennsylvania German inventory (Swank 1983: 50) with a third of the value of the household furnishings represented by a single, \$40 eight day clock. Peter Newman's ethnic affiliation is also unknown, but his inventory does fit the Pennsylvania German proxemic pattern. The three best examples of Pennsylvania German from this sample are the Royers and Henry Snively. Most of the value of their household furnishings consisted of a clock and bed and beddings. They did not have any of the items previously described as part of the Anglo tanner pattern.

One further mention of urban verses rural inventory patterns will be included. Franklin County was obviously not completely rural, especially with five towns. For nine of the thirteen tanners, the general location of their tanneries are known. The author has located the Royer, Harris and McClay tanneries, and the locations of the others were provided by the 1810 United States census for Pennsylvania. Roland Harris, William McClay, George McClelland, Patrick Mooney and William Reynolds were rural, while Patrick Maxwell and John Campbell were located in Mercersburg, Henry Snively was located in Greencastle, and the Royers were located in Waynesboro. Of the urban tanneries, Patrick Maxwell and John Campbell had expressed the Anglo-pattern while the Royers and Henry Snively had followed the Pennsylvania German proxemic pattern. Patrick Mooney and William Reynolds reflected the Anglo-pattern in a rural setting. The inventories are evenly split in terms of spacial considerations. Culturally or ethnically they do appear to express the proxemic patterns defined earlier in this work.

The data provided supports Scott Swank (1983) proxemic pattern. What is important is not the simple percentages expressed by being above or below 10% of an inventory's value, but the underlying pattern which these percentages help to reflect. Pennsylvania Germans accepted certain household furniture forms at a slower rate than their Anglo-American neighbors. This pattern was a reflection of ideology used as a



boundary maintaining device. The Pennsylvania Germans placed less cultural value on household furnishings, except for eight day clocks and beds.

The goal of this study was to demonstrate that ethnic boundary maintenance could be tested by studying the 18th and 19th century tanner. With future research into the archaeological remains of tanneries, comparisons on the physical components such as vats or bark mills might be drawn. More likely, the ethnic identity of a tanner or any craftsman will be expressed by their personal items. The proxemic pattern, as expressed in Pennsylvania German probate inventories, allows for the study of ethnic identity among craftsmen and farmers of both the rural and urban settings of southeastern Pennsylvania (Swank 1983).

The final determination of whether this thesis was successful relies on its value to historic archaeology. If further research results from this study on either tanning or Pennsylvania German, whether that research supports or refutes this thesis; it will have been successful and have fulfilled its initial purpose.

## APPENDIX I

Tanners from Franklin County Tax Records of 1786

	<u>Tan-yard</u>	<u>Land-Value</u>	<u>Horses-value</u>	<u>Cows-value</u>	<u>Misc.</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Antrim Twsp</u>						
Andrew Snively	50	555-2775	4-50	6-21	2 stills \$60	2956
Emanuel Stoner	90	10- 40	-----	-----	house lot \$50	180
James Watson*	150	530-1722	4-40	6-18	-----	1930
<u>Franklin Twsp</u>						
Thomas Mkeen (McKean)	200	100- 200	5-75	2- 6	1 negro	591
<u>Gilford Twsp</u>						
William Brotherton	50	300- 600	3-15	5-15	1 servant	700
<u>Hamilton Twsp</u>						
Jas. Brotherton	10	242-1000	2-40	4-16	-----	1106
<u>Lettekeney Twsp</u>						
Alex Culbertson, Jr.	40	192- 324	2-24	2- 6	-----	394
<u>Montgomery Twsp</u>						
Andrew Clinesmith	7:10	-----	2- 7	2- 2	-----	32.10
Patrick Maxwell	NR	350- 812	5-NR	5-62	2 stills \$22:10 2 negros \$80 2 servants \$18	995
<u>Peters Twsp</u>						
Rolland Harris, Jr.	120	-----	-----	-----	-----	120
<u>Washington Twsp</u>						
Samuel Royer	15	671-1036	6-60	10-35	1 stove \$10	1056

\* Watson is only one listed as a tanner.

Tanners from the Franklin County Tax Returns of 1796

	<u>Tanyard</u>	<u>Land</u>	<u>Horses-Value</u>	<u>Cows-Value</u>	<u>HouseLott-Value</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Antrim Twsp.</u>						
John & Hugh Watson*	na	na	na	na	na	250
<u>Franklin Twsp.</u>						
James Findley	200	na	na	na	400	600
Thomas McKain* (McKean)	150	600	3-45	3-9	400	1204
Christian Oyster	150	20	1-12	1-3	150	335
Peter Tinkle (Dinkle)	100	20	1-12	na	75	207
<u>Fannett Twsp.</u>						
John Andrew	166+	na	1-6	2-6	+ with tanyard	178
<u>Metal Twsp.</u>						
James Culbertson	84+	na	1-12	na	+ with tanyard	96
<u>Letterkenny Twsp.</u>						
Henry Best	150	30	1-20	1-5	200	405
Fredrick Stone*	50	75	1-30	1-30	na	65
George M Lealand* (McClellan)	40	na	1-5	na	200	245
<u>Montgomery Twsp.</u>						
Andrew Klimesmith (Clinesmith)	100	200	1-15	1-3	na	418
Benjamin Chesnut	60	150	1-15	na	na	225
<u>Peters Twsp.</u>						
Rowland Harris, Jr.	200	80	1-10	1-4	na	302
<u>Lurgan Twsp.</u>						
Joseph Culbertson	45	na	na	na	na	45
William Reynolds	50	na	na	1-4	na	54

\* Those listed as tanners.

Tanners from the Franklin County Tax Returns of 1799

	<u>Components of Tanneries</u>			<u>Dwellings</u>	<u>Total Taxable Worth</u>
<u>Letterkenny Twsp.</u>					
Henry Baist (Best)	tan house(\$15)	tan-yard(\$75)	bark house	2 log house	275
Abraham Croster	tan house(\$10)	tan-yard(\$15)	---	log house	418
Alex Culbertson	tan house(\$10)	yard	---	log house	720
John Heap	tan house(\$15)	tan-yard(\$75)	---	house	195
George McClelland	tan house(\$15)	tan-yard(\$100)	bark house(\$15)	2 houses	361
Adam Stinger	tan house(\$10)	---	---	2 houses	685
<u>Lurgan Twsp.</u>					
William Reynolds	currying shop	tan-yard	mill house	sm log house	---
John Saver	beam shop	tan-yard	---	log house	---
<u>Washington Twsp.</u>					
Patrick Money (Mooney)	tan house	---	-----	2 log houses	1611
Daniel Royer	tan house	---	bark mill	2 log houses	1875

Tanners from the Franklin County Tax Returns of 1807

<u>Antrim Twsp.</u>						
Joseph Eckleberger*	trade	house/lott	horse	cow		\$700
Henry Snively*	trade	na	horse	2 cow		\$140
John Watson*	trade	2 houses/2 lotts	horse	cow		\$930
<u>Fannett Twsp.</u>						
Robert MaClay*	na	na	horse	cow		\$74
Henrick Patterson*	tanyard	2 lotts				\$90
William Reynolds	tanyard	house/lott				\$150
<u>Franklin Twsp.</u>						
Peter Dinkle*	tanyard	house/lott	horse	cow		\$1394
James Findley	tanyard	house, 1/2 lott	malt house &	brew house		\$3000
James Findley*	na	stable/lott	horse			\$250
James Graham*	na	house, 1/2 lott	cow			\$682
William Jamison*	tanyard	house/lott	horse	cow		\$1152
Christian Oyster*	tanyard	2 houses/ 3 lotts	horse	cow		\$1674
<u>Letterkenny Twsp.</u>						
Henry Best*	tanyard/trade	house/lott 4 acres	cow			\$618
John Heap	tanyard	na 1 acre				\$130
Alexander Hunter*	trade	house/lott				\$170
Adam Humberger*	trade	na	cow			\$38
George McClelland	tanyard	2 houses/ 2 lotts/ 19 acres	horse	2 cows		\$1057
<u>Lurgan Twsp.</u>						
Samuel McKinny*	tanyard/trade	house/lott				\$310
Peter Newman	tanyard	na 224 acres	2 horses	3 cows		\$3311
William Reynolds*	tanyard	na 2 acres	2 horses	3 cows		\$1400
<u>Metal Twsp.</u>						
William McClay	tanyard	house/lott	horse	2 cows		\$832
<u>Montgomery Twsp.</u>						
John Bottles	tanyard	30 acres	2 horses	cow		\$238
Michael Hoke*	tanyard/trade	house/lott 3 acres	horse	2 cows		\$3330
<u>Peters Twsp.</u>						
John Campbell*	na tavern	na	500 acres	3 horses 2 cows	slave	\$8804
Roland Harris*	na	na	200 acres	4 horses 6 cows		\$2200
John Parkhill	trade	house				\$100
<u>Washington Twsp.</u>						
Daniel Royer	tanyard/trade	950 acres	grist mill	6 horses 7 cows		\$6464
Patrick Mooney	na	na 209 acres	saw mill	2 horses cow		\$4458

\*listed as tanners.

## APPENDIX II

Probate Inventories of Franklin County Tanners 1800-1860.

Spelling as found in inventories and items are in the order as they appeared on the inventories. Items considered part of household furnishings are in **bold print** and tannery items *italic*.

Administration#67

An Inventory and Appraisement of the Goods and Chattles Rights and Credits of the Estate of Patrick Maxwell said of Montgomery Township in Franklin County Deceased. Taken this 11th of December 1796 and approved by us the Subscribers

page 1

	£	S	D
1 <b>Negro wench called Jean &amp; child</b>	35.00	00	00
1 <b>ditto called Clay &amp; child</b>	55.00	00	00
1 <b>Negro boy called Nicklis</b>	45.00	00	00
1 <b>Negro girl named Jean</b>	10.00	00	00
1 <b>ditto named Dina</b>	5.00	00	00
1 still & bussels	10.00	00	00
1 small ditto with bussels	3.00	00	00
8 fatt hogs	12.00	00	00
20 ditto large & small	10.00	00	00
1 bay horse	12.00	00	00
1 ditto ditto	12.00	00	00
1 black ditto	15.00	00	00
1 black mare	10.00	00	00
1 chesnutt do.	7.00	00	00
1 bay horse a year old	13.10	00	00
1 black year old colt	4.10	00	00
1 ditto... ditto	5.00	00	00
1 ditto... ditto	5.00	00	00
1 brown cow with a bell	4.00	00	00
1 ditto chesnutt collared	3.10	00	00
1 black ditto	3.00	00	00
1 red heifer	2.15	00	00
1 red steer	2.00	00	00
1 brown steer	3.10	00	00
1 red cow	4.00	00	00
1 young brindled steer	2.05	00	00
1 yearling ditto	1.10	00	00
1 white faced cow	3.00	00	00
1 ditto... ditto	3.00	00	00
1 small black steer	1.05	00	00
1 black cow with white face	3.10	00	00

page 2

	£	S	D
1 red steer	1.15	00	00
1 young red steer	2.00	00	00
1 ditto... ditto	1.15	00	00
1 ditto black & white	1.17	06	00
1 ditto flacked	1.05	00	00
6 spring calves	5.00	00	00
1 red & white cow	3.10	00	00
1 bracket ditto	3.00	00	00
rye in the shaft	8.04	06	00
wheat in ditto in the barn	50.00	00	00
hay in the barn	16.00	00	00
oats in the barn	5.00	00	00
1 windmill	3.00	00	00
1 cutting box & knife	10.00	00	00
2 hay forks	2.06	00	00
4 pair of horse gears	3.00	00	00
maul rings & wedges 3/ spade			
3/ drewknife 3/9	9.09	00	00
2 old falling axes 3/9			
grubing hoe 2/6	6.03	00	00
29 sheep	10.17	00	00
1 waggon & log chain	6.00	00	00
1 big wheel 7/6 grindstone 3/9	11.03	00	00
1 plow with clevises & trees	1.02	06	00
1 ditto with ditto	15.00	00	00
1 iron toothed harrow	10.00	00	00
4 blind bridles	7.06	00	00
old broad axe 3/9, curry comb 2/	5.09	00	00
one inch auger & broad chessil	4.00	00	00
1 iron shovel 3/9 hand saw 3/	6.09	00	00
belliss irons	12.00	00	00
corn in crib	9.00	00	00
1 dough chest	6.00	00	00
Pewter	2.15	00	00
tea kettle & coffee pot	1.05	00	00
3 iron potts & bake oven	1.10	00	00
<b>wooden pails, crocks,</b>			
<b>buckets, &amp; frying pan</b>	12.00	00	00

page 3	£ S D	page 4	£ S D
Negroes bed	1.00.00	1 pair Metle fire irons	5.00
1 Armon Table	10.00	1 pair iron ditto	2.06
7 split bottom chairs	15.00	1 pair iron candle sticks & turn half gallon	12.00
6 leather bottom chairs	4.10.00	the time of a servant boy one year & six months	7.10.00
1 large Dining Table	2.00.00	the time of another servant eight months	7.00.00
1 small do.	1.10.00	sundry bussels in the cellar	15.00
1 Tea table & stand	2.00.00	1 bond due by James Cross	70.00.00
1 large looking glass	6.00.00	1 ditto by Benjamin Elliott	102.00.00
1 small ditto	1.00.00	1 ditto by ditto	6.00.00
1 eight day clock	12.00.00	2 ditto by ditto	10.00.00
6 large silver spoons	5.00.00	1 ditto due by Fredrick Springman	10.00.00
7 small do., pair tea tongs, & creamerpott	3.15.00	1 ditto due by William Robinson	3.00.00
cupboard furniture China, Delf, & Queensware	3.12.06	1 ditto due by Catherine & Aron Faries	48.00.00
1 set Fine irons with brass tops	1.15.00	1 ditto Hugh McThelop	50.00.00
1 smooth gun	1.00.00	1 ditto John & Hugh McThelop	42.12.06
1 dressing table	2.05.00	1 ditto James Alexander	3.00.00
1 chest of drawers	15.00.00	An Order on the Treasurer of Cumberland County	2.05.00
1 chaff bed with bedstead & cloaths	1.15.00	Due by Bigger Head of the pair of Plantation	200.00.00
sundry Books	4.12.00	Cash in gold & paper	49.09.00
1 large tablecloth	17.06	1 note due by Benjamin Elliott & Lindeman Assgne	6.00.00
4 small do.	1.04.06	due by W. Furin	27.00.00
1 feather bed with cloaths & bedstead	5.00.00	Loan after Certificate Amounting to	77.06.11
1 ditto with ditto & ditto	8.00.00	1 pair silver shoe, nee & tack buckles	1.17.06
1 trunk 12/6 servants bed	1.17.06	1 note due by Shimer	3.14.06
1 waggon cloth	1.17.06		
1 mans saddle & 1 cheekreel	1.10.00		
1 suit of flesh coulered cloaths	4.10.00		
1 suit of brown ditto & old fine hatt jacket and breeches of Nankeen & 1 pair corduroy	1.10.00		
1 fine hatt	3.07.06		
1 greatcoat	1.10.00		
1 pair boots & spurrs	1.02.06		
1 chaff bed with cloath 40/ 6 baggs 30/	3.10.00		
1 suit of curtains blue & white	3.10.00		
1 ditto red & white	2.05.00		
2 pair iron tongs & shovel	10.00		

The total Goods and Chatle appraised by us -

Arch. Irwin  
John McCellan

## Administration#830

An Appraisal made the 18th day of April 1806 of the Property of Thomas M Kean deceased by us the subscribers.

	Dollars		Dollars
<u>page 1</u>			
1 bay mare 16 years old	40.00	1 Teatable	1.00
1 Roan horse 5 years	65.00	1 wheel	.50
1 Roan colt 11 months	30.00	3 bags	2.00
1 old waggon & Iron	8.00	1 pair metal hand irons	1.25
1 chest of drawers	14.00	1 large iron pot	2.00
1 desk	11.00	1 pott & hook 2 size	2.00
1 small Teatable	2.50	2 potts & hooks 3 size	2.00
1 Breakfasttable	5.00	1 large iron kettle	3.00
1 large looking glass	4.00	1 griddle & grid iron	.75
2 feather beads 1 beadstead		4 duch ovens	2.00
beading	32.00	2 teakettles	2.00
1 pair hand irons	3.25	1 small pot & hooks	.75
1 Franklin stove	12.00	1 pot rack & chain	1.00
1 ditto...	10.50	1 pan & skillet	1.00
1 large Waiter	4.00	2 small things iron	.75
2 small Waiters	.50	1 lantern	.25
27 plates assorted	1.80		
2 setts China	2.00	<u>page 3</u>	
4 bowls	.30	1 saw	1.50
1/2 dozen Teaspoons &		5 Pewter dishes @ 50¢ each	2.50
1 pair sugar tongs	5.00	3 tin buckets	1.50
1 sett knives & forks	.75	1 coffeemill	.50
2 large dishes	1.00	2 pitchers	.30
3 Tumblers & 1 bottle	1.18	1 bucket	.75
1 pair of brass candlesticks	1.50	1 half bushel	.25
2 dining tables @ \$6 each	12.00	1 pair of tongs	.25
7 arm chairs	7.87	1 dresser	2.00
4 Winsor chairs	3.00	1 tub	1.12
1 chest of drawers	15.00	1 pairtraces 1 pair brick bands &	
1 bead, beadstead & beading	32.00	bust chain	1.75
1 ditto... ditto not painted	28.00	1 bark knife, flesher & 2 oil tubs	1.00
1 pair saddle bags	.80	1 white backed cow	13.33
<u>page 2</u>		1 white faced cow	
1 pair shovel & tongs	.75	1 small bead, beadstead	
7 vols. books	3.00	& beading	16.00
1 cutting box	1.00	1 Negro girl Violet	64.00
1 bead, beadstead & beading	16.00	1 Negro girl Nell	72.00
1 Teatable	2.00	3 1/3 acres Rye, @ 400¢ per acre	13.33
table	3.00	3 1/3 acres wheat, @ \$11 per acre	36.66
1 corner cupboard	4.00	1 tea pot, 2 coffee pots, sugar dish	
1 square table	.75	Tea	
3 chairs	.50	& Queensware	2.00
1 pair steel yards	.75	6 Winsor chairs	6.00
1 bridle	.50	2 China Tea pots, Sugar dish	
1 saddle	.50	& creamer	4.00
1 chest of drawers	2.00	1 Negro girl named Druze	72.00
1 womans saddle	12.00	1 bay mare three years old	30.00
1 ditto... ditto	16.00	1 Lorrel horse	80.00
1 desk	1.50		
		Jacob Snider	
		Christian Oyster	



Administration #922

A Just and True Inventory of the Goods and Chattles of John Campbell deceased of Fannet Township and County of Franklin.

page 1	Dollars		Dollars
12 acres of wheat @ 38.33¢ per acre	39.96	1 feather bed & furniture	13.00
6 do. of rye @ 28.66¢ per acre	15.96	1 quilt	3.00
6 1/2 do. do. @ 28¢	13.00	2 sheets	3.50
a quantity of rye not thrased		2 coarse do.	2.00
estimated @ 50 bushels @ 40¢	20.00	11 yds. thick cloth @ \$1	11.00
a quantity of wheat no thrased		1 case of drawers	10.00
estimated at 15 bushels @ 66¢	9.90	1 dining table	4.00
1 bay horse	8.00	1 small do.	1.66
1 black mare	40.00	1 chest	2.00
1 black filly	35.00	6 Windsor chairs @ 60¢ each	3.60
1 black horse colt	32.00	6 split bottoms do. @ 25¢	1.50
1 small bay mare	30.00	2 Windsor do. @ 12 1/2¢	.25
1 bay colt	20.00	1 dresser	1.50
1 spring colt	8.00	1 large pewter dish	1.00
1 black & white cow	11.00	2 small do.	1.00
1 brinded cow	12.00	6 plates do.	1.50
1 brown do. white face	11.00	6 basons do.	1.50
1 red do.	10.00	6 spoons do.	.25
1 heiffer red & white	7.00	1 large bason do.	.75
1 do. white face	7.00	1/2 set of China	.35
1 red steer white face	5.00	1 large pot	1.25
1 brwon do.	6.50	1 small do.	.75
1 heiffer	6.00	1 do. do.	.65
1 Moike steer	5.00	amount carried over	558.23
1 brown steer	2.00	1 stew kettle	.25
1 red do.	1.75	1 skillet	.25
5 sheep first choice @ \$1.50	7.50	1 pan	.50
12 do. @ \$1	12.00	1 gridiron	.50
1 sow & pigs	2.00	1 teakettle	.25
1 do.	1.50	1 checkreel	.30
1 do. black & white	1.50	1 spinning wheel	1.25
amount carried over	380.57	1 barrel & flaxseed	1.93
1 black & white sow	1.50	1 pair of stilyards	1.50
1 barrow	1.00	1 barrel	.35
1 small sow	1.00	1 churn	.25
4 shoats @ 60¢ each	2.40	1 handsaw	.50
6 hogs in the pen @ \$3 each	18.00	1 hackle	.50
1 waggon	26.00	1 pair flat irons	.50
2 pair horse gears	2.50	1 silver watch	8.00
1 plow	2.50	6 bushels of buckwheat @ 33¢	1.98
1 do. & double tree & clevises	2.00	15 bushels of corn @ 40¢	6.00
1 ax	1.00	1 crossect saw	1.50
a quantity of flax	2.50	Liberary	
5 bushels of oats @ 25¢	1.25	3 vols. of Lock's Essay	2.00
1 windmill	3.00	2 do. Newton on the Prophecy	1.50
1 feather bed & furniture	16.00	2 do. Cecilia	1.25
1 do. do. do.	14.00	1 vol. Morse's Geography	1.50
1 do. do. do.	17.00	1 Doctor Book	1.00

## Continuation of John Campbell's inventory

1 large Bible	2.00	Hill's Arthmattick	.50
1 History Redemtion	1.25	Gibson on Surveying	.25
1 Dictionary	.75	Schoolmaster's Assistant	.10
Steel, Sermons	.60	Dodridge on Religion	.33
Brawn's Harmony	.75	1 pocket Bible	.25
1 vol. Inquistion	.50	amount brought foward	599.57
Newton's Letters	.25	1 gun	2.25
Fisher's Chatechim	.25	1 sheep	1.50

Franklin County's Personaly appeared before me James Wallace on the Justices of the Peace & William Skinner & James Alexander & Being sworn the foregoing apraisement list is just and true according to the best of our knowledge Sworn and Subscribed to this 4th day December 1807.

Administration# 1123

We the undersigned being duly authorized appointed by the Administrators of the Estate of Christian Oyster deceased do make & return the valuation of the Goods and Chattles of the deceased. to the best of our knowledge & beleif as follows

page 1	Dollars	page 2	Dollars
1 writing desk	3.50	4 small Waiters	.50
1 corner cupboard	12.00	1 large Waiter	1.75
1 breakfasttable	4.00	2 do. glass tumblers	1.12
1 stand	2.00	1 goblett	.37
1 diningtable	3.50	1 quart & 1 half pint bottle	1.00
7 black chairs @ 75¢ per peice	5.25	7 Wine glasses	.75
sett of ladles	1.50	3 green do. bottles	.40
18 plates Pewter @ 33¢ per pc.	5.94	1 lott China	2.25
2 Pewter basons	1.75	1 do. Queensware	2.00
2 Pewter dishes	2.00	1 lott plates	2.00
1 case of drawers	7.00	1 lott dishes	2.75
1 desk	5.00	5 silver & 3 common Tea spoons	3.00
1 Teatable	2.00	coffee pot & bowls	.50
2 kitchentables	1.75	1 pitcher	.75
2 sett knives & forks	3.50	1 lott of pictures	1.50
1 do. do. do.	1.75	1 slate	.37
1/2 dozen tins	.48	shaving tools	.80
3 coffee potts	1.50	1 pair Cotters cards	.50
first sett knives & forks	.75	1 lott gold weights, spectacles & sundries	.60
2 tin buckets	1.50	Faseshas	4.00
candle & cake mouldes	1.00	1 German Bible	.75
1 pair candlesticks	2.00	4 vol. Juvenile Magazine	2.25
2 brass & 1 iron candlesticks	1.50	1 lot English books	1.00
1 callender		5 smoothing irons	1.25
2 pye pans, sausage stuffer,		1 looking glass	3.50
Tea canister & pot lid & c.	7.75	1 do. do.	2.00
1 home made carpet 23 1/2 yards		1 do. do.	.62
@ 50¢	11.37	1 pair wool cards & clothes brush	.67
2 tin pans	.50	3 chairs	.75
1 bread tray	.37	2 arm chairs	2.00
continued ballance over	85.17		

page 2 - cont.

7 old chairs	
1 kitchen cupboard	
1 do. small do.	
10 earthen crocks	
1 coffeemilk	
carried up B.	
2 copperkettles	
1 frying pan & skellette	
1 preserving pan	
1 iron skellet	
1 griddle & bake oven	
2 dutch oven & 2 pots	
2 pair tongs & 1 shovel	
2 pots	
2 crocks for potts	
1 copperkettle	
1 gridiron	
1 lot wooden dishes	
2 fire buckets	
1 lot baskets	
2 clothes lines	
3 kegs	
1 bell & milk strainer	
1 bedstead & card	
1 rocking cradle	
1 ironkettle	
2 earthen crocks	
1 rain water barrel	
3 benches & dough troughs	
1 spice ben & ladle	
1 spinning, 1 large do. & 1 reel	
winding blades	
1 catt	
1 feather bed & bolster	
1 woman's saddle	
1 dressing table with drawers	
2 chairs	
1 bottle	
1 feather bed, pillars & bolsters	
3 do. do.	
ballance brot over	
2 quilts	
2 do. patch	
2 sheets	
1 bedstead & cord	
1 do. do.	
2 do. do.	
6 coverlets	
1 umbrella	
2 blankets	
1 do.	
1 large quiltt	

Dollars page 4 - cont.

1.50	1 large quiltt
4.00	1 do. do.
1.75	1 do. do.
1.25	1 coverlid
1.00	1 do.
137.45	1 chaff bed
3.00	1 do. do.
1.50	1 do.
.50	1 do.
.50	1 do.
1.25	1 do.
4.00	1 do.
1.00	1 sheet
1.00	1 bed case
2.00	1 sheet
8.00	do.
.62	do.
.50	do.
1.50	do.
1.50	do.
.50	do.
.50	do.
.50	do.
3.00	do.
.18	1 tablecloth
3.50	do.
.33	do.
.50	window curtains
.75	6 pillow cases
.06	8 coarsetowels
3.00	1 do.
.25	1 breakfast cloth
----	2 bolster cases
1.00	4 do.
7.00	ballance brot up
3.00	3 check bolster cases
1.25	3 buckets
.37	4 tubs
----	1 cabbagetub
----	1 old table
191.02	1 large brewing tub
3.00	1 meat tub
5.00	2 cider barrels
2.50	1 churn
3.00	1 pickling tub
4.00	1 iron tea kettle
3.50	1 ink stand
7.00	2 old axes
2.00	2 bags old ones
9.00	1 cutting box & knife
1.50	1 dutch scythe
4.00	2 cow chains

Dollars

2.00
1.50
.50
6.00
2.00
1.75
2.00
1.50
1.75
2.00
2.00
1.00
2.00
2.50
3.00
2.50
3.00
1.50
2.00
1.75
1.00
1.75
2.50
1.75
1.25
1.00
1.25
1.00
2.25
1.50
.25
.75
1.00
1.00
296.02
1.33
1.25
3.00
.25
.25
2.00
1.00
1.50
.60
.50
.25
.12
.50
.75
2.50
1.00
.50

## continuation of Christian Oyster's inventory

page 5 - cont.

	Dollars		Dollars
2 hoes	.60	1 shovel	.37
1 maul	.27	1 fork	.62
fast adds & chissels	.50	1 scive	.50
1 pitch fork	.37	1 mattock	.15
hand saw & hatchet	.50	1/2 spade	.12
			<u>317.94</u>

Sworn &amp; Subscribed the 24th day of October 1814

Jacob Snider  
Louis Dewig  
Larry Gluitie

Public Venue of Christian Oyster deceased Estate 25th day of October 1814

items		sold to	Dollars
27 hides upper leather @ \$ 5.37 per pc.		Peter Oyster	145.12
20 do. harness leather @ \$ 7.00 do.		Jacob Oyster	140.00
20 do. @ \$ 8.00 do.		do.	160.00
19 do. @ \$ 6.00		Peter Oyster	114.00
House, Tanyard, & the 2 Lotts where on the same - stand & all permenant imporvements			6200.00
total Estate after creditors 10th October 1816			<u>8912.52</u>

Administration # 1339

An Inventory of the Goods & Chattels of Patrick Mooney late of Washington Township  
Franklin Co. deceased as follows Februy 4, 1815.

page 1	Dollars		Dollars
1 desk & book case	40.00	1 table	2.00
1 feather bed & furniture	60.00	6 chairs	5.00
1 ditto " "	40.00	Pewter Dishes, Server, & plates	8.50
1 ditto " without	25.00	1/2 doz. Silver Tea Spoons	5.00
5 shirts	5.00	1 knife bone, knives & forks, & spoons	2.00
5 pair pantalooms	7.00	1 lot tongs & shovels	1.50
1 bed spread	1.00	1 brafs candlestick	1.00
4 vests	6.00	1 keg & looking glass & brush	1.00
4 coats	20.00	1 handsome	<u>3.00</u>
1 great coat	1.00	over	322.25
1 pair boots	1.00	1 lot tools/ saw, adds, augers	2.50
1 Carter hat	2.00	1 lot iron hag tongs	1.50
1 pair buckskin gloves	.75	4 pair harnes	1.00
1 musket & shot gun	7.00	1 lot old iron harrowpins	2.00
1 1/2 bushels & 2 meat chopper	1.50	1 coopers crissat	1.00
2 pair Cove chains	1.00	1 lot leather	2.00
1 pair of scales for store	1.25	1 bridle saddle & bags	1.00
2 twill bags	1.25	1 stove & pipe. 10 plates	16.00
1 lot of books 8 in No.	12.50		
1 8 day clock	60.00		
page 2			
1 lot mettal pots & hooks	4.00	horse gears	1.00
1 pair steelyards	3.00	1 cutting box	1.50
1 frying pan, pot rack & tea kettle	4.00	4000 staves	<u>18.00</u>
1 churn, strainer & candle moles	1.50	over	495.50
dow trough, bucket, barrel & other articles	4.00	4180 shingles @ \$8.00	33.45
		2000 ditto (Reader not finished)	16.00

old cider barrels	3.00	1 still	60.00
1 large pot	2.50	10 old Hhds. (hogheads)	14.50
1 lot old vessels	1.50	1 cooling tub & singlin kegs	2.50
1 matring can pot & crock	1.00	7 new Hhds.	17.50
1 ten plate stove & pipe	15.00	20 bushels oats	8.00
1 ditto side doors & pipe	16.00	15 bushels potatoes	7.50
1 pair iron apple nuts	11.00	cash on hand	22.00
1 horse	30.00	booklets	.18
1 cow dry	12.00	total	677.13
2 cider barrels	1.50		
log chain, spade, stretchers, shovel, bucket	6.00		
1 windmill	8.00		
hay fork & hoe	.75		

Administration#1883

An Inventory and Appraisment list of the goods and chattel rights and credits of the estate of William Reynolds, deceased late of Roxbury appraised now the Fourteenth day A. D. 1822.

page 1	Dollars	page 2	Dollars
1 large pattent still	200.00	11 sheep @ \$1.75	19.25
1 Hh. a still head & worm	75.00	2 bed & beding @ \$40.00	80.00
1 " still	40.00	1 bureau	18.00
3 still boilers	20.00	1 looking glass	6.00
1 heater & 2 tubs	9.00	1 table & glass	1.00
54 masher Hh. a.	75.00	1/2 doz. chairs black	4.50
9 pipes	18.00	1 bureau	6.00
3 still Hh.	6.00	2 beds & beding	30.00
1 large stove	20.00	1 looking glass	1.50
70 <i>hidestanned half more</i>	280.00	1 arm chair	1.00
6 doz. <i>calf skins</i>	72.00	2 looking glass	20.00
<i>hides soal leather tanned</i>	120.00	1 timepeace	30.00
120 " <i>green</i>	480.00	1 pair dining tables	20.00
60 " <i>horse green</i>	100.00	2 tables	12.00
75 <i>country hides half tanned</i>	243.75	8 chairs	12.00
1 1/2 doz. <i>sheep skins</i>	2.25	1 pair fire irons, shovel & tongs	12.00
<i>Currying &amp; Tanning tools</i>	10.00	1 table	2.50
1 <i>stove 10 plate</i>	12.00	1/2 doz. chairs	4.00
1 " " "	6.00	1 arm chair & settee	6.00
62 <i>cords bark @ \$3.25</i>	201.50	1 Teatable	2.00
1 waggon	55.00	1 side board	35.00
5 set of horse geers	35.00	1 clock	45.00
3 collars	3.75	desk & book case	20.00
cutting box	2.00	1 diningtable	4.00
2 log & 1 fifth chains	6.00	1 looking glass	8.00
carriage & harnis	150.00	1/2 doz. red chairs	5.00
1 sleigh	15.00	1 Card Table	4.00
1 broad wheel waggon	85.00	fire irons, shovel & tongs	5.00
2 sleds	3.00	cupboard & kitchen furniture	12.00
3 horses	220.00	book case	12.00
2 do. grays	130.00	1 stove 10 plates	18.00
3 cows	36.00	1 table	3.50
		1 desk	2.00

2 tables	1.00
2 bar shear ploughs	6.00
2 shovel, do.	2.00
1 stove 6 plate	3.00
1 do. 10 do.	16.00
1 do.	15.00
1 pair long lathers	3.00
1 copperkettle	15.00
3 beds	24.00
book case, table, chest	10.00
44 calf skins & hides upper	75.00
2 Barrels Whiskey	16.00
1 bed, 2 wheels, 2 reels, 1 chest	10.00
26 hogs @ \$3.50	91.00
60 do. @ \$1.25	75.00
1 small stove	5.00
1 harrow	4.00
Cooper tools	2.00
7 hogs @ \$4.50	31.50

being sworn as the law directs, deposition and declares that the within appraisment of the goods & affects of William Reynolds deceased late of Roxbury, is just and true. Sworn & Subscribes before me  
 Tho. McClland  
 Samuel L. Swansy  
 John Shoemaker

#### Adminstration # 1975

The following is the true Inventory of the goods and Chattles George McClelland Esq. appraised by John Bell & Robt. Robison 26th Sept. 1823.

page 1	Dollars		Dollars
1 set Tea tables oval shape	5.00	1 beaurow in passage upstairs	2.50
1/2 doz. yellow chairs	2.50	carpet & window blinds do.	.25
1 pair large looking glasses	4.50	4 chairs back room upstairs	1.00
1 set of shovels & tongs	.75	carpet, chest, looking glass	.50
carpet & rugs in front room down stairs	1.75	1 bed & bedstead in Stone	
1 Teatray	.20	end upstairs	7.00
1 lot Tea ware in front room cupboard	2.50	old chairs & table log end	.25
carpet, settee in the passage & stairs	3.00	1 beaurow front room do.	3.00
1 set of green chairs	2.50	1 bed in do.	3.00
1 beaurow front room upstairs	4.50	1 do. small size do.	4.00
1 bed & bedstead front room do.	7.50	1 Teatable square shape	1.50
1 oval shaped stand, wash bowl, & pitcher	.50	old chairs & looking	
carpet, toylet, looking glass, & curtain	.75	glass	.62
1 bed back room log end	3.25	total store inventory	935.05
1 Bosc L. glass	.50	total tannery inventory	948.25
1 set of old drawers	2.00	1 log chain & fifth chain	2.50
amount brot over	65.32	1 barrel of old iron	.50
sundry old queens ware	.37	1 mans sadal & womans	3.00
1 bed back room down stairs	1.50	10 hags first choise @\$2.50	25.00
1 lot of cloverseed per bushel \$4	----	4 do. second choise @ 1.25	5.00
chairs	1.75	39 sheep @ .80	31.20
1 old dining table middleroom	1.50	1 bay mare	38.00

9 chairs in parlor	4.50	1 black hors	35.00
1 set ovel tables in parlor	5.00	1 do.	15.00
1 dining table	2.50	1 lot hors geers	10.75
1 stand	.30	1 plow with cast molebord &	
1 bookcass	8.50	dubeltree	2.00
1 eight day clock	21.00	1 do. wooden mole bord do.	2.00
1 bed & bedstead	8.50	2 harrows	3.25
window curtains	.75	1 old wagon bed	1.50
1 set hand irons, shovels & tongs	2.00	1 old cart & geers	5.00
2 candle sticks & waiters	.50	1 brod wheeled wagon & bed	110.00
1 half busket & desk mirror	.62	1 hind carrage of a wagon	30.00
1 churn	.37	1 plow & 1 corn dubeltree	1.12
3 tubs & 1 kettle	1.00	1 set od old stills	15.00
20 hags	5.00	1 carding machine	7.00
1 iron kettle large	1.50	1 set wagon wheels	1.00
1 lot of old lumber	.25	1 larg brinel steer	10.00
1 ax	1.00	1 brinel cow	7.00
mawl & wedge	.25	1 do do	5.00
1 dough chest	.06	1 do do	5.00
rake & wooden shovel	.40	1 black cow	6.00
1 lot lumber kitchen loft	.06	1 do red	4.50
1 large saw	1.50	1 do old	4.00
2 beds kitchen loft	2.00	1 young bull	2.50
lot of chairskitchen	.75	1 do do cow white	7.00
kitchen hollow ware & table	3.60	1 plantetion wagon	11.00
1 bed in north end	4.00	1 windmill	8.00
carpet \$2, corner cubboard 25¢	2.25	shovels & forks	3.00
amount brot over	148.62	1800 ft. pine board	14.40
		1500 ft. oke shingels	---
		1 lot hay at home	32.00
		1 lot wheat in the shafe	20.00
		7 cow chains & cuting box	1.00
		1 shot gun	6.00
		1 do do	3.00
		1 lot buckwheat	5.00
		2 lot corn at home in the field	15.00
		1 lot hay lower farm	16.50
		46 bushels of rye at do.	13.80
		67 b. oats at do.	13.40
		15 acres of rye in the ground	30.00
		1 lot of potatoes at home	8.00
		balance time of Black girls	
		time named Hanah	8.00
		1 family carrage	110.00
		1 Darbourn wagon	30.00
		1 2 hors sheigh	8.00
		1 set of hay lathers	.25
		1 lot of books in bookcase	20.00
		sundry lumber & crops	44.45
		total	3101.54

Administration #2114

An inventory of all and singular the goods and chattles rights and credits which were of William Maclay late of Lurgan Township and appraised by Joseph Cole Esq. & John Deardorff on the ninth day of June A D 1824.

page 1	dollars		
1 lot living ware (plates)	1.00	1 lot spade, shovel & tongs	1.75
1 " common "	.20	1 reel	.37
1 sett of china cups & saucer	.20	2 axe	3.00
1 lot of " barley	.56	1 lot of crocks	1.00
1 " " Tea pots	.30	1 teakettle	1.00
1 sett of knives & forks	.62	3 chairs & bags	1.00
1 ladle, bottle & tumbler	.75	1 lot of tinware	1.75
1 wash bowl & pitcher	.62	1/2 doz. dutch syths	4.50
1 breakfasttable	4.00	amt. brot over	46.23
4 bed cords	1.00	1 6 plate stove & pipes	3.00
1 pr. shovels & tongs	1.25	1 Lorrel mare	50.00
1 lot chairs	6.00	1 cupboard	8.00
1 table	.75	1 breakfasttable	3.50
1 lot of barrels	.60	1 small stand	1.50
1 kettle	.62	1 mattoe	1.00
1 blue bedstead	2.50	3 waiters	2.25
1 " do	1.50	8 lots of bacon	7.32
1 plain do	1.00	total	122.80
1 desk	.50		
2 tubs & churn	2.50	Sworn & subscribed before me	
2 bake ovens	1.62	Samuel L Swansy	
1 lot pots, fire irons	4.00	Justice of the peace	

Administration

Inventory of the goods and personal estate of Rowland Harris decsd. late of the Township of Peters and County of Franklin with the appraisment and valuation of each and every article stated in words and figures and sworn and subscribed below

page 1	dollars	page 2	dollars
eight day clock	40.00	wagon & bed	15.00
secretay & book case	22.00	Dearbourn & harrow	20.00
candlestand	1.00	horse	20.00
kitchentable	1.00	cow	10.00
ten plate stove & pipe	15.00	steer	4.00
large copper kettle	6.00	cart	10.00
do. iron do.	2.00	straw bed & bedsted	1.50
writing desk	2.00	dresser	1.00
trinnel bedstead & cord	1.00	table	1.00
do. & cord	1.00	saddle bags	1.50
brewing tub	1.50	set of knives & forks	.50
small do. & can	1.50	pair of hand irons	1.25
2 large chests	1.50	18 heads of sheep	15.00
circularwalnuttable	1.25	1 lot fethers	4.65
feather bed & bedding	6.00	shovel & tongs	1.00
5 blankets	2.50	3 tin coffee pots	.50
5 quilts	10.00	2 buckets	.50
2 coverlets	5.00	3 chairs	.75



3 arm chairs	2.00	1 chest	.75
5 split bottom Windsor chairs	1.25	7 bushels wheat	5.00
pair hand irons	1.25	27 bushels rye	8.44
pair shovel & tongs	1.00	25 bundles straw	.50
lot of Queenware	1.50	ax	.15
do. bottles & glasses	1.50	5 tin cups & 2 cannisters	.33
pair brass candlesticks	1.00	4 bags	.75
saddle bags	1.50	28 lb. bacon	1.68
total page 1	131.25	barrel with vinegar	1.50
		1 bed & bedsted	4.00
		20 gallons Brandy	7.00
		total	270.67

Administration #2746

Memerandum of Goods and Chatels of Peter Newman, Lurgan Township, Franklin County.  
Deceased appraised by John Mowers and Christopher Reynolds on the 26th October 1831.

1 brown cow	13.00	1 chest	1.00	total	99.87
1 ? do-	8.50	1 table	.25	bedstead &	
1 stove & pipe	17.00	1 dresser	2.00	beding	5.00
1 eight day clock	18.00	1 lot kitchen		total	104.87
1 chest	1.00	furniture	5.00		
1 table	1.75	2 coverlets	5.00		
1 bed & bedding	6.50	1 lot carpets &			
1 looking glass	.37	blankets	1.00		
1 lot chairs	1.50	4 hogs	13.00		

Taken and appraised by us the subscribers on the 26th October A. D. 1831.

Administration #4193

Inventory of the Goods Chattels & credits of Daniel Royer late of Washington Township  
Dec'd., taken the 13th day of April A D 1838 by David Royer, Samuel Royer & GW Smith  
administrators of the personatty of the said Decd- & appraised by the above named appraisers

page 1	dollars		
amt of stock in Tan Yard as		brown mare	65.00
per agreement of Heirs	2500.00	Sorrel mare colt	50.00
bay horse	90.00	large black steer	60.00
ditto	65.00	2 red muly steers	38.00
blackmare	40.00	white steer	18.00
bay ditto	90.00	black ditto	18.00
blackriding mare	30.00	grey steer	21.00
Sorrel horse	1.00	black & white steer	20.00
black & white muleysteer	21.00	wagon whip & line	2.00
black steer with bell	21.00	2 set hind horse gears	20.00
black & white bull	21.00	leatherline	.37
red muley cow & calf	30.00	feed bucket fork & spade	1.00
black cow & calf	28.00	5 halter chains &	
strawberry cow	24.00	neck bands	2.50
black & white cow	25.00	halter chain w/ head stall	1.00
white & black spotted cow	20.00	2 head stalls	1.00
strawberry muly cow	28.00	lot plow gears	1.50
red & white cow	25.00	4 bridles	2.00

black bull calf	10.00	2 set double trees	3.00
amt. carried over	3359.00	single trees	1.50
spotted bull calf	7.00	2 jocky sticks	.50
2 red steers	26.00	log chain	3.00
2 large Heifer calves	20.00	fifth chain	1.50
1 muly calf	5.00	rough lock	.50
14 sheet	49.00	2 pr. spreaders	2.50
8 lambs	4.00	1 pr. breast chains	.25
large white sow	12.00	10 cow chains	2.50
spotted sow	12.00	pr. steel yards	1.00
large white boar	12.00	pr. ditto	.50
sandy col boar	10.00	lot old iron	2.00
small white ditto	5.00	hammer, pincher, 2 wedges	
10 hogs	100.00	& maul	2.00
20 shoats	130.00	digging iron & sledge	3.00
7 pigs	24.50	2 mattocks	1.00
5 ditto	10.00	amt. carried up	4227.42
1 sow with 10 pigs	15.00	2 patent dung forks	1.00
2 geese	.80	5 pitch forks	1.87
road wagon	75.00	2 shaking forks	.25
one horse wagon	50.00	3 horse beams	2.00
farm wagon & hay ladder	18.00	2 pruning hooks &	
ditto & wood ladders	40.00	steelyards	1.00
carriage & 2 set harness	45.00	shaving horse &	
windmill	35.00	2 drawing knives	2.00
jack screw	6.00	58 pcs. bar iron	29.00
windmill	10.00	lot collars & harness	.12
plough	12.00	skillet & gridiron	.50
ditto	12.00	pr. patent scales	5.00
double shovel plough	5.00	adze & double bit axe	1.00
1 single ditto	1.00	cross cut saw	1.50
plough	.25	4 augers	1.00
sleigh	15.00	2 scythes & sneds	1.50
2 flax breaks	.50	clover cradle	1.00
pr. hay ladders	6.00	woodsaw & buck	1.50
amt. carried up	4132.05	hatchet, sickles & shears	1.00
applemill	10.00	2 old iron pots	.25
2 harrow	14.00	cheese press	.50
paling & plank	2.00	4 old barrels	2.00
2 set horse gears	8.00	2 saddles & bags	8.00
1 set ditto	4.00	morticing axe	1.25
wagon saddle	.25	lot oats in Garner	19.84
cutting box	1.50	lot corn in crib	33.55
collar, bridle, harness & backband	2.00	lot gardening utensils	1.50
copper kettle	8.00	11 sickles	.33
iron kettle	2.00	trundle bedstead	.25
2 pr. dog irons	1.00	barrel of onions	.25
griddle	.50	2 bus. cloverseed	12.00
oval dutch oven	.50	3 barrels sald	7.00
dish pan	.25	pr. saddle bags	1.00
pot, dutch oven & tea kettle	1.50	2 beds in room above kitchen	20.00
amt. carried up	4227.42	2 ditto ditto	16.00
dutch oven, skillet & pan	.75	1 wagon bed	6.00
washing machine	1.00	drum & stove pipe	5.00

<b>chopping bench</b>	.50	<b>cooking stove</b>	18.00
<b>butter stand &amp; 2 tubs</b>	1.50	<b>kitchen cupboard</b>	2.00
<b>pr. tongs, bench &amp; chain</b>	.50	<b>flour chest</b>	2.00
lot oats in mill	57.97	<b>2 benches in kitchen</b>	1.00
lot buckwheat in mill	24.40	lot tinware "	5.50
lot wheat in mill	61.29	lot table spoons "	1.00
13 twilled bags	3.90	amt. carried up	5181.66
lot groung plaister 2 tons	26.00	lot Queensware "	12.00
2 lots rye in mill	6.08	lot knives & forks "	3.00
39 flour barrels	13.00	pot rack "	1.00
cart	3.00	table "	2.00
8 acres wheat	112.00	6 chairs "	1.87
4 acres rye	36.00	6 ditto	3.00
acres wheat (Hill & Field)	100.50	3 ditto	.75
acres ditto (Lower field)	72.62	lot dishes in Pantry cupboard	3.00
acres rye	109.42	tub & 1/2 bushel	1.50
bus. potatoes	2.75	stove & pipe	10.00
15 barrels	3.75	long bench	.50
1/2 barrel Whiskey	2.00	pr. saddle bags	2.00
3 tight barrels	3.00	2 spinning wheels	1.00
barrel with boiled cider	4.00	ditto & check reel	2.50
tierce water cider	.50	wool wheel	.50
barrel vinegar	2.00	hatchel	.50
2 qt. cask & wine	3.00	2 sheep shears	.75
1 kraut cutter	.50	9 crocks apple butter	2.70
lot lard	9.06	lot dried fruit	.75
amt. carried up	4962.33	lot woolen yarn	1.50
4 meat stands	4.00	lot carpetting	3.00
small copper kettle	2.50	lot wool	2.00
ditto	.50	Yank clock	6.00
lot bread baskets	.50	sewing stand	1.00
dutch pot	.50	2 pictures	.20
cupboard & chest in cellar	1.00	bedstead & bedding	15.00
lot crocks in cellar	.50	1 doz. chairs	7.50
kraut stand	1.00	6 chairs	4.50
288 lbs. ham	28.80	book case & desk	3.00
57 lbs. shoulder & flitch	51.39	case drawers	5.00
20 lbs. dried beef	2.50	yds. stairs & passage	2.80
franklin stove	8.00	27 1/2 yds. carpetting	2.80
9 hay rakes	.56	U.S. map	2.00
cradle & scythe	4.00	amt. carried up	5287.29
10 twilled bags	1.00	bedstead & bedding	14.00
ditto	.75	ditto	14.00
4 fly nets	10.00	ditto	10.00
16 yds. carpetting in Entry	16.00	small table	.75
20 yd. ditto in Parlour	12.50	looking glass	1.00
6 chairs	6.00	table	1.50
sewing chair	.75	desk & bookcase	18.00
stove & pipe	8.00	dining table	2.00
2 tables	12.00	Martyr's mirror	2.50
1 looking glass	2.00	Family Bible	1.00
2 glass lamps	.75	German Bible	1.00
lot bottles & wine glasses	1.00	Universal Geography	1.50
large waiter	1.25	amt. carried up	5518.04

map of U. States	8.00	Laws of U. S. 3 vol.	1.50
map of Penna.	4.00	English & German Dictionary	.50
4 pictures	.50	General Gazetteer	.25
settee	3.00	Chalmers Works 3 vol.	.75
bedstead & bedding	18.00	Book Martyrs	1.00
table	4.00	23 books	3.45
bureau	5.00	grindstone & frame	3.00
dressng glass	.75	saw, hatchet & axe	3.00
stove pipe	18.00	4 flat irons	1.50
wood box	2.00	wheel barrow	1.50
8 day clock	40.00	crow bar	2.50
		mattoc	.25
		ditto	.75
		shovel	.37
		error in 6 col.	33.77
		total	5572.13

#### Administration #4722

Before me the subscriber one of the Justice of the peace for said county freely came Thomas M. Cauley and John Waddell who being sworn in due form of law doth depose and say that they will well and truly and without prejudice or partiality value and appraise the goods chattles and credits of Henry Snively deceased and in all respects perform their duties as appraisers to the best of their skill and judgement. Sworn and Subscribed the 27 day of March 1845.

page 1	Dollars		dollars
bay horz	50.00	rake, 2 forks	.12
dum horz	30.00	4 forks	1.00
Rorn horz	10.00	shavell iron	.50
sadle	1.00	1/2 burshall measure	.37
D.	2.00	cutting box	.75
set of horz geers	2.00	wheal barrough	1.50
D.	2.00	brush	30.00
4 callers	2.00	sett brush harniz	5.00
2 set horz geer	3.00	2 pr. short tracez	1.00
4 bline bridels	2.00	2 pr. brest chanez	.25
2 ricling bridels	.50	wagon bead	15.00
set harz for 1 horz wagon	4.00	pr. Tracez	.75
halter & chane	.75	wagon	15.00
halterchane	.25	wood laders	2.00
sett plow & geer	1.00	pr. streachers	.75
wheat fork	8.00	pr. haselz	.12
2 shaking forks	.25	pair slay runez	.50
pare hay ladders	.50	cow of shook	8.00
2 old engat of wagons	.25	calf	1.50
lacking mashean	2.00	young hifer	6.00
small feedtrafte	.37	tan can	.12
small wagon	10.00	15 barrellz of corn	7.50
60 Laackes dastz	7.50	frath	.50
dung hook	.25	trafte	.25
doubletrez & singletrez	.62	75 bushale of oats	14.00
D.	.50	3 barrellz good	1.00
three hars trey	.50	2 barrellz old	.50
3 shavell plauvez	4.50	haghead	.25

2 spuds	.25	<b>crand cutter</b>	.37
two hors plough	2.00	<b>chapanbeauchifz</b>	.25
D.	3.00	<b>meet saw</b>	.12
2 harrowez	8.00	<b>pr stilards</b>	.50
6 martz pastz	1.50	<b>4 barrell of vingar</b>	6.00
one harz slay	5.00	<b>2 sive wier</b>	.75
<i>barkmill</i>	3.00	<b>clever</b>	.50
<b>8 cords of bark</b>	8.00	<b>caperkittle</b>	5.00
<i>feedingtraft</i>	.25	<b>sauses stuffer</b>	.25
<i>grindstone</i>	.75	<b>pr. stilards</b>	.37
amt. over	252.12	<b>da tray</b>	.25
<i>work bentch</i>	.75	<b>old siezer</b>	.25
<i>shaving horz</i>	.12	<b>11 peacez of meet</b>	5.50
lot <i>walnut bordz</i>	10.00	<b>brad ax</b>	.50
<b>2 hookz for drawing hids</b>	.25	<b>pige foot</b>	.12
<i>siver for tan yard</i>	.25	<b>mall &amp; 2 pr. wegez</b>	.50
<b>7 fleshing knives</b>	.87	<b>mat ax</b>	.37
<i>macing scyth &amp; hurn</i>	.50	<b>2 old ax</b>	.50
<b>11 slickerz for dresing leather</b>	1.00	<b>manterz hook</b>	.25
<b>5 grain bordz</b>	.50	<b>lot of old iron</b>	.75
<b>10 curing knives</b>	2.50	<b>han saw</b>	.25
<b>8 steelz</b>	1.00	<b>avi do fran</b>	.25
lot <i>leather</i>	1.00	<b>dutch oven</b>	.12
<b>2 beams</b>	.50	<b>pot iron</b>	.25
<b>2 bark knives</b>	.25	<b>gridill</b>	.25
<b>6 rubers</b>	1.25	<b>pan</b>	.25
<i>oilburrele 2 tubes</i>	.50	<b>stovekittle</b>	.10
<i>stave &amp; pipe</i>	4.00	<b>2 benches</b>	.50
<b>2 tubills</b>	2.00	<b>8 day clock</b>	25.00
<b>3 sheep skin with the wool on</b>	1.50	<b>largetobile</b>	3.00
lot <i>leather</i>	.50	<b>small stann</b>	1.25
<b>2 pencez of luther</b>	.25	<b>6 green charez</b>	3.00
<b>2 sides of hurnstiez</b>	3.00	<b>4 read D.</b>	1.20
<b>3 troves</b>	.50	<b>looking glafs</b>	.50
<i>grainscreadels</i>	1.50	<b>stave &amp; pipe</b>	6.00
<b>3 fly nets</b>	.75	<b>old deask</b>	1.50
lot of <i>fletcher</i>	.25	<b>old tobell</b>	.25
<b>2 tanrakez</b>	.18	<b>large German Bibile</b>	.25
lot of <i>tulz</i>	.12	<b>lot bookz</b>	1.25
<i>calf skin</i>	.50	<b>old looking glafs</b>	.06
<i>glue sifter</i>	.12	<b>bead &amp; beading</b>	5.50
bell cow	5.00	<b>D.</b>	3.50
read whit cow	7.00	<b>hanner</b>	.12
<b>desk</b>	.50	<b>pr. sadele baggs</b>	.37
<b>chisle</b>	1.00	<b>wheal &amp; real</b>	.50
<b>30 yds. carpting</b>	9.00	<b>2 hachiles</b>	.25
<b>18 D. D.</b>	4.50	<b>choping bench</b>	.12
<b>singal bead &amp; beading</b>	4.00	<b>large iron kittle</b>	2.00
<b>beading &amp; beading</b>	3.50	<b>2 tulus</b>	.75
<b>case of drawers</b>	2.50	<b>4 crocks of lard</b>	1.50
<b>4 charez</b>	5.00	<b>old iron kittle</b>	.12
<b>bead &amp; beading</b>	7.00	<b>churn &amp; bowl</b>	.62
<b>racking charez</b>	.25	<b>flax brake</b>	.25
<b>6 yalaw charez</b>	4.00	<b>10 akers of wheat in grainer</b>	75.00

large racking chare	2.00	2 pr. bootz & clasing	10.00
burough	5.00	2 lots of clavers hay morlefs	7.00
bead & beading	12.00	20 yds. ragecarpting	5.00
stann	.50	looking glafs	.25
looking glafs	.12	greencradle	1.50
20 crocks of appale butter	5.00	ladder	.75
woolen wheal	.25	lot hay	4.00
spinning wheal	.25	log churn	.75
1/2 bushall appeles	.25	total	616.98
2 barrell of corn	1.00		
largemape	.50		
9 chearz	1.25		
largetobule	1.50		
stave & pipe	5.00		
2 smalltobullz	1.25		
small corner cubords	1.25		
sord	.50		
large kitchentobill	1.00		
bench	.12		
small-tobill & da chist	.75		
kitchen cubord	1.75		
lot tinn ware	1.50		
2 smalldaltz	1.25		
skilletz	.37		
shavell & tongs	.37		
pr. iron dagez	.50		
bakekittle	.75		
bead & beading	2.50		
D.	2.00		

Administration# 8097

Before the subscriber a Justice of the Peace in and for said County personally came Robert McSwaney & Jacob Shover, appraisers, chosen by W.S. Amberson and Abraham Frantz administrators of David Royer late of Washington Township deceased, and who being duly sworn according to law do dpose and say that they will well and truly appraise the personal property, the goods, chattels & credits of said decedent with out partiality and to the best of their skill and knowledge.

Sworn & subscribed before me this 21st day of May A. D. 1860

Michael M. Stoner  
Justice of Peace

page 1	Dollars		
368 cogs	3.68	6 fly netts	12.00
mill saw	1.00	wagon saddle	2.50
2 crowbars & hook	1.50	lot faces	2.00
work bench	1.00	middlerings	.25
haycarriage	10.00	7 housers	5.00
2 pr. hay ladders	5.00	wagon whip	.50
log jack	.75	8 halters & chains	10.00
2 harrows	10.00	sett buggy harness	8.00
pr. bark ladders	3.00	2 saddles	6.00
sled	.25	2 bridles	3.00
5 shovel ploughs	5.00	cutting box	2.00

2 2 horse do.	3.00	3 boxes	.75
2 3 horse do.	10.00	shovel plough	.50
lot single & doubletrees	2.00	6 cow chains	1.00
cart	8.00	2 buckets, baskets & shovel	1.50
2 tar cans	.25	cow	17.00
wagon & wood ladder	40.00	do.	22.50
1 do., bark do.	35.00	do.	16.00
wagon	15.00	do.	26.50
log wagon	8.00	do.	15.00
road wagon	115.00	do. & calf	12.00
lot boards	.25	bull	28.00
2 shovel ploughs	2.00	do	12.50
reaper	75.00	10 steers	132.50
grainrake	1.00	2 do.	24.00
amt. brott forward	355.68	4 heifers	40.00
set sung boards	.75	5 do	35.00
buggy	75.00	2 goats	4.00
3 log chains	3.00	4 sows	34.00
5th chain	1.50	boar	9.00
icecutter	1.00	11 shoats	55.00
lot old iron	.50	1 <b>gold watch</b>	25.00
graindrill	20.00	113 chesnut posts	22.60
5th chain breast	5.00	9 do.	1.26
spring wagon	8.00	5000 shingles	27.50
wheelbarrow	1.50	set staves	1.00
thrashingmachine	15.00	bay mare	20.00
hayladder	1.00	do.	30.00
set hay forks	1.50	colt	65.00
set flails & rakes	.50	amt. forward	1377.73
shaking fork	.75	bay horse	125.00
oil can	.19	gray do.	45.00
windmill	7.00	bay do.	100.00
lot buckwheat	1.50	do. do.	110.00
7 Bu. clover	28.00	do. mare	90.00
lot old rouls	2.00	do horse	80.00
lot old posts	1.00	do do	70.00
60 barrels corn	54.00	sett augers & hammer	2.00
2 sett harness	13.00	2 augers	.50
4 do.	32.00	8 pigs	12.00
8 collars	7.00	3 grain cradles	2.00
8 blind bridles	10.00	lot sickles	.25
lot old harness	1.00	saw	1.00
wood saw & adze	.75	<i>saws</i>	.25
hoe spade, shovel & fork	.75	lot <i>cow horns</i>	.50
keg, tub & 1/2 bushel	1.00	lot <i>huir</i>	7.00
lot lumber	.25	<i>ladder</i>	.50
lot old iron	.50	<i>Grindstone</i>	.50
prunning chisel	.25	<i>work bench</i>	.25
churn	.75	<i>Grindstone</i>	2.00
cheese press	.12	3 <i>wheelbarrows</i>	6.00
crow stana	.25	<i>copper pump</i>	3.00
flax break	.06	<i>drying tun</i>	1.25
fish net	1.50	<i>stove</i>	2.00
12 grain bags	3.00	2 <i>shovels</i>	1.00

2 benches	.50	lot <i>curring knives</i>	1.50
wood box	.25	2 <i>forks</i>	1.25
bedstead	.06	<i>hatchet</i>	.37
cook stove & pipe	3.00	pr. <i>steel yards</i>	.50
do. do.	7.00	lot <i>fleshing knives</i>	1.50
slaw chest	1.50	pr. <i>patbalances</i>	4.00
dough tray & bench	.25	lot <i>wool</i>	.50
2 hoes & hog tongs	.25	2 <i>sheep skins</i>	.37
lot potatoes	.12	40 acres wheat in ground	320.00
box & carpet	.12	24 acres corn "	240.00
sink	.50	16 acres oats "	96.00
4 bedsteads	1.00	lot <i>stoneware</i>	2.50
hive bees	3.00	" <i>knives &amp; forks</i>	.50
3 meat tubs	1.50	" <i>sad fins</i>	.50
copperkettle	8.00	<i>table</i>	.37
iron do	1.50	<i>slaw cutter</i>	.37
lot tubs	.75	<i>griddle</i>	.13
2 soap vessels	.37	corner cupboard	2.50
2 washing machines	.62	<i>bench &amp; shelves</i>	.25
lot barrels	.12	<i>bird cage &amp; box</i>	.06
washing machines	2.00	<i>triangle</i>	.50
lot crock	.20	lot <i>feathers &amp; bedding</i>	5.00
table & bench	.12	cupboard & chest	.75
450 bacon	49.55	3 <i>bed cords</i>	.37
40 lard	3.60	3 <i>kegs of vinegar</i>	.75
slaw cutter	.25	<i>meatcutter</i>	.06
lot dry beef	2.00	<i>side saddle</i>	1.50
old catstring	.50	<i>stove &amp; pipe</i>	2.00
barrels & lumber	.25	lot <i>broom</i>	.50
do do	.12	<i>bench screws</i>	1.00
6 barrels & kegs	.50	<i>chest</i>	.25
2 barrels & vinegar	2.50	lot <i>Queensware</i>	8.00
1 do & syrup	2.00	lot <i>Tinsware</i>	3.50
keg	.12	<i>dough tray</i>	2.50
cupboard	.12	<i>stove &amp; pipe</i>	9.00
lot lumber	.06	<i>book case</i>	3.00
lot lard	3.00	lot <i>books</i>	1.00
7 cords wood	8.75	<i>table</i>	2.50
amt. brot. forward	21330.79	<i>looking glass</i>	.25
lot <i>gluepieces</i>	.50	<i>8 day clock</i>	7.50
6 <i>horse blankets</i>	10.00	<i>settee</i>	1.00
lot <i>old iron</i>	.75	<i>10 chairs</i>	2.50
<i>stove &amp; pipe</i>	8.00	<i>clock</i>	2.00
2 <i>maps &amp; oil lesk</i>	1.00	<i>single bedstead &amp; bedding</i>	5.00
2 <i>side tables</i>	12.00	<i>bedstead &amp; bedding</i>	7.00
2 <i>tables</i>	6.50	<i>chaff bags &amp; bolster</i>	2.50
<i>looking glass</i>	.75	<i>9 blankets</i>	13.00
lot <i>bake pans</i>	2.75	<i>3 coverlets</i>	7.50
<i>bureau</i>	1.50	<i>5 pillows</i>	3.00
amt. brot. forward	3124.89	<i>4 quilts &amp; 1 comfort</i>	4.00
<i>tarbottle</i>	.62	<i>chaff bag</i>	.75
<i>9 towels</i>	1.00	<i>5 pillow covers &amp; 2 sheets</i>	1.87
<i>5 tablecloths</i>	1.00	<i>case drawers</i>	1.50
<i>boulstir case</i>	.62	<i>table</i>	1.50



2 sheets	1.00	looking glass	.50
2 bed covers	1.00	lot bottles	.39
table cover & sheepskins	1.00	lot crocks	.50
2 window shades	1.00	13 crocks apple butter	4.87
2 waiters	.50	desk & sals	.50
sett chairs	4.50	wheel & reel	.50
rocking chair	.25	amt. brot forward	3308.84
3 baskets	1.25	stuffer	.75
15 yds. carpet	3.00	set hops	.12
33 " do.	10.23	shot bag & trupper	.87
15 do.	1.86	safe	.25
10 do.	1.00	lot books	.25
15 do.	2.70	box & barrel	.25
12 do.	3.72	bolster	.37
21 do.	3.22	roling screan	2.00
2 sett chairs	6.00	windmill	2.00
1 do do	3.37	lot nails	.75
5 coverlets & comforts	2.50	wheelbarrow	1.00
4 chaff bags	2.25	1 horse wagon & ladder	25.00
6 sheets	2.50	1000 shingles	5.50
5 pillow slips	.62	2 shingle trus & ticky stick	.75
comfort	.75	11 Charles Town pike stock	110.00
lot rags	.25	1 do do do	3.00
baskets & saddle	.75	2 do GRR do	6.00
powder horn	.12	21 envelopes	.63
sean	1.00	pr. Seals	5.00
2 pr. shoes	2.00	stove	3.00
2 yds. oil cloth	1.00	corn sheller	1.50
looking glass	.25	155 ft. pine pipe	7.75
lot glassware	2.00	100 rails	6.00
2 axes, 2 hatchets & kegs	1.50	8000 ft. pime lumber	120.00
lot stove pipes	1.00	93 bo. red wheat	116.25
stair rods	.12	141 do. whole do.	183.30
2 rifles	20.00	1950 <i>sidesole leather</i>	4797.00
shot gun	2.00	748 <i>sidesole leather</i>	2244.00
3 bedstead & beddings	30.00	46 " <i>hurness &amp; upper</i>	82.80
2 stands & table	1.50	33 <i>da</i>	110.77
case drawers	1.00	24 <i>calf skins</i>	18.00
wash stove	1.50	53 <i>sides hurness</i>	115.00
lot dry apples	.75	43 <i>sides hurness</i>	93.31
5 yds. cloth	2.50	12 " <i>uppers</i>	26.04
looking glass	.37	3 <i>kips</i>	4.50
46 <i>kips</i>	23.00		
26 <i>do.</i>	63.96		
34 <i>calf skins</i>	25.50		
4 <i>sides horse leather</i>	2.80		
1 1/2 <i>hog hide</i>	.90		
28 <i>calf skins</i>	42.00		
2 <i>sides hurness</i>	7.80		
<i>kip skin</i>	1.00		
6 <i>pr. shoes</i>	9.00		
good notes owned to Royer estate		1366.34	
total		12,944.71	

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