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THE MATERIAL LIVES OF LUNENBURG GERMAN
MERCHANTS AND YEOMAN: THE EVIDENCE BASED
ON PROBATE INVENTORIES, 1760-1830

by

Richard Henning Field

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

at

Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
September, 1990

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DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned hereby certify that they have read and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance a thesis entitled "The Material Lives of Lunenburg German Merchants and Yeoman: The Evidence Based on Probate Inventories, 1760-1830"

by Richard Henning Field

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

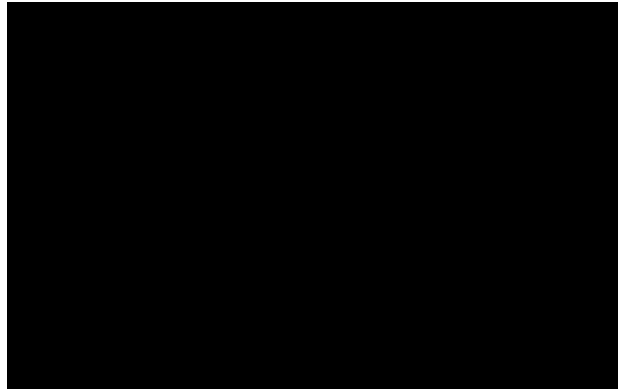
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D A L H O U S I E U N I V E R S I T Y

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DEDICATION

In memory of my father who was my first great teacher, who taught me the value of education and the importance of perseverance; and for Deborah, the unsung partner in this endeavour.

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ABSTRACT

Very little research has been conducted on the social and cultural life of the Lunenburg-Germans of Nova Scotia beyond Bell's original work on migration. Employing material culture methodology within a regional context, this thesis examines the material life of the merchants and yeomen of Lunenburg County from 1760 to 1830. Using probate inventories and the examination of period architecture and domestic furnishings, discussion ranges from the migration of the foreign Protestants to Nova Scotia, to the settlement of Lunenburg, to analysis of architecture and domestic interiors, to the study of specific aspects of Lunenburg material life including textiles and printed matter, and finally the proxemic patterns of specific merchant/yeoman households.

Evidence suggests that merchants set the standard for the embellishment of their domestic setting, and were agents for material change helping to reduce and eventually eliminate the tension between the European and English decorative traditions. As literate men they helped to shape the social and cultural environment of their community. Their position, power, literacy and material wealth were reflected in the style of their domestic dwellings and household furnishings.

Some yeoman sought to improve their domestic environment based on the standards set by the merchants which led to the rise of a yeoman-craftsman group. These families were able to augment their farming income with additional skills such as carpentry and weaving allowing them to embellish their own households with socially acceptable objects such as looking glasses and clocks. Through the social power of objects yeoman-craftsman were able to remain an internal part of their community. Yeoman who had little domestic space to display objects, or money to afford them, became more disenfranchised from the society particularly if illiterate. The rise of the yeoman-craftsman group is supported by the probate evidence, and is an important development which will require further study.

ABBREVIATIONS

MHB	Material History Bulletin
PANS	Public Archives of Nova Scotia
WMQ	William and Mary Quarterly
WP	Winterthur Portfolio

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To begin with I would be remiss if I did not thank Dalhousie University and the Department of History for allowing me to undertake this Doctoral Dissertation in Material History. This is a relatively new discipline, and both the University and Department showed their willingness to expand into new areas of study, particularly where the use of objects as primary historical sources is concerned.

Throughout this research I have been blessed with more than my fair share of even-tempered supporters. None more so than my thesis advisor, Dr. Michael Cross, who not only took on an aging academic, but a thesis in Material History. Dr. Jack Crowley, my minor field advisor, has continued to support my work and for that I am grateful. I have received continued support from many other friends including Dr. Brook Taylor, who continued driving me to complete my dissertation, Dr. Gwen Davies, and Dr. Ken MacKinnon. Dr. Graham Taylor, present head of the Department of History at Dalhousie University, has not only continued to support my research, but has seen the importance of including courses on Material History in the Department program.

INTRODUCTION

Archaeologists have been using objects to study and write about pre-historic society and culture for many years. The absence of substantial written records have made these objects and their in situ interrelationships the only evidence available on which to examine, interpret and understand pre-history.

However, when historians approached societies where primary written sources were available, objects made during that period and their relationship to individual, family or community were not studied at all. They were considered unessential in the traditional interpretations of history. The written word and deed told the story, historical objects were simply props, or at best decorative art.

Within the last two decades the importance of objects as primary historical sources has received slow recognition. Material culture as a discipline of history is still viewed by some as an eclectic field of study encompassing a broad, unrestricted range of objects, modified by human activity, and studied within a cultural context.¹ However, during the 1980's material culture has become serious history. Interdisciplinary journals such as the Material History Bulletin² in Canada, and Winterthur Portfolio³ in the United States, have advanced

acceptance of object study within the historical context in which they were developed and used. Exhibitions such as the 1982 "New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century",⁴ and its accompanying three volume catalogue produced by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and the 1985 exhibition and catalogue, "The Great River: Art and Society of the Connecticut Valley, 1635-1820"⁵ produced by the Wadsworth Atheneum in Connecticut, have brought together historians, geographers, and material culture scholars in an impressive interdisciplinary approach to the study of a specific region and/or time period.⁶

The basis for both of these exhibitions and catalogues has been the application of a regional model to the studies of seventeenth century New England Puritan society, and the art and society of the seventeenth through early nineteenth century Connecticut River Valley. Both endeavors used the concept of regionalism to organize research material and establish temporal and spatial parameters. "New England Begins"

used regionalism as the arena of analysis but found a rich and varied cultural pattern [and] identified various cultural systems - European, London, regional English, transplanted English, and native American - and demonstrated with material evidence how they interacted in seventeenth century New England, particularly in eastern Massachusetts. 7

In "The Great River" the approach was more circular:

Although some of the contributors to the catalogue sought to emphasize the diversity of

Connecticut River Valley material culture, the overall tone of the publication and especially the show emphasize similarities between objects made or owned in the valley in order to prove the existence of a dominant regional style. Regionalism thus served as both a boundary of research and the thesis to be proved. 8

Such regional studies of material life are beginning to accumulate impressive amounts of written, photographic, and research material. Unfortunately almost all of this work is being carried out in the United States. Only in the 1985 exhibition and catalogue "Spirit of Nova Scotia: Traditional Decorative Folk Art, 1780-1930", organized by the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia in Halifax, was an attempt made in this country to use a serious interdisciplinary material culture methodology to examine objects produced and used in that province.⁹

In keeping with the general methodology of these regional models, this thesis assumes a specific geographic and ethnic approach to the study of the material culture of one of the least studied groups in Nova Scotia- the foreign Protestants. Largely confined by the history of their migration and settlement to the south shore of the province, particularly Lunenburg County, (Map I) the foreign Protestants can be studied within a specific geographic region, and as an ethnic group sharing similar social and cultural dynamics. Migrating from Germany and Switzerland these immigrants shared the same Central European cultural patterns in their religion

(Protestantism), language (German), their material life, and in their common desire to leave their homeland and migrate to Nova Scotia.

Except for Winthrop Bell's monumental work, The Foreign Protestants and the Settlement of Nova Scotia published in 1961,¹⁰ very little historical research has been carried out on the Lunenburg Germans. Bell concentrated almost entirely on the migration of the German settlers, who under the auspices of the British, came to Nova Scotia from continental Europe between the years 1749-1752. His study is limited to the settlement of Lunenburg and its history prior to 1760.

A review of Common Heritage: An Annotated Bibliography of Ethnic Groups in Nova Scotia¹¹ published in 1984 underlines the historical neglect of the Lunenburg Germans. Under the heading "Germans" there are listed 7 books, 15 periodical articles, and 1 MA thesis. By contrast the amount of material published on the Blacks, Americans, Scots, Micmac and Irish listed in this same work is considerably larger in both quantity and scope of historical research.¹²

Working within a material culture methodology, this thesis begins where Bell leaves off.¹³ This methodology is best defined as "... the study through artifacts of the beliefs- values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions- of a particular community or society at a given time."¹⁴

The term refers to both the study of the objects produced by a particular society, or ethnic group like the Lunenburg Germans, and the traditions of individuals and families within that group who made, owned, and used these objects. By extension these objects as household furnishings reflect the social values of the community in which they were used.

Within this framework the general focus of this thesis will be on eighteenth and early nineteenth century Lunenburg German material circumstances within the domestic environment including: textiles; furniture and accessories; and printed matter. Although this work will begin with a discussion of German settlement in Lunenburg County, its emphasis will be on activities in the Lunenburg German household. This includes an examination of the interior setting and the objects used in everyday domestic life, the proxemic patterns of this environment, and the use and placement of objects within the domestic household and their relationship to people and space.

An important concern of this thesis is an examination of the interrelationship between domestic furnishings, vernacular architecture, and social status/class. This examination develops from the conviction that objects (furnishings and houses) are not only individually and collectively meaningful to the group that produced and used them, but these same objects reflect and embody the

complex range of social relations within the household between family members, as well as the rhythm of work, leisure and social activity found in the community itself.

Obviously I am not unaware of the problems inherent in discussing social class based on object study and probate inventories. Most would argue that material evidence cannot say anything about status and class; that status is a social concept determined by people's perceptions. If, however, the basis of material history is the study of objects and how they reflect or embody social attitudes, ideas, assumptions and values of individuals, families and communities, then it follows that objects must say something about social status and people's perception of class by the mere presence and location of certain objects or groups of objects in domestic households.

Unfortunately evidence concerning social status based on probate inventories for the foreign Protestants cannot be substantiated by other sources which could confirm what people thought about status and class. I have found no primary material to date which would aid in this analysis. Yet, this does not detract from the basic conclusions made concerning concepts of social status and class in this thesis.

Finally, before leaving this point, I must underscore the fact that the use of probate inventories is not

without its problems in an analysis of economic and social history such as this. The surviving probate inventories do not provide a complete record of all the possessions of all individuals probated in Lunenburg County between 1760 and 1830, and the quantitative use of inventories is often biased in terms of ethnicity, gender, age, and position in life cycle.¹⁵ In other words, the inventories themselves have inherent pitfalls based on social status, sex, age and occupation which in themselves reflect community perceptions and decisions about social class and social values. Understanding and using these biases suggests that any discussion of social status based on object study and probate inventories should have a high degree of reliability since they already embody conscious social decisions concerning social class.

The study concentrates mostly on the material environment in merchant and yeoman households. The contrast between the value and types of objects found within these respective domestic settings has permitted the identification of a distinctive yeoman-craftsman group. While remaining farmers, these families found ways of improving and augmenting their income through acquired skills such as carpentry and weaving, thereby allowing them to "upgrade" their domestic interior with objects such as looking glasses and clocks as means of exhibiting their improving social status and material wealth.

The architectural setting is equally charged with implications of social status. The style of house of the merchant and yeoman, its interior configuration and architectural details, and changing proxemic patterns are important components in the examination of social class and material possessions. This thesis research on the domestic and architectural landscapes of the merchant and yeoman of Lunenburg County between the years 1760-1830 has been carried out in the full light of the recent studies by Michael Steinitz¹⁶ on housing in eighteenth century Massachusetts.

Steinitz points out that within the context of late eighteenth century Massachusetts, the "... landscape was characterized by much smaller and meaner dwellings than has been assumed up to this point."¹⁷ His work is leading to a rethinking of the way we view the cultural landscape and "elite" housestyles.

However, differences must be noted between town and rural cultural settings. For example, in the Town of Lunenburg only one "First Summer" house has been identified, the remainder either demolished or incorporated into more elaborate dwellings. As the town prospered larger and more "elite" style houses were constructed - "First Summer" dwellings gave way to Cape Cod and Georgian forms of architecture. In turn, these house styles would change in the nineteenth century with

the addition of "Lunenburg bumps" and Victorian Gingerbread.

This process of change from simpler to more elaborate forms of housing reflects a to display wealth and social position. However, this process is not as evident in the rural landscape. Throughout the County of Lunenburg there is evidence to suggest that there existed more marginal dwellings which simply did not survive the last two centuries, or were not adaptable enough to be incorporated into existing structures supporting the conclusions of Steinitz for rural Massachusetts. But this research is beyond the scope of this thesis whose task is to examine the architectural landmarks and domestic environments of the successful farmers and merchants.

Both tradition and change are strongly reflected in the material culture record of the foreign Protestants between the years 1760 and 1830. In order properly to understand this process of adaption and change and its effects on the material life of the foreign Protestants, it is necessary to begin by briefly exploring the fragment of European culture that set roots in the soil of Nova Scotia during the eighteenth century.

Notes: Introduction

1. For a complete review of the historiography of material culture see Thomas J. Schlereth, "Material Culture Studies in America, 1876-1976," in Material Culture Studies in America, ed. Thomas J. Schlereth, (Nashville, 1982), pp. 1-75.

Up until 1988-1989 the words "material history" and "material culture" have been used interchangeably. With the publication of Material Life in America, 1600-1860 (Boston, 1988) edited by Robert Blair St. George, the term "material life" has become more acceptable and is used as well throughout this dissertation. Based on Fernand Braudel's definitions, material life is a complex concept best understood in general terms as "... a history more about daily routine than about exceptional deeds, more about common houses, fences, and fields than about country estates and Copley portraits, and as much about the lives of poor men and women as about their rich neighbors" (p. 3). More specifically material life is the basis of a new way to think about economic and social history, "... and owes its being to the force of 'traditional' knowledge realized through familiar rhythms of work and leisure." (p. 4).

2. Published by the National Museum of Man, Ottawa, Ontario.

3. Published by the Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Delaware.

4. Jonathan Fairbanks, ed., New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century, 3 vols. (Boston, 1982). This exhibition was held from May 5 to August 22, 1982.

5. William N. Hosley, Jr., ed., The Great River: Art & Society of the Connecticut Valley, 1635-1820 (Hartford, 1985). The exhibition was held from September 22, 1985 to January 6, 1986.

6. Edward S. Cooke, Jr., "History and the Art Museum: An Exhibition Review" Winterthur Portfolio, Volume 22, Number 2/3 [Summer/Autumn 1987], p. 166.

7. Ibid., pp. 165-6.

8. Ibid.

9. Richard Henning Field, ed., Spirit of Nova Scotia: Traditional Decorative Folk Art, 1780-1930 (Halifax and Toronto, 1985). The exhibition opened in Halifax on

September 24, 1987 running until December 6 after a two year cross Canada tour.

10. Winthrop Bell, The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nova Scotia (Toronto, 1961).

11. James H. Morrison, ed., Common Heritage: An Annotated Bibliography of Ethnic Groups in Nova Scotia (Halifax, 1984).

12. While the historical research to date on other ethnic groups has concerned itself with the broader aspects of their history, the work on the Lunenburg Germans has concentrated mostly on their settlement in Nova Scotia, passenger lists and genealogy.

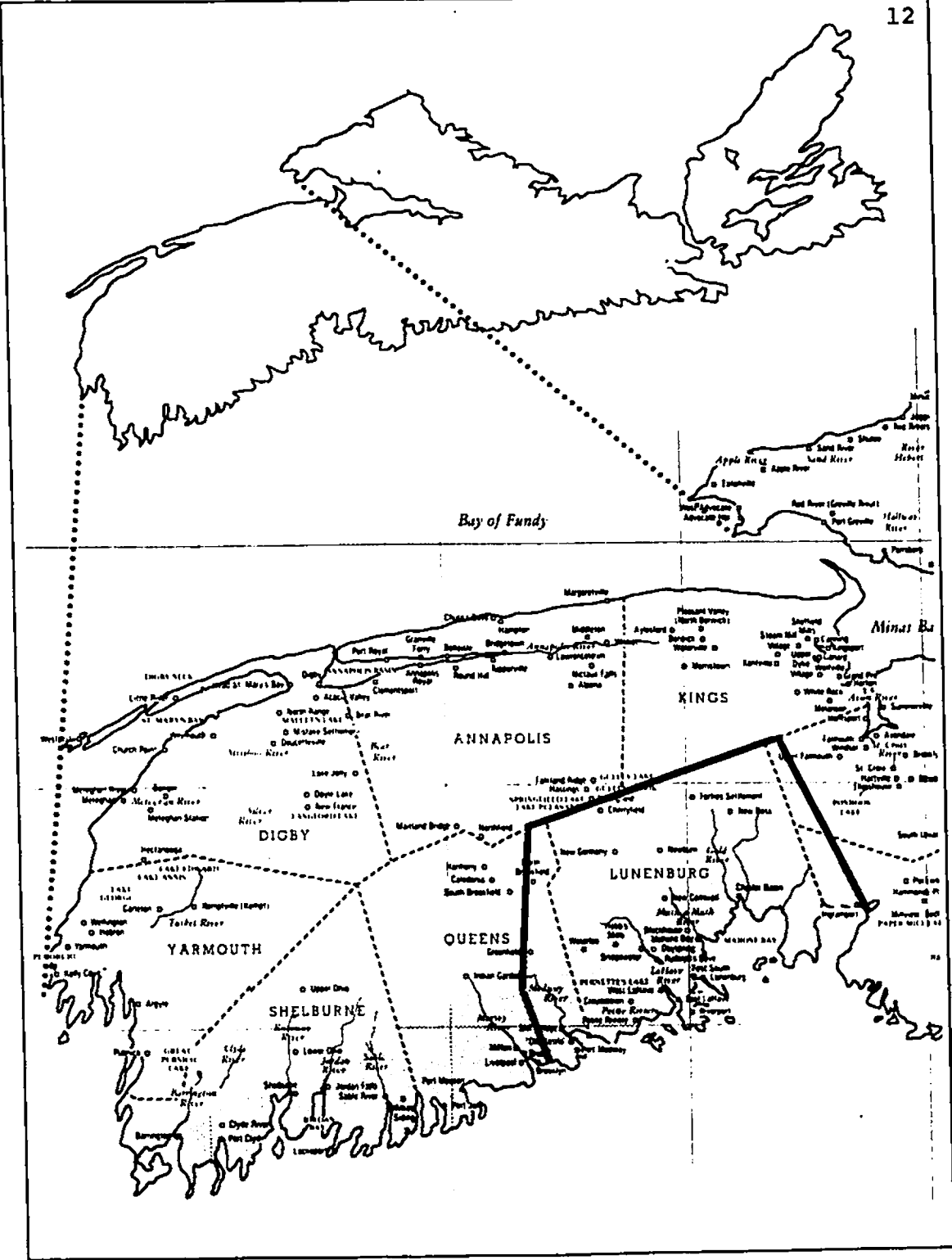
13. Although Bell does discuss in brief certain aspects of the types of buildings erected in Lunenburg over the first winter, he bases much of this information on DesBrisay and Lawrence (Bell, Foreign Protestants, pp. 437-8). Other than the scant details provided by Bell on these pages, no further mention is made of any other aspect of the domestic arts of the Lunenburg Germans. Using Bell's work on the migration and settlement of the foreign Protestants and the founding of the town of Lunenburg, this thesis begins when the town, and later parts of the county, became socially and economically stable, allowing the full development of both household and community material culture, the establishment of permanent architecture, and the importation of goods for personal and communal use.

14. The term material culture refers to both the artifacts produced by a specific group and the study through these artifacts of the beliefs of the individuals within that group who made, owned and used them and by extension the larger community to which they belonged. See Jules David Prown, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method", Winterthur Portfolio, Volume 17, Number 1 [Spring, 1982], pp. 1-20. (See Note 1)

15. For a discussion of biases inherent in Probate Inventories see Peter Benes, ed., Early American Probate Inventories (Boston, 1989), pp. 5-13.

16. Michael Steinitz, "Rethinking Geographical Approaches to the Common House: The Evidence From Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts", Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, III, ed., Thomas Carter and Bernard L. Herman (Columbia, 1989), pp. 16-26.

17. Ibid., p. 20.



Map I
 The cross-hatched area outlines the South Shore of Nova Scotia. The heartland of the Lunenburg German territory is centered in Lunenburg County and includes the western portion of Halifax County and the eastern portion of Queens County, and is bordered by the wide black line.
 This map was adapted from Barbara R. Robertson, *Sawpower*, Halifax, 1986.

CHAPTER ONE

In late June, 1749 thirteen transports brought the first significant group of colonists to Nova Scotia under the direct authority of the British Government. Landing in the harbour at Chebucto, now Halifax, the energetic young Governor and leader of this undertaking, Colonel Edward Cornwallis, wasted little time informing the Board of Commissioners for Trade and Plantations in London that the settlers he was supplied with were unsatisfactory for the task at hand and suggested they attempt to send him Swiss and German Protestants.¹

Cornwallis, in that letter of July 24, 1749, complained not only about the quality of the English settlers he had brought with him but continued, "There are amongst the settlers a few Swiss who are regular honest and industrious men easily governed and work heartily."²

The idea of encouraging foreign Protestants and Swiss to settle along the Atlantic coast was not new. The Board of Trade had considered such settlement for Nova Scotia twenty years earlier and both Lord Halifax President of the Board of Trade and Plantations, and Governor Shirley of Massachusetts still suggested such a plan on the eve of Cornwallis's departure to Nova Scotia. It was natural then for Cornwallis to suggest that the Board recruit foreign Protestants, as the German and

Swiss were considered among the most desirable colonists, particularly in light of their successful settlement in Pennsylvania.³

On August 24, 1750 the ship Alderney arrived in Halifax with 353 passengers including a considerable number of foreign Protestants. On September 2 the ship Ann followed with over 300 German speaking immigrants on board. The influx of Swiss and German settlers from continental Europe to Nova Scotia had started. Between 1750 and the end of 1752, a little over 2700 foreign Protestants were landed on the shores of Nova Scotia.⁴

The story of the foreign Protestant migration to Nova Scotia is a simple one, not full of high human drama, brilliant leaders or historically important players. "We cannot find that most of these people left comfortable circumstances in their old homes and fared forth in an inspired search for religious or political freedom.... With few exceptions the emigrants were peasants or small artisans; and if they possessed the virtues, apparently showed also many of the shortcomings of those types."⁵

In some instances the urge to migrate was almost casual. For example, in the diary of Leonard Christopher Rudolf he states he was "persuaded" by his friend Dr. Erad to migrate to Nova Scotia under the auspices of Lord Halifax. Rudolf was no ordinary settler. Born on

September 6, 1710 in the village of Windsheim, he was descended from the old family of Von Rudolf; his father was secretary to the Ancient Free Barons of the Empire. After spending two years in business he entered the service of the private secretary to Prince William Von Durlach of Wallachia (now part of modern Romania) at age 18, eventually being appointed lieutenant in an infantry regiment. In 1746, at age 36, he attained the rank of Captain. By the time he emigrated to Nova Scotia in 1751 he was 41 years of age and unmarried. When he arrived in Halifax Cornwallis appointed him overseer in charge of a group of the foreign Protestants, and his friend Dr. Erad became medical supervisor to the same.⁶

But if the individual and family reasons behind the foreign Protestant decision to immigrate to Nova Scotia were not the results of people seeking freedom from religious persecution or greater political expression, the attractiveness of North America as a land of refuge and opportunity to those desperate or enterprising enough to consider overseas migration was no new thing.

The story of the German migration to Nova Scotia is the composite of hundreds of individual biographies, some of which resound with triumph and others with pathos. For every tragedy there are successes. The individual, the family and the specific ship list must be blended into the whole to better understand the magnitude of these and

other European migrations. "The largely eighteenth-century movement of German peoples to Pennsylvania [and by extension to Nova Scotia] is a small fragment of one of the major demographic movements of world history. From the late sixteenth to the early twentieth centuries Europe disgorged millions of her inhabitants into all parts of the globe- to other parts of Europe, to African colonies, to South America, and to North America."⁷

As might be expected, "considerable illness and mortality on the long voyages in the crowded emigrants ships of the eighteenth century were accepted as a matter of course."⁸ For example, on the voyage of the Ann which arrived in Halifax in September, 1750, there were 17 deaths out of a total passenger list of 322 persons who had sailed from Hellevoetslius.⁹ Although some voyages such as those of the Betty and Speedwell in 1752 were uneventful, the Pearl, the Gale and the Sally which also sailed in 1752 from Rotterdam, had exceptionally unfortunate passages followed by longer than normal detention of passengers on board ship in harbour after their arrival in Halifax due to contagious disease. Although the mortality rate for the seven earlier voyages starting in 1750 with the Ann and ending with the Betty in 1752 was just 7.5 percent, the death rate on board the Pearl was 15.5 percent (39 passengers out of a total of 251), 11.6 percent on the Gale (29 out of 249), and 15.5

percent on the Sally (40 out of 258), with the largest losses on board these ships among the infants and children.¹⁰

Useful comparisons can be drawn between the Pennsylvania and Nova Scotia migration. Using the Pennsylvania German experience as a model for comparison there are similarities and differences which prove helpful in understanding the Lunenburg German fragment. Although the actual number of German immigrants to Pennsylvania is difficult to determine, the general estimate is at least 75,000 with the largest proportion arriving between the years 1749 and 1754,¹¹ the same years during which the German migration to Nova Scotia took place. However, the total number of settlers to this province was only a handful compared to the migration to Pennsylvania.

The total number of foreign Protestants to migrate to Nova Scotia, based on Bell and including those with Cornwallis in 1749 and ending with the last ship to carry German/Swiss settlers to Nova Scotia (Sally 1752), was only 2742 "souls" or approximately 899 families.¹² For statistical purposes this figure is reduced to 2538 (94 percent of all the foreign Protestants) as the number for which vital statistics, occupation and European origins can be determined with some accuracy.¹³

Swank summarized the demography of the Pennsylvania Germans:

Of the hundreds of ship lists published in Ralph Strassburger and William Hinke's monumental Pennsylvania German Pioneers, only a few provide the names of women and children. In each case the women and children greatly outnumber the men, and families can be reconstructed. A sampling of the lists reveals that in addition to being married parents, most of the German adults were in the prime of life. Only a few ship lists provide ages, but on these less than 5 percent of the total immigrant pool were fifty or older. For ages over sixty the percentage drops to approximately 1 percent. In seeking their opportunities in a new land, German immigrants forsook their parents as well as their homes. Their new culture in Pennsylvania became an immediate rarity - a society without elders. 14

No ship list of the 1734-1754 period of German migration to Pennsylvania contains more than 20 percent of people aged 40 or over, the 20 to 39 age bracket is never less than 33 percent of the total, while young people and children under the age of 20 vary from 20 percent to 47 percent.¹⁵ The statistics for the Lunenburg Germans based on 788 passengers for whom we have statistics pertaining to age and who arrived on the nine shiploads of the 1751-1752 period, show 24.5 percent of those passengers were aged 40 or over, while 63.7 percent were aged 20 to 39, and only 11.8 percent under 20 years of age.¹⁶

The number of immigrants migrating in the 20 to 39 aged bracket is much higher in the Lunenburg German figures, startling confirmation of the Pennsylvania trend toward few elderly undertaking the hazards of migration to a new land. In addition, the Lunenburg German figures

support the Pennsylvania German findings which reveal that women and children greatly outnumbered the men.

Although it is not possible to be precise in comparing the Lunenburg and Pennsylvania statistics, it is obvious that similar trends exist for both groups. Based on this information it is possible to draw an immigrant profile which is suitable to both fragments. The typical German male immigrant was seeking to find new opportunities and improve his future in the new land. Most likely he was in his early thirties (in Pennsylvania) or early to middle twenties (in Lunenburg),¹⁷ which meant he had many years of productive work ahead of him. As a result he would have to be considered an ideal worker for developing a new community and society. He and his wife brought large numbers of children and younger brothers and sisters with them, creating the potential for rapid population growth.

In addition, the Lunenburg figures support the Pennsylvania information which indicates an absence of the elderly as one of the striking facts to emerge from the ship lists and other statistics at hand. The Germanic fragment in both Lunenburg and Pennsylvania did not have to sustain a large number of aged people¹⁸ incapable of maintaining a high level of productivity. This youthful profile helped to create a prosperous society in both Lunenburg and Pennsylvania.¹⁹ It was perhaps this energy

which was the source of the remark by Bishop Inglis on January 21, 1791, when he noted the "parsimonious and industrious' nature of the Lunenburg Germans.²⁰

On May 28, 1753 Governor P.T. Hopson gave the orders for the removal of the foreign Protestants from Halifax.²¹ Those who were destined to establish the town of Lunenburg had previously been divided into two groups to be transported to the harbour at Merlegash in separate voyages consisting of a little convoy of New England vessels chartered for the purpose. Although the settlers could have been accommodated in a single trip, the number of additional Government personnel who knew how to erect blockhouses and other fortifications and storehouses, as well as the building materials, tools, provisions, and the settlers personal effects, required the laying on of two voyages to finally bring all that was necessary to begin the task of building the town.²²

By Tuesday, June 19, 1753 the settlers were put in possession of their town lots for which they had drawn in Halifax over four weeks earlier. Although the ultimate object of their migration- the farm lands- were still to be distributed, the foreign Protestants, after many years of trial and tribulation, finally had a townsite of their own in Nova Scotia.²³

The composition of the population of Lunenburg was essentially German and Swiss. However, there were other

European origins which should be noted. Although the 1753 Lunenburg victualling list has not survived, we do know that 1,453 names are listed on it including some English surnames of those serving as civil officials. The 1755 list is known and contains 1,548 names including "... a considerable number of British names...but [we] can also find a family of Acadian-Indian Metis who had earned the good will of the authorities, and some 50 or more French Acadians and half-breeds who had come to Halifax from Cape Breton in 1754 and had been sent by the governor to Lunenburg for the time being. In all there are apparently 97 names in that list which are not names of foreign Protestant settlers at all (there are very few about which one cannot be absolutely certain)."²⁴ That leaves 1,451 settlers whose surnames are of German/Swiss origin, only two less names than the original number of foreign Protestants on the 1753 victualling list. Based on the 1755 list, Bell tabulated the European origins of the foreign Protestants at Lunenburg (table I) making allowances for the members of families who had come with Cornwallis in 1749, or who were immigrants in 1750 on the Nancy or Alderney.²⁵

The foreign Protestant population of Lunenburg was not only a youthful one, but one with some artisan training. Fortunately occupations were listed for the immigrants who travelled with Cornwallis in 1749, and for

TABLE I

European Origin	Names or Families	Souls
<u>Southwestern Germany</u>		
Palatinate	131	308
Palatinate-Zweibrucken	3	8
Wurttemberg	36	90
Baden-Durlach	15	31
Erbach & enclaves of Loewenstein-Wertheim	19	69
Other small Palatinate/Wurttemberg states	16	40
Hesse-Darmstadt	23	66
Ansbach and Franconia	10	22
Nassau and other small states north of River Main	22	62
Strassburg and Alsace	6	13
Places with other designations	4	11
<u>Northern Germany</u>		
Hesse	11	36
Saxony and small Thuringian States	16	38
Hamburg and Holstein	11	41
Miscellaneous Northern Germany Territories belonging to King of Prussia (East Friesland, Brandenburg, and Pomerania)	6	10
	4	15
<u>Switzerland</u>		
From Dick's shipments	36	95
Cornwallis's group; by <u>Alderney</u> or <u>Nancy</u>	14	59
<u>Montbeliard</u>	78	212
<u>Netherlands</u>	9	26
<u>Other Countries (France)</u>	4	11
TOTALS FROM DETERMINABLE EUROPEAN ORIGINS	474	1,353

Unidentified origins from Dick's shipments	18	45
Other names from Cornwallis' group or names presumably from ALDERNEY or NANCY	25	44
Foreigners not accounted for by above	5	9
TOTAL FOREIGN PROTESTANTS IN 1755 LIST	522	1,451
(English on 1755 list)	21	37
(Acadians and half-breeds on 1755 list)	13	60
TOTAL NUMBERS IN 1755 LIST	556	1,458

almost all the settlers who were passengers on the nine ships of 1751-1752, but not for the Ann in 1750, or for the Alderney or Nancy in the same year. There are a total of 777 men listed with occupations in the records of 1751 and 1752 representing a total of 2089 persons in families, and 27 men listed with occupations who accompanied Cornwallis in 1749 representing 79 persons in families. The combined figure of 804 men or 2168 persons in families represents 85.4 percent of the 2538 foreign Protestants for which we have reliable information. Table II lists the number of individuals and their occupations based on Bell's compilation.²⁶

Of the total of 804 men listing occupations, 421 of these gave their trade as farmer or husbandman. This figure is 52.3 percent of the total demonstrating that a significant proportion of the population was engaged in non-agricultural activities even though they were

migrating from an agrarian based economy.

Obviously this occupation list must be examined carefully. This tabulation covers the foreign Protestants about whom we have information at the time of their emigration. The ultimate question of whether they became settlers in Nova Scotia, or if they followed their respective calling if they did settle here, is impossible to determine.²⁷

Also some who did arrive in Halifax did not make the move to Lunenburg in 1753.

The 46-year-old musician and the ribbon-maker fade from the records after one appearance each at Halifax; and if watchmakers and silversmiths remained in the Colony at all it must have been as unrecorded town-dwellers at Halifax without land-grants. The same seems to be true of one of the two glovers; the other makes no appearance in any Nova Scotian record at all so far as I have discovered. On the other hand, the lace-maker from a city (Hamburg) apparently became a real settler, taking up farm as well as town lot in the Lunenburg settlement.... 28

But even with these uncertain factors, the occupation lists are invaluable in determining what types of tradesmen considered migration a viable option for employment and improvement of family and personal conditions. These occupation lists also help us to understand and define the "class" of people who were migrating to Nova Scotia. The group is split between farmers and craftsmen of various types, although other individuals who came from the upper class, such as Rudolf, also found their way to the Province. For all intent and

TABLE II

Occupation	1751 and 1752 Lists		1749 List	
	Men	Families	Men	Families
Farmers/Husbandman	417	1221	4	13
Carpenters/Joiners	45	117	-	-
Bakers	32	64	3	4
Masons/Stonecutters	32	85	-	-
Shoemakers	30	72	2	2
Tailors	25	72	1	4
Butchers	21	41	1	4
Smiths	19	72	3	5
Weavers	17	46	-	-
Millers	16	29	-	-
Labourers/Workmen	14	14	-	-
Surgeons	11	20	1	11
Coopers	11	24	-	-
Furriers/Skinners	6	22	4	8
Miners	6	22	-	-
Tanners	5	9	1	1
Huntsmen	5	12	1	1
Schoolmasters	5	16	-	-
Officers	4	4	2	13
Brewers	3	12	-	-
Thatchers	3	12	-	-
Glaziers/Glassers	3	9	-	-

Saddlers	3	8	-	-
Potters	2	11	-	-
Watchmakers	2	8	-	-
Woolcombers	2	7	-	-
Wagoners	2	7	-	-
Woodcutters/Sawyers	2	5	-	-
Glovers	2	5	-	-
Mariners	2	5	-	-
Gardeners	2	4	-	-
Silversmiths	2	2	-	-
Gunsmiths	2	2	-	-
Locksmiths	2	2	-	-
Clergymen	2	2	1	6
Soldier/Non-com	1	6	2	6
Cook	1	5	1	1
Laceweaver	1	5	-	-
Nailsmith	1	3	-	-
Gunpowder Maker	1	2	-	-
Burger master	1	2	-	-
One each:	14	14	-	-

(Basket Maker, Bookbinder, Calico Printer, Clerk, Dyer, Merchant, Millwright, Musician, Printer, Ribbon Maker, Sawmiller, Starch Maker, Student, Wax Bleacher and Candle Maker)

TOTALS	777	2089	27	79
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purpose, Lunenburg was founded by people from two class backgrounds, the yeoman and the artisan, and if they were a society without elders, they were also a community without a large and forceful upper class. These settlers were in a position to rise to the upper strata of society through their own efforts and hardwork, they did not have to contend with Old World social hierarchies. This process becomes evident as the town and county became settled, particularly by the second generation, and is a factor in defining the merchant, yeoman, and yeoman-craftsmen classes to be discussed later.

Many of these tradesmen were essential to the settlement of a new community. For example, the building trades are well represented by masons (26), and stonecutters (6) with five men listed in this category (6 families) as "stonecutters" and one man as "stonecutter and architect". Other building trades mentioned are: smiths (19), including one who lists himself as "farmer and smith"; thatchers (3); glaziers (3); sawmiller (1); locksmith (2); and nailsmith (1).²⁹

These records suggest that artisans, tradesmen and farmers were equally attracted to the thought of migration to Nova Scotia. All were critical to the economy and the British policy of settling foreign Protestants in the Province, eventually providing essential goods and services which allowed the Lunenburg region to establish

and maintain a high degree of self-sufficiency. This includes those men who listed dual occupations such as the "farmer and smith", suggesting some farmers also practiced a trade. Such farmers would undoubtedly manufacture products for their own family use as well as for the community at large. Some may have listed a dual occupation believing that tradesmen and artisans would make more desirable immigrants in the eyes of the British.

Once self-sufficiency of the region was established, some goods could be sold or traded outside the area. It did not take very long after settlement to turn a surplus. "Some Lunenburgers ... became busily engaged in coastal shipping, at least between their own settlement and Halifax. Not only had Lunenburg become the chief source of cordwood for Halifax ... Lunenburg remained the source of supply for most farm products for the capital, as well. ... at the end of 1761 it was said to be providing Halifax ... with roots, cordwood, timber, and some boards."³⁰

Only nine years after the founding of Lunenburg, the town and surrounding countryside were stable and settled enough to trade on a rather large scale with Halifax, a fact which is reflected in the architectural record and domestic interiors and furnishings. The policy of bringing foreign Protestants to Nova Scotia was proving to be a successful one even though no further migration of German/Swiss settlers took place after 1752 under the

auspices of the British. This small fragment of European culture quickly established itself along the south shore of Nova Scotia and became firmly entrenched in the economic and political life of the Province.

The process by which an ethnic group leaves its mark on a particular landscape and adjusts to an established cultural environment, as the foreign Protestants did in the face of the ever-present English, is in itself an important element of immigration and settlement. Shaping the environment for use is one of the universal traits of human behavior. The patterns of this activity are explicitly recognized in the conscious and unconscious design to which the environment has been subjected. These statements of interaction leave behind permanent records, both above and below ground, of a society's use of landscape, signs of activity which underline the specific relations of a people to the environment they occupy. How this process of change was imposed on the landscape from generation to generation produces a context within which the historian can understand the society itself - its individual, family and communal relations.

One of the most explicit statements any society can make about itself and its relation to the environment is expressed in the composition of its townscape, and more specifically architecture and the changing configurations

of its domestic living space. Houses and the arrangements of interior space, conservative and slow-changing by nature, embody and define the social fit of individual and family to the larger cultural landscape of town or community.

The way in which a fragment society, broken from its European parent to settle on the shores of the New World, possesses the wilderness, is a story of transformation and above all dreams; the dream to fill the land with their ambitions, to leave their mark of tradition and culture, and the resolve to transform this land, void of their own accustomed social and cultural patterns, into a recognizable and familiar environment.

This process of introducing shapes into the wilderness, of bringing organization and pattern to the landscape, was a prospect which faced the foreign Protestants as they embarked from Halifax for their voyage to Lunenburg. Initial attitudes on the part of these immigrants toward the Nova Scotia environment were influenced by several factors. The first was the desire on the part of the settlers to leave their homeland and migrate, and the second was the perception of North America as a land of opportunity which was initially fostered by the British Government and the Board of Trade to attract settlers to Nova Scotia.

In 1749 when the British Government decided to

procure foreign Protestants as settlers for the new colony it hired as agent for this undertaking a young British merchant by the name of John Dick, a partner in the Rotterdam firm of Dick and Gavin.³¹ Initially contracting to supply 1500 immigrants, the crown authorized Dick to offer prospective settlers grants of fifty acres of land free of quit-rents and taxes for ten years, and thereafter not more than one shilling per annum for any fifty acres so granted. For every dependent woman or child there would be an additional ten acres with further grants made based on their ability to cultivate or as their families increased. In addition, they were to be furnished with arms and ammunition, and materials and tools for husbandry, clearing, cultivating their lands, building habitations, and carrying on the fishery.³²

Dick was also provided with an account of the colony and its conditions which, as instructed by the Board of Trade, he was to make public and circulate. This Dick did in a German translation which was distributed throughout central Europe. This account stated:

that the Climate is as healthy, and the Soil as Rich and fertile as any other of the British colonies, affording, when cultivated, all the Comforts and Conveniences of Life. That the Seacoast abounds with Fish in greater plenty and variety than any other part of America and is peculiarly adapted to Commerce and Navigation That the Inland Parts are very proper for cultivation and Produce of Grain, Hemp, Flax and other commodities that are to be found or produced in other parts of America, and which are now produced in all such parts of this

province as have been hitherto cultivated. That a number of British Subjects were this year sent from England to settle.... That the said Settlers [referring to Halifax where a town of several hundred houses had been established] have had constant Supplies of fresh provisions from the French inhabitants of the said province who remained after the Treaty of Utrecht... and whose farms produce Corn and Cattle in great Abundance. That the plan of a Civil Government upon the same principles as that which is exercised in the other British Colonies in America and conformable to the Laws and Privileges of the British Constitution is already established.... 33

Such an attractive account would appeal to many immigrants eager to improve their condition in life. These impressive descriptions of the American colonies, of fertile soil and great rivers, of navigable seacoasts rich with fish, would generate romantic images of an unspoiled landscape, and many would be enraptured by the untamed wilderness awaiting them.

The foreign Protestants were probably no different but there is no concrete evidence to support this claim. One can assume that since it worked to attract Germans to Pennsylvania that it was successful in Nova Scotia for the same reasons. Their attitudes toward Nova Scotia were already molded by prevailing European visions about the "New World" even before they left their homeland. The frigate Albany finally put anchor in the harbour of Merligash on the morning June 8, 1753, with the rest of the fleet still several miles astern.

Although initial attitudes on the part of the foreign

Protestants toward their new homeland were shaped by their individual and collective aspirations and motivations, they were also influenced by the circumstances of this migration. Not only were they a diverse group drawn from many parts of Germany and Switzerland, but they had no common cause which bound them together except their commonly held customs, language, religion, social and cultural attitudes, and their desire to establish a new life.

In addition, they were the instruments of a deliberate policy on the part of the British who were acting as their sponsors, not only originally trying to convince them to migrate to Nova Scotia, but supplying them with the various tools and materials to turn the site chosen by the British Government into a prosperous settlement. The settlers did not "discover" the Lunenburg site, instead they were guided to the location as part of a deliberate British policy to settle the colony, and counter the French-Catholic presence in the province.

Lunenburg was chosen as a site for settling the new immigrants because of its good harbour facility and the superiority of the soil; from the time Nova Scotia had become a British possession in 1713, Merligash had received attention as a possible site from which to colonize the Atlantic coast and perhaps as a location for its capital.

When the settlers came ashore at Lunenburg they were already under the influence of the British, and stepping into a landscape previously shaped by earlier French and Indian inhabitants. As early as 1683 the French census showed a few people at "LaHeve and Merliguaiche". In 1722 Merligash was the scene of a dramatic incident when twenty New England fishermen on the verge of being sacrificed by their Indian captors were saved by the arrival of a vessel and her captain, who being familiar with these Indians, convinced them to accept a ransom instead.³⁴

In 1745 the French had counted eight "settlers" at the harbour of Merligash. In 1749 when Cornwallis put in at Merligash before continuing to Chebucto, he noted this French settlement and the comfortable wooden houses covered with bark, the cattle and the sheep, and cleared ground used by the inhabitants. By 1753 all that remained at Lunenburg of this occupation was the old Indian Labrador, with his Indian and Metis household.³⁵ Lawrence notes that "... from all appearance, particularly Old Labrador's not moving from amongst us and some other concurring circumstances, I am strongly of opinion that there is no number of savages between Piziquid and this place."³⁶

The exact location of the Labrador farm is known from the Robert Walker chart of Lunenburg Harbour executed in 1753 (figure I). Drawn as a small cottage, it is given on

the chart as a landmark for plotting a course to enter the port. Its location straddles a little brook running into the head of the harbour which would place it somewhere in the vicinity of the present day Lunenburg Town Dump.

Lunenburg was not a Vacuum Domicilium, not a barren wilderness or vacant soil ready to be possessed and enriched with farming, husbandry or culture. This was a landscape that had already seen the movement of many figures, each one beginning to change its shape and leave signs of occupation and ownership. The foreign Protestants were simply the newest figures moving in an environment already under the influence of other social and cultural traditions, a landscape into which these European settlers quickly set deep roots, and their own patterns of occupation.

As men, women, and children arrived in the harbour at Merligash to set foot on the soil of their new home, two opposing viewpoints were evident almost at once. British attitudes were both benevolent and presumptuous, and shaped by the underlying principle of British policy to attract foreign Protestants to Nova Scotia as both a means of settling the colony and as a counterpoint to the French-Catholic population. The arrival of the immigrants in Lunenburg was seen as the active extension of that policy.

By contrast the German-Swiss settlers were more

concerned with their own well being than they were in acting as willing participants in the unfolding of any British plan to settle Nova Scotia. Their needs were more immediate and to the point at hand, namely establishing dwellings and gardens on the lands and town lots promised them by the British.

Both attitudes are evident in Lawrence's Journal and Letters which give a day by day account of the founding of Lunenburg. Lawrence strongly expresses the British viewpoint, but unwittingly allows us to glimpse the feelings of the German-Swiss settlers. On June 13, only six days after their arrival at Lunenburg, Lawrence writes Governor Hopson:

Most other things are done with tolerable expedition, considering ye sloth of these Germans, & their unwillingness to do any part of what they call ye King's work, whilst they can be employing themselves in what they think more immediately their own. I fear I shall find them more turbulent than I imagined, wherefore I think it prudent to keep a tight hand over them in ye beginning. 37

By June 27 there was a noticeable change in Lawrence's attitude toward the Germans even though the King's work was still not underway:

Tho, ye public works have stood still, such as ye line of picketting, ye unloading ye Store Vessels, getting up ye lumber & yet I cannot with justice alledge much want in the industry in ye people; Their huts & their gardens being in more forwardness than one would have expected; considering how much every thing has been retarded & ye people dispirited by a series of bad weather very uncommon at this season of ye Year. 38

By August 8, Lawrence views the Germans in an almost completely different perspective from his earlier observations, and comments that they will make worthy colonists, the reason the British wanted to attract foreign Protestants in the first place.

Absurd & outrageous as these people are in their dispositions I must yet do them justice to observe that they are indefatigable when labouring for themselves. Most of them are well under cover. All of them have gardens, and many of them good Framed Houses. They have cut on ye whole a Considerable quantity of hay. They are acquainted with ye Country for 10 miles round; and the more they know of it the better they seem to like it; insomuch that if they go on as they have begun, & no forward circumstances put them wrong, they must, I think, in spite of themselves, become a flourishing people, & fulfil to ye public every expectation formed concerning them. 39

From these observations it is obvious that the German-Swiss settlers simply did what they wanted to do, regardless of any British plans to the contrary. Perhaps this attitude on the part of the foreign Protestants is not surprising if we consider their social and occupational backgrounds. Over 50 percent of the immigrants were farmers or husbandman, with most of these remaining drawn from the artisan class.⁴⁰ As Lawrence stated, the weather was bad and this made many dispirited.

Arriving late in the season (June 8), most farmers would be immediately concerned with planting some kind of garden, and building houses and other forms of shelter for the forthcoming winter, particularly in a land still

somewhat strange to them. This task would not only employ the labour of their families, but of the various artisans in the group whose skills would be needed to erect dwellings and other storehouses.

In retrospect, the attitudes expressed by Lawrence concerning these new settlers, and the expectations of the foreigners themselves concerning their new home, was less a clash of two cultures than it was a clash of wills. The British would establish the pattern of the town along English lines, but the foreign Protestants would fill it with traditions according to their customs. After all, these German-Swiss settlers had already experienced the English way while they waited in Halifax, some over two years, to be transported to the Lunenburg site. In fact, once Hopson reached Nova Scotia as the new Governor in 1752, it did not take him long to be convinced of the urgency of "outsettling" of the foreigners.⁴¹

Cornwallis was unable to settle the immigrants in the immediate neighbourhood of Halifax due to the poor quality of the soil, thus not being able to meet the promises made the settlers.⁴² The correspondence between both Cornwallis and Hopson and the Board of Trade concerning the foreign Protestants does leave the impression that the British were at times in a quandary over exactly how to handle these immigrants. Hopson not only had the problem of the new arrivals of 1752 to deal with, but the

continuing question of how to handle those foreigners who had arrived in earlier years. On December 6, 1752 he wrote the Board of Trade "... there are numbers of Germans that came the year before last every day at my door and many of them almost starving."⁴³ The British were obviously not handling this situation very well.

How the inability on the part of the British to deal with the foreign Protestants was actually interpreted or perceived by the German-Swiss settlers is not clear, particularly in light of the conditions of many of them. The concern they had with their own well-being once they actually arrived in Lunenburg is perhaps the answer. They wanted to get on with their lives, and erect houses and plant gardens, and put their Halifax and European experiences behind them. These yeoman and artisans had left their homeland to settle in a New World promised them by the British, a world which for many was a long time in coming.

Once these foreign Protestants arrived in Lunenburg they went about the business of settling themselves and their families, and working as hard and as rapidly as possible to develop a permanent way of life. Their lack of interest in doing the "King's work", but their industry when working for themselves, is essentially a reaction to the disruption of life many felt brought about by the act of migrating to Nova Scotia. Re-establishing continuity

of life and family, and transforming the landscape into a recognizable society fashioned within the framework created by the British, obviously meant some compromise on both sides. But once actually in possession of their lands and town lots, the German-Swiss settlers quickly reestablished the cultural and social heritage they brought with them as individuals and families and began to knit these common patterns into a community to produce a society similar to the one they had left behind.

But they were isolated, cut off from continued contact with their European homeland through additional migration, they were a fragment of German/Swiss culture broken from their parent society, a group of individuals and families attracted to Nova Scotia from various geographic locations within the German Empire. For many of the immigrants who had arrived as early as 1750, almost three years before they actually set foot in Lunenburg, their German ways had already undergone a transition in light of the many hardships they faced in Halifax, and the influences of the English. The fact that Lunenburg did not undergo a continuous long term migration of settlers from continental Europe or other German-speaking centres such as Pennsylvania, is probably the single most important historic factor which must be considered when studying the social, cultural and material history of the Lunenburg Germans. But obvious manifestations of their

ethnic background seems limited to their material tradition and to some degree language, religion and folkways including some foods and dress. Because they were such a diverse group, sharing only bonds of a common homeland, they adopted English customs very quickly. Acculturation into English culture was a rapid process which for many began in Halifax during the long wait before removal to Lunenburg.

The cultural process also offers an interesting variation on the theory of social and cultural fragmentation proposed by Louis Hartz. According to Hartz, when a part of European society breaks away from the parent to establish itself on new soil, it loses the power and initiative of change which it had as part of the whole, and begins a process of transformation eventually working on its own self realization.⁴⁴ This process can certainly be applied to the German fragment of American colonial culture,⁴⁵ but it is not as easily applicable to the Germans of Nova Scotia. Hartz's theory relies on a substantial fragment of the parent society breaking away to establish itself elsewhere, usually reinforced by continual migration from the source society over several generations.

However, this was not the case in terms of German settlement in Nova Scotia, which remained a small isolated fragment of the parent society not supported or reinforced

by further migrations of fellow countrymen or women. Yet, these foreign Protestants managed to retain a strong sense of heritage even though they were not a unified social group. This was accomplished through the perpetuation of a common material heritage and decorative tradition and shared cultural and communal patterns. For example, the German language continued to play an important part in the lives of many Lunenburg Germans well into the second quarter of the nineteenth century as evidenced by the amount of devotional and secular printed matter in German which was listed in many inventories in German. Although the importance of books, libraries and literacy will be discussed in a later chapter, it must be noted that religious works in German, particularly large and small folio bibles, psalm books, and hymnals and prayer books, are the most common works found in yeoman inventories.⁴⁶ The importance placed on German books and other printed matter in the original tongue of the Lunenburg settlers is one indication of how the foreign Protestants helped to maintain their ethnic identity. Religion and language were strong unifying forces within an ethnic fragment surrounded by the pervasive English culture and society of their hosts.

However, if Protestantism and the German tongue reinforced the ethnic identity of these Lunenburg immigrants, so did their traditional decorative arts which

acted as concrete manifestations within the community and domestic setting to separate and define their ethnicity. The material expressions of the foreign Protestants as practiced by both trained and untrained artisans were carried in the minds and hands of the first settlers, and changed to meet the demands of the new environment. Absorbing change, the material culture remained a powerful "language" of ethnic recognition, an "artifactual dialect" which transmitted meaning and social and cultural identity (both conscious and unconscious) from generation to generation.

This process, which will be discussed in a later chapter, manifested itself in two ways: first, in the types of furnishings found in the domestic setting which would be considered traditional German, such as desks, clocks and cupboards; and secondly, in the way these objects were constructed and decorated. It is not unusual to find hearts, stars, compass stars, and diamonds decorating furniture and built-in parlour cupboards and mantles even as late as the last quarter of the nineteenth century.⁴⁷ All of these factors helped to maintain the ethnic identity of the Lunenburg Germans; that they were successful is attested to by the fact that even today the County of Lunenburg is still so "German".

Without the reinforcement of continual migration, the Lunenburg Germans had to forge an identity which was

distinct while fitting into their new environment. These eighteenth century immigrants had to shift their political loyalties, create a new sense of space and belonging, cope with disruptions in deeply rooted patterns of life, and face the trials and experiences of both migrating to and settling in a new land. It would seem obvious that any group facing such disruptions would not only remain staunchly conservative, but seek within their common European heritage traditional manifestations of who and what they were as individuals, families and community, while at the same time undergoing transformations within their new life.

In the Nova Scotia setting a variety of powerful forces and influences offered alternatives for group and individual identity. In this constantly changing environment of opportunity the newly arrived Germans and Swiss faced at least three options, all made even more significant in light of their small numbers: assimilation, rejection and acculturation.

The process of total assimilation required gradual transition of old loyalties and German identity to acceptance of the mainstream of English colonial culture. This is usually symbolized by anglicizing names, changing costume and other forms of dress, learning English as the primary language of communication, and altering certain religious beliefs by joining the Church of England.

The rejection of English culture and colonial life was the most difficult option as it required intense and dedicated efforts to maintain tradition and resist change offered by new and appealing ideas. For example, in Ontario and Pennsylvania Old Order Amish and Mennonites have been successful in maintaining their own identity and in rejecting the influential environment of other cultures and ideas. It would seem that most foreign Protestants wanted a change of circumstance and opportunities to improve their lives, a goal meaning that few immigrants would outwardly reject their adopted culture and sponsors in their new homeland to maintain their strict Old World identity.

The third option acculturation, is the course that most Lunenburg Germans pursued in Nova Scotia. Falling between assimilation and rejection, acculturation means that both the individual and family were able to retain a degree of control over their own cultural identity, and maintain their spirit as a recognizable ethnic group while accepting the broad outlines of dominant culture. Although these traditions often change to meet the demands of the new environment, there remained in the form, style, construction, function and decoration of many of the objects a recognizable German (European) spirit which acted to identify both the maker and owner. The foreign Protestants of Lunenburg turned their attention inward to

their common European heritage and material traditions and found their a way to co-exist with the English- an isolated fragment caught between two worlds.

Notes:

1. Bell, Foreign Protestants, p. 9.
2. Ibid., p. 11.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., pp. 283-4. Bell lists 2724 "souls" or "foreign Protestants" emigrating to Nova Scotia between 1749-1752.
5. Bell, Foreign Protestants, p. 634.
6. Ibid., p. 416 (Note 16a).
7. Swank, Arts, p. 3.
8. Bell, Foreign Protestants, p. 248.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., pp. 250-1.
11. Swank, Arts, p. 5.
12. Bell, Foreign Protestants, p. 284.
13. Ibid., pp. 294-5.
14. Swank, Arts, p. 6.
15. Ibid., pp. 6-7.
16. Bell, Foreign Protestants, p. 293.
17. Ibid. Also see Swank, Arts, p. 7. Bell lists 155 individuals between the ages of 20 to 24, 132 between the ages of 25 to 29, 114 between the ages of 30 to 34, and 101 between the ages of 35 to 39.
18. Bell, Foreign Protestants, p. 293. For example Bell lists only 6 people between the ages of 55 to 59, and only 5 people over 60.
19. Swank, Arts, p. 7.
20. Bell, Foreign Protestants, p. 634.
21. Journal and Letters of Colonel Charles Lawrence: A Day by Day Account of the Founding of Lunenburg (Lunenburg, 1972), pp. v-vi.

22. Bell, Foreign Protestants, p. 417.
23. Ibid., p. 425.
24. Ibid., p. 314.
25. Ibid., p. 315.
26. Ibid., pp. 298, 300.
27. Ibid., p. 297.
28. Ibid., p. 301.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., p. 549. In 1763, 25,000 bushels of roots were shipped to Halifax. These roots were probably potatoes and turnips.
31. Bell, Foreign Protestants, p. 127.
32. Ibid., p. 130.
33. Ibid., p. 131.
34. Ibid., pp. 402-3.
35. Ibid., p. 430.
36. Lawrence, Journal, p. 7.
37. Ibid., p. 13.
38. Ibid., p. 26.
39. Ibid., p. 39.
40. Bell, Foreign Protestants, p. 300.
41. Ibid., p. 397.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid., p. 384.
44. Louis Hartz, The Founding of New Societies: Studies in the History of the United States, Latin America, South America, Canada and Australia (New York, 1964), pp. 3, 6-7.

45. Swank, Arts, p. 4.

46. For example, religious works in German as well as other languages were listed in the inventories of Casper Wollenhaupt and John Oxner, and are discussed in detail in a later chapter. Wollenhaupt's inventory was taken July 18-20, 1809 and January 10, 1810 (PANS, RG 48, Reel 842, 1808-1822), and the Oxner inventory was taken on March 3, 1825 (PANS, MG 23, vol. 1842b).

47. See Field, Spirit, pp. 150-151 for some examples of Lunenburg German objects with applied and painted decorations.



Figure 1
 The location of the Labrador Farm (outlined with the wide black line) as shown on the Robert Walker chart of the Lunenburg Harbour drawn in 1753.
 The original of this map is in the Public Archives of Canada, National Map Collection, NMC 18404, H2/340/Lunenburg/1753.

CHAPTER TWO

However, as we shall see in this chapter, the tension between the two worlds of the English and the foreign Protestants did not manifest itself in the architectural landscape of the town. What resulted from the beginning of settlement was a fusion of both English and European architectural traditions. The exterior style and interior plan reflected English forms, such as one and two chimney Georgian houses. It was the interior architectural details, types of furnishings and room function which remained continental in execution. For example, mantles were often carved with hearts, pinwheels and diamonds reflecting Germanic decorative tradition, while clocks, desks and chests remained important furnishings within the male and female domestic setting. Following patterns of eighteenth century Pennsylvania Germans, rooms remained multi-functional (parlours serving as both sitting and sleeping areas) in keeping continental proxemic relationships.

It seems that as soon as the foreign Protestants were in possession of their town lots, their ability to assimilate with the English became more evident as they adopted English ways, perhaps because they understood them as being better suited to their new home. What remained German was more within the domestic environment, their

language, religion, food, furnishings and living patterns. As with many ethnic groups even today, the foreign Protestants adopted the outward trappings and manifestations of their host culture, but maintained their ethnic identity within the confines of their home and family.

The town of Lunenburg was an English world established on the hillside rising above the harbour and its narrow waterfront. Horizontal streets were laid out parallel with the waterfront with cross streets running at right angles straight up the hillside slopes.

This grid system created a town plot of 42 large blocks 280 feet long by 120 feet deep with these in turn divided into 14 house plots (figure II) creating 588 house lots in all. Each house lot ran 40 feet on one of the horizontal streets and back 60 feet, at most points running up and down the hillside slopes. Streets were 48 feet wide, those relatively horizontal only 40 feet wide, with King Street made a stately width of 80 feet.¹ This Street between Cumberland Street and Montague Row eventually became the town square and centre of community activity in this century, in keeping with its original public purpose for church, court house (later post office), and parade ground.

When immigrants deliberately set out to settle a new place of their choosing, either individually or

collectively, one of the first signs of occupation and ownership, and a means of bringing order out of the seeming chaos of the wilderness, is to name or rename places and topographical features, perhaps known through aboriginal meaning and nomenclature, with those familiar to their language, custom and tradition.² This was not the case at Lunenburg. For example, the names given to the streets were chosen by Governor Hopson and not the foreign Protestant settlers.³ The street names were a concrete manifestation of British tradition and culture, an attitude suggesting that even though many of the settlers could not speak English they would be expected to follow the English model reflecting the ultimate subordinate position of the immigrants to British law and policy.

The five streets running up the hill received the names (west to east): Cornwallis, Duke, King, Prince and Hopson. Seven streets ran parallel across the hillside including one (Montague) given the name "Row" rather than street because it was the first street up from the harbour with house lots on only one side of it. The names in order from south to north were: Montague Row, Pelham, Lincoln, Cumberland, Townsend, Fox and York streets. In all the town plot together with the seafront occupied an area of 55 acres.⁴

Once the town site was surveyed the settlers were

given access to their town lots. Surveying in itself begins to bring organization to the landscape, reshapes the arrangement of natural space and imposes a manmade configuration based on natural and unnatural lines of demarcation. However, Lawrence communicated to Hopson on June 27, 1753, that changes in the distribution of the town lots were necessary to allow those individuals such as merchants and sawmillers easier access to the harbour facility.⁵ "The people being now most of them on their lots, we have found it to be for the mutual convenience of many to make such changes as were consistent with their several trades & professions...."⁶ By August 8, Lawrence writes Hopson that those Germans still at Halifax who had chosen lots but had not yet migrated to Lunenburg should do so immediately or forfeit their rights to them. He goes on to explain that lots were now in demand, although this was not initially the case. "Now I am speaking of lots, I must observe that tho there were at first many spare ones, yet there are now scarcely any left. This Happens from ye great number that were obliged to exchange on account of their being so wet, steep and stony as to be totally unservicable."⁷

It is in this same letter dated August 8 that Lawrence states that many of the settlers had erected "good Framed Houses". This observation is supported by Leonard Christopher Rudolf who records in his diary for

the year 1753, "Being determine (sic) to fix myself I build in 4 months time a Small but strong House, wherein I live now 1782, 29 years."⁸ Such references to a "Small but strong House" and "good Framed Houses" gives some indication of the character of the first domestic dwellings. The quality of the housing is surprising in light of the hardships faced by the settlers and Hopson's letter to Lawrence telling him the quantity of building material to allot each family which only included "... 700 foot of boards A Proportionable number of nails and 50 Bricks...."⁹

In a letter dated June 13, 1753 to Hopson Lawrence states,

And as it was impossible to dispose of such a number of them with their baggage (or indeed a 10th part) under ye tents your Excellency sent to cover them, I have set up large sheds (covered) shut in with boards which would have contained ye whole of them, but so perverse are they that they chuse rather than hide themselves about in ye brush ... and what is still worse they carry off quantities of our boards to cover themselves.¹⁰

Later Lawrence states,

The lumber has all been measured that we have brought ashore, and holds out amply to ye Quantities reported to have been shipped-- When ye next embarkation (comes) returns & we can measure 15,000 Said to be in one of those vessels ... I shall transmit to your Excellency a state of ye whole.¹¹

The problem of the settlers carrying away the boards brought by the vessels was of concern to Lawrence from

almost the first as he mentions on June 12 that he wrote Captain Sutherland who was ashore at the time, "... to prevent ye boards from being carried away by ye settlers."12

It is quite obvious from these remarks that the settlers were more than anxious to begin the task of getting themselves under cover and erecting dwellings on their lots. Lumber was the key to this undertaking. On the 16th of June in a letter to Hopson, Lawrence makes an important reference to unmeasured lumber shipped at Boston.

In regard whereto I specified what each vessel delivered according to ye measurement here, in order that you might thereby be able to pay precisely for what was delivered, and not according to ye quantities in ye accounts given me at Halifax, some of which exceeded ye receipts I gave ye respective Masters-- Now I am upon ye lumber I must observe that Rodick of ye Victory delivered 900 feet more than the invoice, and more than I gave a receipt for; Hodgkins of ye Dolphin 2000 more; & Storer of ye Endeavour 4000 odd hundred more.13

Not only were the settlers carrying away some of the lumber that was shipped with the original vessels to Lunenburg, but additional lumber was also being shipped from Boston and Halifax. Although Lawrence does not state the total amount of lumber shipped on the three vessels mentioned above, but only the excess which they found when measured at Lunenburg, it is possible to suggest the size of the loads brought by at least one of these vessels. The Endeavour was noted in Lawrence's earlier

correspondence as carrying 53,000 board feet of lumber. If this vessel was carrying 4,000 feet more, she was carrying in excess of 57,000 board feet and perhaps between 57,000 and 58,000 total board feet of lumber. If the other two vessels with excess lumber mentioned by Lawrence were carrying quantities of board near this amount (which seems probable considering the obvious demand for lumber at the settlement), then the total cargo of lumber brought by these three vessels was nearly as much brought originally to Lunenburg, or over 150,000 board feet.

Bell supports this conclusion by suggesting that some of the settlers must have been able to purchase necessary lumber from some of the New England vessels which brought building materials every summer to Halifax.¹⁴ I might add that they were obviously able to purchase similar supplies from vessels which landed at Lunenburg as well. Lawrence mentions in regard to the settlers purchasing supplies with their own funds that on June 20 "Capt. Hodgkins of ye Sloop Dolphin here disposed of 10,000 shingles, his own property...."¹⁵ It is obvious that the foreign protestants did have enough materials to begin to build houses on their lots.

But determining the architectural design and interior configuration of the first generation Lunenburg house based on available information is not an easy task.

Lunenburg is a town rich in architectural history. Many late eighteenth and early nineteenth century house features are hidden from view behind both Victorian and modern additions and alterations. Fortunately these changes were not always accomplished by destroying or ripping out the old to install the new, but often were made directly over the original, obscuring but not replacing it. This is particularly true for interior settings, but can be seen on exterior facades as well, where additions usually expanded on the architectural theme leaving the earlier house form evident to the trained eye. It is, however, possible on the basis of historic descriptions to determine what types of structures were built in the town during this first period of Lunenburg architecture from 1753 to 1775. In addition, there are several existing houses, dating from the later years of the early period (1765-1775), which remain surprisingly intact in their originality, and can be used as examples when discussing this first period architecture.

Lawrence's description of "huts" and "good Framed Houses", and Rudolf's diary reference to a "small but strong House" suggests the two types of domestic structures being built during the first year at Lunenburg. DesBrisay writing in 1870 in his History of the County of Lunenburg gives evidence supporting the case

of two types of houses, and mentions a third built of hewn timbers, probably resembling a log or blockhouse style structure.¹⁶ DesBrisay describes a house built in 1757 and still standing when he was writing in 1870 which may have been an example of a "good Framed House".

The oldest house, still standing in Lunenburg, was built in 1757. It was originally occupied by a German brewer named Kailer, who used it as a brew house. The house, which was added to, ... is nine feet in the post and the old part is about 26 X 14 feet. The walls in the lower room were only only six feet in height. Six steps led to the rooms above which were still lower. The doors were of plank with massive iron hinges and bolts. Robar [the owner when DesBrisay was writing] on repairing the house, had new sills taken there, but the old ones were found to be so well preserved, that they were not removed. They were made from the best pine, free from sap. The walls were filled in with hewed timber, between the shingling and inside boarding. There was a well in one of the rooms over thirty feet in depth, in which, tradition, says, money was placed in troublesome times.¹⁷

DesBrisay, who traveled the county talking with "aged" inhabitants, was told by one of the informants of other houses, "... constructed of round poles, ... about six feet in the post, and eighteen or twenty feet square outside."¹⁸ Bell makes reference to these pole structures noting that Akins in his History of Halifax City refers to them,

The tradition is that many dwellings were put up of pickets - that is, small trees cleared of branches and set up vertically in rows close together, and then fastened with strips of board nailed on, and afterwards roofed and covered in, thus forming small wooden cottages. This has been confirmed in several instances, on the repair or pulling down of houses where

pickets with bark on them have been found.¹⁹

Pickets were, of course, made and used at Lunenburg for defensive lines. Lawrence states on June 14, "Enquired of Mr Rundle at how much a hundred he could furnish pickets for ye lines. Answered at 40 shillings and that he would have 3000 ready in ten days or a fortnight."²⁰

On the basis of these references it seems likely that some of Lawrence's early huts were structures made of these picket type poles fastened with boards nailed horizontally and roofed over. Not only could some of the lumber taken from Lawrence's stores be used for this purpose, but if we consider the information supplied by DesBrisay's aged resident that the structures were 18 to 20 feet square on the outside as even remotely accurate, then the settlers could have also built such structures from the boards and nails supplied by Lawrence according to Governor Hopson's orders.

Assuming the height of these pole structures to be approximately 6 feet, which seems logical for human height based on DesBrisay's remark that the Robar house had only six foot ceilings in the first floor rooms, it seems quite likely that the Germans could have built huts out of the lumber and nails supplied to them. If we assume that each board measured 12 inches in width, narrow for the standards of the day,²¹ then it would have taken 480 board feet to construct a dwelling 20 feet by 20 feet square and

6 feet in height. These first hut style houses probably did not last long, being replaced rather quickly with homes of more substantial construction. DesBrisay notes that the following year in 1754, "Besides the erection of 319 houses and ten huts, much industry had been shown in the tillage of town and garden lots."²²

Another point to note concerns the roofing material used to cover these first houses. Bell discredits DesBrisay's aged resident who states that the roofs of many of the early domestic structures were thatched. Bell does note, however, that there were three individuals who gave their occupation as "thatchers" in the early victualling lists (see table II), but goes on to state "... it seems most unlikely that they could introduce such roofs at the outset in Lunenburg, if only because they could not until some time later have collected and prepared the requisite quantities of straw or reed."²³ What Bell seems to forget is Lawrence's comment quoted earlier, and made almost in the same breath used to refer to "huts" and "good Framed Houses," that "They have cut on the whole a Considerable quantity of hay."²⁴ It seems very possible that some of this hay would have been used as a roofing material since livestock did not arrive in the settlement until 1754.

Lawrence hints at another roofing material when he remarks on June 20th that, "Capt. Hodgkins of ye Sloop

Dolphin here disposed of 10,000 shingles...."25 Not only would have these shingles been used for house siding, but they were probably used to cover the roofs of houses as well.

It seems likely then that three types of houses were built during the first few years in Lunenburg- framed houses, pole structures or huts, and log houses mentioned by Desbrisay. Of these three, the latter two probably did not have a long life span. Some were incorporated into larger and more substantial structures, since workmen found poles with bark in early houses under renovation or demolition. Others were totally torn down to make way for permanent houses.

But if the task of determining what the early domestic structures in Lunenburg were like is difficult, the problem of identifying what architectural features reflect the European building traditions of the foreign Protestants is equally hard. Not only had some of the immigrants undergone several years of assimilation with English architectural forms while remaining at Halifax before their removal to Lunenburg, they were also being influenced by the urban-sparked English Georgian housing revolution that was sweeping New England and the Middle Atlantic states.

It seems certain that the ethnic identity of the Lunenburg Germans did not manifest itself strongly in the

exterior architectural style of the domestic structures at Lunenburg. Although their identity was maintained through language, religion and certain furniture forms and decorations, it is impossible to point to any house now standing in the town of Lunenburg and say with certainty that it is a style directly copied or transferred from Europe. It is true that in the German regions of Europe from which many of the foreign Protestants emigrated, wood was the common construction material, and log houses were common. It is unfortunately not possible to suggest that the first log structures at Lunenburg were constructed after their European models as none are known to have survived. But it seems logical to conclude that these early structures probably contained elements of both German and English building tradition. Housewrights would still use their accustomed methods to construct buildings, but certainly adopt any new ideas which might better suit the woods and environment they were working in. In addition, their customers might want a house form in keeping with the latest style. It seems certain that if any of the early log or pole structures strongly reflected European tradition they were quickly assimilated into the architectural customs of the English, and embodied their values, which by the end of the first generation of settlement gave the townscape a decidedly New England/English character.

But if the layout of the town, and the exterior features and style of these domestic structures were essentially English in form and character, what of the interior architectural details? Again we see strong assimilation with English tradition, but there are characteristics which better reflect the European/German background of both their makers and owners, and embody a stronger mix of both German and English architectural custom. It is here that we begin to see glimpses of the German world. For example, interiors often contain built-in furniture forms such as cupboards in both the parlour and hearth room which is a Germanic feature. In addition, these cupboards are often decorated with carved geometric motifs including diamonds, and whorls which further emphasizes the Germanic character of the interior. But, it is admittedly difficult to point to any specific domestic interior in the town or county of Lunenburg and say with confidence that it is an example of strictly German architectural tradition. As with exterior features, most interiors are a mix of English and European customs, which become more English as we approach the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Perhaps we can better understand this mix of architectural traditions if we consider further the domestic structures built in Lunenburg during its first years of settlement.

What did one of these early framed structures look like, and what was the interior configuration of rooms? One house still standing in the town of Lunenburg does supply some information to answer this question. Situated at 57 York Street (figure III) is a small Cape style house which is possibly the oldest house in Lunenburg.²⁶ The post and beam plank wall structure sits on a fieldstone foundation and consists of two sections constructed at different times. The original section of the house contains a massive chimney serving one fireplace on the main floor with a narrow staircase winding around the chimney to the attic space above and to the cellar below.²⁷ The newer section also has an attic and a cellar below and was probably added on in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, while the original house dates near the beginning of the first period of Lunenburg architecture, 1755-1765, and may actually represent one of the first houses built in the settlement in 1753-1754.

Early construction details include adze hewn floor joists on four foot centres with members joined using a tusk tenon where the tenon member is notched into the mortise member for additional support; post and beam plank walls, and hand hewn roof rafters pegged together and set on 4 foot eight inch centres which support one inch thick up and down roof boards on the original house. The roof boards are only 3/4 inch thick on the newer section. The

attic floor is constructed of boards one inch thick and an average eighteen inches wide. Throughout the original house there is other evidence supporting an early date including pit sawn boards, hand forged nails and spikes and eighteenth century hardware.

Probably one of the most important features of this house, and one which along with other construction details helps support the 1753-1754 date of this structure, is the use of tusk tenons to support the floor joists. The tusk tenon or beveled shoulder (figure IV) is a mid-sixteenth to mid-seventeenth century improvement over the earlier bare-faced soffit-tenon, both of which are found in the houses of New England having been brought over by the early settlers from their English homeland.

Abbott Lowell Cummings summarizes the history of the beveled shoulder joint:

This evolutionary step forward in floor framing had been taken in the sixteenth century, well before the first settlers arrived in New England.... The newer principle was formally recognized by Joseph Moxon writing about 1680. The tusk, he explains, is 'A Bevel shoulder, made to strengthen the Tennant of [the] Joyst, which is let into the Girder,' and the term apparently survived among New England builders. Archaic survivals of this joint with its distinctive bevel or tusk continued to occur in special load-bearing situations, for example, in Boston as late as 1825-1826, where employed in the heavily framed floors of the brick and masonry North and South Market stores which form part of the Feneuil Hall Markets. 28

Certainly this type of floor joist was not used on the house at 57 York Street because it had to carry a

long-load, but simply because it was the type of construction feature familiar to the housewright. The use of the tusk tenon is in keeping with its dated use elsewhere, particularly in New England, and this feature in conjunction with other construction details of the house supports the case for this being perhaps the earliest dwelling still standing in Lunenburg, and probably an example of the "good Framed Houses" referred to by Lawrence.

By the end of the first period of Lunenburg architecture (1775) the domestic townscape was composed of framed houses either one and one half stories high with attic, or two stories high with attic. Accenting this landscape were unattached barns, stables and worksheds which served as small domestic outbuildings extending the workspace but seldom the living space. For example, in the "Account and Inventory of the Sufferers Who Lost Their Houses &c, by the Late Fire at Lunenburg 6th June, 1772...."²⁹ every house listed also had outbuildings which were lost to the flames:

Sutherland's farm	1 House	1 Barn	1 Stable
Wendell Weist	1 House	1 Barn	1 Stable
Nicholas Conrad	1 House	1 Frame	10 Bushel Grain
Conrad Foselor	1 House	1 Frame	
Barbara Loffler	1 House	1 Frame	
Nicholas Smith	1 Barn		
Cornwallis Moreau	1 Barn	1 Frame	
Johannes Gerhard	1 House	1 Barn	
Henrich Cort	1 House		
Jacob Schlear	1 House	1 Barn	1 Stable 15 Bushels

	Grain	1 Frame	1 Lot Tools	
Johan Kruser	1 House	1 Barn	1 Stable	1 Frame
	13 Bushels	Corn		
Asmus Thiel	1 House	1 Stable	1 Frame	
John Lohnis (Sr.)	1 Barn	1 Frame	6 Bushels	Grain
John Lohnis (Jr.)	1 Barn			
Gottlieb Happold	1 House	1 Barn	1 Frame	1 Stable
	20 Bushels	Grain	10 Roots	2 Neat
		Cattle		
Casper Zinck	1 House	1 Barn	1 Stable	1 Frame
	1 Lott	Tools		
John Gorkum	1 Frame	1 Neat	Cattle	
Nicholas Wolff	1 House	1 Barn	1 Stable	1 Frame
	15 Bushels	Grain		
John Seeberger	1 House	1 Barn	1 Stable	1 Frame
Gottlieb Harnish	1 House	1 Barn	1 Stable	1 Frame
Mrs Craner	1 House	1 Barn	1 Stable	1 Frame
	2 Swine			
John Mosman	1 House	1 Barn	1 Stable	1 Frame
Peter Knock	1 House	1 Barn	1 Stable	1 Frame

The loss of property included 19 houses, 18 barns, 14 stables, 19 frames, 84 bushels grain, four neat cattle, two swine, and two lots effects and tools. It is obvious from this list that it was customary to have several outbuildings for various uses including keeping cattle and swine (barn), horses (stable), and that various tools, grain and animal feed were also housed in these buildings.

The townscape of 1775, 22 years after the settlement of Lunenburg, was beginning to offer overt expressions of wealth. Very substantial two-storey Georgian style houses were being constructed with nine-bay fronts (5 windows across the second floor, 4 on the first floor); and a central or double chimney. This exterior configuration is also called Colonial style by the Provincial Heritage Division of the Province of Nova

Scotia. I prefer to call this Georgian style, feeling it fits better into the date sequence of many of these types of houses. They were joined by the standard one-and-a-half storey Cape Cod style houses, essentially an expansion on the earlier "good framed houses", but containing well appointed interior architectural details particularly in the first floor hearth and parlour rooms. The Georgian style houses were the principal residences fashioned by owners who were building wealth through real estate, trade and other merchant ventures, and were in keeping with established English/European architectural traditions which expressed social position. The houses were declarations of the status, not only in style, but in size as well. Both Solomon house and Knaut-Rhuland house to be discussed shortly are examples of Georgian style dwellings built by wealthy merchants in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Henry Glassie's discussion of the Georgian house types in the Delaware Valley of Pennsylvania is applicable to its temporal development and appearance in Lunenburg County and the rest of Nova Scotia:

The earliest forms of human shelter... changed with the insertion of the Georgian house type into the awareness of builders in the middle of the eighteenth century. As a form it was a century old in England and on the Continent; as a geometric structure of geometric components, it was a Renaissance-inspired notion of classical planning. The form, primarily symmetrical, was employed in America as early as 1700 and was accepted for the home of the

affluent gentlemen the length of the Atlantic seaboard for the last three quarters of the eighteenth century, although its impact was not great until after the publication of handbooks advocating the Georgian style in the 1740's and 1750's. Like the drama of an earlier period, the Georgian form is an English interpretation of an Italian interpretation of Roman practice (with an optional half-step through Dutch interpreters). The Georgian form is usually considered an English contribution to American domestic architecture, but while that notion connotes accurately the acculturative situation, English Georgian was part of an international Renaissance style. Distinctively Scottish and Germanic expressions of the style were built in Pennsylvania, and the fact that the basic Georgian form was known in seventeenth century central Europe facilitated its acceptance by Continental settlers in the Mid-Atlantic region. The definitive elements of the type rarely varied; externally, a low pitched roof (hipped on finer houses but usually gabled) and two openings per floor on the ends, five on the facade; internally, a double pile plan with two rooms on each side of a central hall containing the stair. 30

But the Georgian style residence is not the most common in Lunenburg. It is the one and one half storey Cape Cod which dominates the architectural landscape during what might be called the second period of Lunenburg architecture from 1775 to 1810. Ennals and Holdsworth³¹ state that the Cape Cod cottage is found along the Nova Scotia coast west and south of Halifax from St. Margaret's Bay to Yarmouth, with most being built from 1770 to 1840.

However, they do not include the Georgian house style in the south shore inventory of house types. Their Type IV two storey Georgian house (they do not count the attic as a half storey even though it often has windows and was

used for certain activities such as weaving and servants quarters) is located in its double chimney style in southwestern New Brunswick and the Annapolis Valley of Nova Scotia. Although they do state that no house type "... is exclusive to a particular part of the region, but regional concentrations of some styles are evident",³² they do not illustrate or discuss any two storey double-chimney Georgian type houses along the south shore of Nova Scotia, or Lunenburg County area, even though there are some superb examples. Ennals and Holdsworth also do not discuss or type separately any central chimney two storey Georgian style dwellings. Their Type V with central chimney is in their own words "... radically different....,"³³ and cannot be mistaken for a central chimney Georgian house.

Although both the Cape Cod and the double and central chimney Georgian house, and the variations (in terms of interior room configuration) are found during the 1775-1810 period, the most common house type is the standard Cape Cod with central chimney and two, four or six room arrangement on the ground floor and multi-room arrangement on the second floor. In many cases there are bake ovens in the basement, sometimes with a cooking hearth, but most food preparation and cooking was carried out in the main hearth room on the first floor. This room usually occupies the left side of the ground floor as you enter

the house with the parlour on the right side of the entrance. Any other rooms on the ground floor were located off the hearth or parlour rooms toward the back of the house.

Ennals and Holdsworth show a Cape Cod floor plan (Type II) with two parlours flanking the entrance door and the kitchen in the rear of the house. This is not a common room arrangement in Lunenburg County, any kitchen in the rear of a Cape usually being referred to as the "summer" kitchen. In Lunenburg County, the area occupied by the kitchen in the Ennals and Holdsworth plan is usually a back hall with rear door and stairs winding up and around the central chimney block to the second floor.

In the two story Georgian style dwelling, four rooms are usually found on the first floor flanking the central hall in the two chimney type, or the entrance hall in the central chimney house. Because the hallmark of the Georgian style is symmetrical room arrangement, this pattern leads to second floor room plans identical to the first floor in both the one and two chimney types. The kitchen could either be located in the basement with bake ovens, or on the first floor. Obviously various rooms can be changed in size with inner partitions to meet specific functions.

To facilitate our understanding of the architecture of this period, and to begin our discussion of room

function and furnishings, three houses will be discussed: one central chimney Cape Cod; a double chimney Late Colonial/Georgian dwelling; and a strict Georgian style house. This will help in the later examination of the layout and domestic setting of the interiors of both of these types of houses which is directly applicable to the function and analysis of household inventories in determining the domestic furnishings and proxemic patterns of the Lunenburg Germans during the 1760-1830 period.

Table III lists the house name, location, approximate date and style of the three houses to be discussed. Each dwelling has been examined and photographs taken wherever possible.

TABLE III

HOUSE	LOCATION	DATE	STYLE
Solomon	69 Townsend St. (Lunenburg)	C.1775	Late Colonial/ Georgian
Knaut-Rhuland	125 Pelham St. (Lunenburg)	C.1790	Georgian
Huntington	Hamm's Hill (Blockhouse)	C.1800	Cape Cod

The Solomon House

In 1753, Lot 1, Letter E, of the Creighton Division was granted to Adam Wamboldt, and according to early deeds a "first Winter" house existed on the lot, perhaps a pole type structure. Wamboldt sold the property and house to Henry Koch Sr. in 1775 and Koch built or had built the two and one half storey Late Colonial/Georgian house still standing. In 1797, Koch and his wife sold the property "with all improvements, house and buildings thereon" to Christopher Rudolf for 225 pounds.³⁴ It is called the Solomon house after Judge George T. Solomon who purchased it in 1849, and who was a contemporary of Richard J. Uniacke.

This house (figure VII) is a broad mixture of architectural traditions- German, British and New England- which came together in Lunenburg during the last half of the eighteenth century. Late Colonial/Georgian in form it has a five-bay facade but no through central hall even though it is built around two massive double chimneys. Its interior is best described as Late Colonial with large hearth room on the first floor, exposed ceiling beams, vertical and beaded wall boards and beaded corner posts. It is a house in keeping with the social status of a member of the gentleman/merchant class such as Henry Koch. Although little is known about Koch and his family, he is variously described as a "sawmiller" and

"gentleman".³⁵ In his will which survives and is dated September 29, 1810, and registered on January 29, 1814, he describes himself as a "gentleman". Fortunately the estate inventory, taken at the time of his death, accompanies the will.³⁶ Although he and his wife Elizabeth were no longer living in Solomon house when Koch died, the domestic furnishings and accessories reflect a man of wealth. It is probable that many of the items listed in this inventory (dated September 6, 1814) actually formed part of the furnishings of the Solomon house when Koch and his family resided there.

Table IV is a complete listing of the items in the Koch estate inventory according to type/category of object. Although it is not a room by room listing, and in certain instances the description of objects is extremely simple ("9 pictures"), it is none the less very important as it lists the types of furnishings that a member of the gentleman/merchant class would live with, if not some of the actual furnishings used while he and his family lived at Solomon house prior to 1797.

The construction of the Solomon house is best described as "plank frame" and is a form that is considered transitional in the development of the North American stud frame.³⁷ Set on a stone foundation with a six foot high basement, exposed and beaded interior corner posts and hidden intermediate posts support longitudinal

TABLE IV
KOCH ESTATE INVENTORY

Furniture (left to wife then children)

1 mahogany table
5 common tables
1 tea caddie
1 dozen chairs and 1 night table
1 clock case, 2 small trunks, 1 pine chest
1 mahogany chest of drawers
1 pine desk
2 looking glasses
4 bedsteads

Earthenware

5 earthen jugs
1 earthen dish

China

1/2 dozen tea cups and saucers
1/2 dozen coffee cups
1/2 dozen breakfast cups and 3 bowls
1 1/2 dozen plates, 1/2 dozen dishes, 2 large bowls

Metal

1 silver teapot and 1 sugar basin
1 silver creamer, sugar tongs
1 dozen table and 1/2 dozen teaspoons
1 soup ladle
1 pair of plate and 1 pair brass candlesticks
1 pair castors
1 Japanned and 1 tin tea cannister
1 pewter dish
1 copper washkettle, 2 tea kettles, 1 gridiron
1 double and 1 single stove
2 sets of dogirons, 1 set fireirons

Printed Matter

1 German bible and 11 other religious books

Textiles

1 carpet
4 sheets, 6 blankets, 3 bedcovers
2 table cloths
1 pair bed curtains
4 featherbeds, 4 bolsters, 4 pillows

Art

9 pictures

Miscellaneous

1/2 dozen straw baskets, 2 baskets
1 butter churn, piggins
2 pair of wool cards
2 quart and 2 pint decanters
1 dozen wine glasses and 6 tumblers
1/3 part (ownership) of a schooner

beams. These longitudinal carrying beams in turn support the upper floor joists and roof frame. The house is sheathed with planks both inside and out with the spaces between the planks filled with mud, oakum and birch bark. The second storey exterior walls are "ship-planked" where each board overlaps the next. The interior walls are double plastered, once between the timbers, with a final layer of exposed wall plaster above the wainscot of wooden paneling running horizontally below the chair rail.³⁸

The roof rafters are "treenailed", that is held together with long wooden spike-like "nails", with vertical roof boards.³⁹ The major units of the roof frame are marked with Roman numerals at their intersecting joints for ease of identification in assembly (figure V), a practice which suggests off-site preparation of the frame. Cummings discusses the practice of marking the roof rafters:

In support of off-site preparation of the frame one can point to the universal trait of marking all the major units at their intersecting joints for ease of identification in assembly once the individual sticks had been carted to the place of erection. For seventeenth-century Massachusetts Bay the use of Roman numerals was the standard preference. Often squat in proportion and usually incised rather deeply, these figures can be found in plain view in the roof structure on the exposed surfaces of the rafters and collars.⁴⁰

Although one cannot make a direct comparison between

the houses of Massachusetts Bay and the houses of Lunenburg in terms of the practice of marked roof rafters suggesting off-site preparation of the frame, the Solomon house is not the only example dating from eighteenth century Lunenburg with marked roof rafters. The same practice was used on the roof frame of the Knaut-Rhuland house which will be discussed shortly. Certainly if the practice is as universal and old as Cummings suggests, it is likely that the Solomon frame was prepared off-site and moved to the house lot for erection.

Although Solomon house has walls of two-coat plaster above the wainscot and chair rail molding, there are also exposed and beaded vertical interior walls in the upstairs back right bedroom (figure VI), on the hall side wall of the upstairs back left bedroom (now part of the bathroom), and in the back left room downstairs. The present owner of Solomon recently exposed the beaded vertical wall boards under the early nineteenth century coat of plaster in the entry hall (figure VIII).

Because of its exterior Georgian form, symmetry and proportion are the most striking characteristics as one stands facing Solomon house, with its typical five bay facade of window openings set equidistant directly under the roof eaves across the second floor, balanced by the four windows and the front door on the first floor. But it is the front entrance with original overlight and

sidelight (figure VII) which symbolizes the exterior neoclassical influences on the Georgian style often found during the 1775-1810 period of Lunenburg architecture.

This neoclassical influence is seen in the design and lightness of the muntions used to create the overlight and sidelights. The front door itself is a form (corner-blocked and molded) most often associated with the Lunenburg German architectural tradition, and one which is found in variations on both exterior and interior doors and other woodwork dating from the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century.

Stylistically bold, neither this doorway nor the molded design surrounding it can as yet be attributed to any specific housewright or group of builders. Although the design of the sidelights and overlight are probably original to the entrance, the surrounding moldings are the result of renovations, perhaps dating as late as the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and are similar to woodwork design in the downstairs parlour of the Knaut-Rhuland house in Lunenburg, and the Stewart house in Mahone Bay.

The centre hall of Solomon house is one of its most attractive architectural features. With a truly magnificent centre stairs (figure VIII) which ascends to the second floor and faces one head-on when entering through the front door, this hall has the original beaded

vertical wall boards.

Upon entering through the front door one can go either up these stairs to the second floor, straight on into the present modern kitchen at the rear of the centre hall, or to the left or right which leads to the two front parlours. From the modern kitchen one can also go left into the present-day dining room or right into the original kitchen with its massive hearth and stairs which winds up around the chimney block to the second floor.

According to Abbott Lowell Cummings,

Neither the words parlour or hall meant then what they do today. The term hall brought over with the first colonists, recalled the large open room of the English manor house in which much of the daily life was centered, and which was, loosely speaking, the ancestor of our modern living room. The seventeenth-century parlour, however, has no exact parallel in the twentieth-century house. Nor was it the formal room of the Victorian era, to be entered only on special occasions. Actually, it had multiple uses, all related to its character as the best room. Here was the best furniture; here important company was entertained and dined; and at the same time wills and inventories show that it was the room in which the parents slept. 41

Although one cannot draw direct parallels from seventeenth century New England colonial houses to late eighteenth century Lunenburg two storey Late Colonial/Georgian style houses, these remarks of Cummings are important as they help to illustrate the changing function of domestic space, and the multi-use pattern of

rooms which is evident in the late eighteenth century inventories from Lunenburg.

For example, in the inventory of Lunenburg merchant Casper Wollenhaupt dated July 18 and 20, 1809, and January 5, 1810,42 the inventory takers listed the contents of the house according to each room. This listing includes the furnishings for a downstairs "drawing room" and "front parlour".

TABLE V
Listing of Furnishings in "Front Parlour" and "Drawing Room" of the Wollenhaupt Inventory

Downstairs/ Drawing Room*	Downstairs/ Front Parlour
a pair looking glasses	a bed & stead complete
11 pictures	a mahogany desk
a water urn and stand	an easy chair
10 mahogany chairs	a small mahogany table
a mahogany dining table	a pine table
tea table	6 chairs
fire screen	a pair dog irons
fire tongs, shovel, brush & fender	fire tongs, shovel,
tea tray	poker, brush & bellows
a carpet	an old carpet
4 dozen and 11 wine glasses	8 pictures
4 candlesticks (plated)	a looking glass
coffee urn	a pair brass sconces
6 pint decanters	3 flower glasses
set of blue tableware	2 window curtains
a snuffer and stand	
5 window curtains	
a pair of silver snuffers	
2 glass salts & pepper box	
20 goblets	
5 quart decanters & 4 coasters	
a small waiter	

254 1/2 oz silver furniture
a bread basket

*This is only a partial listing of the contents of the drawing room, but includes the most important objects.

The presence of the dining table and chairs, and various accessories for entertaining and eating, leave little doubt about the function of the downstairs "drawing room". The "front parlour", however, obviously had a dual purpose as suggested by the presence of the bed, easy chair and desk. This was not only a room used for sleeping, but the desk was probably used to file business and personal papers and other correspondence, and to organize some of the daily activities of a busy merchant.

By comparison the living arrangements in the Solomon house were somewhat different. The two parlours in the Solomon house, both with fireplaces, probably had multiple uses as well but more than likely remained the "best" rooms for entertaining. These rooms were probably furnished with a variety of chairs, several tables, perhaps a carpet, some pictures on the wall, possibly a desk, fireplace equipment such as firedogs, curtains, candlesticks or wall sconces and perhaps a looking glass. These are all items listed in the Solomon inventory (table IV). With the presence of four upstairs bedrooms in the Solomon house it seems unlikely that either of these front parlour rooms would ever have contained a

bed, or has been used for sleeping.

Moving down the hall and turning left one walks into what may have been the original dining room with its small fireplace built into one corner of the room. The walls in this room are vertical beaded plank boards. The ceiling beams are exposed, and according to the present owner,⁴³ were black with soot and smoke when uncovered under the nineteenth century layer of plaster, suggesting they were originally exposed. This notion is supported by the many nails and spike holes which are evident in the sides and undersides of the beams, particularly those near the fireplace, from which various foods (herbs for drying) and tools and utensils could be hung. The passageway to the right of the fireplace leads to the front left parlour.

Turning right from the hall, one enters the main hearth room/kitchen with its massive fireplace. This was the main centre of family activity, and the focus for most food preparation. It was this room which replaced the original "hall"⁴⁴ of the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, a place where many of the daily activities of work and recreation took place.

The hearth (figure IX) commands immediate attention of anyone entering this room. With a back of stone probably quarried in Blue Rocks about ten miles from Lunenburg,⁴⁵ the fireplace has a well developed smoke

shelf and sides of brick with traces of the original whitewashed plaster (now mostly blackened) covering the bricks. The depth of the smoke shelf, which is best described as a curved "step" in the stone back of the hearth just above the height of the front lintel, caused the smoke to rise more rapidly into the chimney shaft by increasing the "drawing" action of the fireplace. These types of hearths work very well, except when affected by severe chimney downdrafts.

The wooden support lintel is beaded along its lower edge and punched with many nail holes from which food and cooking equipment were hung. Although the actual crane used in the hearth to hang cooking pots and other hearth equipment such as trammels and hooks is missing, several replacements found by the owner are shown in figure IX. The passageway to the left of the hearth leads to the front right parlour, while the winding stairs to the right lead to the second floor.

However, before discussing the rooms on the second floor, one final observation should be made concerning the central entry hall on the first floor which is not a through hall. The back window in the modern kitchen, directly opposite the front door at the opposite end of the hall, is larger than the other windows. According to local tradition this window is often called the "coffin window". Since it was considered bad luck to take a

coffin through the front door, one window was made larger than the rest to allow the coffin to be moved in and out of the house without using the front door.⁴⁶

The second floor room arrangement repeats the downstairs configuration. The centre hall runs the entire length of the second floor; beginning in the front of the house with the centre window which on the outside facade is placed directly over the front door, and finishing at the opposite end with a room that is presently used as a bathroom.

A winding stairs, just at the top of the main stairs and adjacent to the back left bedroom, leads to the attic.

This stairs originally was located closer to this bedroom (actually at right angles to the present doorway), and was changed sometime in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The stairs from the hearth room enters the second floor almost directly opposite the present door leading to the attic.

All the rooms on the second floor have fireplaces and were probably used as bedrooms. The front left room with its elaborate fireplace mantle shows neoclassical influences which were incorporated in the details of this house, and further supports the notion that the muntions of the overlight and sidelights of the front entrance are original. This room probably served a dual function as a bedroom and upstairs parlour. The use of one room

upstairs not only as a bedroom, but as a centre for other family activity, is in keeping with evidence found in Lunenburg room by room inventories. Returning again to the Wollenhaupt inventory, there is an upstairs library which served a dual purpose as shown in the listing of furnishings in table VI.

 TABLE VI

Listing of furnishings in the Upstairs/Library in the
 Wollenhaupt Inventory

252 books	a dressing glass
a desk	a chair
a table	a camp bedstead with sheets & blankets

The presence of a camp bedstead and dressing glass along with books and a desk suggests that this room was used for a variety of family activities. Multi-function rooms such as parlour/bedrooms helped to maintain a communal spirit within the family and minimize the strict specialization of space within the household. Although separate spaces for dining, cooking and sleeping helped maintain a sense of privacy, multi-function rooms modified some family activities creating a more flexible social space where the boundaries of personal and communal interactions were not defined by the strict use of rooms for specialized functions. This balance between privatization and communal family activity centered around the parlour/bedrooms and bedroom/libraries in houses such

as Solomon and Knaut-Rhuland, and was essentially a hold-over from seventeenth century living patterns when almost all daily family activities took place in communal rooms such as the hall.

It was during the eighteenth century that the concept of how a house should be organized in terms of communal, private and visitor living space began to change and become more defined. No longer were family members and visitors congregating in the large hall or hearth room as found throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Room function was becoming more specialized and gender oriented, and a sense of individual separateness and a right to privacy was settling in. Both Solomon house and Knaut-Rhuland house reflect this transition from communal to private domestic environments. As Isaac points out when discussing late eighteenth century Virginia planters' houses,

The restructuring of space within houses is in itself revealing of changing social attitudes. The increasing consciousness of individual separateness, already evident in the spatial divisions in the gentry houses of 1740, was slowly becoming more general. In time it would be apparent not only in modified social custom (as in the closing of doors once hospitably open to strangers), but also in the altered internal arrangement of common planter's houses.

In the earliest structures there was little segregation of persons, and particular rooms were not specifically set aside for such activities as cooking, eating and bedding down. The communal area, usually called "the hall" lay immediately open to anyone who crossed the threshold. The new plan introduced a "passage" between the outside

door and the specialized rooms for sleeping, taking of meals and sitting at ease. 47

In similar fashion, the upstairs and downstairs halls of the Georgian houses of Lunenburg helped the owners to organize the internal living space and separate themselves from visitors who came to the front door. The size of these central hall areas and how they were furnished in houses such as Solomon and Knaut-Rhuland makes them rooms in their own right. They were not simply passageways, but were furnished in a manner suggesting their function as usable domestic living space which served a variety of non-specialized activities.

For example, in the Wollenhaupt inventory the furnishings listed for the downstairs hall (Table VII) suggest a variety of functions including its use as a passageway, as an informal conversation area for family, and as a formal area in which to greet strangers or acquaintances who were not familiar enough to gain entry into other parts of the house. The downstairs hall acted as an effective social space and as a barrier restricting access to the inner parts of the house to family members and friends and social peers. The hall acted as a control point, a means to establish social boundaries that separated house owner from neighbours. Later on, the addition of the "Lunenburg bump" to the exterior of many Georgian and Cape Cod style houses further restricted entry into the house.

The furnishings of the upstairs hall in the Wollenhaupt

inventory (Table VII) suggest a space more suited to family oriented activities as indicated by the presence of the desk and fewer chairs. The clock, considered an object of prestige and wealth valued at a very high ten pounds by the Wollenhaupt inventory takers, was probably located in the downstairs hall to impress visitors. The upstairs hall had no formal social function or control as access could only be gained by those close enough to the family to be allowed upstairs.

TABLE VII

Listing of Furnishings in the Upstairs/Downstairs Halls
in the Wollenhaupt Inventory

<u>Downstairs Hall</u>	<u>Upstairs Halls</u>
an eight day clock	a desk
3 window chairs	a black birch table
a mahogany table	2 chairs
a glass lamp	

The Knaut-Rhuland House

Moving to the next example of the Georgian style, the Knaut-Rhuland house is a two storey residence with centre hall and double chimney, and was built circa 1793 (figure X). Although similar to the Solomon house, it features some important variations, and has been cited by the Provincial Advisory Council on Heritage as having the most intact Georgian interior in the province. Located at 125 Pelham

Street in the town of Lunenburg, the exact date of its construction is difficult to determine. Early deeds indicate that a first house was located on this site built by Henry Hiltz, who is described as a housewright, when the lot and house were conveyed to Philip Augustus Knaut in March 1759 for the sum of 16 pounds.⁴⁸ It was on August 31 of that year that Philip was elected to the Second House of Assembly.⁴⁹

This deed, however, was not registered by Knaut until 1765, possibly when he decided to alter the house or carry out other changes to the property. It was in the same year that he resigned from the local committee for Laying Out the 300 Acre Lots in what is described in the minutes as "in a cherlish manner".⁵⁰

The present Knaut-Rhuland house standing on this site is not the original Hiltz house. There is no recorded transaction pertaining to this first house between the years of 1765 and 1793, when all 14 lots in the Pelham Street block were sold to Benjamin Knaut, Philip's son, by John Bolman. Bolman had married Philip's widow, and sold these 14 lots, an island, some garden lots, and a lot in another division for the sum of 280 pounds all as part of the settlement of Philip Knaut's estate.⁵¹ Unfortunately it is not possible to determine the value of the lot in this transaction which could indicate if there was still a house standing on the site when it was sold. It seems probable

that with Bolman married to Benjamin's mother, Benjamin would not have paid the going market price for these properties; instead he bought the real estate cheaply in keeping with his standing as an immediate member of the family, and as the only son, to satisfy Philip's estate.

The date of the Knaut-Rhuland house is based on this 1793 transaction between John Bolman and Benjamin Knaut, and the stylistic features of the house which place it in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The difficulty in assigning a more accurate date to Knaut-Rhuland is compounded by the fact that we do not know what happened to the first house on the site built by Henry Hiltz. It is certain that the Hiltz house is not incorporated into the Knaut-Rhuland structure, which leaves the possibility that Knaut-Rhuland could date between the time that Philip Knaut registered the deed in 1765 and 1793 when his son purchased the property.

In Lunenburg: An Inventory of Historical Buildings the date of the Knaut-Rhuland House is suggested as between 1793 and 1813, the latter date based on the year that Benjamin sold the house to Conrad Rhuland (hence the name Knaut-Rhuland) for the sum of 241 pounds,⁵² a price which supports the fact that a house existed on the site at this time.⁵³ However, the 1813 date is certainly too late for the construction of this style of house.

Looking at the front of the Knaut-Rhuland house one is

immediately struck not only by its eighteenth century appearance, and its similarity to Solomon, but the fact that the house looks as if it is a full three floors high. This is owing to the fact that the elevation of the first floor at the front of the house is almost six feet above the street level. The house is partially built into the slope of the house lot which allows for the placement of four windows below the first floor front entrance which is reached by a two-sided staircase. These four windows illuminate the two basement hearth rooms. It is the presence of these windows combined with the slope of the site that gives the impression that Knaut-Rhuland is three floors high.

One of the most interesting features which was incorporated into the Knaut-Rhuland facade sometime during the mid-nineteenth century was a somewhat unique version of what has come to be called the "Lunenburg bump" (figure X). Essentially the "bump" is a one, two or three storey porch attached to the front of the house and sometimes the rear, usually enclosed above. On Cape Cod style houses, the "bump" is often enclosed on the second floor creating a dormer projection, while on the two storey Georgian style house it is usually enclosed on both the first and second stories.

The "bump" is a mid to late nineteenth century Victorian innovation often added to "modernize" older style

dwellings and generate additional space. For example, on the second floor of the Cape Cod additional living area was created by the dormer projection which was often used for storage or bedroom space, the latter a domestic function still prevalent today.⁵⁴

The enclosed porch aspect of the "bump" also allowed an additional thermal and social barrier between the domestic interior and the outside. No longer did the front door open directly to the interior but into an enclosed porch which lessened heat loss and meant that visitors could be greeted at the porch door, and/or invited inside the porch, but not directly into the house. This created a further privatization of living space between the family and visitors which allowed the family to control direct access to the interior domestic living space.

The Knaut-Rhuland "bump" is somewhat unique in that it was a turret-like addition with windows attached to the front of the house. It did not extend a full two stories, but appeared to do so because of the height above street level of the front door, the flat top helping to emphasize its turret-like style. The "bump" was constructed with square nails and could date as early as 1830-1840. It was removed in 1979-1980 by Leslie Langille who owned the house before selling it to its present owners in 1986.

As one enters the front door of Knaut-Rhuland differences with Solomon house are immediately apparent.

The stairs are located in the rear left corner of the hall near the back door which is in line with the front entrance. The hall is also visibly narrower than the one in Solomon and runs as a through hall from front to back doors, but the most immediate difference is the arch which frames the hall and is located two-thirds the distance from the front entrance. This arch, which is reeded along its inner face, is one of the most significant architectural details of the Knaut-Rhuland house, a feature which truly reflects its Georgian character.

In keeping with the symmetrical nature of the Georgian style house there are four rooms downstairs, all with doorways entering onto the hall. The two front rooms, as with the Solomon house, occupy two-thirds of the downstairs space and the back rooms one third, the longitudinal division coming at the same point as the arch in the hall which also marks the location of the summer beam. The summer beam is usually one of the larger elements of a house frame and acts as a bridging unit running horizontally from end girt to chimney girt, which in turn supports the second floor.⁵⁵

Entering the first door on the left from the front entrance leads to what normally would be described as the downstairs parlour which contains a very large heating fireplace backed by a second in the adjoining rear left room. However, the location of the kitchen/hearths in the

basement suggests that the first floor rooms would have functioned differently from those of the Solomon house. It is probable that this front left room served not as a parlour but as the dining room. This is supported by the presence of a hole and forged inset mount in the centre of the floor of the room directly above from which a chandelier could be suspended. Such a lighting device would probably have been used in the dining room, and it must have been a very substantial and heavy chandelier to require such a hanging arrangement.

This conclusion further suggests that the front left room may have served as a general family room or "keeping" room where much of the daily activity of the household was centered. The very large "high-waisted" fireplace reinforces this notion. Two bricks have been removed from which a bar could be suspended to hang pots or hooks for cooking or warming food. The fact that the two spaces created by the missing bricks do not actually line up suggests that this is not an original feature of the fireplace, but probably a very early adaption which illustrates the changing function of this room. With the kitchens in the basement, food could have been kept warm or even re-heated in this fireplace which meant it was not necessary to keep the large hearths burning, or go to the trouble to light them for small tasks of food preparation.

The room behind (back left) reached by two doors on

either side of the fireplace from the front room, or from the hall, is more difficult to define as to function. A stairs did lead from the basement but careful examination of the staircase and its entry point through the floor into this room revealed this to be a later renovation and not original. Another feature of this room is the outline of a cupboard which was originally built into the wall, built-in-furniture forms being a trademark of both the Lunenburg and Pennsylvania German tradition. It was similar in size to what is often called a parlor cupboard⁵⁶ suggesting that this room served the dual function of a parlour/bedroom.

Turning right from the entrance leads to the front room which certainly served as a parlour. While moldings, windows, and mantles in other rooms are original, except for some minor replacements and loss (such as the chair rail in the dining room), this room was completely altered, either by Benjamin Knaut before he sold the house in 1813, or by Conrad Rhuland sometime during the period of his ownership between 1813 and 1823, or by John Creighton who purchased the dwelling from Rhuland in 1823.

What is obvious as one enters is how different this room is in terms of its architectural details from the rest of the house, and how bold and massive the moldings are. These alterations were originally undertaken to reflect the changing architectural fashion and styles inspired by neoclassical influences which began appearing in Lunenburg

between 1800 and 1840.

Two windows were completely removed from the east wall of this room, destroying the expected Georgian symmetry, along with all chair rail, wainscotting, fireplace mantle, hall door, and door and window casings. The two remaining windows facing the street were altered and panels added under the sills reproducing the design of the replaced door leading from the hall, and matching the style of the front door which may have been changed at the same time as this room. During replastering, the original outline of the chair rail and windows were found under the layers of wall paper along with the outline of a wall cupboard built to the right of the fireplace above the chair rail.

The architectural details of this room reflect the changing fashions of design which started to appear as the Georgian style came under the neoclassical influences inspired in the 1760's by Robert Adam, who had a profound effect on the emerging architectural forms in England after 1770.⁵⁷ Adam started a revolution away from the early Georgian and Queen Anne style and late Georgian/Chippendale style by incorporating classical ornament and emphasizing linear relationships. Rural attitudes, more conservative and slow-changing, associated with regional and ethnic vernacular interpretation and expression of cosmopolitan tastes such as the Adam style, are the forces embodied in the bold and unrestrained decorative woodwork of this room.

Best described as a mixture of late neoclassical and early Empire styles,⁵⁰ it is difficult to date exactly when these changes were made or whether it was Knaut, Rhuland or Creighton who undertook the renovations in this room. Similar interiors exist in other houses in Lunenburg County including the Stewart house in Mahone Bay. This small Cape Code set back off the main street has a front parlour with very similar woodwork including corner-blocked and molded doors and window panels, and similar moldings on the door and window casings.

The only physical evidence uncovered which suggests a possible date for the renovation of this room, and by extension other similar rooms in Lunenburg County, is the design of the first wallpaper found over the original painted plaster during restoration in 1986. While removing layers of later wallpaper in the area of the missing built-in cupboard to the right of the fireplace, it was discovered that the first layer of paper was actually a very detailed scene depicting women in fancy dress and naval officers in uniform in the foreground, and a harbour view with sailing vessels and townscape in the background. This paper was found as the first layer on the walls, and appeared to be a non-repeating panoramic scene printed in black and gray on white ground.

According to a study of New England wallpaper by Nylander, Redmond, and Sander:

Wallpaper designs generally reflect contemporary art trends. By the early nineteenth century, the American public was paying to attend art exhibitions and special viewings of well-known classical, historical, and allegorical paintings.... One popular entertainment was panorama or cyclorama, where viewers entered a circular room, to be surrounded on all sides by one continuous scene, often a battle, a cityscape or an exotic land.

Scenic wallpapers were a natural complement to this phenomenon. Unlike hand painted panoramas or Chinese wallpapers, French scenics were block-printed, usually with thousands of blocks. This new type of wallpaper filled the four walls of a room from chair rail to ceiling with a non-repeating scene, which was usually comprised of twenty to thirty lengths.

French scenic wallpapers were available in Boston by at least 1817....⁵⁹

Based on the fact that such papers were available in Boston as early as 1817, and the fact that Rhuland, as a mariner,⁶⁰ would have both an inclination toward seaport and marine scenes, and the opportunity to purchase such wall papers in foreign ports, it seems likely that Rhuland renovated this room and installed this wallpaper sometime during his ownership of Knaut-Rhuland between 1817 and 1823.

The back right room, reached either from the hall or from the front parlour through a passageway that never seems to have had a door,⁶¹ boasted a cupboard backing the one in the front parlour built into the recess to the left of the deep chimney breast. This cupboard, whose outline was clearly visible when the wall paper was removed during replastering, was a breakfront form usually found with glass or solid paneled doors on the top set above a base with

doors and/or drawers. Since it lacked a fireplace, restricting its use as a bedroom particularly in the winter months, this room probably served other functions as a library or office.

The rooms of the second floor match those of the first in location and size. Probably all were used as bedrooms, the "best" room on this floor (as in the Solomon house) is the front left room with very detailed moldings and chair rail, and the most fully developed mantle in the house with distinctive neoclassical design in the Adam style.

Although the attic stairs now runs directly into the hall, these stairs once turned into the back right bedroom connecting this room with the attic and a small room with closet built around the chimney. This attic room which has a window, retains its simple molded woodwork, doors, and HL hinges, all painted in original yellow ochre colour, as well as original wall and ceiling plaster. This attic room probably served as additional living space for a servant(s) who also used the back right bedroom. Neither room has a fireplace - the only fireplaces on the second floor are in the two front rooms.

Although the interior architectural elements of the rooms of the first two floors and the attic are significant for their originality and/or period renovations, an understanding of how this house functioned as a domestic living space is not fully appreciated until the basement

hearth rooms are considered. This floor was originally entered from the outside through a door reached by passing under the front steps, and from the interior through a door at the rear of the first floor staircase adjacent to the backdoor,⁶² duplicating the Georgian symmetry of the upper two floors in terms of the number of rooms, their size, and location.

The symbolic centre of this house was the two front hearth rooms with massive fireplaces and bake ovens (now removed) and the focal point of social interaction associated with heat, light, warmth, food, and the women of the house. The placement of the hearth rooms in the basement of the Knaut-Rhuland is an important variation on the evolutionary change beginning in the seventeenth century which saw the hearth eventually move to the rear of the house, separating the working centres from the social centres. According to Robert Blair St. George,

Yet during the seventeenth century the symbolic valence of the hall was in constant flux as working hearths gradually moved to the rear lean-to. In some ways, this separation of cooking and the constellation of women's tasks that surrounded it from the social front of the house was an evolutionary change over time. The plan of the Fairbanks house in 1668 shows the working hearth in the hall despite the presence of a rear lean-to; the 1696 plan of the Boardman house shows the kitchen in the lean-to. Yet the disjunction of women's work from the everyday life of the family as a whole and the parallel concern for making the front rooms culturally "clean" were also related to social class. The ability to separate worlds of work and leisure, process and product, and to form abstract concepts of cleanliness depended on an economic ability to supply extra space. ⁶³

Placing the hearths in the basement emphasizes even further the segregation of working and leisure space, making the rooms on the upper two floors of Knaut-Rhuland totally available for social activity. As pointed out by St. George this separation of work and leisure is also associated with social class, a fact emphasized by the Georgian style of the Knaut-Rhuland house, the servant(s) quarters in the attic, and the standing of the Knaut family in the community.⁶⁴

The two front hearth rooms each connect to two back rooms by a single doorway located to the right and left of the chimney block. These rooms were probably used for food storage and preparation, and have walls of exposed foundation stone along two sides and interior walls of vertical boards, which have been whitewashed. The ceilings in both rooms were originally plaster over lath. The bake ovens did occupy the space on the other side of the chimney blocks opposite the passageway into the storage rooms. These were probably removed sometime during the early years of this century after the house was turned into an apartment dwelling.

Although the hearth rooms are mostly in their original state, it was in these areas that most damage occurred due to dampness and water, some vandalism, and the use of the house as a rental property. For example, all the hearth room walls were originally painted a deep blue-green colour. Unfortunately in the right hearth room these walls have been

indiscriminately destroyed to make way for plumbing and electricity. In the left room the original walls were covered over with tongue and groove boards and are in a better state of preservation as a result. The ceilings in both rooms are plaster over lath.

During the summer of 1987 a sliding picture window was removed from the front wall of the left hearth room and replaced with two reproduced windows duplicating those of the right front room facing the street. The foundation of the right front corner was also replaced and a door which had been cut through the wall along the east side was removed. During the excavation of the foundation part of the original basement floor was uncovered under the present layer of cement. This work revealed a surprising number of china, pottery and glass artifacts which were salvaged for later study. Preliminary analysis of this material includes Chinese Export Porcelain, blue and brown willow pattern stoneware, two types of clay pipe stems, glass from early nineteenth century wine goblets, and mid-nineteenth century glass fragments from oil lamps.

Regardless of the changes and damage that these hearth rooms have endured, they are still dominated by the large open cooking hearths. Open ground floor hearths, now mostly associated with Anglo-American architecture, were not foreign to European or Pennsylvania German culture. This hearth arrangement, however, was viewed as inefficient,

requiring large amounts of wood to keep it burning all day to achieve the most effective use. Because fuel was so important and these hearths so wasteful, the sixteenth century nobility which owned most of the land and timber in Germany that provided an important source of income, encouraged the use of the raised hearth and stoves requiring less fuel with a higher heat efficiency rating. Soon stoves began to be used for baking as well, and the hearth/stove combination began to alter the pattern of food preparation.⁶⁵

The pattern of the raised hearth and stove was reversed in seventeenth century Pennsylvania where timber was readily available and no regulations against indoor baking existed as in Germany.⁶⁶ Hearths reverted to the floor level type, although stoves were still used and raised hearths were not entirely rejected in the New World; some were in use as late as 1828.⁶⁷ What should be noted, however, is that no example of a raised hearth has been found in Lunenburg County or Nova Scotia.

However, kitchen technology in the nineteenth century probably erased much evidence that could have helped us determine the exact nature and use of the cooking hearths and hearth rooms in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Lunenburg. Hearths were built at ground level with attached bakeovens (usually adjacent to the hearth opening and built into the chimney breast) or unattached bakeoven

often found separately in the basement.

As previously discussed the placement of the hearth rooms in the basement of Knaut-Rhuland provides an important variation on the evolutionary shift of the hearth from the centre of social activity in the seventeenth century to the rear of the house and the centre of work activity in the eighteenth century. But the presence of two working hearths presents an even more interesting configuration. It links the basic interrelated functions of these hearth rooms to the social and symbolic functions of the other rooms in the house and can be explained by considering the tasks and work-related activities carried out in the hearth area.

These activities are best understood in terms of the transformation of natural raw products into refined ones usable by humans. For example, unartificial is unaltered by human culture or aesthetics, it is natural, unbroken, unimproved, while artificial implies transformation to an altered state influenced by human design, it is unnatural, broken, improved.⁶⁸ This concept is easily understood in terms of land and food. Improved land was broken, laboriously surveyed, sub-divided, cleared, plowed, manured, planted and harvested of its crop. Unimproved land was natural, untouched, unbroken, and unaltered by human hands.

Robert Blair St. George, writing about the application of these ideas to the Pilgrim context of seventeenth century New England, states:

The cognitive power of these terms is confirmed by their frequent use in other contexts. Fleece had to be broken before it could be carded; flax traveled through a machine called a "flax break", which separated the chaff from the long thin fibers used in making linen thread. More crucial to social life was the prevalent belief that infants had to be broken before they could lead a useful life.... And adults spoke of religious conversion as a ... breaking of will or heart.⁶⁹

Perhaps the following diagram best illustrates the contrast between unartificial and artificial:⁷⁰

Nature:	Unartificial:	Unimproved Unbroken Unfenced Undressed
Culture:	Artificial:	Improved Broken Fenced Dressed

The hearth rooms at Knaut-Rhuland were the centre of activity used for turning unbroken food/fiber (harvested from broken/improved fields) into broken food/fiber (such as meal into flour), and finally into improved food/fiber through preparation and cooking (flour into bread).⁷¹

Harvest (Unbroken Food: Meal)
 Preparation (Broken Food: Flour)
 Consumption (Improved/Cooked Food: Bread)

Once raw food was brought into the kitchen area, the hearth became the focal point for transforming this raw food into refined food through the use of fire and heat. The presence of fine china and stoneware found during the excavation of the foundation of the right hearth room supports the suggestion that the two kitchens in Knaut-Rhuland had two different but related functions - the left hearth room was used to transform food from its raw into its broken state, and the right one for improving and cooking it. Preliminary investigation of the floor of the left hearth room has not revealed any fine china or stoneware- in fact no artifacts were found (only seeds and animal bone) that would suggest that this hearth room was used for food in its refined state.

This is only a preliminary evaluation and the assessment of the functions of the hearth rooms based on the concept of artificiality is not intended to suggest a hard-line position on this matter. However, to use both kitchens strictly for final food preparation simultaneously is not feasible as the amount of wood fuel required to keep both hearths burning, even for a short time, would prove prohibitive.

There is little question that the placement of all kitchen/hearth activities in the basement determined the arrangement, organization, and symbolic/social function of the living space on the upper two floors of Knaut-Rhuland.

If we remove the servant quarters in the attic and the basement kitchens from consideration, and recall the location and placement of the other rooms and their functions (halls, dining room, parlour, bedrooms, library/office) we can examine the interior as a dialectic between the different domains of men and women based on the changing domestic patterns from family/communal activities of the seventeenth century to the increased and well defined privatization of domestic living space during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This development parallels the evolutionary change that saw the hearth move from the hall to the lean-to as already discussed.

We can define this dialectic according to gender and room function as follows:72

<u>Gender</u>	<u>Room</u>
Women (wife, daughters)	bedroom dining room hearth rooms* hall (upstairs)
Men (husband, sons)	bedroom parlour library hall (downstairs)
Servants (men, women)	hearth rooms dining room defined living space

* as "overseer" and director of food preparation activities

There were naturally variations on this pattern

dependent on social class, style of house, and the accumulation of household goods. The use of domestic living space in Georgian style houses like Knaut-Rhuland is better understood if we relate it to room function and gender use in direct comparison to the cultural effects (furniture and accessories) found in these rooms as tempered by social class. Although we do not have any known inventories for Knaut-Rhuland, discussion of domestic furnishings in terms of house style and social class based on existing estate inventories will follow later in this thesis. But first we must consider the final house under discussion. The Cape Cod style dwelling presents a different configuration of people (gender) to space to objects and will be discussed next.

The Huntington House

The third example, the Huntington house, is typical of many South Shore/Lunenburg County Cape Cod house plans with the rooms arranged around the central chimney and hearth which is the architectural focus of this style. Located in Hamm's Hill near Blockhouse about eight miles from the town of Lunenburg, it boasts original putty gray-green paint in the parlour, and a stunning early blue over red painted woodwork in the hearth room.⁷³

As one enters the front door with its single overlight of four panes, it is the plaster-covered chimney block that faces one straight-on, forcing the visitor to the left into

the hearth room or right into the parlour. Entering the hearth room four immediate impressions come to mind: (1) the size and location of the built-in cupboard facing as it does (2) the massive open hearth with bakeoven with its (3) heavy and very detailed moldings (repeating the details of the cupboard), and (4) the early red and blue painted woodwork. Obviously not all these factors will shock every visitor but most will sense the early and original nature of this room kept essentially intact for almost 200 years.

Located off the kitchen to the left and adjacent to the cupboard is a door that leads to a small room which probably served as a multi-purpose space ranging from bedroom to area for food preparation. This room is often called the "borning room" because women would use this space to give birth, its proximity to the warmth of the hearth in the winter months, and hot water all year round, proving convenient. In terms of room gender, this room is certainly female, a fact emphasized by its proximity to the hearth room. Although in many Cape Cods the hearth room also served a communal function where the entire family would take meals, it nevertheless remained in the female domain of control, making the "borning room" an important extension of this space. To the right and adjacent to the hearth is a passageway that leads to the backdoor and the staircase to the second floor which winds around the chimney block.

Turning from the front entrance to the right leads to

the parlour, a room which often served as the "showplace" for visitors boasting the finest woodwork and displaying the better china and household accessories. This room served multi-functions from entertaining to dining to sleeping. The immediate reaction on entering this room is to the built-in parlour cupboard and mantel (there is no fireplace in this room, false mantels were often installed to give that impression). Both have related design treatments including applied diamonds and match-stick reeding. This room was undoubtedly the formal area to entertain guests and visiting family members and for special occasions such as weddings and funerals. The cupboard would have held the best china, and perhaps silver, as well as other family objects considered important or having sentimental value. More ordinary pottery, woodenware and perhaps pewter would have been kept in the built-in hearth room cupboard.

It is the parlour which boasts woodwork in the original grey-green colour which has been affected only by the normal use and wear of daily living. This is one of the most original eighteenth century rooms in private hands. The second floor has two large loft type rooms which probably had multi-functions including sleeping, storage and as a centre for weaving and other related activities. It is not unusual to find large harness looms intact in these second floor loft areas in Cape Cod style houses and in attics in Georgian houses. Although dismantled, it is obvious from

Georgian houses. Although dismantled, it is obvious from the way they were stored in under-eave closet space that they were brought out and set up for operation during certain months of the year.

For example, in the Ross family diaries⁷⁴ for 1835 notations include comments that "Louisa was here carding wool" (September 14), "Lawson combing flax" (September 23). "Louisa Russell, Lucy Kidely (?), Ellen Perrior and Mary Burgoyne were here helping us to break flax...." (September 28.).

The diary entries indicate that these weaving activities took place at harvest time and that weaving and its related functions, such as carding wool and breaking flax, were important events that involved both family and friends. It should also be noted that it was a man, not a woman, who was weaving.

One of the most important aspects of the Huntington house is its interior architectural detail, particularly the woodwork and the two built-in cupboards. The hearth room cupboard with its "Queen Anne"⁷⁵ shaped sides, open top and two doors and three middle drawers in the base, is typical of the type of built-in furniture found in the hearth rooms of Cape Cod style houses along the South Shore, particularly Lunenburg County. As built-in furniture they reflect Germanic tradition, but their form and style is essentially English in character emphasizing the successful mix of these

two cultural traditions which can be found in some of these domestic interiors. Usually facing the hearth, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century cupboard examples generally are found with open tops and middle drawers flanked by two doors in the base with molding details which repeat that of the mantel and woodwork in the hearth room.

The parlour cupboard is equally impressive and its location between the doors of the two rear rooms is typical. This example has an open top and single door below with match-stick reeded molding which is repeated on the parlour room mantel. Some parlour rooms also have built-in corner cupboards.⁷⁶ It is important to note, however, that as built-in pieces of furniture, parlour, hearth room and corner cupboards were not included in the estate inventories of household furnishings as the inventory takers listed only movable furniture, a trend noted in the Pennsylvania German inventories as well.⁷⁷ In addition, the presence of built-in furniture follows the continental European traditions of the foreign Protestant settlers, and helps to outline distinguishing features between Lunenburg German and English houses, the latter which featured little if any built-in furniture forms.⁷⁸

To conclude, an examination of the architecture of the 1775-1810 period makes it clear that two house forms dominated the landscape: the five-bay Georgian style house with double chimney construction and central hall design,

and the central chimney Cape Cod. Both types contained large heating and cooking fireplaces at floor level, built-in furniture forms, and interior architectural details featuring multi-layered moldings, reeding, and carving.

Domestic living space in both the Georgian and Cape Cod style house was defined by room function generally based on five family or individual activities carried out within the household: food production and preparation (hearth room, kitchen); food consumption (dining room); sleeping (bedrooms); entertaining (parlour, dining room, hall); and leisure (library, bedroom, parlour). A sixth activity which involved domestic production of textiles was spinning and weaving. Weaving was usually carried out in the attic of the Georgian style house, and the second floor loft of the Cape Cods. Spinning was an activity that could be undertaken in almost any room of the house regardless of its primary function owing to the portable nature of the machines involved.

Thus the houses of the 1775-1810 period struck a balance between family oriented (communal) and individual (private) activities, while certain areas, such as the downstairs hall and parlour were points of control and interaction with the community outside the domestic household.

The Georgian and Cape Cod house forms underwent changes during the third period of Lunenburg architecture from 1810

to 1830, which is marked by the emergence of variations on these house types. This period is best described as a transition phase from the late Georgian to the Victorian era when changes in the external style of the architecture, and the configuration of room size, location and function began to mirror the desire for increased privatization, the social and domestic separation of the worlds of husband and wife, and the Victorian mentality and style.

Figure XI shows common house forms in rural New England during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These same house forms can also be found along the south shore of Nova Scotia. Example A, a one-room deep half-house has a similar floor plan and exterior facade to the earliest house in Lunenburg at 57 York Street (see Figure III). Both the centre-chimney and centre-hall houses are common to Lunenburg County and similar to the Solomon house and Knaut-Rhuland house already discussed. In fact, the transition sequence from example A to example B to examples D and E reflect the changes found at Lunenburg from the "good Framed Houses" to the Cape Cod style to the Georgian. The last example (G) of the side-hall house is similar to the end-gable entry house identified by Ennals and Holdsworth.

Throughout this third period the Cape Cod form underwent interior changes, which according to Ennals and Holdsworth, formed the basis for a Maritime vernacular architecture by the 1840's:

One and a half story dwellings are the most common house form of Maritime Canada. By the 1840's they formed the basis of a regional vernacular. Distinguished from the Cape Cod type by a less steeply pitched roof and the greater height of both first and second floor walls, houses of this... type are set apart from Type II [Cape Cod] by the replacement of the large central chimney stack by smaller chimneys located half way to the end walls. These changes permitted a central hall or passage to be opened through the house, increased the usable space on the second floor, especially with the addition of a central dormer, and led to a more rigidly formal plan with two front parlours flanking the hall, and a dining room and kitchen behind. Sleeping rooms were generally confined to the second floor.⁷⁹

Essentially, the Georgian house began to be replaced by what Ennals and Holdsworth call the "temple" house, a neoclassical variation which started to appear around 1820 based on the emerging American architectural fashion dominated by the Greek Revival movement.⁸⁰

According to Ennals and Holdsworth this house type must be seen as a Maritime expression of this development and is radically different from the other types found within the Maritime region:

A fifth common house type has its main entrance on the shorter gable side of the house and as a consequence, its plan is radically different from previous examples. Generally, the main door, near one corner of the house, opens onto a spacious vestibule and a staircase leading to the second floor. Rooms open off a hallway running the length of the house along one wall. The first room off the hall is the parlour; the second room most often serves a dining room, although it too may have been a parlour in the past. A third room beside the dining room at the end of the hall passage was usually the kitchen. This small kitchen is often extended by an appended wing; originally a summer kitchen, this was frequently upgraded later and integrated into the main

kitchen. The upper floor was given exclusively to bed chambers, usually matching the addition of a small bedroom over the entrance hall. In some examples, the kitchen extension is also two stories and provides additional sleeping space accessible by a staricase from the kitchen and may also be connected to the upper landing of the main house.⁸¹

Although most of the changes which started to occur during the 1810-1830 period reflected social attitudes towards the use of space and the "... desire for greater personal privacy [which] paralleled the assertion of a more individualistic world",⁸² the external architecture of houses were often changed by appearance of the dormer. Although Ennals and Holdsworth state that "it is difficult to precisely date appearance and duration of specific dormer styles..."⁸³, they do present a sequence which begins with (a) the simple gable dormer, followed by (b) the five-sided "Scottish" dormer, then (c) the triangular dormer integrated into the roof line, then (d) the triangular dormer with a greater roof pitch, and (e) the projecting dormer which often became a porch at ground level and is typical of the "bump" in Lunenburg.⁸⁴

In general, the classical Georgian and Cape Cod style houses began either to disappear or change radically during this third period perhaps best described as a transition phase. By 1840-1850 new house types were beginning to appear including the "temple" house, and later (1860) a simpler variation on this end gable entry house with square proportions, steep triangular dormer and small single

chimney, a form which still dominates the rural landscape of the Maritime region.

While the older forms persisted alongside this new order, changes in domestic living space reflected emerging attitudes about the individual's relationship to the family and community. According to Ennals and Holdsworth:

In general, most Maritime houses reveal a tendency to develop a highly compartmentalized space. The four or five bedrooms within most houses allowed the separation of adults from children, boys from girls, family from domestic. Technological change facilitated some of these developments. With the advent of the heating and cooking stoves during the 1860s, life no longer had to revolve around the fireplace. Stoves could be located almost anywhere and connected by stove pipes to the chimney... Yet many Maritime households closed off certain rooms during the winter. Families slept communally on upstairs landings warmed by stove pipes, landings designed large enough to accommodate the entire family. In this way the rhythms of the season punctuated life within the house, and while the house itself was becoming modern, the imperatives of climate forced the society into living patterns that were pre-modern.⁸⁵

It is these earlier "pre-modern" living patterns that we are most concerned with in this thesis, and which are reflected in the types of furnishings and their placement listed in the estate inventories for the households of Lunenburg County during the 1760-1830 period of our study. Proxemic patterns and the interrelationships of material possessions to location and function within the domestic interior form the basis of the next two chapters.

Notes:

1. Bell, Foreign Protestants, pp. 426-427.
2. David Grayson Allen, "Vacuum Domicilium: The Social and Cultural Landscape of Seventeenth-Century New England," New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century, Volume One, (Introduction/Migration and Settlement) (Boston, 1982), p. 1.
3. Bell, Foreign Protestants, p. 426.
4. Ibid., p. 431.
5. Ibid., p. 409. The drawing of lots took place in St. Paul's parish church next to the parade on Monday May 21 at 7:00 A.M.
6. Lawrence, Journal, p. 27.
7. Ibid., p. 40.
8. PANS, Records of Leonard Christopher Rudolf, Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, MG 4, v. 92, p. 4.
9. Lawrence, Journal, p. v.
10. Ibid., p. 13.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., p. 11.
13. Ibid., p. 27.
14. Bell, Foreign Protestants, p. 438.
15. Lawrence, Journal, p. 25.
16. Mather Byles DesBrisay, History of the County of Lunenburg (Belleville, 1980), pp. 37-8.
17. Ibid., p. 38.
18. Ibid., p. 37.
19. Bell, Foreign Protestants, p. 437.
20. Lawrence, Journal, pp. 15-6.
21. It is not unusual to find boards between 18 and 24 inches in width in eighteenth and early nineteenth furniture and house interiors, such boards being used for table tops

and walls.

22. DesBrisay, History, p. 37.

23. Bell, Foreign Protestants, p. 433, note 10.

24. DesBrisay, History, p. 37.

25. Lawrence, Journal, p. 24.

26. William Plaskett, Lunenburg: An Inventory of Historic Buildings with Photographs and Historical and Architectural Notes (Lunenburg, 1984), p. 53.

27. There really is no cellar under the original section of this house, just the stairs that winds down around the chimney into the cellar under the new section.

28. Abbott Lowell Cummings, The Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625-1725 (Cambridge, 1979), p. 65.

29. PANS, An Account & Inventory of the Sufferers who lost their Houses & c. y the late Fire at Lunenburg 6th June, 1772, M. 64, v. 92.

30. Henry Glassie, "Eighteenth-Century Cultural Process in Delaware Valley Folk Building," Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture (Athens, 1986), p. 400.

31. Peter Ennals and Deryck Holdsworth, "Vernacular Architecture and the Cultural Landscape of the Maritime Provinces- A Reconnaissance," Acadiensis, Vol. X, No. 2 (Spring 1981), pp. 90-1.

32. Ibid., p. 88

33. Ibid., p. 94.

34. Richard Henning Field, "Proxemic Patterns: Eighteenth-Century Lunenburg-German Domestic Furnishings and Interiors", Material History Bulletin (Fall 1985), p. 41., Note: The letter is given as "Q" not "E" which is correct, and the date Koch sold the house as 1779 not 1797 which is correct.

35. Plaskett, Lunenburg, p. 42.

36. PANS, Will Papers, Lunenburg County, 1808-1822, RG 48, Reel 842.

37. Allen Penney, Simeon Perkins House (Halifax, 1987), p. 46.

38. Historical House Tour of Lunenburg Area (Lunenburg, 1978), p. 5. Wainscot is best defined as the lower three or four feet of an interior wall when finished differently from the remainder of the wall. Usually the chair rail is the break between the wainscot and the plaster above. The wainscot is usually created from wide wooden boards running horizontally. Sometimes these are molded and paneled. In some of the Lunenburg Cape Cods and Georgian Capes the wainscot is made from plaster (below the chair rail) and was painted to simulate wood, a practice which does not meet the strict requirements of the definition in terms of using a different material, but nevertheless was decorated to create the same effect.
39. Ibid. Treenailed is best defined as putting a square peg in a round hole.
40. Cummings, Framed Houses, p. 60.
41. Abbott Lowell Cummings, "Inside the Massachusetts House", Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture (Athens, 1986), pp. 221-2.
42. PANS, Will Papers, 1808-1822, RG 48, Reel 842.
43. Personal Communication with Leslie Langille, Lunenburg, February, 1987.
44. The term hall, brought over to New England by the first colonists, was used for the large open room of the English manor house in which much of the daily life was centered, and which in an indirect way was the ancestor of our modern living room. (See Cummings, "Inside the Massachusetts House", p. 220.)
45. Personal communication with the masons at Riverport Holdings Company, September 1986.
46. Historic House Tour of Lunenburg Area, p. 4.
47. Rhys Isaac, The Transforamtion of Virginia (Williamsburg, 1982), p. 305.
48. PANS, Deeds, Lunenburg County, RG 47, Reel 1366, entry 506.
49. Bell, Foreign Protestants, pp. 537-542.
50. Ibid., p. 575, note 5a.
51. PANS, Deeds, Lunenburg County, RG 47, Reel 1360, Book

- 3, No. 824, p. 523.
52. PANS, Deeds, Lunenburg County, RG 47, Reel 1360, Book 7, p. 72.
53. Plaskett, Lunenburg, p. 20.
54. Based on personal observations in houses in and around Mahone Bay, Blockhouse, and Lunenburg.
55. Cummings, Framed Houses, p. 55.
56. A parlour cupboard is the size of a doorway and was built into the wall with moldings surrounding the cupboard that usually repeated the door moldings of the room into which it was built. It was used to display china and other very fine accessories, and was usually built into the parlour of the typical one and one half story Cape Cod.
57. For a full discussion of early Georgian Queen Anne and late Georgian Chippendale style in architecture see Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York, 1952), pp. 473-502.
58. Empire is defined as the style created during the first French Empire in the early nineteenth century. In Canada the term is often used in relationship to the American interpretation of Neo-classical influences known as the American Empire. Federal is defined by the classical revival in the United States which coincided with the rise of the federal government 1775-1810.
59. Richard C. Nylander, Elizabeth Redmond, and Penny J. Sander, Wallpaper in New England (Boston, 1986), p. 123.
60. Plaskett, Lunenburg, p. 20.
61. It is uncertain exactly how this doorway originally looked. Evidence uncovered during restoration of this room suggests that it was always a passageway without mounted door between the parlour and back library/office.
62. This is not the original basement stairs but a replacement taken from another house probably when the original stair case was simply worn out from the continual use it saw as the only means to reach the kitchen/hearth rooms.
63. Robert Blair St. George, "'Set Thine House in Order': The Domestication of the Yeomanry in Seventeenth-Century New England", New England Begins: The Seventeenth-Century, Volume Two, (Mentality and Environment) (Boston, 1982), p.

168.

64. Benjamin Knaut followed his father into local politics becoming Sheriff of the County. (See Bell, Foreign Protestants, p. 110.)

65. William Woys Weaver, "The Pennsylvania German House: European Antecedents and New World Forms." Winterthur Portfolio, Vol. 21, No. 4 (Winter 1986), pp. 255-6.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid.

68. St. George, Yeomanry, p. 161.

69. Ibid.

70. Adapted from St. George, Yeomanry, p. 161.

71. Ibid., p. 170.

72. Adapted from St. George, Yeomanry, p. 172.

73. Field, "Proxemic," p. 44.

74. PANS, Ross Family Diaries, Vol. 794, 1811-1822. See entries for September 14, 1836 to September 28, 1836.

75. The term "Queen Anne" is defined by the repetitive cut-out shapes of the sides of the cupboards.

76. An example of such a corner cupboard is in the Brown House in Clearland, near Mahone Bay.

77. Swank, Arts, p. 52 (note).

78. Ibid., p. 45.

79. Ennals and Holdsworth, Vernacular, p. 92.

80. Ibid., p. 98.

81. Ibid., p. 94.

82. Ibid., p. 103.

83. Ibid., p. 104.

84. Ibid., p. 92.

85. Ibid., p. 103.

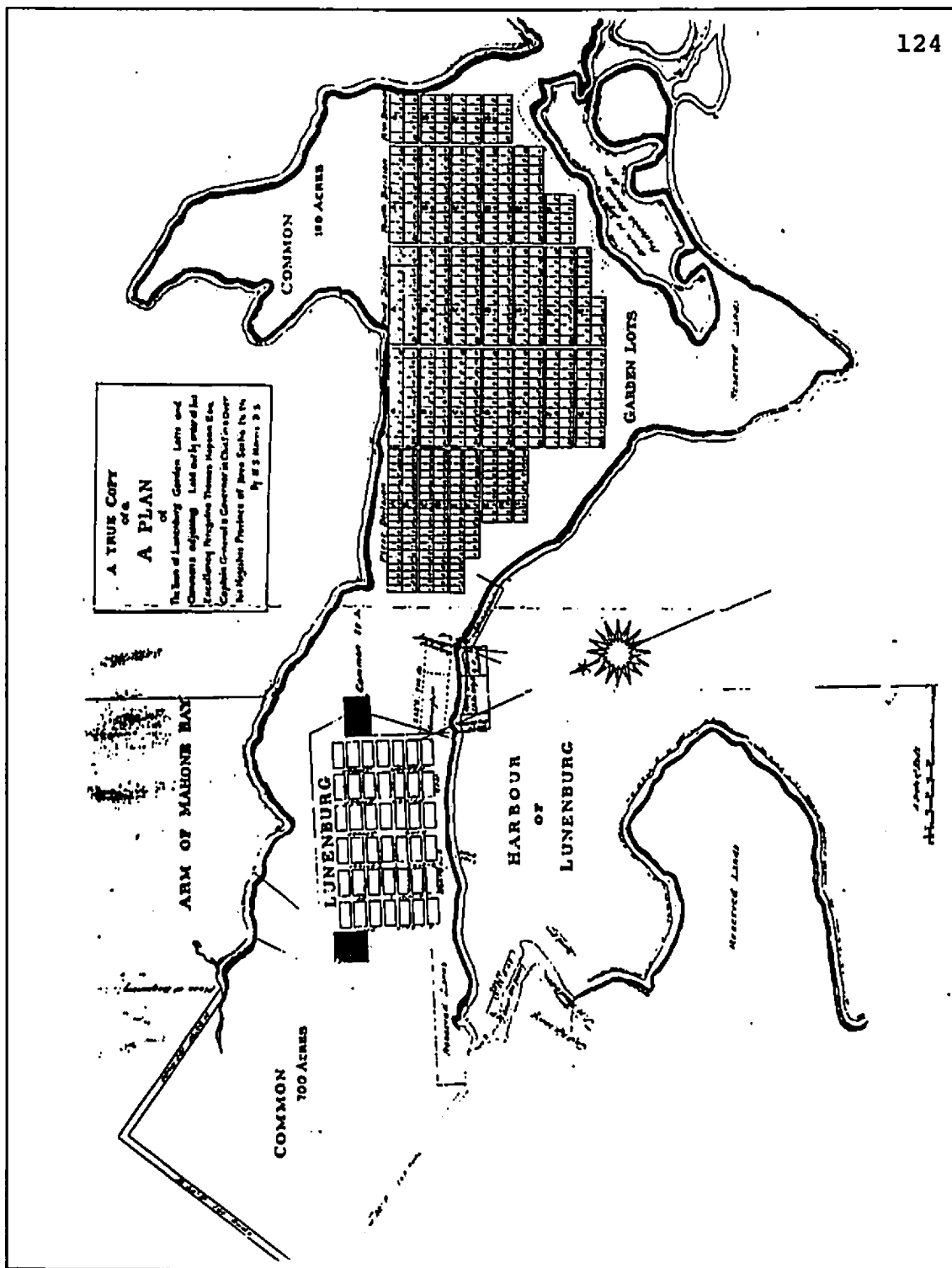


Figure II

The town Plan of Lunenburg showing the grid system and street names and location of both the common 100 acres and Garden Lots. The grid system created a town plot of 42 large blocks 250 feet long by 120 feet deep with these in turn divided into 14 house lots.

The original of this map is in the Public Archives of Canada, National Map Collection, NMC 547, H3/240/Lunenburg/1752.

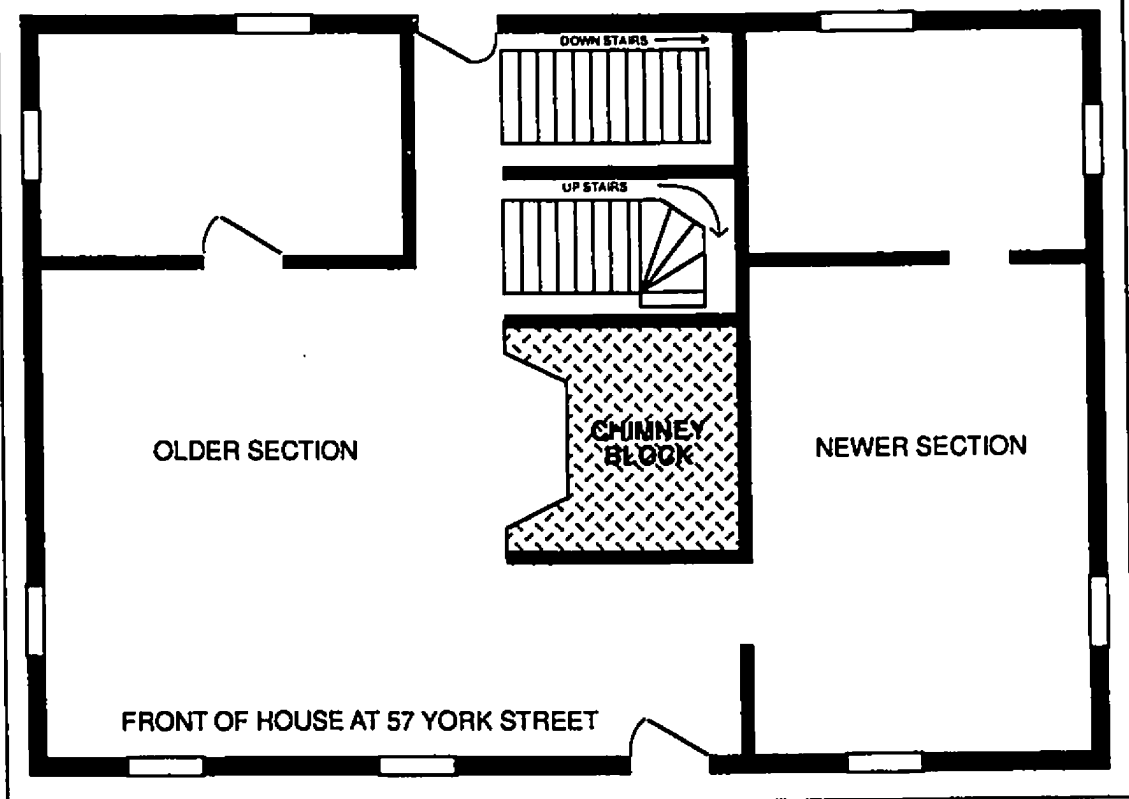


Figure III

Located at 57 York Street in Lunenburg, this small Cape Cod style framed house is possibly the oldest still standing in the town and dates from the end of the first period of Lunenburg architecture, 1765 - 1775.

The drawing of the interior room plan is taken from William Plaskett, *Lunenburg: An Inventory of Historic Buildings*, Lunenburg, 1984, p. 53, and is not drawn to scale.

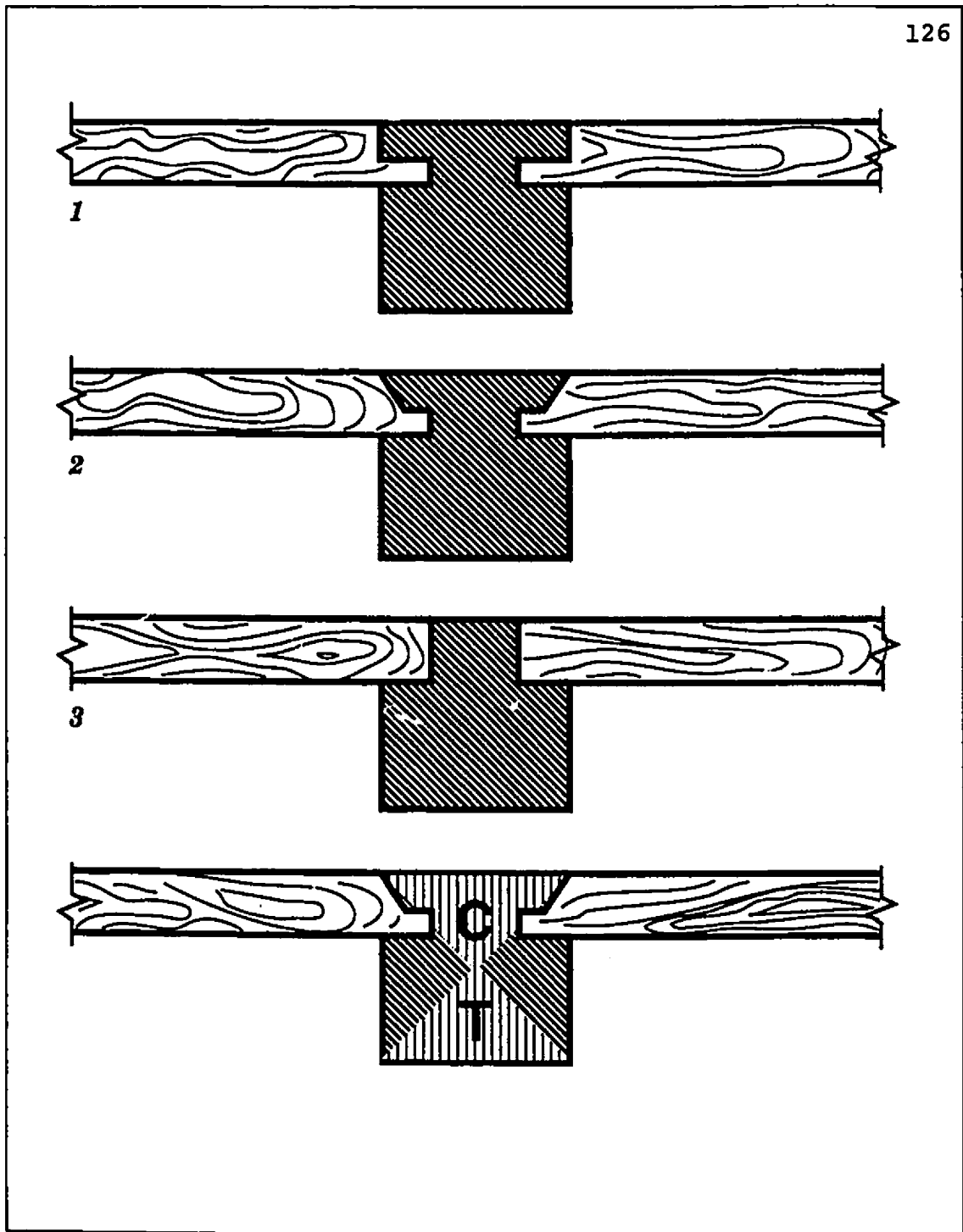


Figure IV

Development of the floor joist joint: (1) bare faced soffit-tenon, English, sixteenth century and earlier; (2) tusk tenon, English and American, mid sixteenth to mid seventeenth century; (3) butt cog, American and English, mid-seventeenth century and onward.

The last drawing illustrates the diagrammatic relationship of the tusk tenon to vital compression and tension areas of a load bearing timber.

The drawings are taken from Abbott Lowell Cummings, *The Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625 - 1725*, Cambridge, 1979, p. 65.

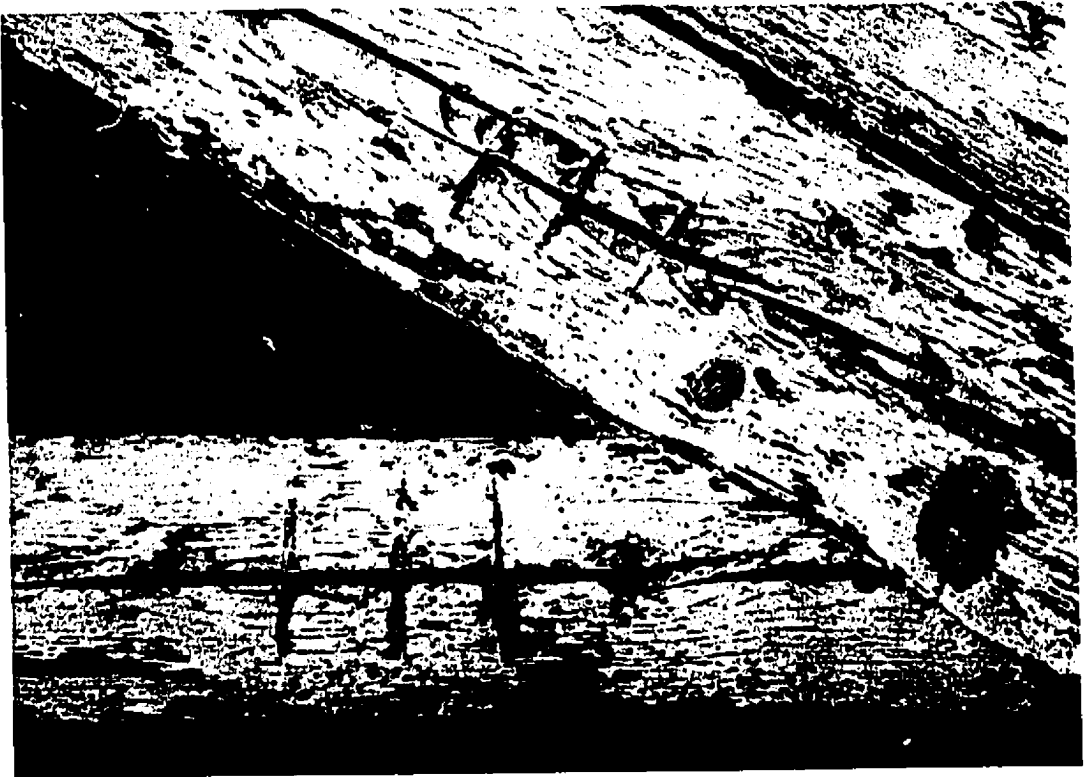


Figure V
Photograph showing marked roof rafters of the Solomon House. A practice suggesting off-site preparation of the frame.
Photograph by Richard Henning Field.

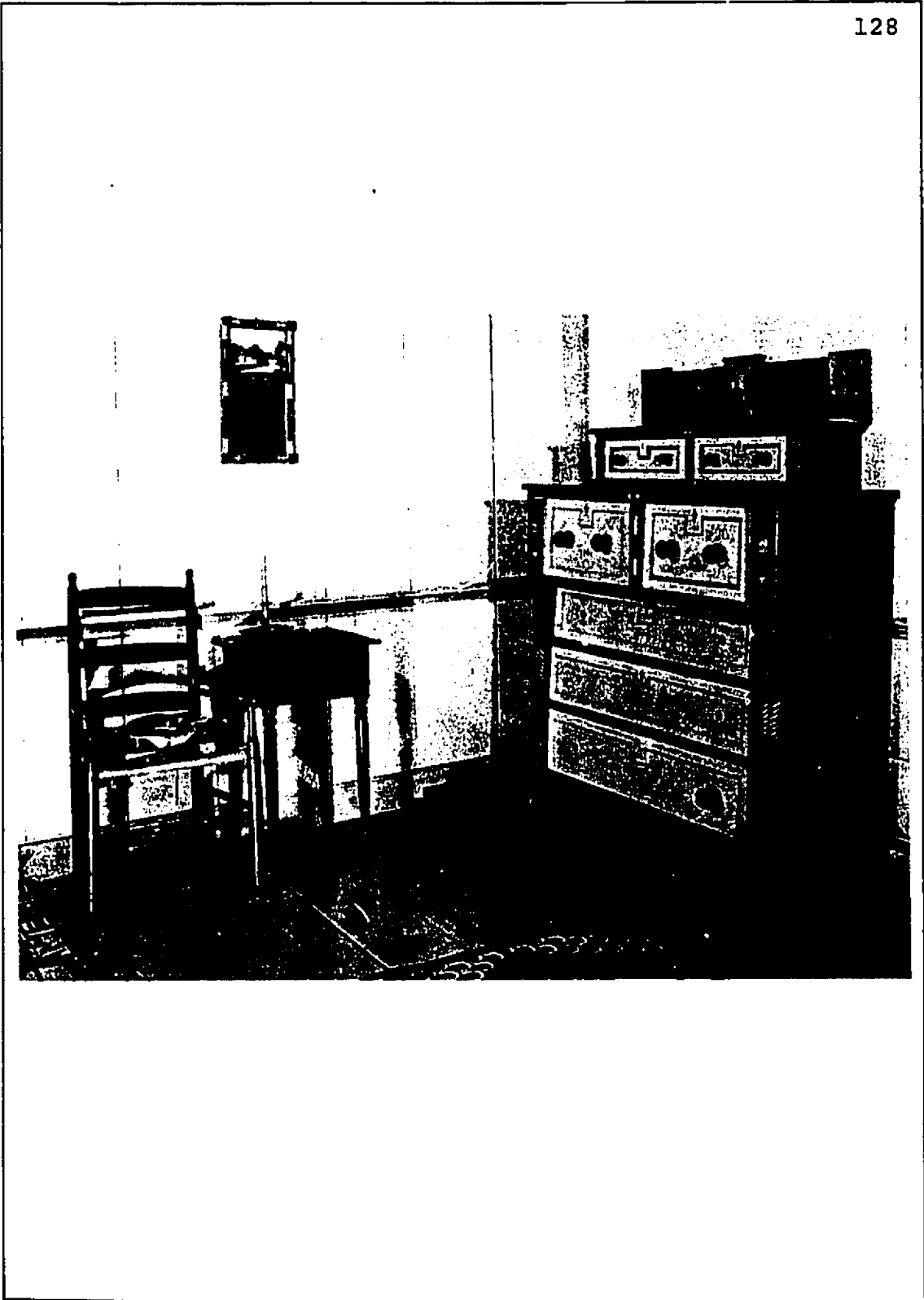


Figure VI
Upstairs right back bedroom in Solomon House showing vertical and beaded wall boards.
Photograph by Chris Reardon.



Figure VII

Overall photograph of front exterior of Solomon House with detail of front door with the sidelights, overlight and molding.

Photographs by Richard Henning Field.



Figure VIII
Photograph showing partial view of stairway and front hall at Solomon House. Notice the vertical and beaded wall boards.
Photograph by Richard Henning Field.

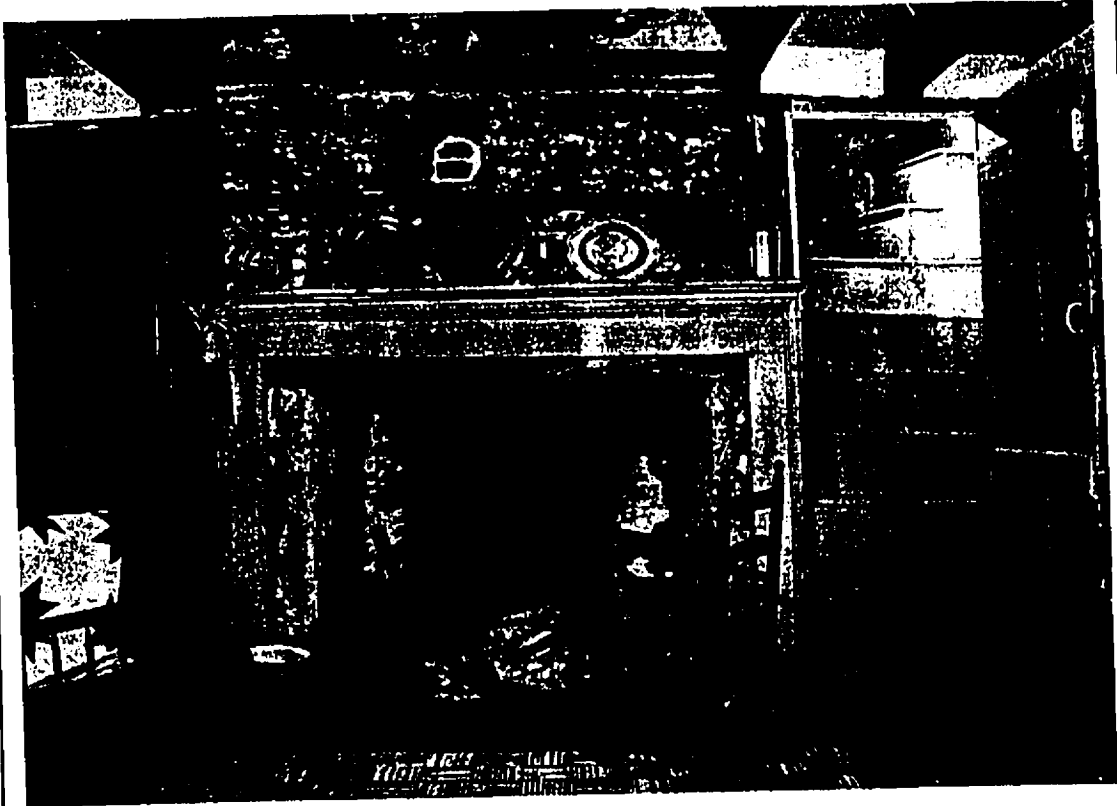


Figure IX

The massive hearth in the Solomon House which was the focus of most if not all food preparation. It was the hearth room which replaced the original "hall" of the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, but which still remained the centre of many daily family activities of work and recreation.

Photograph by Chris Reardon.



Figure X

An exterior photograph of the Knaut-Rhuland House after painting in 1979. The "bump" is still in place in this photo and pre-dates 1879 as it appears on the BEV of Lunenburg for that year. Notice the late picture window below the first floor which gives light into the left front hearth room. This window should be like those on the opposite side of the "bump" and has since been restored to this original two window configuration.

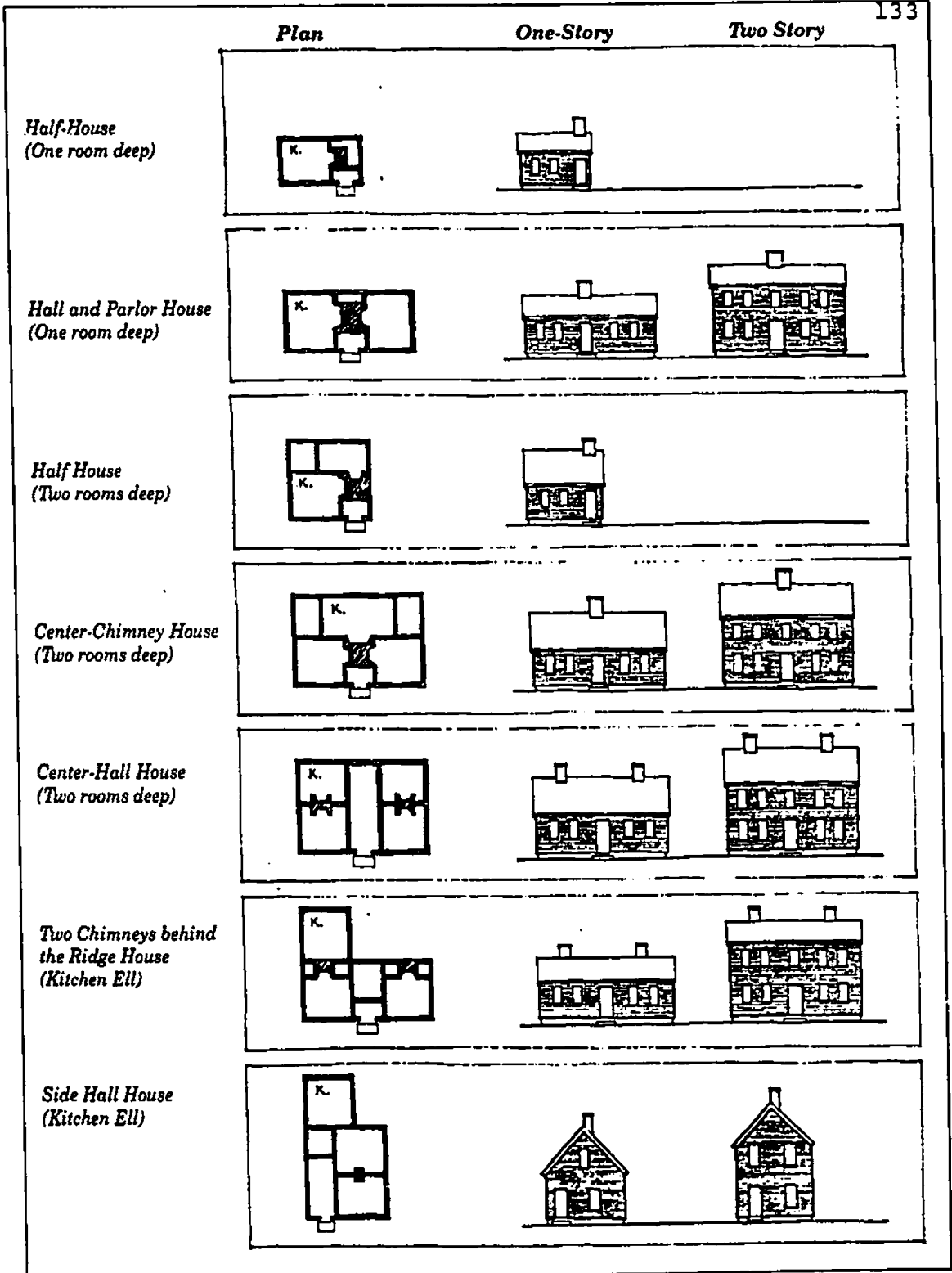


Figure XI
 Common house types found in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century rural New England also found along the south shore of Nova Scotia. Taken from Thomas C. Hubka, *Big House, Little House, Back House, Barn: The Connected Farm Buildings of New England*, p. 34.

CHAPTER THREE

A house reflects methods of organizing space to achieve an acceptable social and cultural fit in essentially two ways. One is in its relationship to the larger architectural landscape of community, town, or city, and more specifically to the farmstead or homestead. The other is in the way it assists its inhabitants in the routines of daily life within the confines of the domestic interior. Our concern here is this second point, the domestic landscape of the vernacular house. "Vernacular architecture, which by definition is built according to ethnic and regional traditions, is the product of a particular group's need for efficiently usable space."¹ Vernacular houses change slowly, following perceived shifts in community and domestic living habits. "Consequently, when architectural alterations do occur they usually first appear on the exterior and are cosmetic."² Changes in floor plans, spatial alterations and other interior renovations affecting personal interactions and the placement and arrangement of household furnishings occur more slowly. The study of the domestic setting, with its interrelationships between objects, people and space, is called "proxemics" and these relationships remain one of the most conservative elements in any household and community. Changes within these

proxemic patterns reflect transformations within the family and by extension the society itself.

The estate inventories, usually taken by court-appointed neighbors of the deceased, are the most valuable historical sources for the study of eighteenth and early nineteenth century domestic life. Probate inventories are not without their pitfalls. However, the danger lies in accepting at face value the data they record and assuming that they are a reliable sampling of a population at a given time in a specific region. Probate inventories are subject to random selection as well as biases of ethnicity, wealth, gender and age. For example, it is assumed that because of the sheer number of Lunenburg inventories they represent a reliable sampling of white males of all classes and occupations.³ However, only a few widow's and spinster's documents survive which represent a small percentage of the total female population and certainly not all social classes.

Because of the number of different inventory takers the documents vary widely in detail and consistency of information recorded. However, the framework for the inventory remained little changed over many generations from the eighteenth to the late nineteenth centuries. Usually two or three individuals were assigned the task of compiling the inventory. They listed in varying detail the moveable effects making up the personal property of

the deceased with an estimated value for each item including cash, notes in hand, clothing, livestock, tools, household furnishings and accessories, real estate, bonds and book debts. One other listing, unique to maritime communities, was quarter, half or full shares in various sailing vessels.

Because the Lunenburg County material is remarkably intact, the estate inventory is often accompanied by the actual will of the deceased and in many cases by the auction documents; the moveable effects were frequently sold to satisfy outstanding debts. It is therefore possible to compare the value of objects estimated by the inventory takers with the price the same items brought in public auction. This comparison reveals that the purchasers at an auction often were related to the deceased. In some instances if the will dictated that household furnishings be sold at public auction it meant that even the deceased's wife had to bid to obtain certain household furnishings.⁴ In particular beds, stoves, German bibles, prayer books and psalm books went much higher at auction than the estimated inventory value. Even in the eighteenth century something was worth whatever someone was willing to pay for it.

Few of the Lunenburg estate inventories and wills were written in German - those documents that were in German usually were accompanied by an English translation

probably made to satisfy local authorities. In fact, the court required the inventory takers to record the personal property in English regardless of the language of the deceased.

One could use many inventories to illustrate the range of material possessions of the Lunenburg-German yeomen and merchants. The Wollenhaupt inventory previously referred to is one example of a merchant's domestic environment and shop holdings and is reproduced in an appendix. The Casper Wollenhaupt inventory was compiled by three court-appointed inventory takers between July 18 and 20, 1809, and was finally completed on January 5, 1810. The inventory was filed in the Lunenburg Probate Office on January 12, 1810.⁵ The family name, Wollenhaupt or Woolenhof, is found on the ship manifests from Northern Germany, especially Hesse, one of the small landgraviates north of Frankfurt.⁶ Casper Wollenhaupt himself was a wealthy Lunenburg dry goods merchant. The total valuation of personal property in the estate inventory was 1008 pounds, 12 shillings and 7 1/4 pence which was made up of household furnishings and accessories (419 pounds, 1 shilling and 5 pence), shop goods (499 pounds, 11 shillings and 2 1/4 pence), and 90 pounds in cash. Wollenhaupt also had a large number of real estate holdings which are not included in this total.

The entire inventory reveals that the residents of

Lunenburg and vicinity had an extensive variety of goods to choose from. The selection of textiles, printed cottons and silks listed in the Wollenhaupt shop inventory indicates that almost every type of material was available for purchase: garment cloth; household linen for tables; toweling; ticking and other bedding; textiles suitable for bed and window curtains; upholstery, slipcovers, and table and chest covers; and floor coverings.⁷ For example, the inventory lists next to entry 127, "8 yards swansdown" which is a waistcoat material. "Swansdown and toilinet were fancy woolen textiles, or cotton and wool, developed in the early nineteenth century. Samples of pink, salmon, scarlet, light blue, and apple-green swansdown yarns are in William Gott's pattern book begun in 1815. Both (swansdown and toilinet) were popular for waistcoats for many years, especially with horsy men- grooms, huntsmen and coachman'".⁸ The fact that both swansdown and yellow "toilinet" (entry 126) are listed indicates that Lunenburg consumers were able to purchase the latest in fashionable clothing materials. Since the Wollenhaupt inventory dates 1809-1810 this type of waistcoat fabric was perhaps available in North America at an earlier date than previously expected.⁹ This inventory of shop goods would also suggest that merchants served as agents of change and even anglicization for the Lunenburg German culture by making available the latest in fashion and style, thereby

affecting not only what the consumers of Lunenburg were able to purchase, but also helping indirectly to dictate ideals about fashion and taste to the craftsmen of the community.

The richness of the Wollenhaupt shop and house inventory must be kept in perspective. The vast majority of the inventories of the Lunenburg German farmers and craftsmen dating from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries reveal that they had sparsely furnished homes. However, two qualifications to this statement must be considered. First, the Lunenburg Germans, following the patterns of the Pennsylvania German households, and by extension the traditions of their homeland, tended to have more built-in furniture forms than did English houses.¹⁰ This is certainly evident in the house interiors of the Lunenburg County homes where built-in flat-to-the-wall cupboards and corner cupboards are commonly found in the first floor main kitchen/hearth room and the adjacent parlour of early Capes. Second, the inventories were only one part of the records of the deceased. The accompanying wills often reveal that many household moveables were given to the wife and children. The wife was often given one room with furnishings (including bed, bedding and table) in the house where she was residing at the time of her husband's death, or in the home of a son if the family house was to be sold to

satisfy the deceased's debts. Kitchen privileges were often included and set amounts of food such as grain and meat were allotted yearly to the wife, usually from one or more of her sons' harvests.¹¹ Daughters were usually singled out to receive a cow, featherbed and spinning wheel.¹²

The inventory of "Goods and Chattles" of John James Bezanson made on March 9, 1804, by several of his neighbors is more typical.¹³ Describing his occupation as "yeoman" in his will, the Bezanson inventory follows, excepting farm animals and implements.

BEZANSON INVENTORY

OBJECT	EVALUATION
<u>Furniture</u>	
1 table	0/2/6
1 chest	0/2/0
1 looking glass	0/1/0
1 wheel and clock (refers to woolwinder)	0/12/6
4 bed and blankets	4/0/0
<u>Earthenware/China</u>	
1 dozen earthen plates	0/2/6
1 dozen cups and saucers (china) and milk pan and pitcher	0/2/0
<u>Metal</u>	
1 iron stove	2/11/0
2 bells	0/10/0
1 pewter platter and 3 pewter basins	0/12/0
1 tea canister and coffee pot	0/3/0
1 tin pan, tin pot and funnel	0/2/0
2 iron pans	0/3/6
1 pair and irons	0/3/0
1 pair flat irons	0/1/6

7 knives and forks and ten spoons	0/4/0
1 dog iron and 2 chaiseles (?)	0/2/0

Other

1 gun	1/0/0
1 pair snowshoes	0/10/0
1 case razors (?)	0/3/0
10 planes	0/17/6
1 broken square and compass	0/1/3
2 draw knives and pair of hilliards	0/7/6

The most valuable items listed in the inventory are the iron stove and the four beds and blankets, indicating the importance of these objects in the household. And although Bezanson describes himself as a yeoman in his will, the presence of ten planes and a compass and square in the inventory would suggest he had some carpentry skills, perhaps enough to make some of his own furniture or use his skills to augment his income by doing carpentry for neighbors.

Until well into the second quarter of the nineteenth century, Lunenburg German households were lacking in many furnishings, particularly in the homes of the yeoman/farmers. Those who described themselves as "esquire," "gentlemen" or listed some type of trade or craft as an occupation usually had inventories listing more furnishings and accessories such as in the Wollenhaupt document. The houses of yeoman were filled with farm and kitchen tools, saddles, grain, and a variety of containers for storage, including crocks and wooden

tubs of varying sizes, rather than furniture and accessories. What both the Pennsylvania and Lunenburg German farmer had in common was a passion for "notes in hand" and real estate.¹⁴ It is not unusual to find that many yeoman both owed and lent money to neighbors and family members, and that they often purchased farm land and town lots that were passed on in wills to wife and children, or sold to satisfy outstanding debts.

Based on both estate and auction inventory/sales records, certain types of furniture and accessories remained very important in the Lunenburg German households. The significant furniture forms in terms of both economic and traditional values include iron stoves, bed and bedding, and to varying degrees, chests, desks, and German bibles and books. In many cases these items can account for most of the total evaluation of an estate inventory for personal effects and moveable property.

The inventories for Lunenburg County dating between 1788 and 1822 reveal that most yeoman/farmers had the following furnishings in their household in varying degrees; 1-4 beds with bedding, (featherbeds, beds with curtains and bed with canopy; blankets, sheets, bed covers and pillows); 1-4 tables; 2-6 chairs; 1-2 chests; 1-3 spinning wheels; 1 iron stove (single or double); 1-2 candlesticks (brass or tin); textiles (tablecloths, bedding, etc.); pewterware; tinware; earthenware and

china; iron pots and kettles; 1-2 looking glasses; 1-4 benches; wooden tubs or firkins for storage; various knives and forks; 1-2 pair of andirons; hearth equipment (cranes, trammels, etc.); trunks; clothing; books (usually in German including bibles, prayer books and Psalms).¹⁵

The parallel between this basic inventory and the inventories of the Pennsylvania German households from Berks and Lancaster counties for the one storey stone or log structures is striking.¹⁶ The inventories accompanied by wills where the occupation of the deceased is given as yeoman or farmer are very similar to the furnishings of the simple Cape Cod type dwelling so common to Lunenburg County for the time period under consideration. For example, benches are very common in Lunenburg and Pennsylvania, probably replacing chairs in some instances as seating for most daily activities.

There are differences, however, between the Pennsylvania German and Lunenburg German household inventories. Scott Swank in his study of Pennsylvania interiors does list benches as a household item in the Berks and Lancaster County inventories of Pennsylvania.¹⁷ On the other hand, clocks are rare in Lunenburg but a highly prized possession among the Pennsylvania Germans. According to Swank, "Clocks, beds, and clothespresses (wardrobes) were the premier furniture forms among the eighteenth century Pennsylvania Germans. All three were

traditional and highly expressive Germanic symbols, and all were expensive, but they were not confined to wealthy households."¹⁸

Clocks are rare objects in Lunenburg County because of their expense, and the fact that there were not as many clockmakers in Nova Scotia as there were in Pennsylvania during the same period. For example, Wollenhaupt lists only one eight day clock valued at a very high ten pounds. Although beds and bedding were important, wardrobes and clothespresses (the Kas or Shrank) have yet to be mentioned in the inventories of the Lunenburg Germans dating between 1788 and 1830. The closets or cupboards that are mentioned probably refer to built-in forms as opposed to free-standing wardrobes. Both the inventories and sometimes the accompanying will often make specific mention of crockery and books in the closets or cupboards and not linen or clothing. For example in the Weist inventory there is one entry for "1 closet containing earthenware."¹⁹

The same way that floor plans and furniture forms can suggest ethnic or cultural origins, the woods and colour schemes of the interior decor of houses and furnishings often help to signal the same information.²⁰ Lunenburg German inventories list pine, birch and mahogany as the dominant furniture woods, with pine and birch being the local woods available, while mahogany was imported. With

the town of Lunenburg an important seaport, and Halifax only fifty miles away, logs and planks of mahogany are found listed in the estate inventories.²¹

The interior woodwork colour of houses and the decoration and colour of furniture are sometimes listed in the Lunenburg documents, and supported by examples of surviving early furniture and woodwork. It appears that four basic colours- red, blue-green, blue and black- were the most common, with brown (or brown-red) and yellow less common. These colours were the most predominant because of the simple fact that the raw pigments used to make them were readily available. For example the Wollenhaupt inventory lists at entry 285 "a drawer containing 13 1/4 pounds of fig blue," possibly a raw colouring pigment for paint. In addition, entry 394 lists "a cagg (keg) with some red ochre"; entry 413, "a black birch table," which could refer to the type of birch and not the colour of the table, and entry 540, "4 black baskets." Even today it is not uncommon to find painted baskets in Lunenburg homes.

The paint that survives on the interior woodwork of eighteenth and early nineteenth century homes in Lunenburg County suggests that the dominant colour schemes used were red, blue, blue-green and sometimes mustard-yellow. The Huntington house previously discussed retains its original painted and early over-painted interior on the downstairs woodwork and built-in cupboards, mantels and fireboards

giving a reliable paint history not only of this house but of interiors in general. There were four coats of paint in the first floor hearth room and parlour. One of the first two colours was a brown with the second a green. The third was now highly patinaed red and the last a blueberry blue, now much worn to reveal the third layer of paint creating an interesting two-tone colour scheme. The parlour room seems only to ever have been painted in a blue-green-gray putty colour and is completely original. The colour schemes of the Huntington house are probably indicative of the interior decor of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century house in Lunenburg County and are found in other interiors including the Ernst house (circa 1810) in Blockhouse (the built-in cupboards in this house have an original yellow interior and two upstairs bedrooms have original blue wainscotting) as well as the Knaut-Rhuland house with original yellow woodwork in the upstairs attic servants quarters.

The location of furniture can be discussed with some certainty based on occasional estate inventories that give room by room listing of objects. According to Swank, "German inventories... reflect a hierarchy of values, and appraisers began with the most personal possessions. Kitchen items were usually listed just above the enumeration of farm tools."²² This same pattern of values is evident in the majority of Lunenburg German inventories

where appraisers usually started with a listing of objects in the barn/stable and yard, then moved into the house beginning in the kitchen and ending with bedroom furnishings.

In spite of the many problems in determining the placement of furniture in the interior of the Lunenburg German households, several room-by-room inventories do exist that provide us with some reliable documentation. Three such documents include the Wollenhaupt inventory already discussed, the Wendle Weist inventory dated November 15, 1811 (Weist lists his occupation as blacksmith) and the John Lennox inventory dated October 7 and 8, 1817 (Lennox lists himself as an innkeeper).²³ The Lennox inventory not only includes a shop listing of many textile goods similar to Wollenhaupt, but also lists the furnishings of a tavern and bar. Before discussing the objects listed in these room-by-room inventories, the types of rooms must be considered. Table VIII lists the room functions according to the description in each document. Table IX is a partial compilation of the furnishings listed in these rooms in these three inventories.

The inventories provide extensive information on not only the personal property of the deceased and room-by-room proxemic relationships of the furnishings within these households, but also some idea as to what goods and

TABLE VIII

Inventory	Upstairs	Downstairs	Other
Wollenhaupt	Garrett Hall Library Bedroom	Drawing Room Front Parlour Closet Hall Kitchen	Shop Store Rm.1 Store Rm.2 Cellar # 1 Stable
Weist	Room above Stairs	Lower Room Entry/kitchen	Blacksmith shop Cellar Barn
Lennox	Garrett Large Room Bedroom (lg.) Bedroom (sm.) Bedroom (sm.) Bedroom	Tavern Room Bar Room behind bar Kitchen Bedroom	Shop Barn Cellar

services were available to the community. In the case of the Lennox inventory, documentation is provided on the owner of an inn/tavern in the town of Lunenburg. This particular inventory reveals that Lennox ran a small inn of five bedrooms containing a total of five beds and bedsteads all with two pairs of sheets and two blankets. Perhaps some or all of his four daughters helped in the inn along with his wife and son. As well one could order food and drink in the tavern/bar and sit on benches at any of the three tables. His inventory also shows that visitors and townspeople alike could buy various textiles and china from his shop.

TABLE IX

Inventory/Room	Wollenhaupt	Weist	Levox
Upstairs/Garrett	single iron stove a bed & bedstead with sheets & 7 blankets 3 old chairs 8 trunks, old a blue chest a set of fire buckets with lantern & cap a work bench an old gammon board an old side saddle many old boxes, tools, kegs barrels, lumber, old iron	No garrett room listed	22 old broken chairs* an old bench & bed bench a table 1 pair dog irons 2 tables 8 empty barrels
Upstairs/Hall	a desk* a black birch table 2 chairs	No hall listed	No hall listed
Upstairs/Library	252 books* a desk a table a dressing glass a chair a camp bedstead with sheets & blanket complete	No library room listed	Library room was not upstairs, books listed in inventory as part of movables in the down-stairs bedroom. "Large room upstairs" listed

might be equivalent to library room in Wollenhaupt inventory (see below).

Upstairs/Bedroom	a bed & bedstead with* sheets & blankets complete a table a sea bed a looking glass 6 chairs a wash stand complete pictures 3 window curtains	(Only one room listed for upstairs) 2 tables* 7 chairs (1 being an armchair) 1 large chest 1 closet (cupboard?) 1 grain box 10 bread baskets 1 baking trough	("Large room upstairs") 2 tables* 6 chairs leather bottoms 3 Windsor chairs 2 wooden chairs 2 pair tongs, 1 bellows, 1 pair of dog irons 4 window curtains a waiter japanned
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Upstairs/Bedroom	Only one bedroom listed	Only one room listed for upstairs	Probably equivalent to bedroom in Wollenhaupt inventory. Described as "bedroom behind the large room." two beds and bedsteads* each having 2 pair of sheets, 2 blankets, 2 pillows and a
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coverlet or
counterpane
a pine desk and
drawers
a wash hand stand
2 tables

("Small bedroom
over shop")
1 mahogany table*
8 Windsor chairs
7 pictures
a chest of drawers

Upstairs/Bedroom

("Small bedroom
N.W. corner of
stairs")
1 bedstead, bed, 2
pair sheets, 2
blankets
1 bedstead, bed, 2
pair sheets, 2
blankets

Upstairs/Bedroom

("Small bedroom of
e/y above")
1 bed, bedstead, 2
pair of sheets,
2 blankets
1 coverlet

Upstairs/Bedroom

("Lower room") ("Tavern room")
desk with sundries* 3 tables

Downstairs/
Drawing Room
("Drawing room")
a pair looking glasses

11 pictures
 a water urn & stand
 10 mahogany chairs
 a mahogany dining table
 tea table
 fire screen
 fire tongs, shovel, brush &
 fender
 tea tray
 a carpet
 wine glasses
 candlesticks (plated)
 coffee urn
 decanters
 set of blue tableware
 snuffer & stand

2 Bibles
 2 prayer books
 1 lot books by dif-
 ferent authors
 2 tables
 8 chairs
 3 benches
 2 chests
 2 slates
 1 silver watch
 1 spy glass
 1 looking glass
 14 pewter plates
 1 pewter quart
 1 closet containing
 earthenware
 1 bedstead
 1 walking cane
 1 hanger (hanging
 cupboard)
 6 silver tea
 spoons

5 benches
 1 stove & funnel

Downstairs/
 Front Parlour**

("Front parlour")
 a bed & stead complete* with
 sheets and blankets
 a mahogany desk
 an easy chair
 a small mahogany table
 a pine table
 6 chairs
 a pair dog irons

No parlour listed

("Bar")
 6 pitchers*
 4 quart decanters,
 1 pint ditto, 9
 half pint ditto
 12 glass tumblers
 10 wine glasses
 6 pint mugs &
 2 quarts

a lot of tin
measures

fire tongs, shovel, poker,
brush & bellows
an old carpet
8 pictures
a looking glass
a pair brass sconces
3 flower glasses
2 window curtains

No similar listing No similar listing

Downstairs/Closet

2 pair tumblers
8 china plates
2 china punch bowls
6 blue glass egg cups
6 earthen egg cups
2 white china pitchers
18 china custard cups
1 set china tea ware
1 set Liverpool china

Downstairs/Hall

("Hall")
an eight-day clock
3 Windsor chairs
a mahogany table
a glass lamp

No similar listing ("Room back of
bar")
2 tables
a bench & chair*
a pair dog irons
an old desk
a silver watch
a binding chain

Downstairs/
Kitchen

("Kitchen")
a table
2 benches & 2 chairs
11 large pewter dishes

("Entry & kitchen") ("Kitchen")
½ bbl sugar fine
flour
2/3 ditto rye flour
2 tables
2 benches
3 chairs

<p>3 tin tea kettles 3 iron tea kettles 3 brass ladles 2 sets candle moulds various kettles, sauce pans, warming-pans, dripping pans various dishes, cups, saucers, dishes, crocks, knives & forks a small table</p>	<p>1 small cupboard 5 pewter platters 4 ditto dishes 1 ditto tureen 14 earthen plates 3 copper ladles 3 brass kettles 3 brass candle- sticks various pots, pans, tea kettles, knives & forks, candle moulds & hearth equipment</p>	<p>¼ doz. plates 13 small plates 3 tea pots 7 dishes 14 pair cups & saucers 11 candlesticks 1 soup tureen various iron pots, pans, kettles and storage buckets</p>
<p>Downstairs/ Bedroom</p>	<p>No similar listing</p>	<p>No similar listing ("Bedroom") a set of drawers an iron stove an English Bible 25 volumes of books by various authors</p>

* Indicates that this particular room listing is copied in its entirety from the respective inventory.

** It is unclear from the inventory whether this is a downstairs or upstairs parlour. It follows the listing of the drawing room noted as being below stairs. The listing for the parlour is given as in the front parlour with the note "up" written superscript to the right of the word "parlour." I have included the room in the downstairs listing because of its position in the room-by-room inventory sequence.

All three of these inventories indicate a mixing of German-English proxemic patterns, in fact a high degree of assimilation with English proxemic patterns is evident; however, certain aspects of these inventories do reveal traditional Germanic room function and placement of objects within the domestic interior.²⁴ For example, it has been noted that beds and bedsteads and to a minor degree clocks were important furniture forms to the Lunenburg Germans, and that benches are common to many of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century inventories. In addition, the placement of a "bed & stead complete with sheets and blankets" in the front parlour of the Wollenhaupt inventory indicates that the parlour was not the English type used strictly for entertaining.

It is impossible to determine if any of the furnishings listed in these inventories were distinctively German in form or decoration. The Lennox and Wollenhaupt inventories reveal that the garrett was used to store old furnishings that were either damaged (Lennox- "22 old chairs") or out of style or of no further use (Wollenhaupt- "8 trunks, old"). Perhaps several of the furnishings that are listed in the garret in these two inventories represent older furniture forms that might reveal the Germanic heritage of their owners. One can only wonder what the "2 old chairs" and "blue chest" in the Wollenhaupt garrett and the "2 tables" and "old bench

and bed bench" in the Lennox inventory looked like.

However, the differences between how the houses of the yeoman and merchant were furnished goes beyond the simple listing of objects as found in the Bezanson, Wollenhaupt or Lennox inventories, and is directly related to the use and size of the domestic space and the space structuring objects a person could afford according to their social class. Most of the undamaged objects in the Wollenhaupt and Lennox garretts were probably discarded because they were no longer in style. As merchants and members of a privileged class, they were purveyors of fashion, not only within their own homes, but in their shops by making the latest in consumer products available to their cliental. It was therefore important and natural that their domestic living space reflect this taste. These differences between the material worlds of the yeoman and merchant form the basis of the next chapter.

Notes:

1. Swank, Arts, p. 35.
 2. Ibid.
 3. The total number of estate, auction and will papers examined for this thesis numbers over 630. However, 222 estate, 36 auction and 83 will papers between the years 1780-1830 have been selected for in depth concentration. These records are all for Lunenburg County, but are concentrated mostly in Lunenburg, LaHave, New Dublin, Chester and Mahone Bay. Based on the surnames of these records compared with the record of family names published in Bell, Foreign Protestants, pp. 282-91, about 82 percent represent individuals or families of German or Swiss extraction.
- For a discussion of probate inventories in material life studies, their use in early American studies, and their use in domestic studies as well as their dangers as a quantitative source, see Peter Benes (editor), Early American Probate Inventories (Boston, 1989), pp. 5-16.
4. For example the George Barringer estate and auction inventories (PANS, Will Papers, Lunenburg County, 1822-1835, RG 48, Reel 843) shows that the first six items sold at auction went to Mrs. Barringer. These items included one double stove, two tables and four benches.
 5. PANS, Will Papers, Lunenburg County, 1808-1822, RG 48, Reel 842.
 6. Dell, Foreign Protestants, pp. 289, 306.
 7. Florence Montgomery, Textiles in America; 1650-1870 (New York, 1984), p. XI.
 8. Montgomery, Textiles, p. 354.
 9. Ibid. Montgomery states that Swansdown and toilinett were described by Perkins in 1833 and listed in Gott's pattern book in 1815 at least five years after its listing in the Wollenhaupt inventory dating 1809-1810.
 10. Swank, Arts, p. 45.
 11. PANS, Will Papers, Lunenburg County, 1808-1822, RG 48, Reel 842. The John Vienot will (dated February 17, 1812) indicates that all goods and chattels were left to his wife except one spinning wheel and featherbed to each of his daughters.

12. PANS, Will Papers, Lunenburg County, 1808-1822, RG 48, Reel 842. The George (Frederick) Lowe will dated April 16, 1816 indicates that the three daughters are each to receive a cow and a featherbed.

Bruce S. Elliott, Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach (Montreal, 1988), pp. 201-203. Elliott found in his research of wills that daughters were often left dowries consisting of money, bed and bedding, cows and/or sheep and a sewing machine.

13. PANS, Will Papers, Lunenburg County, 1783-1808, RG 48, Reel 841. Total evaluation of the "goods and chattels" of the Bezanson estate is given as L83/4/3.

14. Swank, Arts, p. 47. The inventory lists of the Pennsylvania and Lunenburg Germans are similar.

15. For this chapter 77 inventories and 11 estate auctions were specifically examined dating between the years 1788 and 1822.

16. Swank, Arts, p. 53.

17. Swank does list benches as a predominant Pennsylvania German furnishing in the one-storey stone or log cabin structure dotting the Pennsylvania landscape in the 1780-1800 period. He does include them in the survey inventory of the three room plan. Benches are an important furniture item in the Lunenburg County inventories of both the one and one half and two and one half Cape and Georgian house structures.

18. Swank, Arts, p. 50. Clocks become more common in the Lunenburg inventories dating from the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

19. Weist inventory, PANS, Will Papers, Lunenburg County, 1808-1822, RG 48, Reel 842.

20. Swank, Arts, p. 53.

21. See Wollenhaupt inventory entry numbers 413, 453, 454, 479, 481, 510, 550.

22. Swank, Arts, p. 54-55.

23. Weist inventory, PANS, Will Papers, Lunenburg County, 1808-1822, RG 48, Reel 842. Lennox inventory, PANS, Will Papers, Lunenburg County, 1808-1822, RG 48, Reel 842.

24. Swank, Arts, p. 55. Swank states that most room-by-room inventories that have come to light reveal a high degree of assimilation.

CHAPTER FOUR

Understanding the importance of the proxemic relationships of objects to space and to people, and by extension to occupation and social class, is one of the most important aspects in determining "... how material settings influenced social interaction" and the interaction "... of material contexts to the aesthetics of everyday life in the past..."¹

According to Robert Blair St. George,

... the less space and space structuring artifacts a person could afford- including items like elaborate bed furniture, displays of plate, and standing salts- the more his use of space as a means of expression and as a tool in social interaction was limited. Certainly, no social scientist or historian would doubt that all men, regardless of their accumulated wealth, arrange interiors according to deeply embedded cognitive patterns; the poor man's house is no less value-laden because of its sparse furnishings than that of a wealthy townsman. Yet, in ushering visitors into a parlour filled with artifacts and spatially "closed," the prosperous yeoman, and to a greater degree the... merchant, could exercise control over his guest's thoughts and actions. Depending on one's ability to produce it, space is a means of oppression and control as well as cognitive design. By structuring the many rooms of his house along the continuum from open to closed space, the wealthy yeoman could better suit a specific interaction or performance to an appropriate material setting. But the man who greeted Madam Knight at the door of his "hut" had no such advantage. With less rooms and less possessions, he was further along the road leading to spatial disenfranchisement. Inside his house, a scarcity of space forced

him, as it did many others, to use furniture that combined more than one function.²

The amount of furniture and the use of space in the yeoman's house in Lunenburg County is directly related to his occupation and social standing in the community, and equally to the yeoman's perception of objects and how they "fit" into his daily and seasonal patterns of family activity. This formal proxemic arrangement of artifacts and space reflected a mental attitude which placed objects in a hierarchy of importance and relevance based on the natural and artificial cycles of everyday life, as much as the actual domestic configuration within the household.

The estate inventories embody this attitude on the part of both the family and the inventory takers. They listed the belongings of the deceased based on the then current value of specific objects in the community at large, and the social bias and attitude of the inventory takers themselves. Consumer goods were perceived as indicators of social position within the community, establishing a means by which to measure the standard of living of a family or social class.

Keeping these factors in mind, the estate inventories of yeomen dramatically illustrate the range of domestic possessions and their relative importance in the life of the family. For example, let us consider the records of Petter Bublikover (as his name is written in the inventory account) of New Dublin, yeoman, whose estate was settled according to

his last will and testament in October 1789.³ The surname Bublikhoffer was originally spelled Bublikhoffer and was later transformed, as were most of the German surnames in Lunenburg County, from its original form until today it is written and pronounced "Publihover".⁴

Peter Bublikhoffer, who migrated with his wife and children from the Palatinate, was one of the passengers (where his name is written "Pieter Bubi Kauffer") who sailed on board the Sally from Rotterdam on May 30, 1752, reaching the harbour at Halifax on September 6, 1752.⁵ The Sally is one of the vessels about which Governor Hopson made such specific comments concerning the treatment of the immigrants on board. According to Bell,

The first two ships of the year [1752] had landed their passengers, in good shape, before Hopson's arrival in the province. The Orphan House records enable one to identify Sally as the ship from which so many orphans had to be taken care of immediately. And after an exceptionally bad voyage, with fairly high mortality and sickness among the passengers, and with confinement in the noisome quarters abroad the ship protracted by three weeks' further detention in the vessel after arrival in Halifax harbour, it would be neither remarkable nor a sign of extreme age if some, when finally dumped on shore, were too enfeebled to move at once from the beach.⁶

Peter Bublikhoffer and his family survived their passage and detention on board Sally as the baptism of their son Johannes Conrad is entered in the St. John's (Lunenburg) church records for July 24, 1754, where Peter's wife's given names are written as Sabrina Catherine.⁷ However, after he and his family were transported to Lunenburg in 1753,

Bublickhoffer did not remain in the Town long, eventually settling in the township of New Dublin where he is listed among the Lunenburg names appearing in the township records for December 6, 1762.8 It is New Dublin which was his final resting place, and where his inventory was taken in October 1789.

At the time of his death Peter was survived by his wife, six sons, and two daughters. Although his estate inventory is not detailed, it does provide information on the whereabouts of his children and the provisions he made for them and his wife. According to notes by his son George, who acted as administrator, the son baptised in Lunenburg (Johannes Conrad) was living in England at the time of his father's death, and both daughters were married, one living in Halifax, the other along the eastern shore. The record indicates that the daughters received their share and portion of the inheritance according to their father's will but gives no specific details.

The inventory record, is titled "Account of the Movable Effects of Petter Bublhover of New Dublin, Yeoman, Deceased, Sold to the heist [sic] Bidders of his Sons George Bublhover, Philipe Bublhover, Henry Bublhover, and Petter Bublhover" (one son- Michal Bublhover- is omitted from he list but is included in the inventory). It was witnessed by Robert Bell and Henry Oxner (who signed with an "X"). The widow Bublhover kept a bed and bedding and other articles

of household furnishings, while the remaining sons divided the estate in a family-style auction. The way the objects sold is listed in the inventory and their relative value, according to the prices paid by the sons, suggests the importance of certain items as defined by the Publihover family, and helps to explain their attitude toward the material world.

The perception of the importance of material objects and their relationship to social values, helped to define social status and delineate differences between the social classes. That in turn emphasized the individual, family, community and world view of the yeoman, an attitude which differed sharply from that of the merchant and wealthy townsman. This is not to suggest that the Publihover family was poor, simply that their attitude toward material possessions, and the way in which they placed them in a hierarchy of relative value, demonstrates clearly the extent to which social status was determined by the kinds and quantities of artifacts accumulated, and by the fact that the material world of the yeomen revolved around their occupation as farmers, around the seasonal and family cycles of planting and harvesting.

Inventory of Petter Publihover

George Publihover
 3 cows
 Farming implements

6 / 9 / 0
 1 / 16 / 0

Household furniture	2 / 1/11	
<u>Philippe Bublivoer</u>		
1 steers [<u>sic.</u>]	0 /14/ 0	
Farming implements	3 / 6/ 0	
Household furniture	1 / 1/ 7	
<u>Michal Bublivoer</u>		
4 oxen and 1 hiffar [<u>sic.</u>]	17 /10/ 0	
Farming implements	0 /10/ 0	
Household furniture	1 / 1/ 1	
<u>Henry Bublivoer</u>		
3 cows	6/ 2/ 0	
Farming implements	0/11/ 6	
Household furniture	0/ 4/ 0	
<u>Petter Bublivoer</u>		
2 steers [<u>sic.</u>]	2/ 1/ 0	
3 cows	6/17/ 6	
1 bull	1/ 8/ 0	
Household stuff	0/ 2/ 1	

It is obvious from the Bublivoer inventory that livestock and farming implements were the most important objects directly reflecting their family occupation as farmers. The listing of these items before the household furniture in the inventory reflects their importance in the daily and yearly cycle of the yeoman's pattern of labour. For example, the money paid by Michal Bublivoer for the four oxen (probably two working teams) indicates the value of oxen as working animals. Oxen were used as the draft animals to clear the land and pull the plows during spring planting; to haul the wagons from the fields during harvest in autumn; and in winter to drag the cut timber for firewood and building material from the woods.

The prices paid by the sons for the other animals

(cows, steers and bull) remained very competitive suggesting that all the animals were nearly equal in value (and therefore health), but also highly significant to their way of life and their ability to continue as farmers. Cows gave milk as their raw product which could be turned into more refined foods such as cheese and butter. Steers were slaughtered for their meat, and the bull was important for reproduction to maintain a viable size herd to ensure efficient farm production of meat and dairy products for family consumption and surplus for trade, barter or sale.

The total value of all livestock in the inventory was L40/19/6, while the value of all farm implements was L6/3/6. Household furniture was valued at only L4/10/6. This suggests that some of the best and most valuable furnishings were already given to Peter's wife (such as the bed), and perhaps the two daughters. In addition, their listing in last position in the inventory reflects their relative value in the hierarchy of objects, which is supported by the value placed on these items. For Petter Bublikover the household items are not even referred to as "furniture", but as "stuff", for which he paid only two shillings and one pence, the lowest amount bid for any of the items.

But the Bublikover inventory probably reflects most of all the importance of livestock and farming implements to the yeoman's way of life. These objects and animals were

necessary to survival. The life of the yeoman and his family in the late eighteenth century was governed by an exhaustive and repetitive pattern which demanded the performance of the same tasks and household chores year after year from early morning to late at night. This cycle of activity was determined by the changing seasons and the inevitable and unpredictable fluctuations in weather. Day after day, month after month, the same tasks would be repeated depending on the time of year.⁹

The cycle began in early spring (March or April) shortly after break-up, and depended on the weather, severity of winter, the amount of snow still remaining in the fields, and the condition of the frozen ground. This was the time of the year's first plowing. Plowing with a team of oxen took great skill, coaxing the matched pair to pull the plow through the soil at an even speed, then harrowing the field to break down any remaining clumps of soil and preparing the ground for seed. By late spring (May or June) most of the plowing and planting would have been completed, and any repairs to outbuildings carried out. Newborn livestock would also have to be cared for.

The summer months (June, July and August) were somewhat less demanding but the crops and livestock still had to be tended to, and firewood cut and stacked for the winter. But the weather, always the weather, was the most important

factor in achieving a successful harvest. Too much rain, particularly in the spring, could rot the seed in the ground even before it germinated, and a dry summer could reduce the harvest yield or "burn" the crops in the fields, stunting normal growth or destroying them altogether.

By the end of summer (September) the harvest had already begun, gathering early vegetables such as peas and beans from the kitchen garden, and some root crops such as turnips and potatoes. Haying would begin and by early fall (October) wheat, flax, barley and corn could be harvested, and apples and pears would be picked along with the remaining vegetables (squash, pumpkin) from the kitchen garden.

In late fall (November) attention was turned to the annual slaughter of pigs, sheep, and steer needed for food during the winter. Hunting of wild animals such as deer and moose would also take place at this time to provide additional provisions of meat for the family during the coldest months. All of the domestic animal would be utilized from the rich blood pudding, to sausage which was made from the trimmings and lesser cuts of meat, to the horns used to fashion powder horns, and the skin which was tanned into leather.

Winter (December through March) was the time of solitude and confinement within the household. Activity for the yeoman was at its lowest point, and attention was given

the yeoman was at its lowest point, and attention was given to repair of tools and equipment, communal family activities and visiting neighbors. It was marked by the Christmas season and perhaps visits to the town of Lunenburg or even Halifax. Winter activity centered around the domestic interior and acted as a counterpoint to the exhausting routine and daily pattern of hardship experienced during the rest of the year.

But the drudgery of this cycle was to change as some yeomen of the late eighteenth century began to branch out into other trades such as woodworking, carpentry and weaving, which earned additional amounts of cash and profit allowing them to purchase more elaborate consumer products. This altered the way in which the yeoman viewed objects; he could use his domestic space as a greater means of expression, and that in turn affected the way in which he perceived and was perceived by the social world around him. In St. George's terminology he was becoming less disenfranchised. The yeoman's life changed as individual accomplishment began replacing farming as the center of family activity. A subtle but important shift in lifestyle, and in social class structure, had taken place as some yeomen became yeomen-craftsmen.

Inventories reflect this change toward more individual forms of self-employment in two ways. First, the objects which are used to augment the yeoman's life as a farmer, for

example blacksmith and carpenter's tools, begin to appear in the listings, and second, more selected consumer goods (such as clocks and "looking glasses") are included as the personal wealth of the yeoman increases. Farming implements and livestock are apparently no longer as important since they become secondary to household furnishings, sometimes not being listed at all in the estate inventories.

For example, "An Inventory of the household furniture left by and belonging to the late Codlip Corkum, yeoman, New Dublin, June 16, 1837"¹⁰, taken in the same township as the Bublivoer inventory but forty-eight years later, illustrates how the life of the yeoman changed during that period as new skills and trades became part of his pattern of daily and seasonal activity, helping to improve the standard of living for himself and his family. The listing of "1 Blk. Smith's vice" and "1 chest with Carpenter's tools" tells us that Corkum practiced trades other than farming. Additional items which would be used in carpentry including a hand saw, augers of various sizes used for boring holes in wood, and four planes point to the fact that it was his ability with these implements which helped him improve his income. It seems possible that Corkum worked as a cooper, making and repairing barrels, buckets and tubs, judging from the large number of buckets (two dozen) and milk piggins (three dozen) entered in the inventory. Corkum had also accumulated more elaborate household objects

including "1 24 hour clock", "1 desk", and "1 looking glass" (mirror), which suggests that these additional skills were proving lucrative, although he was still referred to as a "yeoman" by the inventory takers.

Two of the most interesting objects in this listing are the "1 large German bible" and "2 Dutch books" which were probably in German as the word "Dutch" is a bastardization of the word "Deutsch". The fact that books in German are included so prominently in the Corkum inventory attests to their importance to the family and the inventory takers. It is interesting to note that one of the inventory takers was Frederick Corkum, a relative, who signed the document with an "X", meaning that he could not write and therefore probably could not read English let alone German. Yet these books were significant to him and his family; concrete examples of their ethnic identity over eighty years after the founding of Lunenburg.

The Corkum inventory, which is given below in its entirety, shows that Corkum had L44/ 5/ 0 in cash and L200/12/ 6 in notes in hand at the time of his death. It does not include evaluations of the individual objects listed. It is, however, possible to determine the importance of the listed items to both the family and the inventory takers, whose appraisal of the goods would obviously reflect consumer tastes and community perceptions about wealth based on objects, by examining their order of

entry. This suggestion is based on the assumption that the family and inventory takers would be inclined to list the "best," or most valuable objects first since the inventory was to establish the wealth of the estate, rather than begin their list with common items of little monetary value. For example, the list begins with the stove, followed by the 24 hour clock and desk. The German bible and books are ranked tenth and eleventh respectively, while the looking glass comes later in the inventory. Livestock and other farming implements are not listed suggesting that they either were not considered important by the inventory takers or were already willed to relatives in the manner of the Peter Bublik inventory. The fact that he probably made milk piggins and buckets connected with dairy farming and the manufacture of milk products suggests he may have been a dairy farmer.

What is important about the consumer goods listed in the Corkum inventory is that they are indicators of a standard of living which was recognizable to both the family and community. The objects entered help establish a basis for the study of changing living standards from the late eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. Such an approach has been used by Gloria L. Main.¹¹ She used objects listed in the Southern New England estate inventories between 1640 and 1773 to measure the standard of

1 stove	2 Doz. buckets
1 24 hour Clock	3 Doz. milk piggins
1 desk	1 hand saw
2 tables	3 drawing knives
1/2 doz. chairs	5 augers from 1/2 (?)
3 benches	4 planes
1 steelyard	
1 bedstead	
3 feather beds	
1 large German bible	Amount in cash
2 Dutch books	44/ 5/ 0
1 chest	Ditto Notes in Hand
1 ditto with carpenter's tools	200/12/ 6
1 Blk. Smith's vice	
1 crow bar	Total 244/17/ 6
2 claw hoes	
2 marrow (?) axes	
1 (?) axe	
1 hand axe	
1 gun	
1 looking glass	
1 walking stick	
1 lamp funnel	
2 butcher knives	

living. Main explains,

I adopted an item-by item counting scheme ... that notes the presence or absence of selected consumer goods in individual inventories ranked by gross personal wealth. These consumer goods include household linens of any kind, religious books, secular books, watches or clocks, coarse earthenware, fine earthenware, silverware, spices (including such imported food stuffs as coffee, tea and sugar), knives, forks, wigs and pictures.¹²

It is clear that the relationship between the rise in the personal wealth of the yeoman, and the kinds of elaborate consumer goods which begin to appear in the estate inventories of the yeoman class, is directly related to their ability to augment their farming income through other

their ability to augment their farming income through other skills and trades, which in turn begins to change the composition of the yeoman household. As incomes increased certain objects began to appear in the inventories which reflected an attitude and belief that a more genteel life was attainable.

This pretension is evident in the Corkum inventory with the entry of "1 walking stick". As Main points out walking sticks had a particular significance:

One might also comment on the matter of wigs and who wore them. They represented claims to gentility or learning, pretensions foreign to an honest yeoman. Wigs, watches, and walking canes proclaimed a cosmopolitan acquaintance with the world and, for men of humble origins, a denial of old social barriers.¹³

Obviously Codlip Corkum had achieved, if not in reality then at least in his own mind, an improved standard of living based on a radically altered life-style from most yeoman, but one which still did not allow him to join the ranks of the merchant or wealthy townsman whatever his pretensions.

It is difficult to measure the full contribution of yeoman like Corkum to the economic and social climate of the community. Some of it is apparent, however. No longer full-time farmers, certainly not merchants, they filled a unique niche and performed an important function in the daily and yearly cycle of everyday life. They supplied much needed services, skills, and products, particularly in rural areas where artisans or tradesmen, trained specifically in

certain crafts, were not readily available. It was probably as much from necessity as it was a desire to earn extra money that many yeoman developed skills which their neighbours were aware of, and over time, started to depend on for their needs as well. Of the 212 probate inventories dating between 1760 and 1830 used for this research (see Note 3, Chapter 3), 47 of the 196 yeoman inventories list income augmenting objects which would classify these individuals and families as yeoman-craftsman.

One can speculate that this development influenced the self-image of many yeoman and the way in which they perceived themselves fitting into their society. Distinctions of knowledge and skills were not as clearly defined; yeomen no longer had one "calling", one vocation which passed on from generation to generation. The world of their fathers had manifested clear divisions of labour and class, but the rise of the yeoman-craftsman created a much more complex social arrangement which over time became more tightly integrated as the skills and labours of one man and his family became dependent on the abilities of his neighbors to supply certain products, goods, and services.

These speculations are based on the evidence provided by the probate inventories. Research has not revealed any letters or diaries which support these conclusions. However, if we consider studies on seventeenth century yeoman in New

England, the process by which foreign Protestant yeoman became yeoman-craftsman in Lunenburg County is clearly paralleled as a new form of "consumer culture" emerged. In seventeenth century New England markers of status changed as land became scarce and demographic and geographic issues shifted the stability of the family. "For as the locus of status-defining property increasingly became the household interior and not the land per se, the yeoman's spatial behavior also changed. Like the design of his farmyards, the movement of social space over time, from the land to deep within the house, was frighteningly implosive."¹⁴

The self-identity of the first generation of seventeenth century New England yeomen "...rested on one trade - husbandry - for his occupational identity, his conception of how his work fitted into society as a whole."¹⁵ As economic patterns changed and younger yeoman branched into subsidiary trades they clouded their self-image as labor became less intense and seasonally controlled leading to the rise of individual accomplishment which manifested itself within the household in space altering and socially conscious material possessions. This development would change forever concepts of production within the community. In Lunenburg, these patterns of consumerism and the rise of a yeoman-craftsman mentality was already evident when the foreign Protestants arrived in Nova Scotia in 1750.

Discussion in Chapter one noted that many of the immigrants were not only youthful, but had artisan training. This group made up 47.7 percent of the settlers for whom we have reliable information regarding their occupation. These records include two who listed dual occupations of "farmer and smith" and "weaver and farmer". Bell notes that in both these instances it was one man with seven family members who listed themselves in this manner.¹⁶

This trend was certainly evident throughout Lunenburg County by the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Yeoman-craftsman were an important component in the social and economic fabric of many rural communities. For example, in the "Inventory of the Personal Effects of Henry Lohnes late of Lunenburg, deceased, taken on the 6th day of February, 1814",¹⁷ the importance of the loom in the listing suggests that Lohnes, and probably other members of his family, augmented their farming income through weaving. The inventory is given below in its entirety.

Inventory of Henry Lohnes

One pair oxen valued at	1 ⁴ /00/00
One pair steers going on three years	7/10/00
Dito [sic] one pair steers going on four years	5/00/00
Three cows valued at 5 pound each	15/00/00
One plough at	1/10/00
One wagon at	8/00/00
One weavers loom	2/00/00

No other household items are listed. It is obvious

that the loom was considered an important object. Valued at more than the plough, it has assumed a significance equal to the farming implements and livestock which were essential to the yeoman's way of life, and suggests that in the mind of the family and the inventory takers, the loom was considered a valuable item because it provided opportunities to branch into subsidiary trades.

Other inventories reflect the importance of specific objects which could provide a means by which to earn additional income. The inventory of the yeoman Peter Romkey taken in New Dublin Township in 1815,¹⁸ which will be discussed in detail in the chapter on textiles, suggests that entire families earned extra income from practicing a trade.¹⁹

The rise of the yeoman-craftsman changed the make-up of the yeoman household and its dependence on the repetitive cycle of seasonal activity. No longer did the yeoman, his wife and children, endure weeks and months of boredom and inactivity during the winter months. Days could now be filled with tasks that reaped additional benefits for the entire family, helping to free them from the grueling pace of agrarian life.

Both the yeoman-farmer and the yeoman-craftsman were striving to improve their standard of living, become less spatially disenfranchised, and embellish their domestic environment with elaborate objects manifesting their

success. All of these efforts were in direct comparison to the world and life of the merchant, who was able to clearly demonstrate his social status through architecture, conspicuous display of artifacts and a richer life-style.

But before continuing with the discussion about merchant households, it is important that differences between the inventoried wealth of yeoman-farmers, yeoman-craftsman and merchants be outlined. The chart below summarizes the relative wealth of all three groups based on an average of the estate worth of the total values assigned by the inventory takers of all household and farm goods including furniture, livestock and farming equipment if present. Cash, notes-in-hand and real estate are excluded from these figures. This information is based on a total of 162 inventories for which the information recorded is complete dating between the years 1800 to 1820 when the inventories studied show a marked increase in the number of those who can be classified as yeoman-craftsman.

Average Worth of Household/Farm Possessions By
Occupation for Lunenburg County 1800-1820

Category	Average worth in Pounds	Number of Inventories
yeomen-farmer	39/9/0 pounds	122

yeomen-craftsmen	111/1/0 pounds	32
merchants	310/3/0 pounds	8

From this information it is easy to establish the relative worth of these three groups which is marked by extreme differences in wealth between the yeoman-farmer and the merchant. These differences in inventoried wealth are clearly reflected in the type and amount of household goods found in the respective inventories. The improving wealth of the yeoman-craftsman gave them increased purchasing power to embellish their domestic interior, control their domestic space with objects, display their wealth to show their improving social position, and avoid disenfranchisement from the society. The yeomen-craftsmen were becoming the "middle class," and the attendant rise of a corresponding "consumer culture" linked the merchant to both the yeoman-farmer and yeoman-craftsman through their business and their life style.

Merchants and their families were more than simply rich, more than social counterpoints to the repetitious life of the yeoman. The merchant class was not defined entirely by wealth or the status and ownership of sufficient property to support a great household and achieve an admired social position. The perpetual struggle for advantage, for money and the attendant social advance achieved through wealth, defined the parameters of the community to which most Lunenburg Germans belonged, and fixed the hierarchy of

social rank.

The ownership of certain objects was as much part of this social ranking as the income required to afford them. Display and self-assertion were the hallmarks of the merchants, but their role was more than the overt demonstration of their wealth and importance. They were the precursors of anglicization, the agents of material and social change who provided the consumer products which the yeoman and yeoman-craftsman required for household display in order to show their improving social position and wealth. It was in the shops of the merchants that the latest in fashionable merchandise was made available to the community. The merchant, rather than ethnicity, played the major role in shaping consumer patterns and artifact consumption in Lunenburg County.

As would be expected, Lunenburg County merchants did not live in drab, sparsely furnished surroundings; their domestic interiors reflected wealth, social position, and the simple fact that as merchants they had access to the latest in fashionable wares. The merchant's residence and his accumulation of domestic furnishings dominated the social values of the community and defined the material aspirations of both the merchant and the yeoman. A return to the inventory of Casper Wollenhaupt's estate (1809-1810), reminds us just how elaborately decorated the domestic interiors of the merchants actually were (see appendix for

the complete household and shop inventory).

For example, Wollenhaupt had a very well appointed "drawing room":

5 window curtains
 a pair of looking glasses
 11 pictures
 3 chimney ornaments
 a water urn and stand
 10 mahogany chairs
 tea table
 a fire screen
 fire tongs, shovel, brush and fender
 a tea tray
 a carpet
 4 dozen and 11 wine glasses
 4 plated candlesticks
 254 1/2 oz. silver table "furniture"
 a sett silver castors
 a pair of silver snuffers
 a silver mustard pot and 4 silver salts
 2 glass salts and pepper box
 a coffee urn
 a bread basket
 3 cases old knives
 a stand with 3 bottles
 20 goblets
 a small waiter
 6 pint decanters
 5 quart decanters and 4 coasters
 a set blue tableware
 a china mug and pitcher
 a snuffer and stand

These objects point to use of this room for dining and entertaining; an important centre of social interaction and control where Wollenhaupt and his family could display their affluence to friends and relatives. The richness of this setting, and the formal nature of the dining experience, is evident in the elaborate accessories decorating this room. Not one, but two, looking glasses hung from the walls of the drawing room along with eleven unspecified pictures. The

fireplace was fully equipped with both fire screen and fender, and the floor was carpeted. At night the room was illuminated with four plated candlesticks, whose flames could be extinguished by using snuffers, one pair listed as being in silver. Probably in the centre of the room was the mahogany dining table, and set at both the table and placed throughout the room were the ten mahogany chairs, probably a matched set. Only one other piece of furniture is listed and that is a tea table. Unfortunately the inventory takers did not suggest its shape, but most such tables found in Lunenburg county dating from this period are round tilt-up style tables in birch, maple and sometimes mahogany. The presence of the tea table suggests this room was used for both formal dining and informal entertaining. Almost all of the remaining objects listed (excluding items like the window curtains) relate to dining.

The richness of the table setting is evident in the over 250 ounces of silver table "furniture" used as dining accessories, including nutmeg graters and apple corers. Other objects of silver also adorned the Wollenhaupt table including a silver mustard pot and four silver salts, two glass salts, a set of silver castors, and a pepper box. These latter two items are most interesting and suggest just how "rich" the Wollenhauts actually were. Pepper boxes first appeared in the early nineteenth century and were usually in silver. "A common form was between three and

four inches high, had octagonal or round barrel, straight sides, a moulded base, encircling moulded bands near the top and bottom, a thin scrolled handle, and a perforated drum-like cover either with or without finial."²⁰ Silver castors appeared about the middle of the eighteenth century, and may be described as the ultimate form of the pepper box. "They were usually between five and six inches high, had a splayed moulded foot, a shaped cylindrical body, tapering slightly toward the top, and bellied prominently outward in bulbous fashion at the bottom, and high domed cover or lid, perforated and surmounted by a finial."²¹

The Wollenhaupt family had the means to entertain dinner guests in a grand manner, and set their table with rich and elaborate utensils for eating and drinking. The dinner table was the centre of formalized behaviour for family and guest, and the objects listed in the drawing room emphasize the refinement and specialization of the social activity carried out in this interior space, which continued to communicate the established social values of the merchant class.

A more serene domestic setting is to be found in the Wollenhaupt "front parlour" where it was not necessary to convey the same social values. This room was furnished with:

- a bed and stead with sheets and blankets
- a mahogany desk
- an easy chair
- a small mahogany desk

a pine table
 6 chairs
 a pair of dog irons, poker, bellows
 an old carpet
 8 pictures
 a looking glass
 a pair brass sconces
 3 flower glasses
 3 window curtains
 fire tongs, shovel

The presence of the bed, desk and easy chair, which could have been a wing chair form,²² define the function of this room for sleeping and as a parlour for resting (easy chair), and as a place to conduct personal/family matters (mahogany desk). This room did not serve the same "open" social function that the drawing room did, and therefore was not used as a means of overt expression and control. Nevertheless this room contains in its private spatially "closed" environment elaborate objects which, although not meant for social display, illustrate just how well-appointed and furnished the Wollenhaupt household really was.

However, the influence and wealth of merchants such as Wollenhaupt was not restricted to the town of Lunenburg. Take for example, the room by room inventory of John N. Oxner of LaHave, a merchant who also ran a tavern, and whose personal estate was evaluated only fifteen years after the Wollenhaupt estate on March 3, 1825. LaHave, which is located about twenty miles from Lunenburg and ten miles from Bridgewater, was a farming/fishing community on the banks of the LaHave River. Oxner's household furnishings are of interest as they illustrate that merchants away from the

mainstream of Lunenburg society could afford to furnish their houses with elaborate objects and maintain a distinctive social setting separate from the rest of the community.

For example, the parlour furnishings of the Oxner estate include:

- a black birch table
- a mahogany table
- a mahogany table
- a mahogany table
- a carpet and hearth rug
- 6 chairs- windsor
- brass fender
- fire iron sets
- tongs, poker and shovel
- hearth brushes

The inventory takers who listed the items in this estate were not as detailed as those who worked on the Wollenhaupt inventory. Nevertheless we can extract important information from this listing. The way in which the three mahogany tables are listed separately suggests they may have all served different functions- perhaps for dining and tea. The description of the birch table as "black" probably refers to the painted surface and not the specific wood, and is the same as a table in the upstairs hall of the Wollenhaupt estate.

The most interesting items are the hearthrug and the six Windsor chairs. The fact that the inventory takers specifically listed the hearthrug separate from the carpet suggests its importance and function. Hearthrugs were placed in front of the fireplace "... in wealthier homes to

protect the imported carpet near the hearth from sparks, ashes and soot."²³ Although it is impossible to tell exactly how this rug was made, or what it looked like, other examples suggest that it was probably a yarn-sewn rug with a pictorial or geometric scene worked into the design:

The most extensive use of yarn-sewn rugs was as a cover for the hearthstone during the summer months. (The Oxford English Dictionary of 1810 makes note of "a little rug for your hearthstone".)

The use of hearthrugs seems to have begun in America around 1800. An advertisement in the New York Gazette and General Advertiser of May 22, 1799, offered for sale "an assortment of hearthrugs." Ten years later, Jefferson's inventory of the presidential mansion included "1 elegant Brussels carpet and fire rug."

Yarn-sewn rugs were usually made with two-ply yarn on a base of homespun linen or on a grain bag. The yarn was sewn through the base fabric with a continuous running stitch, leaving loops on the surface that formed and followed the shape of the design. Usually the loops were clipped leaving a soft pile as a surface. 24

The use of the hearthrug to protect the carpet listed in the Oxner parlour suggests that the carpet may have been an Oriental for Oriental rugs were in demand as floor coverings in the homes of the wealthy at the end of the eighteenth century.

The entry of six Windsor chairs is also of interest as this is a specific type of chair form which emerged during the eighteenth century. According to Charles Santore:

The term Windsor refers to a specific form of furniture, which has also been called stick furniture because of its method of construction. A solid plank wooded seat, about two inches thick,

is the keystone of the Windsor chair. Spindles are socketed into this seat to form the back of the chair. Similarly, to form the undercarriage of the chair, the legs are socketed into the bottom of the seat. Thus, unlike those of most other forms of chairs, the rear legs of Windsor are not extensions of the back posts; neither are the front legs extensions of the arm supports, if the latter are present. It is in these elements, extending up and down from, and socketed into, a central hub (the seat), held in place with a steam-bent hoop, arm rail, or crest rail, that one can sense a psychology of construction more closely associated with wheelwrights than with joiners, the makers of more traditional furniture constructed with mortise-and-tenon joints. 25

Described as "radically different"²⁶ from previous chair forms, the presence of six Windsor chairs (probably a set) in the Oxner parlour suggests that he was more interested in displaying artifacts that were not as traditional or "formal" as those found in the Wollenhaupt inventory. In addition, Windsor chairs were being made in Halifax as early as 1780, and chairmakers in that city continued producing this chair form well into the nineteenth century.²⁷ According to Oxner's invoice book,²⁸ he purchased many goods from Halifax merchants and wholesalers, and would have had opportunities to buy or have made a set of Windsor for his parlour.

The merchant class in Lunenburg County was separated from the yeoman class by wealth and social position. They were not concerned with spatial or material disenfranchisement from the community around them, and were able to organize their living space with a vast array of space-structuring artifacts developing the use of the

domestic interior as a tool of overt social expression and control. They were, however, the harbingers of change, agents who brought to the communities the basic goods and products required by the yeoman and yeoman-craftsman to survive, but also supplied those more elaborate accessories required to exercise control over domestic space, and begin a process of artifact consumption which allowed yeoman and yeoman-craftsman to achieve greater social interaction and less spatial disenfranchisement.

The material worlds of the yeoman and merchant were linked at many crucial points, integrated by a society that understood and expressed its social values through the kinds and quantity of artifacts accumulated, and the arrangement and function of domestic living space. The power of this social framework is evident in the inventories, and the clear sense of identity given to objects in the merchant, yeoman and yeoman-craftsman listing when the items have a recognized social/material value within the community. This same sense of order and identity is carried over to the names given the rooms in these inventories.

For example, in the Wollenhaupt estate the inventory takers were able to identify the function of each room according to its social meaning, such as "hall", "kitchen", or "bedroom". However, in the Weist and Lennox estates and Oxner estate, the inventory takers had no clear sense of identity for the various rooms which merely points out that

in some households, including those of the merchant class, certain domestic spaces had no social meaning based on a specific function or family activity, regardless of how intensely they were used or elaborately furnished.²⁹ In the Lennox estate the inventory takers would name the space by locating it in relationship to a room with a social identity. For example, "room back of bar". But in other instances rooms were named according to their location in the house, such as a "small bedroom N.W. corner of stairs". In the Oxner estate rooms without social meaning are identified by size and location, such as "large room upstairs".

Domestic space and its structured control through the accumulation of artifacts and social meaning defined by room function, separated the yeomen from the yeomen-craftsmen who were able to afford more elaborate space-controlling objects as their income improved through subsidiary trades. But to fully understand the importance of the merchant to this social framework, an examination of the types and variety of objects carried in the merchant shops of Lunenburg County is necessary.

The size of some of the merchant inventories, is surprising, and a further indicator of how important the merchant was in not only establishing patterns of social class through their wealth, but in acting as purveyors and regulators of these social values by selling material

possessions which embodied these standards. The merchants, through their wealth and shops, became linked to the rise of consumerism and the ability of the yeomen-craftsmen to improve their social standing.

The most common items listed in the merchant shop inventories are fabrics and textiles of various varieties. When Wollenhaupt died the amount of shop goods evaluated by the inventory takers was 499/11/2 1/2 pounds, over 90 pounds more than the value of his household inventory. Not counting the store room entries which the inventory takers listed separately, the actual shop inventory is comprised of 378 entries representing over a thousand items, of which half are various textile goods.

Broken down by the inventory takers into basic categories including muslins, printed cottons, sewing silks and hats, the list is a comprehensive record of what fabrics were available for purchase in the town of Lunenburg at the turn of the nineteenth century, and will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

The remainder of the Wollenhaupt shop inventory lists many household items. For example, basic foods include: "26 gal molasses" (entry 350), "18 gal vinegar" (entry 350 as well), "70 lbs susan tea (entry 351), "119 lbs sugar" (entry 359), "181 lbs rice" (entry 361), and "75 lbs bag coffee" (entry 362). Various kinds of knives are listed including: "4 doz & 7 buck handled knives" (entry 247), "4

doz & 2 pen knives" (entry 248), "20 shoe knives" (entry 269) and "3 drawing knives" (entry 276).

Cabinetmaking and carpentry accessories are also listed: "7 pr chest hinges" (entry 264), "1 doz chest locks" (entry 261), "11 pair HL hinges" (entry 265), "3 door locks" (entry 272), and "a small tool chest" (entry 284). Kitchen utensils include: "5 frying pans" (entry 348), and "775 iron pots" (entry 365). Objects for the dining room are numerous including "10 decanters" (entry 324), "5 doz & 3 tumblers" (entry 327), "2 doz plates" (entry 330), "12 doz & 11 small cups and saucers" (entry 331), "11 blue coffee cups" (entry 333), "19 tea pots" (entry 337), "16 creams" (entry 338), and "14 sugar bowls" (entry 339). And finally there are many items pertaining to fishing: "3 codlines" (entry 259), "6 mackerel lines" (entry 260), "29 doz cod hooks: (entry 280), "a bundle mackerel hooks" (entry 281) and "14 hogshead of salt" (entry 378) which could have been used for salting fish.

The types and varieties of consumer products available for purchase in the Wollenhaupt shop were also available from John Lennox, another merchant in the town of Lunenburg who like John Oxner of LaHave, also ran a tavern. As with Wollenhaupt, Lennox carried an extensive list of imported cottons and silks, as well as various household items and tools. But the most complete list of consumer goods that were available for sale in Lunenburg County are in the John

Oxner invoice books which accompany his household inventory.³⁰ Dating between 7 January 1819 and 8 May 1824, the records show that Oxner purchased all of his goods (including all his textiles) from various Halifax merchants; he noted their names in the margins of each page of the invoice book, along with the cost of each item.

Oxner made an average of two lot purchases per year on the following dates: 1 January and 7 July 1819; 20 March, 28 July and 14 December 1820; 25 June 1821; 8 June and 12 December 1822; 18 July 1823; and 8 May 1824. The frequency of these purchases, and the amounts and variety of goods purchased suggest that Oxner was a thriving merchant and provided a much needed service to the LaHave region between the years 1819 and 1824. The record also suggests that the local economy was stable enough during these years to support such a large shop inventory.

Although the invoice books are too extensive to include in this work, several entries are of interest beyond the vast amount of fabric and textiles included in the listings. For example, in the records for purchases made at Halifax on the 1 of January 1819 were various amounts of spirits including "10 gals brandy", "19 1/2 gals gin", and "10 gals & 3 qts Port wine". Purchases of various wines and hard spirits continue throughout the dates of the invoice book supporting the fact that Oxner also ran a tavern.

Some of the most intriguing purchases include various

books, almanacs and bibles. Both Wollenhaupt and Oxner had extensive library holdings as part of their estates. In the Wollenhaupt inventory the books are listed as part of the library listings and number 252 volumes not including various magazines, plays, sermons and pamphlets which the inventory takers did not list separately. In the Oxner estate the books are listed as part of the inventory for the tavern room suggesting that they were available to the local community and patrons of the Lennox tavern. Both the Wollenhaupt and Oxner libraries will be discussed in detail in the chapter on printed matter.

Finally, the Oxner shop was well stocked with cabinetmaking and carpenter's hardware as was the Wollenhaupt inventory. Hinges of all types and locks for chests, doors and cupboards were listed separately, and various tools such as files and saws help support the suggestion, particularly in light of the absence of any furniture being listed in either the Wollenhaupt, Lennox or Oxner shop, that objects such as chairs, tables, chests, cupboards, and beds were not being imported and sold, at least on a regular basis, from Halifax or elsewhere. There were enough local craftsmen who could provide for themselves and others these necessary household furnishings. It is only the merchants who would have been able to purchase elaborate pieces of furniture made in Halifax, or some other urban centre. For example, it is doubtful if the mahogany

dining table and 10 chairs in the Wollenhaupt estate would have been made in Lunenburg County. These were probably brought from Halifax or Saint John, or perhaps an American urban centre such as Boston or Philadelphia.

The merchants not only made available the latest in fashion, particularly in fabrics and textiles, but also provided the necessary tools and hardware to supply the local craft community, as well as carrying basic food stuffs such as sugar, coffee and tea, and other household items such as candles, earthenware crockery and fine dishes. They were linked through their business with the life of the yeoman and yeoman-craftsman. They shared a common "consumer" mentality and set of social values. The material worlds of the merchant and yeoman differed sharply within their respective domestic households, and members of each group had the ability to utilize their living space in significantly contrasting ways depending on their wealth and income. Yet, their desires to accumulate material possessions, each within the confines of their social values, meant that their individual success was pointedly tied to each others' destiny and the well-being of their shared community. They were bounded by a similar ideological belief in "consumerism," wealth achieved through hand-work and success, which clearly resulted in extreme differences between the rich and the poor and rigid lines of social demarcation, value and class which led to conspicuous

conspicuous displays of this wealth in architecture and household furnishings.

The social and material wealth of the merchants centred on their economic control of goods and money which in turn gave them influence over the lives of their neighbors. Farmers and fisherman both supplied and bought from the merchants goods they needed in their everyday lives which created dependencies and networks of relationships both long-lasting and important to the survival of the community.³¹ It is natural that merchants became the social magnet of the community, their position in society characteristic of the rewards of prosperity, and hard work, an image often portrayed in the many portraits of merchants and their families.

The individual drive behind the yeoman and yeoman-craftsman was the desire to attain some measure of social ascent through their additional skills and labours; the merchants of Lunenburg were the social benchmarks by which this success could be measured. Merchant control of goods and money placed them in the centre of the community, as arbiters of taste and fashion, determined by the goods with which they furnished their houses and which they sold in their shops.

But the issues concerning the social structure and relationship between the yeoman, yeoman-craftsmen and merchant, and the process of mobility which allowed yeoman

to move up the material and social ladder beg attention. If we accept the experience of the yeomanry of seventeenth century New England as an appropriate parallel and comparative model, it becomes easier to understand that, "Competitive from the outset, the yeoman's place in New England society was one of tension and anticipated change. The tension derived directly from his apparent ambivalence toward a series of ongoing social and economic changes that had begun in England a century before the Great Migration of the 1630's."³² According to St. George this tension eventually led to financial, economic and social power, and a yeoman "...who aspired to gentle status."³³ This attitude eventually blurred status lines causing outright shifts in the social structure creating "...a new order of differentiation...a new metaphor of social order in which hierarchy fell not according to degree or quality, but rather by the quantity of property possessed."³⁴ This process was noted in the early seventeenth century. "As yeomen anticipated changes in social status, they augmented their farm income with other pursuits."³⁵ This fact was noted by Francis Markham in 1625 when he stated "Gentry or gentilitie is taken in two waies, that is to say, either by acquisition or descent."³⁶ And once on the shores of the New World this process of change brought about by the accumulation of objects and material wealth took hold as the normal social/status parameters of English society for

seventeenth century New Englanders; as capitalism and not birthright became the measure of success. As Robert Blair St. George explains,

Essentially, what occurred in New England yeomanry during the first century of settlement was the final step in a great metaphoric transition, a recasting of society as artifact. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, local gentility could be taken by acquisition, and in most cases it was. The reason for this upward mobility was not that New England was in any sense democratic, but rather it had uniformly adopted a quantitative measure of power in a capitalistic society.³⁶

It was this same process of acquisition which was at work in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Lunenburg, where the yeoman looked to material wealth and additional income to assume new positions on the social ladder. The merchants were not only the level of gentle status to which they aspired, but were also the conduit through which the objects reflecting this new status could be acquired. The merchant was the agent of change, the instrument through which yeoman and yeoman-craftsman could achieve artifact wealth, but also the role model for financial, economic and material acquisition which was the endpoint for this quantitative measure of power.

The influence of the merchant class in Lunenburg is perhaps better understood if we consider specifically some of the types of goods sold in their shops. In the next chapter we will discuss the types of textile goods available for purchase in Lunenburg, than examine the importance of

printed matter and literacy in defining the relationship of the yeoman and the merchant.

Endnotes:

1. St. George, Yeomanry, p. 173.
2. Ibid.
3. PANS, Will Papers, Lunenburg County, 1808-1822, RG 48, Reel 841. Although dating 1789, this will was found in the microfilm records for the years 1808-1822.
4. Bell, Foreign Protestants, p. 286.
5. Ibid., pp. 198-200.
6. Ibid., p. 207.
7. Jean M. Holder and Grace L. Hubley, Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, 1749-1768: St. Paul's Church, Halifax, Nova Scotia (Halifax, 1983), p. 57, entry 1748.
8. Bell, Foreign Protestants, p. 547.
9. This section on the seasonal life of the yeoman is based on St. George (Ibid., pp. 175-76), my own personal observations of farming life in Lunenburg county, and discussions with staff at the New Ross Farm, New Ross, Lunenburg County.
10. PANS, Will Papers, Lunenburg County, 1835-1840, RG 48, Reel 844.
11. Gloria L. Main, "The Standard of Living in Southern New England, 1640-1773," The William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. XLV, No. 2 (January 1988).
12. Ibid., p. 126.
13. Ibid., p. 129.
14. St. George, Yeomanry, p. 173.
15. Ibid., p. 177.
16. Bell, Foreign Protestants, p. 301 (notes).
17. PANS, Will Papers, Lunenburg County, 1822-1835, RG 48, Reel 884.
18. PANS, Administration Papers, Lunenburg County, 1763-1815, RG 48, Reel 882.

19. Bezanson, whose inventory (1804) is discussed in chapter four, describes himself as a yeoman. He is further evidence that some yeoman earned extra income from subsidiary trades. The Bezanson listing includes entries for ten planes and one broken square and compass (dividers), suggesting that Bezanson had some carpentry/cabinetmaking skills. The planes are valued at L0/17/16, and excluding farm implements and livestock, are given the third highest evaluation behind the 4 beds and blankets, and iron stove.

The concern here is with domestic weaving as an income augmenting family enterprise, not with independent full-time handweavers or part-time outworkers. Gail Mohanty's study on "Rhode Island Handloom Weavers: A Probate Perspective" in Peter Benes, ed., Early American Probate Inventories, (Boston, 1989), pp. 86-96, assumed that if 30 percent of the household's estate pertained to textile-making equipment, the estate owner was probably an independent professional weaver. This assumption cannot be applied to Lunenburg County where no yeoman inventory contains 30% of any non-farming tools or equipment suggesting professional craftsman. Inventories and wills of artisans or craftsmen are indicated as such.

20. Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Abbot McClure, The Practical Book of American Antiques, (New York, 1977), p. 139.

21. Ibid., p. 140.

22. Easy chairs- what are now called wing chairs- are large, fully upholstered chairs with wings projecting from the back, above the arms.

23. Joel and Kate Kopp, American Hooked and Sewn Rugs: Folk Art Underfoot, (New York, 1975), p. 14.

24. Ibid.

25. Charles Santore, The Windsor Style in America, (Philadelphia, 1981), p. 31.

26. Ibid., pp. 29, 31.

27. George MacClaren, Antique Furniture by Nova Scotia Craftsmen, (New York, 1961), pp. 49-54.

28. PANS, Household Inventory and Invoice Books of John N. Oxner, MG 23, Reel 1842b.

29. Dell Upton, "Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," Common Places: Readings in

American Vernacular Architecture, Ed. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, (Athens, 1986), p. 325.

30. PANS, Oxner, MG 23, Reel 1842b.

31. Arthur Schlesinger, The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763-1776, (New York, 1968), pp. 27-8.

32. St. George, Yeomanry, p. 159.

33. Ibid., p. 160.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

CHAPTER FIVE

Textiles played an important part in the lives of all Nova Scotians, particularly in the eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries. They were used for clothing, floor, bed and table coverings, bed and window curtains, and were a visible means of conveying status, social position, and symbolic values among the wealthy. Clothing and household textiles helped differentiate the house of the merchant from that of the yeoman or yeoman-craftsman. In Lunenburg County throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the values of various textiles accounted for a surprisingly high percentage of the household inventory. Judging by the importance of wearing apparel, bedding and other domestic textiles, Lunenburg Germans cared for and took pride in their stock of fabrics.

This chapter will examine the importance of these household textiles, the types of fabric found and used within the domestic interior including those that could be purchased from local merchants, and most importantly those that were produced within the household by various family members. In addition, the types of natural fibres used in the household production of textiles will be discussed along with the tools used to transform these fibres (wool and flax) into yarns and fabrics.

In the shop inventories, two major fabrics, cotton

and silk, dominate the listing of textiles. Cotton was not planted in Nova Scotia and silk was never grown here. Evidently, the types of textiles carried by the merchants were those not being manufactured locally. While cotton and silk were the most common imported textiles, it was flax, wool and hemp that were the predominant household fibres found among the Lunenburg Germans between the years 1780 and 1830.

The focus for the discussion of the types of cottons and silks available for purchase will be the Wollenhaupt and Lennox shop inventories. Among most common types of textiles appearing in the Wollenhaupt inventory are various forms of muslin, including book, cambric, flowered, striped, and lace muslin. Muslin is a fine cotton textile which was used in the American colonies for window and bed curtains, and later for gowns and curtains; in the period 1790-1815 it was recommended for dresses, shawls, and window curtains. In 1833 there are references to English muslin being used in the major markets of North America and the West Indies for clothing, particularly the checked sort for sailors' shirts and the striped for curtains, trousers and jackets.²

An important estate inventory which lists household cottons, other than the types of muslin just mentioned, is the Mary Secombe inventory taken in Chester on April 1, 1801. Not only is this document specific about the types

of fabrics and their evaluations, but it is also accompanied by the auction sales records of this estate, which gives values; this allows for a comparison of the evaluations assigned by the inventory takers to the textiles and the actual price paid for these same fabrics at public auction.³

The textiles listed and their values according to the Secombe estate inventory and estate auction records are given below. In all instances the value assigned by the inventory takers was lower, in some cases substantially so, than that paid by the successful bidders at auction. This certainly suggests that these types of fabrics were considered desirable even when they were purchased second hand, although it is possible that some of the fabrics in the Secombe estate were unused. Two factors can explain why these fabrics sold higher at auction than the values assigned by the inventory takers. The first is the use and function of these fabrics within the household, and the second their selling price in the shops of merchants such as Wollenhaupt and Lennox. Certain types of fabrics would be more desirable than others, not only because of quality, but because of how and where they were used within the home. A closer examination of each of the fabrics listed in the Secombe inventory is revealing on this point.

Serge is a twilled cloth with woollen weft woven on a

four-tredle loom and used for coats, furniture coverings,
and bed curtains and valences. The Secombe inventory

Secombe Estate and Auction Inventory Comparison

Textile	Estate Value	Auction Price	Remarks
1 table cloth	L0.1.6	L0.17.6	
3 yards serge	L0.4.6	L0.7.3	listed as 4 yards in auction
16 yards fustian 7 yards calimanco	L0.18.8 no listing	no listing L0.15.0	possibly fustain
7 yards calimanco	no listing	L0.14.0	was calimanco or it was misidentified in the inventory
3 remnants of linen	L0.6.0	2 remnants of shalloon at L0.1.0 2 remnants of cambric at L0.3.0	cannot be the same
1 velvet cap and coat	L0.2.0	1 coat at L.0.4.6 1 velvet cap hood at L0.2.7	sold separately at auction
1 silk gown	L1.5.0	L2.3.3 (sold with 1 pocket magnifying glass)	

includes a listing for a "bedstead hood" (canopy), for which the serge listed in the inventory could have been used. The auction inventory also includes one coat at L0.2.8, and another at L0.4.0. Although the type of coat fabric is not listed, the material used could have been serge.

In the Wollenhaupt inventory there are several types of serge listed under the heading "Printed Cottons" including:

entry 114, 11 yds. white serge at L2.0.0;

entry 123, 4 yds. remnants serge at L4.0.0;

entry 124, 3 1/2 yds. serge at L3.0.0.

There are no listings of serge in the John Lennox inventory, suggesting that either he did not have any in stock at the time of his death when the inventory was recorded, or that serge had lost some of its popularity by 1817 when the Lennox inventory was taken. This could partially be explained by the fact that certain types of furniture for which serge was being used, for example four-poster beds with canopies, bed curtains and valences, began to go out of fashion as the second quarter of the nineteenth century approached.

Fustian originally referred to a large variety of textiles of linen-and-cotton blend; later it came to mean all-cotton textiles. Common varieties of the fancy fustians are corduroy, jean, pillow, thickset, velveret

and velveteen. Fustian is listed in American references dating as early as 1650 for clothing and furnishings, including waistcoats, curtains, counterpanes, chair coverings and petticoats.⁴ In the Secombe inventory the sixteen yards of fustian are valued at L0.18.8, but there is no equivalent listing in the auction records. What is noted in the auction as having sold are two entries for seven yards of calimanco, one selling at L0.15.0 and the other for L0.14.0. Although calimanco was a worsted fabric with a fine gloss finish, it cannot be confused with fustian. Probably the estate or auction inventory takers confused the listings of the textiles. There are calimancos of all colours and patterns ranging from plain weave to those with broad and narrow stripes, to others with the forms of flowers, birds, figures and other fancy subjects worked into the designs. In furnishings they were used for bed curtains, valences, tester and window curtains, and sofa and chair coverings. Calimanco, however, was most often used for clothing, including waistcoats, breeches and gowns.⁵

In both the Wollenhaupt and Lennox inventories there are no specific listings for fustian under that name, but there are listings for the various categories of fustian mentioned above, as well as entries for various calimancos. The types of fustian and calimanco referred to in the Wollenhaupt inventory are given below:

FUSTIANS (corduroy, velveteen, thickset, velveret, jean, pillow)

entry 141, 5 yds olive velveteen at L1.0.0;6

entry 141, 25 1/2 yds corduroy at L2.11.2;

entry 184, 4 1/2 yds white jean at L0.4.9;

CALIMANCO

entry 199, 19 yds black calimanco at L0.14.3;

entry 201, 21 1/2 yds black calimanco at L1.4.9 1/2;

entry 202, 17 1/2 yds striped purple calimanco at L0.14.0

listed as remnants;

entry 203, 22 1/4 yds green calimanco at L1.2.3;

entry 204, 8 1/2 yds light blue calimanco at L0.7.1;

entry 205, 18 yds fawn-coloured calimanco at L0.18.0;

entry 206, 7 yds black calimanco at L0.7.0.

The Lennox inventory lists this fabric in only one entry (65), 2 yds calimanco at L0.2.0. The presence of so much calimanco in the Wollenhaupt inventory confirms that it was a popular fabric for use within the household and that it was stocked in a variety of colours to accommodate its various uses as clothing and furnishing material.

The next material listed in the Secombe inventory is an entry for three remnants of linen, for which there is no equivalent listing in the auction records. What is listed in the latter are two yards of cambric and two yards of shalloon. Cambric is a fine white linen cloth and it may be this entry that corresponds to the linen

entry in the estate inventory. Shalloon, however, could not be confused with a linen, as it is a cheap twilled worsted, one of the most common textiles imported into America during the eighteenth century and often used as a lining for clothing. However, as the following references indicate, shalloon was not always employed for this function: "...in Virginia, 1730, 'curtains of yellow shalloon'; in New York, 1757, 'a small four posted bedstead with Green Shalloon Curtains'."7

Silk is the second major fabric that was imported for domestic needs and sold by the merchants of Lunenburg County. The Secombe estate inventory lists a silk gown valued at L1.5.0, which sold at the Secombe auction (with a pocket magnifying glass) for L2.3.3. One must presume that the glass had nominal value and that most of the auction price reflected the value of the silk gown. The Wollenhaupt inventory supports the suggestion that silk was a highly prized and valued fabric. Entries 39 to 45 list various silk goods including:

- 8 yds green sarsnett at L0.16.0;
- 6 yds pink sarsnett at L0.12.0;
- 11 yds white sarsnett at L1.2.0;
- 1 doz. silk handkerchiefs at L3.0.0;
- 11 blue striped silk handkerchiefs at L2.15.0;
- 11 fancy silk handkerchiefs at L2.15.0;
- 9 pair silk golves at L2.0.6

As demonstrated by this listing even small amounts of silk were valuable. Silk was the gold of the textile industry and merchant trade in imported fabrics because of its acceptance as a product that suggested the social status of the wearer. The value of silk is reflected in the estate and auction records as well. For example, in the auction inventory of Duncan Forbes dated at Lunenburg on March 28, 1801 one red silk handkerchief sold to John Ross for L0.2.6.8.8

The widow George Conrad's auction inventory of January 1, 1813, tells us that one black silk handkerchief was bought by her son Nicholas Conrad for L0.2.0, and the Peter Jung (Young) inventory taken on February 8, 1815, lists one black silk waistcoat at L0.10.0, and one "old" silk hat at L0.5.0, one silk hat at L1.4.0, and three silk shawls at L2.14.0.9.9

The listing of these silk items as personal effects in the Forbes, Conrad and Jung inventories helps to underline the value and importance placed on silk as a textile. Note the difference in the value placed on the "old" silk hat against the silk hat in the Jung inventory. Presumably "old" refers to condition, but it may also refer to a type of hat no longer in style.

While cotton and silk were the most prevalent imported textiles, it was linen, wool and hemp that were the most important household fibres among the Lunenburg

Germans of the late eighteenth century. In 1699 Villebon reported that the marshlands around Port Royal have "... up to the present state been very productive, yielding each year a quantity of grain such as corn, wheat, rye, peas and oats, not only for the maintenance of the families living there but for sale and transportation to other parts of the country. Flax and hemp, also, grow extremely well, and some of the settlers of that region use only the linen made themselves, for domestic purposes."¹⁰ Three quarters of a century later in 1774 John Robinson and Thomas Rispin in their Journey through Nova Scotia commented on the use of homegrown flax in the households of Nova Scotia. "The women are very industrious house-wives, and spin the flax, the growth of their own farms, and weave both their linen and woolen cloth; they also bleach their linen and dye their yarn themselves."¹¹

Flax was a remarkable plant that produced many products. Farmers profited from both the fibres and the seeds. Seeds could be used to make linseed oil, and after the oil was extracted, another product remained called oil cake which could be used for cattle feed. Although figures showing flax planted per family are not presently available for Lunenburg Country, Pennsylvania German farmers in the late eighteenth century reserved for linen production about a quarter of an acre for each member of

the family.¹²

Flax was a crop that could be grown as soon as the settlers had the land cleared for this purpose. Accordingly it was often raised in considerable quantity to satisfy immediate needs for clothing and bedding materials. For example in the year 1775, eight years after the Rhode Islanders established the first settlement in Pictou County, and only two years after the Scottish Highlanders arrived in the Hector, Pictou County showed a total flax crop of 34,000 pounds for that year. The census returns for Quebec for 1851-1852 show that the annual crop was almost a million pounds, demonstrating the continued importance of this crop.¹³

Wool was the other major household fibre. "One sheep per family member usually produced enough wool to fill the needs for one year...."¹⁴ But as might be expected not every farmer raised sheep. In a survey for Lunenburg County of fifty inventories of individuals or families with German surnames and dating between the years 1797 and 1815, 24 of fifty inventories listed sheep, with an average of ten per household.¹⁵

Swan describes hemp as a plant very similar to flax, producing a coarser and darker fibre than flax. "Weavers used the fibres for sturdier fabrics such as tick covers or grain bags, but its major use was rope."¹⁶ Its use in Lunenburg County and other parts of Nova Scotia for rope

is of prime importance because of the seafaring and shipbuilding traditions of the province. For example in the George Koch inventory there is included a listing for "rope work tools." This inventory also lists "1 quadrant," "8 planes" and "lott tools, 17 in number," suggesting that Koch was probably a shipwright and mariner.¹⁷

However, it is in the large number of tools used to transform these fibres into yarns and fabrics that we can begin to see the importance of linen and wool to the domestic activities in the households of Lunenburg County. Lunenburg German tools used for turning fibres into finished goods were typical of those also found in the Pennsylvania German tradition and most western European societies. There were many tools used in the transformation of flax, hemp and wool into textiles. These include flax and wool combs, flax breaks, spinning wheels, wool winders and/or clock reels, hatchels, niddy-noddies, swifts (umbrella or table), tape looms, and weaving looms (four-harness).

All of these tools except the niddy-noddy and swift, are mentioned in the inventories dating between 1780 and 1830. Only four of these will be discussed in detail—hatchels, spinning wheels, weaving looms and tape looms.¹⁸

The Conrad Wentzell estate inventory, taken on April 1, 1805 lists a "flax hatchel" valued at L0.2.6. The hatchel is the simplest but most essential tool in

preparation of flax fibres before spinning into thread. Handfuls of flax fibres are dragged repeatedly through the long nail-like projections of the hatchel until they are parallel and smooth. The fibres are usually processed on a coarse hatchel first and then on a finer one.¹⁹

The Alexander Sponagle estate inventory lists several textile tools including a pair of wool cards and a hatchel valued at L0.1.3, and a cotton spinning wheel at L0.7.6. The Becker estate listing includes a spinning wheel with all its materials for L0.16.0. The Becker inventory is important as it also lists other items necessary in the production of textiles used to make clothing, suggesting that the Becker family was actively involved in the transformation of raw fibres into household fabrics.²⁰ These entries include:

23 skeins spun wool	L1.0.0
a small quantity of cotton wool	L0.5.0
a small quantity of indigo	L0.1.0
1 pair wool cards	L0.2.0
1 small basket full of flax	L0.1.8
2 sheep	L0.17.0
3 old pair canvas trousers	L0.1.0
3 pair homespun stockings	L0.5.0
2 pair linen trouser	L0.5.0
2 cotton shirts	L0.10.0
3 linen shirts	L0.15.0

2 linen shirts and 1 cotton shirt (new) L1.0.0

The absence of a weaving loom in the inventory raises the possibility that the yarn and thread were woven into the fabric needed for clothing and textile furnishings by another family in the community. The listing of "4 pair shopstockings" at L0.6.0 and "1 pair worsted stockings & 2 pair shopstockings" at L0.1.6 indicates that the inventory takers made some effort to separate the homespun fabrics and items of clothing from the store-bought materials.

Spinning wheels are one of the most common textile tools listed in the inventories; many households had more than one. For example, the Michael Fancy inventory, taken at Lunenburg on March 30, 1809, lists "two old spinning wheels" at L0.11.3 each or L1.2.3 for both, and "one whooling wheel" at L0.5.0. The Adam Heb inventory, taken January 5, 1804, lists two spinning wheels valued at L1.15.0.21

Spinning wheels were used to transform fibres into threads. Whether using a small or large wheel the work was repetitive but necessary. The small wheel, usually reserved for flax, allowed the user to sit, while the larger wheels, used primarily for wool, but occasionally for cotton, required the user to stand and walk back and forth while the wool or cotton fibre twisted onto the spindle. Spinning was done in most households and was the work of the women of the family. Daughters were usually

taught to spin at an early age and many continued in this task for a good part of their lives.²² It was one of the household chores that helped add to the drudgery of everyday life for the females of the yeoman family, and a skill that daughters took with them into their marriages. This fact is confirmed by the wills and inventories of Lunenburg County where a cow and/or feather bed and/or spinning wheel is often left to the daughters of the household. For example, John Veinot left each of his daughters one spinning wheel and a feather bed.²³

Although weaving looms are not as common in the inventories as spinning wheels, they occur with some frequency. The Duncan Forbes estate and auction inventories referred to previously list in the estate papers, "1 weavers loom, 6 pair gears, 4 reeds and all her attachments belonging to the said loom." Although no estate value is given it was sold at auction on June 23, 1801 for L4.6.0. In the George Emenot (?) inventory, filed at Lunenburg on September 12, 1823, are listed a weaving loom at L3.0.0, two spinning wheels at L1.0.0 and two flax breaks at L0.6.0, while the Henry Lohnes inventory lists a weaving loom valued at L2.0.0.²⁴

It is the Peter Romkey inventory of New Dublin that suggests "weaving families" existed in Lunenburg County who would not only weave for themselves, but for neighbors and other members of the community. Romkey refers to

himself as a yeoman and he clearly falls into the yeoman-craftsman class previously discussed, relying on subsidiary trades to augment his income as a farmer. It should also be noted that in the original occupation lists of the foreign Protestant settlers one family of seven individuals listed their dual occupation as "farmer-weaver". Romkey left his personal effects to his wife, four sons, and three daughters. Two inventories, both undated, but registered on May 13, 1815 exist. Although it is unclear as to why there are two inventories the second one confirms the contents of the first but does give different evaluations.²⁵

The clue to how Romkey and his family earned some of their living is evident in the inventories; "3 spinning wheels," "3 long wheels," "1 reel," and "3 benches and 1 loom and all her attachments." The loom is valued at L5.0.0 (without benches) in Inventory I and L6.5.0 (with benches) in inventory II. Certainly the presence of so much weaving equipment in one inventory indicates that the Romkey family was actively engaged in manufacturing fabrics in both wool (the long wheel or walking wheel) and flax (spinning wheels),²⁶ and the number of pieces of equipment suggests how the family work was arranged. Romkey had three daughters and just enough wheels of both types to go around. They did the spinning while Romkey and his wife did the weaving. The assumption that only women

wove is put to rest by several references including the entry in Edward Ross's diary, "September 28, 1835: rained all day with high winds (equinoctial gale) - I was dusting William's bunks, Lawson weaving, George shoemaking".²⁷

No other inventory examined thus far from Lunenburg County lists such a large and varied number of textile tools. A family this well equipped would have been approached by neighbors and friends either to spin and/or weave their homegrown flax and wool, or would have made and sold certain types of bed coverings and clothing.

The most common household loom in Lunenburg seems to be the tape loom. These small table looms were used to make a variety of belts and ties for bedding and clothing.²⁸ Although there are many surviving examples of tape looms, often with hand-forged hardware, rose-head nails, and dating from the late eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, they remain an enigma. Seldom do they appear in the inventory records. There is a reference in the Philip Eisenhauer inventory, taken at Lunenburg on December 27, 1819, to "a garter loom," which undoubtedly is a tape loom. The John Broom inventory, dated August 15, 1818, lists a tape loom valued at a very low £0.1.0, which might explain why so few are listed.²⁹ Inventory takers may simply have felt their value and social importance as an object of display was so low as not to be worth including in the inventory.

The types of fabrics that were made at home and in the community using these tools include clothing, bedding, and various table and floor coverings. Unfortunately few of these various types of domestic textiles have survived. Their importance, however, is often confirmed in both estate and auction records where condition ("old," "worn", "new") is often mentioned along with the type of fabric.

Lunenburg County inventories suggest that both store-bought and homespun materials, and the tools used to transform raw fibres into yarns, threads and fabrics, were highly prized by their owners. These textiles and tools often brought more at public auction than the values assigned by the estate inventory takers. In this light it seems reasonable to reevaluate the often repeated assumption that the Lunenburg Germans neither brought with them nor developed in Nova Scotia a textile tradition.³⁰

Certainly both imported and homemade textiles were important along with the tools used to manufacture the latter. The presence of looms in the Lunenburg inventories suggests that family and/or community weaving was not uncommon. Some of the types of textile patterns being produced would naturally reflect the German heritage of the weavers, probably combined with English influences. Unfortunately, textiles do not last so it is impossible to discuss any patterns or styles which are specifically European in origin. There is no reason to suggest,

however, that a tradition of weaving did not exist in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Lunenburg County judging by the number of weaving tools found in the inventories of this time period, and that in spite of the pervasive English environment, that this tradition would not reflect the German background of the weavers.

Endnotes:

1. This chapter is adapted from the paper presented on April 20, 1986 at the Atlantic Canada Eighteenth Century Society meetings held at Mount Allison University in Sackville, New Brunswick, and published as "Lunenburg-German Household Textiles," Material History Bulletin, 24 (Fall 1986), pp. 16-23.
2. Montgomery, Textiles, p. 304.
3. PANS, Rg 48, Reel 841. The auction was held April 20, 1801.
4. Montgomery, Textiles, pp. 244-245.
5. Ibid., pp. 185-186.
6. Olive is one of the common dark colours.
7. Montgomery, Textiles, p. 347.
8. PANS, Rg 48, Reel 882.
9. Ibid.
10. Harold B. and Dorothy K. Burnham, Keep Me Warm One Night: Early Handweaving in Eastern Canada (Toronto, 1972), p. 7.
11. PANS, V/F, V. 176, No. 29, p. 25.
12. Susan Borrows Swan, "Household Textiles," in Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans, ed. Scott Swank (New York, 1983), p. 221.
13. Burnham and Burnham, Keep Me Warm One Night, p. 16.
14. Swan, Household Textiles, p. 222.
15. The total number of estate, auction and will papers examined specifically for this chapter between the years 1780 and 1830 is as follows: 222 estate, 36 auction, and 83 will papers.
16. Swan, Household Textiles, p. 222.
17. PANS, Rg 48, Reel 882.
18. Over fifty percent of the inventories examined list

some type of textile tool, the most common being wool and/or cotton cards, and spinning wheels. I have limited discussion to these four tools because they are the most important and interesting.

19. PANS, Rg 48, Reel 882; See Burnham and Burnham, Keep Me Warm One Night, p. 29, and Swan, Household Textiles, p. 222.

20. PANS, Rg 48, Reel 882.

21. Ibid.

22. Swan, Household Textiles, p. 222.

23. PANS, Rg 48, Reel 882. The inventory is dated May 9, 1814.

24. PANS, Rg 48, Reel 843; Ibid., Reel 882.

25. Ibid.

26. I am suggesting these activities based on the use of "long wheels" for wool and spinning wheels for flax; cotton, which was not grown in Nova Scotia, was not readily available in raw form, unless imported.

27. PANS, Ross Family Diaries, MGI, vol. 794.

28. Swan, Household Textiles, p. 223. Swan notes that "among Pennsylvania Germans the most common household loom was a boxlike tape loom placed on a table."

29. PANS, Rg 48, Reel 883.

30. Burnham and Burnham, Keep Me Warm One Night, p. 10

CHAPTER SIX

The foreign Protestants who came to Lunenburg in 1753 were in the most part illiterate.¹ Illiteracy prevailed well into the nineteenth century. The school commissioners for Lunenburg County reported on January 7, 1832 that the implementation of the Nova Scotia School Act of 1826 had made great improvements in literacy. They noted that previously "the majority of children in every settlement in the County" had been "unable to read, either in that language [English] or German the tongue that is most generally used."²

Bell offered an explanation for the widespread illiteracy:

...schooling itself was scanty... it seems obvious that there must have been, for a generation or two at least, a considerable decline in the general literacy of the settlement as a whole- more especially, no doubt, among the families settled on the farms at a distance from the town. As we saw... DeLaRoche regarded the settlement as having become fairly prosperous by the end of the American Revolutionary War. And while deploring the lack of education, he wrote in March of 1785 that after the two decrepit old teachers, Bailly and Neuman, should have passed away, he would "not recommend any successor to their office. For it is not want of means sufficient, that the generality of parents neglect the education of their children; but for want of will and inclination, they grudge both the cost thereof and (in their esteem) the time lost thereupon".³

DelaRoche's comments imply a yeoman practicality about education. Many parents probably disliked educating their children because of the "cast", or implied social stigma, attached to knowing how to read and write; being educated held elitist connotations. Even when opportunities for instruction were available, these farmers were reluctant to send their children to school when every pair of hands was needed on the farm. Many Lunenburgers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, therefore, grew up illiterate, but not totally "uneducated".

The eighteenth century was a time of oral culture. The communication of ideas, values, traditions, gossip, and news by word of mouth was highly developed and part of a way of life that tied the community together. People could work effectively in this environment without having the ability to read or write. Farmers raised their crops, sold and bartered their harvest, purchased land, built houses, attended court proceedings and elections, listened to the gospel preached and read aloud, without ever having to write their name or read a book. This system operated efficiently within the daily routine of the community, and probably only occasionally caused the illiterate some frustration when dealing with the literate portions of the society-perhaps when reconciling accounts with the local merchant, or collecting or paying debts.

In these transactions, many illiterate men and women came to recognize their dependence on

readers and writers who controlled access to spheres of activity where the printed word was the primary means of communication- formal law and government, the higher forms of spiritual discourse, recent scientific, technological, and medical discoveries, and business accounts...4

Literacy was a specialized knowledge which further defined the worlds of the merchant and the yeoman, and allowed the merchant a greater degree of integration with other lettered individuals within his local community, and the society beyond his immediate geographic boundaries where he conducted business. The merchant shared with other educated men the ability to appreciate the world in abstract terms and understand the latest discoveries in science and technology.

However, the attempt to understand how the world of print and literacy overlapped and co-existed with the collective mentality that arose from traditional oral culture is a difficult and complex problem. The issue involves the mental world of the yeoman class, and the elitism implied by the ability to read and write. The boundaries between the literate and illiterate were in constant flux, rhythms that were bound by traditional formulas of class distinction, and patterns of everyday living that were commonly understood. The response to literacy and the world of print in Lunenburg County among the yeoman and merchant classes is multi-faceted, and by its nature part of "... the debate between social and intellectual historians about the distance that exists

between elites and intellectuals and other groups; between 'high' culture and that which is usually described as 'popular'; between books and collective belief"⁵

To understand the relationship between print and illiteracy, to distinguish between the mental worlds of the yeoman and the merchant in Lunenburg County and understand through these distinctions class differences, means taking into account a seemingly unrelated and diverse set of factors, evidence which forces certain assumptions but does allow us to explore the issues at hand.⁶ If, for example, the yeoman considered education elitist how do we explain the presence of books in inventories of yeoman who in some cases could not sign their name? Is the fact that some settlers were able to write their name, poorly, an indication that they were at least semi-literate, or did they learn only to scrawl their signature and remain effectively illiterate as Bell suggests? How do we understand the use and influence of books that are listed in public places, such as those in the tavern room of the merchant John Oxner of LaHave?

There was in Lunenburg a varied set of social and intellectual influences which co-existed and remained in flux from the time of settlement to the mid-nineteenth century. This was a society where illiterate, semiliterate and literate mixed in a communal continuum between oral performance and print.

But the evidence about literacy and reading may really indicate that these categories of elite and non-elite are too limiting. Every social group contained a certain percentage of persons who could read, even if their doing so defies our expectations. In the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Cambridgeshire towns Margaret Spufford has studied, books were read with extraordinary care by persons of every description, including many women. Her evidence ... indicated that social, economic and sexual boundaries all yielded to the book. As for "oral" culture, it too was entwined with the world of print. We must speak instead of a continuum between print and oral modes.

That the boundaries of print were fluid and overlapping is apparent from the books themselves. The reach of some books... was extended visually by the woodcuts that embellished broadsides, primers, almanacs, emblem books, and the like. Collectively these pictures transmitted ideas beyond the reach of print. Iconography carried ideas downward into social milieux where the book may not have widely penetrated.⁷

This iconography may be a partial key in helping us to understand why books are found in the inventories of yeoman who were totally illiterate, or at best semi-literate. The previously discussed inventory of Codlip Corkum, dated 1837, is significant for the importance and evaluation placed on the German Bible and two "Dutch" books by the inventory takers, one a family member who signed the inventory with an "X". Religious and devotional works are the most common books found in yeoman inventories where printed matter is listed. Many of the large German bibles as well as hymnals and prayer books contained prints of a religious nature depicting biblical events, or important historical individuals connected with the church. Such visual imagery used to embellish the word of God may have been important to

families or individuals who could not read or write.⁸

In a random survey of 111 male inventories dating between 1783 and 1826, the year of the Nova Scotia School Act, where accompanying wills describe the deceased as "yeoman" or "farmer", 39 percent of the inventories list printed matter. In all but seven instances the inventory takers were specific about listing at least one devotional work including hymnals, psalms, large and small Bibles, catechisms, prayer books or sermons. In the period from 1827 until 1845, the random survey of 121 male inventories shows 43 percent of the yeomen list printed matter, but there is a noticeable difference; either there was a greater number of non-devotional works, or inventory takers were less inclined to identify religious books. Combining these samples of inventories dating between 1783 and 1845 reveals that 41 percent of yeoman households contained at least one or more books with 73 percent of these identified as devotional works of one kind or another.

These figures would suggest at least one or more individuals in these families had a limited ability to read or write, an assessment usually based on the capacity to write one's name.⁹ If we accept the figure of 41 percent of yeoman households between the years 1783 and 1845 in Lunenburg County as having at least one literate or semi-literate family member, we find that this figure is in keeping with statistics on literacy for the Province of

Nova Scotia for the year 1861 when 115,000 individuals over five years of age out of a total population of 284,000, or 40 percent were unable to write their name,¹⁰ the remaining 60 percent of the population considered literate or semi literate.

However, the ownership of books, specifically devotional works, should not be confused with education.

In the eighteenth century the most efficient elementary schools were as a rule those provided as a religious charity through the [S.P.G.]. Teachers supported by the S.P.G. had to meet certain requirements of character ... and those sent out from England had also to pass a committee of selection. They were therefore, in a sense qualified teachers and as such commanded a little respect.¹¹

The S.P.G. established a school at Lunenburg,

[but] the German colonists who went from Halifax to Lunenburg in 1753 were determined to maintain their language and Lutheran religion for future generations. A minister of the Church of England named Vincent, supported by grants from the government at Halifax and from the S.P.G., tried at first to conduct a school in English. Failing to persuade the parents to send their children, he secured an S.P.G. grant for a German-speaking schoolmaster. But the people of Lunenburg continued to protest: they claimed to have opened a school on their initiative and that the Anglican divine had suborned their teacher and broken up their school by requiring that English be the language of instruction. An attempt was made to compromise ... but it was too late. The government made two more efforts to achieve its end ... to convert everyone to the use of English. In 1774, the S.P.G. abandoned its mission in Lunenburg....¹²

Obviously the foreign Protestants were determined to maintain their ethnic identity through their language and

religion which helps to explain why so many of the devotional works found in the yeoman inventories are in German; they were not only supplied by the S.P.G. whether the family was illiterate or not, but were demanded by the German speaking population in their own language. This assessment supports the comments of the Lunenburg Commissioners in 1832, quoted earlier, that German was the tongue most commonly used, and suggests that German was indeed a viable language in Lunenburg County well into the nineteenth century. This determination to obtain devotional works in German also suggests that Lunenburg was a "bilingual" community where English was the language of trade and commerce but German was the household tongue. Some yeoman families may have been illiterate in English, but semi-literate or literate in German.

If as mentioned earlier the printed iconography of the religious works found in the yeoman households held the attention of both the semi-literate and illiterate family members, the power of the iconography of books themselves was not lost on the merchant class. Individual portraits of merchants and other educated men such as ministers and lawyers painted during the last half of the eighteenth century in New England and the Maritime Provinces often emphasize an educated world view and cosmopolitan outlook by including in the background shelves of books, or individual volumes held by the sitter.

Other devices may point to the consumer wealth of the merchant and his family, or suggest the professional occupation of the individual by showing a background of sailing vessels, or other objects such as open letters or maps.

An American example is the 1789 portrait of "Dry Goods Merchant Elijah Boardman" (1760-1823), of New Milford, Connecticut, by Ralph Earl. The elegantly clad Boardman is standing in his dry goods store before a high clerk's desk with a bookcase full of ledgers and other works including works by Milton and Shakespeare, giving us an idea of his intellectual tastes. Through the open door one can glimpse shelves full of bolts of fabric and ribbon. Boardman faces the viewer dressed in long coat with tails, vest trimmed with gold edging and gold buttons, and fancy shirt with frills. His facial expression depicts confidence, a man who has no doubt about his position in the world, his wealth and social standing.

Equally powerful is the 1832 portrait of "Reverend John Payzant".¹³ We see the follower of Henry Alline and leader of the New Light Movement in Nova Scotia sitting in his study surrounded by objects which relate to his role as a religious leader. On the bookshelf behind him a copy of the Bible is prominently displayed, and on the table in the foreground next to the inkwell and quill pen is a book titled the Tract and Bible Society London dated 180(4).

Payzant's stern expression does not entirely reflect his religious zeal, but comes from the fact that he has wooden teeth, which he apparently removed to have his portrait painted, allowing his jaw to relax and forcing him to keep his mouth tightly closed.

Although the artist of this work is not known, the painter was able to capture the single-minded nature and determination of Payzant, who stares directly at the viewer with eyes and facial expression that are both challenging and powerful. Here was an articulate man who could sway congregations and influence religious debate, and who believed in the grim certainty of death and God's salvation. Nevertheless, Payzant has his portrait painted sitting in prosperous and comfortable surroundings, a man assured of his place in society, and confident of his relationship with the Almighty.

This same self-confidence is pointedly demonstrated in the 1801 double portrait of "James Prince and his son William", painted in Newburyport, Massachusetts by John Brewster, Jr (1766-1854). "James Prince (1755-1830) was a prosperous Newburyport merchant, collector of customs, and warden of St. Paul's Church. Both Washington and Lafayette were entertained in his large, brick residence on State Street."¹⁴ Prince is painted sitting at a table with a small portable writing desk, quill in hand, as if interrupted by the artist while writing a letter. His son

is standing with him, completed letter sealed with wax in hand. The education of sons of well-to-do merchants was essential to the continuity of the merchants' way of life, tying him to others of his own social class, and allowing him to continue the family business, thus ensuring that the accumulated wealth would be passed from generation to generation.

Finally, the portrait of the "Angus Nicholson Family" depicts a well-to-do merchant and early industrialist in New Milford, Connecticut. Painted by Ralph Earl (1751-1801)¹⁵ probably between 1789 and 1791, Nickelson was a prominent community leader, who owned much property in connection with his mill and iron works. The painting shows Nickelson with his wife and seven children in a splendid interior setting. They are seated in a matching set of red-upholstered sofa and chairs surrounded by shelves of calf-bound books, red-window draperies and a pair of oval looking-glasses. The Nickelson interior reflects the dignified elegance of a prosperous merchant's country home. Here, as in other portraits, the presence of books, and other materials illustrate the literacy of the merchant and his family and are indications of just how important these skills were to their social class and business activity.

It is difficult to look upon typical examples of mid-eighteenth to early nineteenth century portraits of merchants and their families without sensing the power of

materialism and wealth in them. The affluence and education of the merchants was indeed defined and recreated in such paintings, as it was in the likenesses of such men as John Payzant. Colonial portraits of merchants reflect the ideals and social status which they expected others to see and admire them for in their communities: their wealth, worldly outlook, self-confidence, and education which came from the prosperity which was the fruit of their intellect and their labour.

They operated on a different intellectual plane from most other citizens, an outlook which is reflected in the merchant libraries of Casper Wollenhaupt, John Lennox, and John Oxner. Based on the dates of the inventories beginning with Wollenhaupt (1809-1810), Lennox (1817) and Oxner (1825), these library holdings represent an important sampling of the kinds of books which were being read and discussed in the first quarter of the nineteenth century and by extension the last part of the eighteenth century.

Wollenhaupt's library is the largest. The library room was the domain of Wollenhaupt himself. Furnished with a desk, table, dressing glass, chair, and complete bedstead, this room served several functions other than as a library, and was certainly a "closed" domestic space of the male gender. Here Wollenhaupt could read and write letters, work on business papers and perhaps sleep if he wished. It was a room in a private world open only to certain family members

and perhaps very close business associates, and was symbolic of the merchant's role as a literate man. Wollenhaupt had over 252 volumes in his library not including a quantity of old magazines "stitched in paper" and various sermons, plays and pamphlets which the inventory takers did not list individually. The complete library of works is given below as listed in entry 549 of the inventory with the number of volumes for each entry in parentheses:

Books in the Wollenhaupt Library

Homer (4)	Vicar of Wakefield (1)
Pope (6)	The Tattler (5)
Josephus (3)	Adventures of a Guinea (4)
Spectator (8)	Death of Abel (1)
Chesterfield (4)	Mpy Powes (?) Letters (1)
Sterns' works (3)	Nettleton Virtue (1)
Enticks Survey (4)	Addison on Metals (1)
Locke on Human Understanding (2)	Fenelon's Demonstrations
Complete Body of Husbandry (1)	Fennings Use of Globes (1)
Berkley on Human Knowledge (3)	Prince of Abbysiana (sic) (1)
Cicero (Latin) (1)	Belisarius (1)
Horace (Latin) (1)	Every Farmer his own Farmer (1)
Life of Cromwell (1)	The Complete Masoner (1)
The Epigoniard (1)	History of the Revolution of France (1)
Clark and Leibnitz's Letters (1)	Evidence of Christianty (1)
Maxwell's Husbandry (1)	Junius Letters (2)
Bradley's Husbandry (1)	Dictionary of Arts and Science (8)
Dialogue of the Dead (1)	A large English Bible (1)
Longinuson of the Sublime (1)	A large German Bible
History of Primitive Church (1)	Euclids Elements (1)
Irish Excursion (4)	Chambauds Grammer (1)
Fashionable Involvements (3)	Gazetter (1)
Rash Vows (3)	Drilling Court on Death (1)
Excellence of a Free State (1)	German Hymn Books (3)
Female Conduct (1)	German Prayer Book after the Form of the Church of England (1)
Universal Accountant (2)	English Dictionaries (2)
Universal Magazine (1798) (2)	French Dictionary (1)
Popery Condemned (1)	History of Rome (1)
Joseph Andrews (1)	Elegant Extracts (1)
Berryman's Sermons (2)	
Female Spectator (4)	

Prince Arthur (2)	Improvements in Planting(1)
Prayer books (6)	A Discourse upon Revenue(1)
English Testament (1)	Beveridges Thoughts (1)
Ladys Companion (2)	Virgil (Latin) (1)
Ladys magazine (3)	Sir Isaac Newtons
A Rational Account of	Prophecies (1)
the Protestant	Leidervick's Dictionary(4)
Religion (1)	Burns Justice (4)
a Holland (Dutch?) Bible (1)	Blackstone Commentary (4)
Paradise Lost (1)	Jacobs Law Dictionary (1)
Latin Syntax (1)	Province Law (1)
Greek Testament (1)	Abbot on Shipping (1)
French Prayer Book after	Parks on Insurance (1)
the form of the Church	Magistrates apistant(?) (1)
of England (1)	Cokes Institutes (1)
a French Bible (1)	Baileys Dictionary (1)
Fluxions (1)	
Hudibrass (1)	
An Account of Hudson's Bay(1)	
a Brief View of Religion (1)	
Discoveries d/c (?) to the	
Academy of Belles Letters(1)	
Culture of Silk (1)	
Defence of Christian Relevation(1)	
Spanish Heisling Detected (1)	
Book Keeping Modernized (1)	
History of England & Ireland (1)	
Cardinal Alderberona (1)	
Universal Magazine (1)	

Total 178 Volumes

74 odd volumes consisting of English, French, German and Latin -

Total number of volumes	252 Volumes
Total evaluation of all books	L20.0.0

A quantity of old magazine stitched in paper, also sermons, plays and pamphlets (as listed by the inventory takers- these works are not itemized)

L 1.0.0

Total evaluation for library	L21.0.0
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The Lennox Library is located "in the Bedroom Downstairs" which also includes a "set of drawers" and an iron stove. Not nearly as extensive as the Wollenhaupt

listing, the Lennox library is given below as recorded under entry 178 by the inventory takers:

Books in the Lennox Library

English Bible (1)
 Golden Chain (1)
 Robert Burns (1)
 Buchan's Medicine (1)
 Fisher's Catechism (1)
 Gutheries Geography (1)
 Middleton's Work (4)
 Mr. Jay's Treaty (1)
 Parliamentary (sic) Debates (1)
 History of Glasgow (1)
 Kettlewell's Exortation (sic) (1)
 Gentleman's Library (1)
 Mairs Bookkeeping (1)
 Guardian (1)
 Female Spectator (1)
 Province Laws (1)
 Butters Life of the Fathers and Martyrs (1)
 Herveys Meditations (1)
 Principals of Politeness (1)
 Human Nature (1)
 Ship Wreck (1)
 Redy recconer (10)
 Nova Scotia's Minstrel (1)

Total number of volumes - 26

Probably the most interesting location of a library is to be found in the Oxner inventory where the books are recorded as part of the furnishings and accessories of the "tavern room". The complete listing for this room is given below:

Inventory of the Oxner Tavern Room

a blue table
 a red table
 a spie [sic.] glass

a French Musquet
 a lot of sleigh bells
 The Holy War in German

a long bench	a musquet
an eight day clock	a pair of spurs
a looking glass	
a double stove and pipe	
chairs	
a large German Bible (1)	
Guthers Grammer (1)	
an English Bible (3)	
a large English Bible (1)	
a German bible (1)	
a blank ledger (1)	
a Clerk's magazine (1)	
a Lutheran Hymn Book (1)	
a Wood Measures Guide (1)	
Juniper Jack (2)	
Mairs Bookkeeping (1)	
a German Common Prayer Book (1)	
Jmokerrs (?) Prayer Book German (1)	
a German Prayer Book Gracious (1)	
Pilgrims Progress (1)	
Aomers Fetiz Spanish (1)	
Tatter [sic.] No. 2 (1)	
History of Roma French (1)	
Mariners Compass rectifier (?) (1)	
Telemachus Lovett (3)	
Bostons 4 foch stale (?) (1)	
Love of Fame (1)	
Connoissier (1)	
Youngmens best Companion (1)	
History of Nova Scotia (1)	
Tatter [sic.] (1)	
The Translation of the Old Testament German (1)	
Horse Farrier (1)	
German Catachism (1)	
Valentine and Orson (1)	
German Hymn Book with Psalms Presbyterian (1)	
Life of Erasmus- Latin and English (1)	
Help and Guide to Christian Families English (1)	
Silver Devil (1)	
Greek or Hebrew Dictionary (1)	
The History of Justinus (Latin) (1)	
a German Prayer Book (1)	
History of Henry More Smith (1)	
The Generous Reader German (1)	

Oral cultures have no concrete means to sustain communication except through word of mouth and the process of repetition, creating the necessity for personal

interaction between members of the community to ensure the preservation of orally transmitted ideas, opinions and beliefs.¹⁶ The tavern room was a social and cultural focal point for verbal communication, an oral performance setting less formal than church or household where language was the primary means of communication for the transfer of ideas. Inns/taverns were "open" spaces frequented by male members of the local population, but also stations accustomed to entertaining travellers who stopped for a night's lodging and meals. Oxner had six bedrooms plus a garrett bedroom in which to lodge overnight guests. These rooms are listed after the rooms of the household and simply contain a bed and bedstead, chair and/or table, sometimes a chest and always a looking glass.

As coach stops,

The inns of the young province were as varied in quality as its roads. In the towns and larger villages on the coach lines... efficient inn-keepers served travellers good meals and offered guests comfortable rooms. [But] generally country inns were much less dependable. Their proprietors were usually farmers who catered to travellers in order to supplement the income of their farms; the inns themselves were usually farmhouses or cottages. One was much more likely in country districts to come upon "brown sugar houses," second-rate inns which unconsciously symbolized their inferiority by serving brown sugar rather than the white loaf-sugar found as a matter of course in good inns. The term served handily as a rating device among Nova Scotian travellers, for a "brown-sugar house" would usually be mediocre in all ways. Lowest on the scale, and only rarely encountered, were the houses which served no

sugar at all, only molasses.¹⁷

John Oxner's establishment was not a "brown-sugar" inn or tavern. For example, his purchase of spirits, noted in his invoice books, shows that he kept a well stocked bar of brandy, gin, port wine, "marsella" wine and "mediara" wine, and also bought both coarse and fine sugar. Although some of these items would be for sale in his shop, the largest quantity of spirits would probably be reserved for his tavern.

As a centre of activity, Oxner's was a social setting where oral tradition thrived—ideas and beliefs, opinions about politics and religion discussed and debated. Gossip and stories about events in the community and surrounding country were exchanged between yeomen who shared a lifestyle and outlook defined by their occupation as farmers; and bound by their illiteracy or semiliteracy. Personal interaction and contact within the community was required to preserve their word-of-mouth culture.

What makes the Oxner tavern a more complex and multi-layered social setting is the listing of the collection of books by the inventory takers along with the furnishings of the tavern room. The presence of these books in this cultural context indicates that patrons who were literate could read or browse through the volumes. Oxner's tavern may have acted as an informal library for those who were educated or at least had some ability to read—a confluence

of social and intellectual activity where oral culture and the transfer of information by word of mouth coexisted with literate culture. Literate, semi-literate, and illiterate mixed in this "open" communal space creating a vital and complex social environment; a centre for oral performance as well as solitude and introverted modes of silent thought for those with the ability and opportunity to immerse themselves intensely in the act of reading.

Unfortunately, no detailed accounts survive of the nature of the interaction in and around these public houses, but passages can be found in travellers' journals that give suggestions as to the tone of the environment. In 1786, James MacGregor arrived in Nova Scotia from Scotland to assume responsibilities at his new church in Pictou and made these observations in his travels: "The house in which we lodged consisted of a kitchen and two or three bed-closets, with a garret for lumber, and a sleeping place for some of the children. We all sat in the kitchen.... Our host, I suppose kept up family worship, for the Bible was at hand, and laid it on the table after supper, which I had seen done before."¹⁸

W.S. Moorsom in the 1820's, although finding an occasional fault in these country inns when compared to those in England, comments on his admiration for them:

The inns in the towns such as Windsor, or Annapolis, are much the same as those we find in the larger villages in England. The country inns

are usually detached cottages, of which the owner having originally commenced as a farmer, and looking to that occupation as his chief resource, is a very different being from his accomplished prototype in England. [Upon arrival one] may walk in if he pleases- for though there is no one to invite, there is no one to forbid his entrance; a neat little parlour will then receive him.... Woe betide him if any symptoms of dissatisfaction... express themselves. If he has the address to conceal his impatience, - to open the heart of the good lady by a few civil inquiries, - all will be well. This may present no favourable picture... yet I confess myself a great admirer of these little inns. There is a style of simplicity- of primitiveness about them, which has not yet yielded to the calculating habits of commoner intercourse.¹⁹

Sir George Head, travelling in the winter of 1829-1830, comments on his arrival at Mitchell's Inn in Digby:

The people were not at all uncivil; they allowed me to shake the snow off my clothes in the passage, and proceed unmolested as far as the fire in the till, in answer to my repeated entreaties, ... presently a heavy pile of toast and butter was placed before me, together with tea and beefsteaks. The inn looked like a neat English farm-house. The room was skirted deal [pine] wainscoting, and the furniture was made of the woods of the country. Some articles of birch-wood bore an excellent polish, and those of bird's-eye maple nearly resembled satin-wood; but the sudden and severe changes of climate had warped them all grievously. A few articles of mahogany also had shared a similar fate.

The sides of the room and mantelpiece, were ornamented with trumpery prints of the four quarters of the world in allegory.... Everything looked English... and it was hard to believe that one had travelled upwards of two thousand miles to detect so slight a difference as existed between the people of each side of the Atlantic.²⁰

These accounts suggest comfortable establishments run by independent family innkeepers where strangers were welcome, but not fussed over. In effect these inns cut

across but did not level social distinctions. The presence of the books in Oxner's tavern room is perhaps a symbol of this interaction where literate, semi-literate and illiterate could mingle in a common social setting.

The other equalizer of social distinctions was religion. Commonly held Protestant belief united early settlers, and although it might seem irreverent to find Bibles and other devotional works in the setting of a tavern room, it is exactly this incongruity which marks the character of these inns and sets them apart from the authority of more formalized social settings such as household, church and court.

In addition, it is in keeping with the importance of religious books. Judging by the Wollenhaupt and Oxner libraries, the Bible, as well as other devotional literature including prayer books and hymnals, had unique authority among the Lutherans of Lunenburg County, in part because the desire to learn to read was so tied in with the knowledge of the scriptures. It was therefore not unusual to find several editions of the Bible, prayer books and hymnals in more than one language.

For example, Wollenhaupt has German, English, French and Holland (Dutch ?) copies of the Bible, as well as Greek, English and German testaments, and both a German and French prayer book after the form of the Church of England. Both the French Bible and prayer book would have been used by the

French-speaking Protestants from Montbeliard, who assimilated quickly into the Anglican Church upon their arrival in Nova Scotia, and were delighted to have prayer books in their own language reflecting similar concerns of the German-speaking Lutherans discussed earlier.

On 14 October 1752 Mr. Moreau [who was sent by the Society for the Preservation of the Gospel (S.P.G.) as a missionary to the French Protestants in Nova Scotia] was writing of the arrival of the French-speaking Lutherans from Montbeliard. When he distributed among them some of the French prayer-books the Society had sent, they were so grateful that they kissed his hand.... The spiritual needs of the French-speaking immigrants were thus provided for, and they... had been incorporated into the Anglican Church with little friction.²¹

Oxner, however, had only German and English Bibles, including an English edition in three volumes, as well as various German hymnals and prayer books. The varied collection of scripture and devotional works in both the Oxner and Wollenhaupt libraries in the German language indicates that even as late as 1825 when the Oxner inventory was taken, German was still in active use. Not only an integral part of the Lutheran Church service, German simply survived longer as a working everyday language in isolated pockets of settlement away from the mainstream social, cultural and business influences of centres such as Lunenburg.²²

Although scripture may have had unique authority to the French and German yeoman Protestants, the literacy of the merchant class was not restricted to religious works; their

libraries, reflecting their world view and cosmopolitan outlook, incorporated many other elements. As would be expected of individuals who made their living as merchants, books dealing with accounting and bookkeeping are present in these collections. Both the Lennox and Oxner libraries contained copies of Mairs Bookkeeping, while the Wollenhaupt library included a copy of the two volume Universal Accountant, as well as A Discourse on Revenue, and Bookkeeping Modernized.

Some merchants had a strong interest and involvement in law and politics. Their literacy and education, social standing, material wealth and business interests often dictated that they become involved in local political matters and court proceedings. For example, as readers and writers both Lennox and Wollenhaupt were often called upon to act as court-appointed inventory takers; their experience as merchants in the buying and selling of goods made them likely candidates for such work when it came to placing evaluations on farm and household objects. Both gentlemen owned books on law and politics with Wollenhaupt having the most varied number of works including Burn's Justice, Jacob's Law Dictionary, and Province Law, which is also found in the Lennox library along with a copy of Parliamentary Debates.

But the cosmopolitan outlook of these merchants was not restricted to scripture and law. Indeed, fiction, history,

science and literature are found, as well as some unusual works which reflect merchant interests in international trade. In this regard the copy of Mr. Jay's Treaty in the library of John Lennox is noteworthy. In the autumn of 1794 John Jay was in London trying, on behalf of the United States, to avert war with Britain. To secure these peaceful objectives, Jay had to renounce the freedom of the seas, a maritime right dear to the hearts of the Americans. But under the twelfth article which contained the commercial terms of the treaty "... it was stipulated that American ships were to enjoy, under certain restrictions, the privilege of trading with the West Indies."²³

Although this may only have been a small breach in the vast trading wall surrounding the British empire, it worried the merchants in Halifax,

In 1804 these merchants formed an organization in Halifax... the Committee of Trade, to watch over their interests and to correspond with the imperial government about commercial policy. They were at this time particularly concerned about the practical monopoly of the West Indian market that had been obtained by the American merchants under Jay's Treaty; and they were very anxious to point out that Nova Scotia was a place of importance worthy of the attention of the Mother country.²⁴

As a merchant, John Lennox would have had a keen interest in this treaty, and would have supported the concerns of the Halifax merchants.

Because of their ability to order the goods they wanted, these merchants were able to be aware of, and own, the latest books. John Oxner had a book the inventory

takers noted as History of Nova Scotia. Listed as a single volume, the only book it could be is Thomas Chandler Haliburton's A General Description of Nova Scotia, published anonymously in 1823. Obviously Oxner was able to obtain a copy of this book shortly after its publication by Walter Bromley in Halifax. Although Haliburton never publicly admitted authorship of this publication because it was altered from a wide ranging account of the province to a simple emigrants' guide, one can only imagine how it was received by patrons of Oxner's tavern, many of whom were themselves the sons of emigrants who came to the province attracted by eighteenth century accounts and descriptions of its advantages.²⁵

In terms of sheer size, the Wollenhaupt library is the most impressive, and contains a wide range of fictional works, as well as volumes on history and science. Here was a man who enjoyed both the act of reading, and the physical presence of books. Wollenhaupt had most of the classic works of literature, history, philosophy and science. Homer, Pope, Locke (On Human Understanding), and Berkeley (On Human Knowledge), along with works by Cicero, Horace, and Virgil—all in Latin—are found here. Such titles as Life of Cromwell, History of England and Ireland, Prince Arthur, Vicar of Wakefield, and Milton's Paradise Lost attest to Wollenhaupt's interest in history and literature, while Sir Isaac Newton's Prophesies, and Euclid's Elements, a work

which was in use as a textbook at Harvard University until about 1820,²⁶ point to his inclination toward science and mathematics.

Probably one of the most interesting titles was listed by the inventory takers as Culture of Silk. As a merchant Wollenhaupt was well aware of the social and financial value of silk. The presence of this work in his library suggests he had an interest in the manufacture of silk, and may have examined the possibility of raising silk worms in Nova Scotia. Silk was never produced here, the harsh Nova Scotia climate was not conducive to the cultivation of the silk worm. Regardless, Wollenhaupt was an individual who was not afraid to seek out new information, or explore the possibility of new business ventures. The accumulation of useful books such as those on bookkeeping and accounting simply point to the fact that to be a successful merchant required information- prices, interests rates, and proper accounting principles- which he was able to obtain from these works.

Excepting the religious and devotional material, much of the remainder of Wollenhaupt's library consisted of books which can best be described as serving a single purpose- communication. For those literate men who wanted to remain in touch with the commercial, cultural, spiritual, scientific and intellectual ideas and developments, books, journals, and correspondence were primary avenues of

information. At the time of Wollenhaupt's death his library consisted of 252 volumes valued at 20 pounds, and a quantity of old magazines, sermons, plays and pamphlets valued at 1 pound. In the minds of the inventory takers the library was a single unit listed as one entry, making the total evaluation of 21 pounds the second highest behind the silver furniture for the dining table. This library probably tells us more about the mind of Wollenhaupt and his intellectual pursuits than any other single fact we could learn- these books that were useful to him are the reflections of a singular mind, and of the merchant life of Lunenburg County.

The literate and illiterate worlds of the merchant and yeoman crossed at many points in late eighteenth to early nineteenth century Lunenburg county. Devotional works were the most common form of book found in yeoman households where the German tongue was maintained, and formal education, particularly in English discouraged. Discouraged Yeoman who could not read could hear the scriptures being read aloud by a literate family member or friend, or in church service, and relate the spoken word to the iconography of biblical prints and church leaders found in most bibles.

The oral culture of the illiterate or semi-literate yeoman mixed with the literate world of the merchant on several levels - for example, in the merchant's shop when purchasing foods or settling accounts, or in legal

proceedings or court matters. But the most important focal point was in the tavern. Predominately an oral performance setting, a centre of communication of ideas, politics, gossip and social news, taverns were the confluence where readers and non-readers intermingled, and where books were available as in the Oxner Tavern room.

Literacy, printed matter, libraries separated the merchant from the yeoman and reinforced their respective social standings. Merchants were often painted with the material trappings of their world surrounding them, which included displaying their education and literacy through books, sometimes revealing their occupation. When yeoman had books in their household they were usually devotional in nature, although this changed during the nineteenth century when secular works began appearing, and inventory takers become less specific about the title of the books they were listing.

Some merchants, such as Casper Wollenhaupt, would amass huge personal libraries, others, like the innkeeper and merchant John Oxner, would purchase books and put them in a public setting in his tavern room. In either case, the reading interests of the merchants were varied and reflected the inquiring mind of educated men. The literate world of the merchant was vast, ranging from history and literature to science, law and politics, while that of the yeoman was narrow, confined to religious belief and personal devotion.

But the yeoman made up for his illiteracy through a well organized system of oral culture which tied most of the community together, and did not hamper a yeoman's ability to conduct business, or live his life.

Reading was a specialized knowledge, and the man or woman with such ability increased their chance of social and economic success, particularly in a world where illiteracy was the norm. The merchant had the best of both worlds. He could read and write, and was a member of the oral society of the yeoman if not through his business then in the church and tavern. Merchants were proud of this fact. They displayed their ability to the community in individual and family portraits, and used this knowledge to insure their continued success as businessmen, passing their wealth on to their sons.

Literacy, like material possessions, helped to solidify an individual's social position in a community. Lack of domestic goods and space hampered one's ability to control their environment, leading to social disenfranchisement-illiteracy reinforced this. The yeoman who had few possessions and was not able to read was even more socially separated from the elite world of the merchant. Oral culture may have allowed him to work and survive comfortably in the community, but it did not give him entry into the merchant's class, who also shared in this oral society. Literacy, possessions, the ability to organize and design

domestic space, and the display of this material wealth in the household and in paintings, combined to keep the merchant and yeoman separate. The ability to read and write simply made this separation more complete. It was perhaps the most important element in the merchant's world allowing him to maintain his social standing, and consciously extend the social control and power material possessions gave him in his domestic setting to the community at large.

Endnotes:

1. Bell, Foreign Protestants, p. 285.
2. Ibid., p. 614.
3. Ibid.
4. John R. Barden, "Reflections of a Singular Mind: The Library of Robert Carter of Nomony Hall", Virginia Magazine of History and Biography (January 1988), pp. 83-94.
5. David D. Hall, "The World of Print and Collective Mentality in Seventeenth-Century New England" in Colonial America: Essays in Politics and Social Development, eds. Stanley Katz and John Murrin (New York 1983), p. 163.
6. Discussions with Professor Gwen Davies, April 1986, helped me better to understand and define these relationships.
7. Hall, Print, pp. 166-7.
8. I have seen dozen of examples of large and small folio Bibles, as well as prayer books and hymnals both in German and English, mostly dating from the last quarter of the eighteenth century to the first quarter of the nineteenth century, with prints of scenes depicting biblical events or church leaders. This is particularly true of the Knaut family bible in the Langille collection which has images of all the important leaders of the Lutheran faith up to Martin Luther himself, and which dates before 1759.
9. Charles E. Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada, (Toronto 1957), p. 23.
 William Gilmore, Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life: Material and Cultural Life in Rural New England, 1780-1835, (Knoxville, 1989), p. 116. Gilmore defines elementary literacy as primarily the ability to read and calculate, and to a lesser extent the ability to write.
10. Ibid., p. 507. These figures on yeoman literacy (41%) and devotional literature (73%) between the years 1783 and 1845 make interesting comparison with with findings of William Gilmore. Gilmore's research on print culture in the Upper Connecticut River Valley of Vermont and New Hampshire between 1780 and 1835, and specifically his analysis of the Windsor district of Vermont reveals exceptionally high

numbers in elementary literacy. His findings show that the male literacy rate for the Windsor District between 1760-1830 ranges between 85-89% (Gilmore, Reading, pp. 119-120). Devotional works were more prevalent in Windsor District libraries before 1805, with family reading dominated by secular thought after this date. Prior to this 89.2% of family libraries contained at least a Bible and/or other sacred or devotional volumes (Ibid., pp. 277-282).

11. Ibid., p. 63.
 12. Ibid., pp. 63-64.
 13. Field, Spirit, p. 105.
 14. Nina Fletcher Little, Paintings by New England Provincial Artists, 1755-1800 (Boston, 1976), p. 20.
 15. Ibid., p. 42.
 16. Isaac, Virginia, pp. 121-2.
 17. Joseph Howe, Western and Eastern Rambles: Travel Sketches of Nova Scotia, ed. M.G. Parks, (Toronto, 1973), pp. 27-8.
 18. William Scarth Moorsom, Letters from Nova Scotia, ed. Marjory Whitelaw, (Toronto, 1986), pp. 69-70.
 19. Ibid., p. 72.
 20. Ibid., pp. 90-1.
 21. Bell, Foreign Protestants, p. 390.
 22. Ibid., p. 614 (note). As previously quoted in text Bell cites the commissioners for Lunenburg County reporting on 7 January 1832 stating that the children of the country were unable to read English or German "... the tongue then most generally used."
- I have had discussions with the members of the South Shore German Society who remember as children German being spoken in their households between their parents and grandparents in the 1930's. The real death blow to the use of German was the Second World War.
23. John C. Miller, The Federalist Era (New York, 1960), p. 166.
 24. D.C. Harvey, "The Intellectual Awakening of Nova Scotia," in Historical Essays on the Atlantic Provinces, ed.

G.A. Rawlyk (Toronto, 1967), p. 115.

25. M. Brook Taylor, "Haliburton as Historian", in The Thomas Chandler Haliburton Symposium, ed. Frank M. Tierney (Ottawa, 1985), p. 106.

26. John C. Greene, American Science in the Age of Jefferson (Ames, 1984), p. 130.

CHAPTER SEVEN

One of the most important methods to understand the domestic patterns of the Lunenburg Germans - whether merchant, yeoman or artisan - is to interpret a specific room by room inventory. This chapter will concentrate on the inventory of a town blacksmith which encompasses many of the domestic patterns found in yeoman, yeoman-craftsman and artisan inventories, as well as the prevailing Germanic and eighteenth century living patterns also encountered.

Blacksmiths were critical to the establishment of agricultural communities. Cornwallis sailed with three in 1749,¹ and there were 19 individuals with 72 family members listing their occupation as "smith" in Dick's passenger list of 1751-1752.² The blacksmith had a prominent place in an agricultural town providing basic tools, repairing and maintaining worn out vehicles and farming implements, forging iron for plows, axes, and yokes, making door latches, hinges, bolts, hooks and nails, and supplying hearth and fireplace equipment such as andirons, cranes, trammels, and cooking utensils. Essential to agricultural productivity and domestic activity, these objects required constant repair, maintenance and replacement, and could not be maintained unless skilled labour was available locally.

This chapter will focus on the room by room inventory of Johann Wendle Wurst, a blacksmith in the town of Lunenburg, whose inventory was taken on November 15, 1811.³ This document is accompanied with the record of the auction of Wurst's estate, conducted a month later on December 16, 1811.⁴ Wurst, as a craftsman, depended on the direct interaction between client and artisan, and earned his living solely as a skilled blacksmith, a trade which he would have learned as an apprentice.

At the time of his death Wurst was not a poor man. His household furnishings and shop inventory including tools, stored goods, and notes of hand amounted to L192.15.3. However, the auction of these same goods, along with book debts and real estate which included eight town lots, brought the total value of the estate to L1111.16.0. Wurst was not as wealthy as Casper Wollenhaupt, who was his contemporary, but lived a comfortable life surrounded by several fine domestic furnishings. The auction record is a fascinating document as it allows comparison of the values placed on objects by the inventory takers, and the value of these same items to members of the community.

In his will Wurst calls himself "settler", a reminder that he was one of the original foreign Protestants. At age 27 he had left his home in Hesse-Darmstadt in Southwestern Germany with his wife and family, and sailed

on the Murdoch to settle in Nova Scotia.⁵ He is one of those who listed their occupation as "smith" on Dick's list of 1751. His surname is variously spelled "Wust", "Wurst", "Weist", "Wiest", and "West", although in the inventory of both the estate and auction sale his name is spelled both "Wiest" and "Wurst" with "Wurst", seemingly the most common spelling.

When Johann Wendel Wurst was buried on November 12, 1811 at the age of 87, he had outlived his first wife Apollonia who died in 1759, and his second wife Marie Elizabeth Wittesham, widow of Johann Adam Pieler, whom Wurst married shortly after his first wife's death on June 10, 1769, and who was buried on September 3, 1807 at the age of 79. He had seven children from his first wife: Anna Catharina, Sophia, John Valentine, George, Johann Jacob, Martin, and Anna Catharina Elizabeth; and five children from his second wife: Johann Wendle, John William, Maria Eva, Leonard, and Maria Elizabeth.⁶ It was probably because of the number of children involved from two marriages that the estate was settled by auction as the most equitable means to divide the inheritance. That is except for Wurst's own bed, bed sheets and bedstead which were left to his daughter Maria Eva and from her to her granddaughter Elizabeth. Obviously this daughter from his second marriage was a favourite as all other items were sold at public auction.

Although the exact location of the Wurst house and blacksmith shop is not known, it is possible that it was located in or near the town lots sold at auction in the Moreau Division which runs from the waterfront between Duke and King Streets. Unfortunately the block letter is not given in the auction record allowing us to pinpoint exactly the location of these lots. But based on the surnames of the purchasers it is possible to suggest their location when compared to the owners of town lots in the Moreau Division listed on the circa 1864 Church Map.⁷

At the auction, lots 3,4 and 5 were sold to Jacob Moser for L396.0.0, and lots 11 and 12, and 2, 13 and 14 were sold to John Hunt, the first two for L149.0.0 and the last three for L406.0.0. The prices paid for the Moser lots and lots 2, 13 and 14 by Hunt, suggest that there was some type of structure or house on some or all of these properties. An examination of the Church Map still lists a Captain Hunt as the owner of a property near the corner of Duke and Cumberland Streets in the Moreau Division, and a J. Hunt is listed in the Subscriber's Business Directory associated with the map as "Boss of Wharf".

Obviously Wurst generated the financial means from the time of his arrival as a settler until his death to accumulate additional town property other than the one lot that he drew for in Halifax before being transported to Lunenburg.⁸ It seems logical that he would try to acquire

additional lots next to his own, either for expansion of his business or as property for his various children to build on. Whatever the case, Wurst lived in a modest house, and based on the format of the inventory which does not list his business as being located elsewhere, his blacksmith shop was either attached to his house or situated on an adjacent lot. It was probably located near or on one of the lots bought by Moser or Hunt, placing it near Duke and Cumberland streets in block "C" of the Moreau Division.

Based on the room by room inventory taken by three inventory takers, Adolph Newman, John Hall and Christian Born (Bonn ?), the house plan was simple with an entry, kitchen, lower room, room above stairs and cellar, describing what was probably a dwelling with centre chimney. It may also have been similar in plan to the house previously discussed at 57 York Street, and is best understood as a cross between this early style framed house and a simple Cape. It probably had only two rooms on the first floor, one room on the second floor, a deep cellar for storage, and entry, which may have been the small "hall" space created between the front door and the centre chimney block with stairs winding to the second floor.

Obviously the inventory takers decided, upon entering the house, to list the furnishings in the "lower room"

first, then proceed to the "room above stair", before listing the items in the entry and kitchen which are joined under one heading. The items in the entry pertain to the function of the kitchen and only include "1/2 Bbl super fine flour", and "2/3 Bbl of rye flour". Figure 12 is the basic floor plan of the first floor of the Wurst house showing the furnishings that are listed in the respective rooms. As room dimensions and window locations are not known, they have not been drawn as part of this diagram.

The contents of the blacksmith shop and barn are listed below, followed by a selected inventory listing with evaluations of each household object as noted by the inventory takers, cross referenced with the auction price of each item and name of purchaser.

The inventory takers obviously had difficulty in assigning a clear sense of social/functional identity to several of the Wurst rooms including the "lower room," and "room above stairs". This is somewhat surprising, but perhaps as it was the multi-functional character of these rooms, particularly the "lower room", which forced the inventory takers to use a more general reference as the customary terminology failed in defining the social meaning of this space. That this room was used intensely is indicated by the amount and type of objects the Wursts' placed in this space and by the simple fact that the Wurst

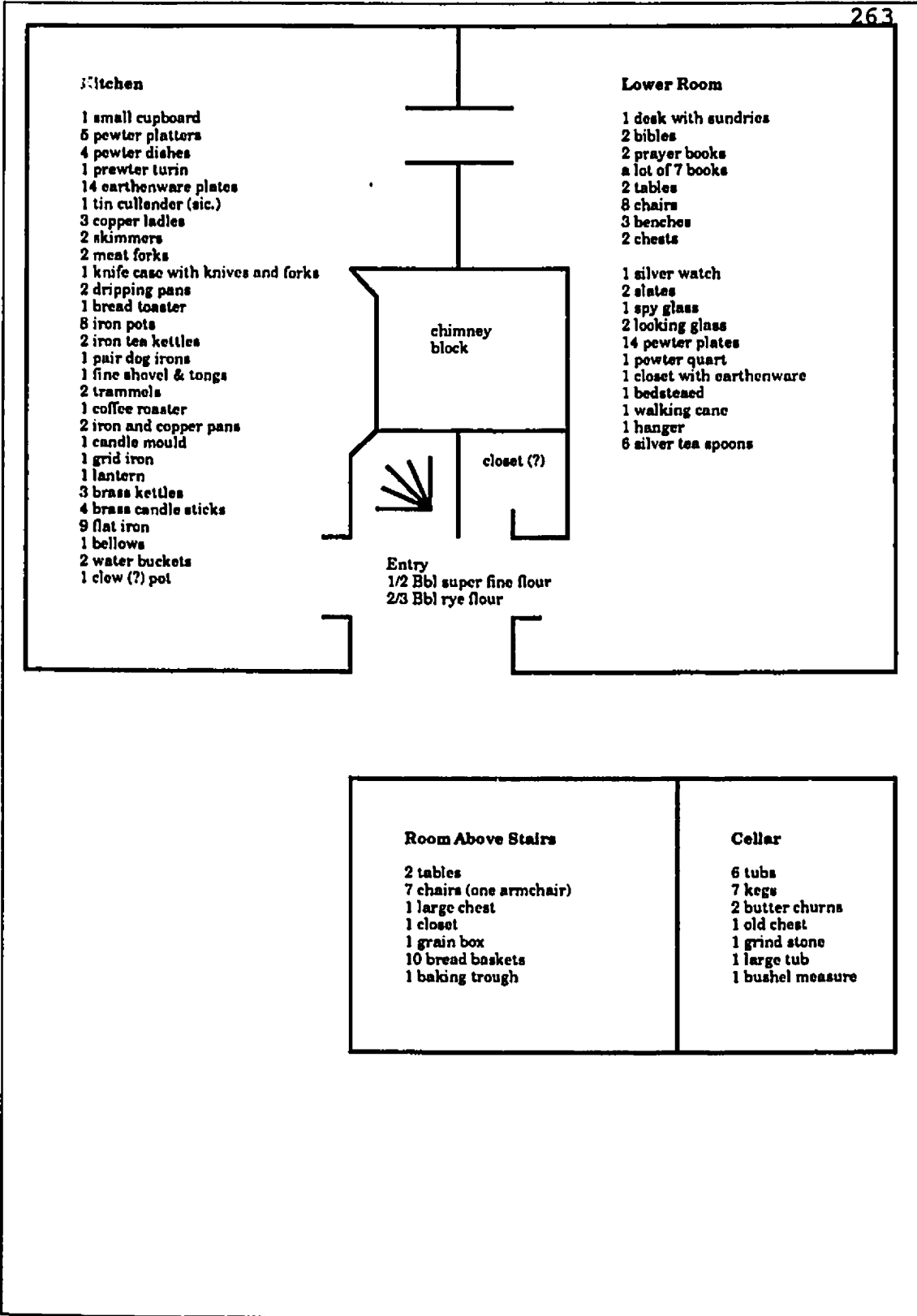


Figure XII
Furnishings of the Johann Wendle Wurst house November 15, 1811, as listed in the estate inventory.

Blacksmith Shop

2 anvils
3 vises
1 small box with chisels
16 nail moulds
9 punches (different sizes)
12 tongs (different sizes)
2 large wheel nail moulds
6 binding hooks
33 rods of iron
2 bars of iron and 4 half bars
1 crow bar
2 spades
2 hoes
1 pick axe
1 hauling chain
1 large iron nail kniper (?)
3 pair steelyards
1 lot old iron
1 pair bellows
2 pair large shears
1 iron trap
2 coffee mills

Barn

1 old riding sleigh
8 bushels charcoal
15 bushels sea coal
2 cabbage planes
1 crosscut saw
1 hand saw

Johann Wendel Wurst Inventory/Auction Record

OBJECT	INVENTORY VALUE	AUCTION VALUE	PURCHASER
(LOWER ROOM)			
Desk with sundries	3. 0. 0	3. 5. 0	Christian Hirtle
2 Bibles	2.10. 0	6.12.12	G. Conrad/Bryzileus
2 Prayer books	0.10. 0	1. 5. 0	J. Conrad/M. Morash
1 lot of books	0.15. 0	0.17. 0	George Conrad
2 tables	1.10. 0	1. 9.17	4 buyers
8 chairs	2. 0. 0		
3 benches	0. 5. 0	0. 5. 0	Chris. Rhuland
2 chests	1.10. 0	1.14. 1	Peter Mason
1 silver watch	2. 0. 0	1.16. 6	Leonard West
2 slates	0. 2. 0	0. 3. 7	G. Boehmer/I. Gray
1 spy glass	1. 0. 0	0. 8. 0	George Selig
1 looking glass	0. 7. 6	0. 7. 6	Philip Boehman
14 pewter plates	0.15. 0	0.15.12	Ramgo/Slayenwhite
1 pewter quart	0. 5. 0	0. 5. 6	George Eisenhauer
1 closet (earthenware)	3. 0. 0	2.18. 0	Cupboard only
1 bedstead	0.10. 0	0. 7. 1	Casper West
1 walking cane	0.15. 0	0. 7. 6	Leonard West
1 hanger	1. 0. 0	(not listed)	
6 silver tea spoons	1. 5. 0	1. 5. 0	John Harley
(ROOM ABOVE STAIRS)			
2 tables	3. 0. 0	2.17. 6	J. Reisor/G. Boehmer
7 chairs (1 arms chair)	3.10. 0	3. 0. 8	Francis Glawson
1 large chest	1. 0. 0	1. 5. 0	George Boehmer
1 closet	0.10. 0	0.13. 6	Jacob Moser
1 grain box	0.10. 0	0.16. 0	George Conrad
1 baking trough	0. 5. 0	(not listed)	

OBJECT	INVENTORY VALUE	AUCTION VALUE	PURCHASER
(IN THE ENTRY & KITCHEN)			
1/2 bbl flour	1.10. 0	1. 5. 0	Frederick Rhuland
2/3 rye flour	1. 3. 0	0.12. 6	ditto
1 small cupboard	0. 5. 0	0. 3.10	John Conrad
5 pewter platters	1. 5. 0	0.17. 6	J. West/J. Gray
4 pewter dishes	1. 5. 0	0.19. 2	West/Schuffelberger
1 pewter turin	0. 5. 0	0. 5. 6	John Seaburger
14 earthen plates	0. 2. 6	0. 5. 7	John Jung
1 tin cullender	0. 2. 0	0. 3. 6	"Widow" Rhuland
3 copper ladles	0. 3. 0	0. 5. 7	John Seaburger
2 skimmers	0. 2. 0	0. 8. 0	Frederick Rhuland
2 meat forks	0. 1. 0		
1 knife case & forks	0. 5. 0	0. 4. 7	Paulus Brizilius
8 iron pots	2. 0. 0	1.14. 1	8 buyers
2 iron tea kettles	0.17. 6	1.10.10	3 buyers
1 pair dog irons			
1 fine shovel & tongs	0.17. 6	0.11. 1	George Conrad
2 tramels			
1 coffee roaster	0. 3. 0	0. 8.10	Frederick Rhuland
1 candle mould	0. 2. 6	0. 2. 6	J. Connels
3 brass kettles	0.15. 0	0.10.18	3 buyers
4 brass candlesticks	0.10. 0	0.14.12	J Conrad/ J. Boehmer
(CELLAR)			
1 old chest	0. 5. 0	0. 1. 0	Jacob West

house was not large, forcing the area available to be utilized for more than one purpose.

It is easy to understand how the Wurst family would have used this space in the span of a given day or even week. The gender of this room would be both male and female, and it was obviously used for individual as well as family activities. The desk with sundries, probably meaning pens, ink wells and the like, as well as the books, silver watch, spy glass, and walking cane would certainly fall under the jurisdiction of Wendle Wurst. These objects not only portray masculine character, but in cases such as the watch and cane, were items of personal adornment which reflected his attempt to project an improving social status. Although both items were valued higher by the inventory takers than the amount paid at auction, one individual bought both. Leonard West paid 1.16.6 pound for the watch, a considerable sum suggesting the social as well as the economic value of such an object, and 0.7.6 pound for the cane.

The desk brought more at auction than the estate evaluation, selling to Christian Hirtle for L3.5.0. Desks were highly prized cultural objects of males, and important in establishing the social "fit" and social importance of individual to community, and along with clocks, beds and cupboards were one of the premier

furniture forms among late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Lunenburg Germans based on the high evaluations in those inventories which contained one. For example, the desk in the Wollenhaupt inventory, located in the upstairs hall, was valued at L2.10.0, and the "pine desk and drawers" listed in the Lennox inventory in a small bedroom, which might have been a secretary style desk and bookcase, was valued at L3.0.0.

But the real surprise is the evaluation placed on the two Bibles by the inventory takers and the money paid at auction for these items. The two Bibles were valued together as part of the estate at L2.10.0, but brought a combined total of L6.12.12 at auction with one selling to George Conrad for L5.0.6, which may have been a large folio Bible, and the other selling to Paulus Bryzelius for L.1.12.6. There is little doubt about the social importance placed on these items. Bibles were valuable and the amounts paid for these two at auction reflect this attitude. But one must also keep in mind that auctions are very competitive, and it only takes two people bidding against each other, both with the same resolve to own the same item, to drive the price higher. Perhaps this human emotion was in play on that December day in 1811 when the Wurst estate was auctioned.

With the bedstead, looking glass and two chests, it is obvious that this room was used as a bedroom, with the

desk for the husband and a chest usually for the wife, although the presence of two chests suggests that both husband and wife may have had one for clothes storage. According to Swank in his discussion of the Pennsylvania German bedroom, "The German clothespress [or wardrobe, not found in Lunenburg German inventories], often used by husband and wife, was eventually replaced by two pieces of furniture, either separate chests of drawers or one for the wife and a desk for the husband."⁹

The desk, bible and books also point to the use of this room as an office/library, but one of its important functions was as a dining room judging by the two tables, 8 chairs, 3 benches, pewter, silver tea spoons and earthenware stored in what was probably a free-standing closet or cupboard, rather than a built-in one, since it was sold at auction. What helps to explain the multi-function of this "lower room" is an examination of the types of objects found in the kitchen which reveals that no tables or chairs are located there. Both the kitchen and "lower room", although separated by the entry, actually served as a single social unit serving various interrelated domestic functions for individual and family activity.

The Wurst household must have been an active place, and judging by the number of children a very crowded one. But there is one problem and that is where did everyone

sleep? No other beds are listed in the inventory other than the one in the "lower room" and no bed coverings at all, suggesting that some of the children may have claimed these items for themselves regardless of the conditions of their father's will, and before the inventory was taken. Certainly the "room above stairs" has the possibility of a sleeping loft with its list of chairs, tables and one large chest, although it was obviously used for storage as well.

If we combine the social and functional aspects of both the "entry and kitchen" and "lower room" based on the objects listed in those rooms by the inventory takers, we create what is best described in seventeenth century New England terms as a hall/parlour, the difference being that the seventeenth century hall which was used for food preparation and consumption, as well as an all-purpose living area, often contained tables and chairs. As there are none listed in the Wurst inventory for the "entry and kitchen" and there are for the "lower room", it is logical to assume both of these rooms served as social and functional extensions of each other creating a multi-purpose living space. Although one cannot draw direct and conclusive parallels between the way the Wurst family used these rooms and seventeenth century domestic living patterns, comparisons do leave us with a stronger understanding of how the Wurst family lived on a daily

basis, and how these rooms and their household functioned in late eighteenth century Lunenburg.¹⁰

An understanding of the seventeenth century New England parlour and hall aids in the comparison between the function of these spaces and how the Wursts' utilized the first floor space in their household. According to Abbott Lowell Cummings in his article "Inside The Massachusetts House,"

The seventeenth-century parlour... had multiple uses, all related to its character as the best room. Here was the best furniture; here important company was entertained and dined; and at the same time wills and inventories show that it was the room in which parents slept.

For the furnishings... there were the parents' best bed, often with curtains and valances, a trundle bed, and fine cupboard, probably the court cupboard as we call it...

Invariably there was a table in the parlour... In nearly every room one would have found chests and boxes...

The hall is the easiest seventeenth-century room to reconstruct in terms of furnishings, especially today when we are returning in some of our homes to the concept of an all-purpose living area. There were many and varied utensils used in the preparation and consumption of food. In addition to chairs, tables, and cupboards there was apt to be a bed in the hall....¹¹

It is reasonable to speculate that the seventeenth century hall and parlour served the same function and contained the same types of furnishings as those found in the Wurst "entry and kitchen" and "lower room". The only significant difference is the presence of tables and chairs

in the hall but not the Wurst kitchen. The cupboards are there in both the "lower room" and kitchen, along with the necessary kitchen (hall) utensils for food preparation, and food consumption objects in their "lower room" (parlour), along with the tables and chairs for eating. The chests are also in this room as well as the parents' bedstead. The similarity between the seventeenth century hall/parlour and the Wurst household is even carried to the location of the candlesticks. As Cummings explains. "On the other hand, candlesticks are seldom mentioned in any room but the hall or kitchen where they are kept, and from which they were carried into other rooms as needed."¹²

Unfortunately, we know very little about the exact arrangement of the furnishings in the Wurst household. It is impossible, however, to think of all of the objects listed in these rooms in the inventory, serving the needs of a large family, arranged neatly and as organized as often seen in the various period rooms and house museums throughout the country. The kitchen and parlour in the Wurst house must have presented an undisciplined and disorganized appearance, but both Wendle Wurst and his second wife Marie Elizabeth would have understood clearly their domestic roles and would have approached their tasks with convictions and goals, whatever the circumstances.

If we extend our comparison of the Wurst household and its "entry and kitchen" and "lower room" into the early

eighteenth century, the evidence suggests that the Wurst domestic setting looked decidedly backward and not forward into the nineteenth century in terms of its social function and proxemic patterns. This eighteenth century "mentality" survived into the first quarter of the nineteenth century and is found in a majority of yeoman, yeoman-craftsman and artisan inventories. Only the merchants seem to look to the future and changing fashion. After 1830 there is a sharp decline in inventories which embody eighteenth century living patterns. Perhaps this is a reflection of the fact that Wurst was one of the original foreign Protestants, and certainly related better to eighteenth century tradition. For example, the parlour continued to contain a bedstead, as well as chests, often a looking glass, various tables and chairs, and was used for sleeping, dining and entertaining. The kitchen continued to be used for both food preparation and consumption, and both rooms contained the various utensils for these activities.

The Wursts lived in an eighteenth century domestic environment, rooted in the somewhat comfortable conditions of a craftsman's life, where family activities took place in a very communal household atmosphere surrounded with objects such as the looking glass, silver teaspoons, and desk which suggest improving economic status. They owned a coffee roaster, an indication they were able to enjoy certain elegant benefits of their hard work. While Marie Elizabeth

was overseer of the household, Wurst was master in his blacksmith shop, and the inventory of this shop tells us exactly what kind of objects he was making and repairing for his neighbors.

The sixteen nail moulds indicate that Wurst was making nails for use by housewrights, carpenters, and cabinetmakers, while the two large wheel nail moulds mean that he was making nails for wheelrights as well. The two spades and two hoes suggest that he was manufacturing farming and garden tools, while the iron trap shows that Wurst was forging and repairing equipment for use by trappers and furriers. The size of his shop is suggested by the two anvils and two vises, the good selection of punches and tongs and the rather large quantity of raw iron rods and iron bars from which Wurst could manufacture various objects. The fact that Wurst was a successful blacksmith is indicated by the types of household objects he was able to accumulate, but also by the number of additional town lots he was able to purchase throughout his life.

But once having grasped the workings of the Wurst family, how do we identify those objects or domestic patterns which are traditionally German from more Anglicized influences, particularly in light of the seventeenth/early eighteenth century atmosphere of the Wurst household?

Swank identifies such Germanic items in the late eighteenth century, using the furnishings from a 1766

inventory. He lists those which fall into the Pennsylvania German context and would be considered traditional German, those furnishings which are English, and items that cannot be assigned to either culture and are without ethnic identity.

The German items were a clock and case, a kitchen cupboard, a clothespress, "Dutch" books, and a six plate stove. The English items were a tea table, a chafing dish, candlesticks, and three snuffers. The items that cannot be assigned to either culture are 5 tables, 15 chairs, 3 beds and bedsteads (one with curtains), a bellows, pewter ware, a watch, 4 lamps, an old lantern, a pewter teapot, 2 glass saltcellars, a glass and pewter milkpot, 21 glasses and tumblers, a delft teapot, and three delft plates.¹³

Using the Wurst inventory, and this general list as a guideline, we can begin to establish an understanding of the Lunenburg German material culture dialect as it changed and co-existed with the persuasive English culture in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Lunenburg County.

In the "lower room" the three benches, closet with earthenware, and desk are furnishings that embody traditional German values. The "hanger", or hanging cupboard which was attached by nails or screws to the wall, is an item which was generally found in the kitchen, but was in use elsewhere, and a cupboard form common in the Pennsylvania German tradition. Within the Lunenburg Country context it can be assigned a Germanic identity. The three benches, and closet type cupboard are the most German forms of furniture in the Wurst inventory.

The use of the bench in the Pennsylvania German tradition closely parallels its use in the Lunenburg German setting. According to the late Benno Forman, discussing the bench in Pennsylvania,

The bench, in German called a Banck, is closely related to the board chair. Benches, built into the wall and thus forming part of the woodwork in a home rather than being a piece of movable furniture, were probably the most common form of seating furniture in the areas of Germany from which the majority of immigrants to Pennsylvania came. Benches were likely quite common here, too, although the fact that they were built into the wall means that they formed part of the house and, therefore, under English law, were not mentioned in the inventories of household property.

A bench listed in a household inventory is more likely a free-standing example...¹⁴

Inventory takers in Lunenburg County did not list built-in furniture forms either. Therefore built-in parlour cupboards and hearth room cupboards are not included, only their contents are listed. Built-in benches are rare in Lunenburg County, but this author has seen several examples in late eighteenth/early nineteenth century houses, most notably the Ernst house in Blockhouse dating from circa 1805.

The "closet" was probably a free-standing flat-to-the-wall cupboard with solid "blind" (wooden) doors, although it could have also had a glazed upper section and solid door base. The function of this cupboard was for the storage of the "earthenware" listed as its contents in the inventory. In the auction this grouping was sold in separate lots

including bowls and saucers. Obviously this was the everyday tableware used by the Wursts for dining which, when not in use, was either stored or displayed in the cupboard. Because the "closet" was sold at auction it could not have been the built-in form. The Wurst household actually contained three cupboards, the third example listed in the kitchen as "1 small cupboard". Cupboard forms are typical of Lunenburg German households whether of the built-in variety or freestanding, and form an important component of the Lunenburg German material culture dialect.

Although the desk has already been discussed in terms of its social importance, it should be noted that desks (along with clocks, cupboards, and beds), other than being one of the most significant furniture forms in the Lunenburg German tradition, were also the most important single items forming part of what Swank calls the "male recipe", in the same fashion that chests, beds and textiles were standard components of the "female recipe".

Of all the items mentioned in the male recipe, the desk became the most important single item in the nineteenth century, and it is still considered the most personal gift to the Amish male. The writing compartment of the desk contains all of the most confidential papers of the man of the house, including his will (and no member of the family would consider breaking the confidentiality of that desk), while the lower part of the desk has drawers that hold his best clothing.¹⁵

Adopting this concept of the male and female recipe to the Wurst family provides an additional dimension to our understanding of how the domestic space was used and

organized, and certain objects fell within the husband's or wife's domain. This concept helps extend our understanding of the gender of domestic space to include the furnishings, particularly in a multi-functional environment such as the "lower room" of the Wurst household. Extending this even further by applying the concept to defining the German furniture forms and proxemic patterns the English (or non-ethnic) ones does provide a basic German recipe for domestic interiors which helps us to understand their interrelationships with English tradition.

The Wurst household is a perfect example of this ethnic mix, and included not only the German furniture forms already discussed but the English ones as well noted by Swank. These English objects include the candlesticks, and could be extended to include the looking glass, and silver teaspoons. Items which are non-ethnic in identity include the pewter, silver watch, and bellows. The Wurst family lived in a manner which was more eighteenth century than nineteenth century in character, while being able to maintain the German character of their household and successfully mixed their ethnic identity with prevailing English tradition.

Endnotes:

1. Bell, Foreign Protestants, p. 30.
2. Ibid.
3. PANS. RG 48, Reel 842, 1808-1822.
4. Ibid.
5. Esther Clark Wright, Planters and Pioneers (Hantsport, 1982), pp. 330-1.
6. Ibid.
7. Plaskett, Lunenburg, p. vii.
8. See Chapter Three, Note 12.
9. Swank, Arts, p. 51.
10. Because of the age of Wurst when he died, and the slow-changing nature of the domestic interior, it seems logical to suggest that the living patterns reflected in the Wurst household through the inventory embody the lifestyle and domestic social function (proxemic patterns) of at least the last part of the eighteenth century.
11. Cummings, "Inside", pp. 222-3.
12. Ibid., pp. 222.
13. Swank, Arts, pp. 48-9.
14. Ibid., p. 112.
15. Ibid., p. 40.

CONCLUSION

The study of Canadian material life defined generally "... as the interwoven concrete reality of men's and women's environmental, economic, and cultural circumstances"¹ is still in its formative period.

This dissertation has been an attempt to apply a material life methodology to the study of a single ethnic group within a specific regional context through the use of objects as primary historical sources and probate inventories. This study of the material life of the foreign Protestants of Lunenburg County has concentrated on both the merchants and yeomen, and has identified a third group - the yeomen-craftsmen. Defined by the presence of an above-average number of inventoried income-augmenting objects such as looms, blacksmith equipment and carpenter's tools, yeomen-craftsmen were able to improve their social position through skills other than farming, allowing them to purchase status-enhancing items such as looking glasses and clocks with which to embellish their domestic setting.

The relationship between the merchants, yeomen-craftsmen, and yeoman of Lunenburg county is best understood by considering their domestic furnishings and residences. For example, merchant houses were often built in the Georgian style, while yeomen and yeomen-craftsmen

dwellings were less spacious and elegantly furnished. Three periods of Lunenburg architecture are described within the time frame under consideration (1760-1830): the first period from 1753 to 1775, the second period from 1775 to 1810, and the third period from 1810 to 1830.

Based on diary references and Lawrence's Journal, three types of dwelling structures were identified for the First Period: huts built of Poles and Boards which the settlers could have fashioned from the building materials supplied to them by the British, log structures of which no example has survived, and "good Framed Houses" which were the most substantial dwellings erected during this period. By 1775 very impressive two-story five bay central hall Georgian style houses, and similar central chimney houses, and one and one-half story Cape Cod structures dominated the townscape. Beginning around 1810 a transition from these eighteenth century house forms began to appear which by 1830 saw the emergence of a maritime vernacular architecture based on the "temple" house and variations on the end gable entry house with dormers. This transition period also reflected changes in domestic living space, privatization, and new attitudes about the individual's relationship to family and community.

A true understanding of the differences between merchants and the yeomen classes, however, is made clearer

when domestic furnishings, room function and proxemic patterns are examined within the context of the individual residence and overall architectural landscape.

Merchants were the harbingers of change, helping to define fashion through the objects they offered for sale in their shops and lived with in their homes. Examples of merchant influence and this process of changing taste are evident in the shop inventories where vast arrays of the latest cotton and silk textiles were available, along with other sundry items such as books, food and spirits, and furnishings and accessories.

Merchants were the purveyors of literacy, culture and education, and helped to set the social standards of the community. Successful merchants and yeomen were self-made, they acquired property and power through purchase and political/social avenues, not through inheritance. They were not noble or titled individuals, but were successful through their own wits and instincts. Yeomen-craftsmen typify this attitude. Individual farmers acquired additional skills through which they and their families augmented their yearly income giving them additional purchase power for real estate and objects to embellish their home and reflect their increased financial success. These items were often purchased from the very merchants who were helping to define social status.

Literacy was another key to merchant influences. For

example, the ability to read and write affected every illiterate person when it came time to settle accounts, or carry out other business transactions. Literacy was power allowing the merchant to serve in legal and political capacities, and partake of an even larger world of educated men beyond the boundaries of the community. The merchant was a man of the world who could comprehend the latest developments in science and economics, or enjoy the most recent popular novel.

But if the literacy and education of the merchant helped to underline their social differences with the yeomen classes, so did their material lives. Lack of even the most basic objects of domestic enhancement eventually led to social disenfranchisement. As I have tried to show through an analysis of estate inventories, status was overtly defined by material possessions which embodied the social and cultural attitudes, ideas and assumptions of both the maker and owner and the community in which they lived. Objects are the basis of material culture studies, and attitudes about objects are embodied in inventories by the values assigned them by the inventory takers, the amount bid at auction, or the simple absence or presence of certain types of objects (clocks, desks) in domestic settings. The inability to afford and own status enhancing objects meant social poverty, material wealth led to social acceptance. I have, unfortunately, not been

able to find any direct primary evidence such as diaries and letters to support my conclusions about status. However, this does not negate my findings concerning material possessions and status. In fact I feel the inventory evidence makes a strong case to support this notion which reflects peoples' perceptions about social status and class.

The same can be said for domestic space. Material wealth required more space for display and the more space-organizing objects an individual or family acquired, the more the function and structure of the space was defined. Domestic display of material possessions is essential to social position, an attitude which is carried to the outward expression of social wealth manifested by architectural style. Architecture is an extension of conspicuous social display, the style, size and location of the residence are important factors in projecting this attitude to the community.

The foreign Protestants who settled Lunenburg were not hampered by an aging population who needed care and were non-productive. Their numbers did not include any nobility wanting to maintain and perpetuate traditional class distinctions. These European immigrants quickly made the most of their new home, and even before the end of the first generation developed a prosperous town.

The study of the material lives of the Lunenburg-

German merchants and yeomen classes is one of relative complexity, and will require many years of further research to fully comprehend. This dissertation is an attempt to survey the boundaries of this story and hopefully offer some avenues for others to follow.

To study material life, literacy and social class within the confines of a recognizable ethnic group and geographic region is in itself a large undertaking. To do this within the confines of a methodology which uses objects to study history, and probate inventories is to expand the historical perspective to include environmental, economic, cultural, social and material circumstances. Not everyone will be comfortable with these ideas, but this is the history of the future. Interdisciplinary study will be the only method by which we will be able to comprehend the past and interpret the future.

The underpinnings of this "new history," utilizing the study of objects as primary historical sources along with traditional historical method, are already redefining our view of history, and by extension our own self-perspective.

We can no longer segregate the study of history into mail-slot categories, but must set it free like Proust in Remembrance of Things Past.

What intellect restores to us under the name of the past is not the past. In reality as soon as

each hour of one's life has died, it embodies itself in some material object, as do the souls of the dead in certain folk studies, and hides there. There it remains captive, captive forever, unless we should happen upon the object, recognize what lies within, call it by its name and so set it free.

Endnotes:

1. St. George, Life, p. 3.

APPENDIX

An inventory and appraisement of the personal estate, of the late Casper Wollenhaupt Esq. deceased; taken upon oath, by Frank Rudolf, Esq.; John Bolman Esq.; and John Rudolf Esq.; 18th, 19th & 20th of July 1809 & 5th Jan. 1810

No.	In the Shop		L	S	P
1	5 yds book muslin	@2/6	-	12	6
2	2 3/4 yd ditto	@3/6		9	7½
3	6 yds cambric muslin	@2/		12	0
4	3 3/4 yds seeded muslin	@4/6		16	10½
5	6½ yds flowered muslin	@2/9		17	10½
6	4½ yds book muslin	@4/6	1	0	3
7	10 yds cambric muslin	@3/	1	10	0
8	1 3/4 yds ditto ditto	@2/6		4	4½
9	3½ yds veined muslin	@4/		13	0
10	** yds striped muslin	@3/3		8	1½
11	** yds linois muslin	@3/3		9	9
12	** yds striped muslin	@3/3		13	0
13	4½ yds linois muslin	@3/9		16	10½
14	5½ yds flowered book muslin	@3/		15	9
15	6 yds ditto ditto	@2/3		13	6
16	5 yds ditto	@2/6		12	6
17	5½ yds ditto	@2/6		8	9
18	2 yds ditto	@2/		4	0
19	5½ yds ditto	@2/3		12	4½
20	7 yds flowered muslin	@2/6		17	6
21	1 3/4 yds lace muslin	@3/6		6	1½
22	3 yds striped muslin	@3/6		10	6
23	4½ yds veined muslin	@3/3		13	9 3/4
24	3 yds spotted muslin	@2/		6	0
25	7½ yds cambric muslin	@2/		14	6

<u>No.</u>	<u>In The Shop</u>		L	S	P
26	4 yds ditto ditto	@1/10		7	4
27	6½ yds ditto	@1/10		11	5½
28	5½ yds ditto	@1/10		9	7½
29	4½ yds ditto	@1/10		8	3
30	6 yds ditto	@1/10		11	0
31	4 pieces ditto each 6½ yds in all 26 yds	@1/10	2	7	8
32	about 5 yds remnants muslin	@7/6		7	6
33	19 fringed shawls	@3/6	3	6	6
34	1 mock camel shawl	@5/		5	0
35	1 doz muslin cot. bordered hfk	@12/6		12	6
36	27 cotton muslin ditto	@1/	1	7	0
37	25 muslin hfk white	@ /14	1	9	2
38	7 linois hfk	@2/6		17	6
39	8 yds green sarsnett	@2/		16	0
40	6 yds pink sarsnett	@2/		12	0
41	11 yds white sarsnett	@2/	1	2	0
42	1 doz blk silk hfk	@60/	3	0	0
43	11 blue stripped silk hfk	@5/each	2	15	0
44	11 fancy silk ditto	@5/each	2	15	0
45	9 pair silk gloves	@4/6 each	2	0	6
46	6 vest (?) patterns	@3/6	1	1	0
Printed Cottons					
47	17½ yds red callico	@1/4	1	3	4
48	12 3/4 yds light ditto	@1/6		19	1½
49	18½ yds light ***** callico	@2/	1	16	6
50	19½ yds darke blue callico	@1/6	1	9	3
51	29 yds ditto ditto	@1/6	2	3	6
52	15½ yds lilac ditto	@ /14		18	1

53	10½ yds light ditto	@1/8		17	1
54	13½ yds darke blue & yellow callico	@1/10	1	4(?)	9
55	19½ yds yellow & checquered callico	@1/10	1	15	9
56	8½ yds blue & yellow ditto	@1/8		13	9
57	29 yds light blue callico	@ /14	1	13	10
58	16½ yds ditto ditto	@ /16	1	2	0
59	23 yds ditto ditto ditto	@ /16	1	10	8
60	5 3/4 yds green & yellow ditto	@1/8		9	7
61	22½ yds green ditto	@2/	2	5	0
62	28½ blue & yellow ditto	@2/	2	16	6
63	21½ yds green & white ditto	@2/	2	3	0
64	13 yds lilac cambric ditto	@2/	1	6	0
65	7½ yds dark cotton callico	@1/10		13	9
66	21½ yds light cotton callico	@1/6	1	12	13
67	18 yds dark cotton callico	@1/		18	0
68	26 3/4 yds dark callico	@1/	1	6	?
69	18 3/4 yds blue checquered callico	@1/6	1	8	?
70	5 3/4 yds dark cotton callico	@1/		5	9
71	20½ yds dark callico	@1/	1	6	3
72	29 yds gingam callico	@1/6	2	3	6
73	28 yds ditto ditto	@1/6	2	2	0
74	3½ yds ditto ditto	@1/6		5	3
75	6 yds light ditto	@1/8		10	0
76	20½ yds dark callico	@1/	1	0	3

77	8 yds red callico	@1/		8	0
78	2 3/4 yds dark ditto	@1/		2	9
79	16 1/2 yds dark gingam	@1/		16	3
80	9 1/2 yds yellow shambrey(?)	@1/8		15	10
81	3 3/4 yds pink cotton	@1/		3	9
82	3 yds blue cotton	@1/6		4	6
83	1 1/2 yds pink cotton	@1/		1	3
84	1 1/2 yds ditto ditto	@1/		1	3
85	2 3/4 yds white ditto	@1/6		4	1 1/2
86	2 yds dark cotton	@1/		2	0
87	3 yds chocolate ditto	@1/6		4	6
88	1 1/2 yds dark cotton	@1/6		2	3
89	1 3/4 yds pink ditto	@1/6		2	7 1/2
90	1 1/2 yds dark ditto	@1/6		2	3
91	2 1/2 yds shambrey	@1/6		3	4 1/2
92	2 yds remnants	@1/		2	0
93	25 1/2 yds plain blue cotton	@1/6	1	18	3
94	28 3/4 yds red furniture cotton	@ /15	1	15	11 1/2
95	28 1/2 yds blue ditto ditto	@ /15	1	15	7 1/2
96	20 3/4 yds blue ditto ditto	@1/3	1	5	11 1/2
97	25 yds blue ditto ditto	@ /15	1	11	3
98	5 1/2 yds red furniture cotton	@ /15		6	6 3/4
99	13 1/2 yds ditto ditto	@ /15		16	6 3/4
100	30 yds yellow ditto ditto	@1/	1	10	0
101	25 1/2 yds wood cold (?)	@1/6	1	17	10 1/2
102	21 1/2 yds diaper	@ /20	1	15	5
103	27 3/4 yds muslinett	@ /20	2	6	3
104	35 yds ditto	@ /20	2	18	4
105	17 yds light marselles	@4/6	3	16	6
106	24 3/4 yds dimity	@1/10	2	5	4 1/2
107	10 yds dimity	@1/10		18	4
108	8 1/2 yds remnants ditto	@1/6		12	9

109	41 yds green baize	@1/5	2	18	1
110	35 yds red baize	@1/6	2	12	6
111	31 yds yellow flannel	@1/8	2	11	8
112	20½ yds white flannel	@1/6	1	10	4½
113	10 yds ditto ditto	@2/	1	0	0
114	11 yds white serge	@2/	1	2	0
115	3 yds remnants red baize	@1/		3	0
116	2 7/8 yds blue cloth	@10/	1	8	9
117	1 7/8 yds ditto super fine ditto	@30/	2	16	3
118	5 yds ditto common ditto	@10/	2	10	0
119	1 5/8 yds ditto ditto	@10/		16	3
120	14 yds blue serge	@5/	3	10	0
121	12½ yds blk ditto	@7/	4	5	9
122	14 yds blue ditto	@6/6	4	11	0
123	4 yds remnants serge	@4/		16	0
124	3½ yds serge	@3/		10	6
125	½ yd blue cloth	@5/		5	0
126	8 yds toilinett yellow	@3/	1	4	0
127	8 yds swansdown	@3/	1	4	0
128	3 vest patterns	@1/		3	0
129	8½ yds catt gutt	@1/		8	3
130	25½ yds white buckram	@1/6	1	18	3
131	29 yds bed tick	@2/9	3	19	9
132	45 3/4 yds ditto	@1/8	3	16	3
133	3½ yds ditto remnants			7	0
134	28 yds brown hold	@1/6	2	2	0
135	15 3/4 yds grey linnen	@ /14		18	4½
136	39½ yds irish duck	@ /14	2	5	9½
137	9½ yds corded nankeen	@1/9		16	7
138	15½ yds dark ditto	@1/6	1	2	10
139	25 yds ditto ditto	@1/6	1	17	6
140	5 yds olive velveteen	@4/	1	0	0

141	25½ yds corderoy	@2/	2	11	0
142	11 yellow cotton shawl	@2/6	1	7	6
	2 rugs	@4/		8	0
	1 blankett	@5/6		6	6
	½ yd grey coating	@1/			
143	3 dark shawls	@2/		6	
144	4 fawn cold ^d (?)	@2/3		9	0
145	15 dark blue ditto	@2/	1	10	0
146	13 chintz shawls	@3/6	2	5	6
147	4 fancy muslin ditto	@2/4		9	4
148	7 cotton shawls	@1/8		11	8
149	4 pairs mens fancy hose	@3/		12	0
150	3 pair striped hose	@2/9		8	3
151	8 pair white ditto	@2/6	1	0	0
152	10 pair wom ^s hose	@2/9	1	7	6
153	11 pair mens rib ^d ditto	@3/10	2	2	2
154	5 pair wom ^s ditto	@3/		15	0
155	5 pair mens plain ditto	@4/6	1	2	6
156	5 pair wom ^s blk hose	@2/6		12	6
157	4 pair ditto ditto	@3/		12	0
158	10 pair long white cotton gloves	@1/8		16	8
159	16 pair short gloves	@1/6	1	4	0
160	9 pair col ^d ditto long	@1/8		15	0
161	11 pair black ditto	@1/8		18	4
162	2 doz white ditto	@1/8	2	0	0
163	1 doz col ^d ditto	@1/8	1	0	0
164	34 yards linnen	@2/9	4	13	6
165	20 yds cotton check	@1/2	1	3	4
166	11½ yds ditto ditto	@1/2		13	1½
167	15½ yds furniture ditto	@1/3		19	4½
168	22½ yds cotton ditto	@1/2	1	6	3
169	6½ yds apron width check	@2/9		17	2½
170	7 yds cotton check	@1/2		8	2

171	9 red spotted hfk	@1/2		10	6
172	18 cambric hfk	@1/6	1	7	0
173	4 pocket hfk	@1/		4	0
174	11 ditto ditto	@1/		11	0
175	36 red copper plate ditto	@ /8	1	4	0
176	34 blue ditto ditto	@ /8	1	2	8
177	15 purple ditto ditto	@ /8		10	0
178	41 chocolate ditto	@ /4		13	8
179	4 blue romalls	@1/6		6	0
180	15 ditto ditto	@ /15		18	9
181	3 ditto ditto	@ /16		4	0
182	24 india romalls	@1/2	1	8	0
183	5 ditto ditto	@ /8		3	4
184	4 3/4 yds white jean	@1/		4	9
185	5 3/4 yds shoe thread	@3/		17	0 (?)
186	21 pieces selampores (?)	@20/each	21	0	0
187	9 3/4 yds selampores	@1/		9	9
188	39½ yds stripped cotton	@ /15	2	9	4½
189	1 p ^s purple wildbore	@42/	2	2	0
190	1 p ^s green ditto	----	2	2	0
191	22½ yds green striped wildbore	@ /15	1	8	1½
192	26 3/4 yds plain green ditto	@ /15	1	13	5½
193	27 3/4 yds purple striped ditto	@ /15	1	14	8½
194	8½ yds blue striped wildbore	@ /15		10	3 3/4
195	9 yds plain purple ditto	@ /15		11	3
196	remnants bumbizett (bombazet)	@2/6		2	6
197	17½ yds white shalloon	@2/6	1	4	3½
198	13½ yds blue shalloon	@1/10	1	4	3½
199	19 yds blk callimanco	@ /9		14	3
200	5 yds green tammy	@1/8		8	4

201	21½ yds blk callimanco	@ /14	1	4	9½
202	17½ yds remnants striped purple ditto	@ /10		14	7
203	22½ yds ditto green ditto	@1/	1	2	3
204	8½ yds ditto light blue ditto	@ /10		7	1
205	18 yds fawn cold	@1/		18	0
206	7 yds blk callimanco	@1/		7	0
207	a lott muslin drapes	----		10	0
Hatts					
208	2 hatts	@14/	1	8	0
209	3 ditto	@12/	1	16	0
210	2 ditto	@11/	1	2	0
211	2 ditto	@10/	1	0	0
212	4 ditto	@8/	1	12	0
213	10 ditto	@4/	2	0	0
214	9 ditto	@3/	1	7	0
215	12 ditto	@3/	1	16	0
216	11 ditto	@2/9	1	10	3
217	4 youths ditto	@3/		12	0
218	4 ditto ditto	@2/9		11	0
219	9 ditto ditto	@2/6	1	2	6
220	6 ditto ditto	@2/3		13	6
221	12 ditto ditto	@2/6		15	0
222	12 ditto ditto	@1/3		15	0
223	12 hatt covers	@2/	1	4	0
224	1½ lbs scotch oz thread	@5/6		8	3
225	2 lb ditto	@7/6		15	0
226	¾ lbs ditto	@8/plb		6	0
227	1 ¾ lbs ditto	@9/		15	9
228	½ lb ditto	@12/6		3	1½
229	6 oz ditto	@15p oz		7	6
230	7 lbs cold threads	@4/6 lb	1	11	6

231	5½ yds all col ^d thread	@3/6		19	3
232	5 doz bobbin	@2/p ^r doz		10	0
233	5 doz & 8½ penny tape	@4/	1	2	8
234	1 do & 8 penny tape	@8/		13	4
235	2 doz ink paeveur (?)	@4/		8	0
236	15 gross & 10 doz common vest buttons	@3/pg ^r	2	7	6
237	4 gross & 6 doz gilt ditto ditto	@4/		18	0
238	4 gross & 8 doz plated ditto ditto	@5/	1	3	4
239	15 doz gilt coat buttons	@ /18	1	2	6
240	13½ doz burnt gilt ditto	@15/p?		16	10½
241	2 gro common coat ditto	@ /7p gro		14	0
242	15½ doz plated ditto	@ /10pdoz		12	0
243	5½ doz oval ditto	@ /1pdoz		5	6
244	11 doz blk paper but ^s	@ /4pdoz		3	8
245	a lott sleve but ^s	@5/		5	0
246	a box loose butt ^s			5	0
247	4 doz & 7 buck handled pocket knives	@6/	1	7	6
248	4 doz & 2 pen knives	@7/	1	9	2
249	3 p ^r knives and forks	@ /5		1	3
250	a lott shoe buckles	@2/		2	0
251	31 p ^r small scissors	@ /5		1	3
252	19 p ^r larger ditto	@ /11		18	5
253	2 packs playing cards	@ /10		1	8
254	6 snuff boxes	@ /5		2	6
255	13 hair combs	@5/		5	0
256	11 rack ditto (?)	@1/		2	6
257	7 p ^r tou (?) cards	@1/		7	0
258	20 copy books	@ /5		8	4
259	3 codlines	@5/6		10	6
260	6 mackerel lines	@1/		6	0

261	1 doz chest locks	@12/	12	0
262	20 cakes blacking	@3/	5	0
263	23 tin pints and quarts	@ /5	9	7
264	7 p ^r chest hinges	@ /8	4	8
265	11 p ^r HL hinges	@ /9	8	3
266	1 p ^r hooks and hinges	@ /9		9
267	31 tin canisters	@ /5	12	11
268	11 curry combs	@ /10	9	2
269	20 shoe knives	@ /4½	7	6
270	15 mill saw files	@ /14	17	6
271	8 doz & 11 hand saw ditto	@4/	1	15 8
272	3 door locks	@4/	12	0
273	1 iron square	@1/	1	0
274	6 sheep shears	@ /15	7	6
275	5 tin lamps	@ /14	5	10
276	3 drawing knives (kives)	@ /16	4	0
277	12 doz & 8 gimblets	@ /16	16	10
278	1 gro shoe awls	@3/	3	0
279	19 gro shoe tacks	@ /7	11	1
280	29 doz cod hooks	@ /9	1	1 ?
281	a bundle makerel hooks	@5/	5	0
282	a box allum	@1/	1	0
283	a box old trumpery	@2/6	2	6
284	a small tool chest	@1.00	1	0 0
285	a drawer containing 13½ lbs fig blue @ /15 5 lbs salt petre	@ /11	1	1 3 3/4
286	a drawer containing 2 oz nutmeg ¾ lbs cloves ----- ½ lb capria -----	@2/	4	0 10 0
287	a box 18 lbs shott	@ /6	9	0
288	a settscales & weights (copper)	@40/	2	0 0
289	1 smaller ditto ditto	@7/6	7	6

290	3/4 lbs glue		1	0
Sewing Silks				
291	7½ oz blue sewing silk	@2/	15	0
292	5 ozs all colours	@2/	10	0
293	5 oz scarlet and white	@2/6	12	6
294	3 oz blk silk	@2/	6	0
295	4 oz green ditto	@2/	8	0
296	7 ozs pink	@2/6	17	6
297	8 oz green	@2/	16	0
298	16 oz blue	@2/	1	12 0
299	12 oz blue	@2/	1	4 0
300	13 oz twist	@2/	1	6 0
301	9 yds cotton lace	@2/	18	0
302	4½ yds ditto	@2/	8	6
303	3 3/4 yds ditto	@1/	3	9
304	2½ yds footing	@1/6	3	4½
305	12½ yds cotton lace scalope	@ /15	15	7½
306	31 yds cotton ditto	@1/6	2	6 6
307	7½ yds blk lace	@ /15	9	1½
308	13 yds ditto	@ /22	1	3 10
309	a box needles		5	0
310	a box thimbles		3	9
311	4 yds edging	@ /10	3	4
312	38 doz shirt buttons	@ /4	12	8
313	ribbon wire		2	0
314	5 gro moulds	@1/	5	0
315	3 lbs & 6 oz bonnett wire	@4/	15	0
316	6 small tooth combs	@1/	6	0
317	a sett gold wrights	@2/6	2	6
318	a box & lott of ribbons	@40/	2	0 0
319	a box ditto all cold ^d	@60/	3	0 0

320	a p ^r blk terrett (?)	@5/	5	0	
321	a bundle wollen tapes	@20/	1	0	0
322	a quantity old rings			1	3
323	nitting werdls (?) (knitting needles)				6
324	10 decanters	@2/6	1	5	0
325	9 juris wrapping paper			4	0
326	5 chambers	@ /8		3	4
327	5 doz & 3 tumblers	@4/6	1	3	7½
328	14 earthen blk jugs	@ /4		4	8
329	2 dishes	@ /9		1	6
330	2 doz plates	@2/6		5	0
331	12 doz & 11 small cups and saucers	@ /15		16	1 3/4
332	4 & 4 larger ditto	@3/		13	0
333	11 blue coffee cups			1	0
334	16 bowls	@ /4		5	4
335	3 quart mugs	@/9ea		2	3
336	4 pitchers	@2/ea		8	0
337	19 tea potts	@ /9		12	9
338	16 creams	@ /2		2	8
339	14 sugar bowls	@ /5		5	10
340	13 blk bowls	@ /3		3	3
341	12 doz & 7 paste boards	@3/6	2	4	1½
342	a box old but ^s	@2/6		2	6
343	150 flints	@4/		6	0
344	85½ (?) 14 tacks	@1/6	6	7	10
345	50 feet glass	@36/	1	16	0
346	1 box with glass			6	0
347	1 tin cannister			1	0
348	5 frying pans	@2/		10	0
349	5 devonshire shovells	@2/6		12	6
350	2 guageing rods			5	0
350	26 gal molosses	@1/8	2	3	4

350	18 gal ^s vinigar	@3/	2	14	0
351	93 lbs gro 23 tare neat 70 lbs susan tea	@4/6	15	15	0
352	326 gro lbs 12 tare 314 neat spikes	@ /5	6	10	10
354	123 gros lbs 8 tare neat 115 shingle nails	@ /9	4	6	3
355	lbs 38 gross (word obliterated) 4 tare 34 box spikes	@ /5		14	2
356	lbs 99 gross lbs 12 tare 87 clapboards nails	@ /7	2	10	9
357	253 gross lbs 20 tare 20 nails 233 neat	@ /6	5	16	6
358	46 gross lbs 10 tare 36 neat 10 nails	@ /7	1	1	0
359	lbs 139 gross lbs 20 tare 119 sugar	@ /4½	2	4	7
360	201 gross lbs 20 tare rice 181	@ /3	2	5	3
361	151 gross lbs 20 tare rice 131	@ /3	1	12	9
362	lbs 77 gross lbs 2 tare 75 bag coffee	@ /11	3	8	9
363	67 lbs lbs 12 tare 55 indigo	@ /13	35	15	0
364	111 gross 12 tare 107 pomento	@ /15	6	13	9
365	775 iron pots	@ /2½	8	1	5½
366	a cag (keg?) with tome peper	@3/		3	0
367	6 p ^r shoes	@3/		18	0
368	a lott of shoes			1	0
369	3 stays	@1/8		3	0

370	a drawer with tane (?) knotts of thread		5	0
371	an empth trunk ditto ditto	@6/	6	0
372	1 ditto ditto		8	0
373	a large teale and beam w ^r 17 56's and other small weights		8	8
374	a small chest		5	0
375	a sett measures		8	0
376	a quantity old wrapping paper		2	6
377	2 empty boxes	@1/	2	0
378	370 lbs leak tobbaço	@ /6plb	9	5
	14 hogsheads of salt	@20/	14	0
	<u>Store Room No 1</u>			
379	2 large chests	@10/	1	0
380	an English seythe		5	0
381	1 p ^r steelyards		7	6
382	*****			
383	a copper water urn		2	6
384	2 window sashes		2	0
385	2 seives (wood)		5	0
386	1 bbl wheat bran		2	6
387	box old iron		5	0
388	7 empty bags		6	0
389	1 bag with old cottonwool (damag ^d)		1	6
390	2 empty boxes	@1/	2	0
391	4 musquetts	@5/each	1	0
392	a pott handle		1	0
393	an old side saddle		10	0
394	a box with old colours		1	3
395	an empty box		1	0
396	an iron board		2	6

397	3 old chairs	@1/each	3	0
398	8 trunks old		2	0 0
399	a blue chest			7 6
400	a sett fire bucketts w ^t lantern & cap			5 0
401	an oyl trine (?)			1 0
402	6 empty barrels			5 0
403	a cagg with some red ocre			2 0
404	3 old wash lines	@1/		3 0
405	a work bench			1 0
406	some old tools	@12/6		12 6
407	a work cushion			6
408	an old gammon board	@1/		1 0
409	a box with some vials			1 0
410	a bed and bed stead complete w ^t sheets 7 blanketts	@6.00	6	0 0
411	3 old boxes			1 0

In the Hall Up Stairs

412	a desk		2	10 0
413	a black birch table			15 0
414	2 chairs	@2/6		5 0

In The Garrett

415	a single iron stove w ^t funnel		7	0 0
416	2 empty boxes			1 3
417	a box old iron		1	10 0
418	a lott old iron			10 0
419	7 empty boxes			5 0
420	an iron back			2 6
421	some old lumber			1 0

422	a box old lead	2	0	
423	a sett truss hoops	10	0	
424	a spinning wheel	4	0	
425	a cabbage knife	2	6	
426	a p ^r dog irons	5	0	
427	a box w ^t toyl	1	3	
428	a nine pin ball		3	
429	a door knocker & chain	3	0	
430	2 window sashes	1	6	
431	4 iron rings		6	

In The Library

432	a desk	3	0	0
433	a table		17	6
434	a dressing glass		7	6
435	a chair		5	0
436	a camp bedstead w ^t bed sheets and blanketts complete	?	?	?
438	a p ^r appaulets	8	0	0
439	a sash	1	10	0

In The Bed Room

440	a bed & bed stead w ^t sheets & blanketts complete	10	0	0
441	a table		5	0
442	a sea bed	2	0	0
442	a looking glass	1	0	0
443	a sheu (?) glass	@20/	1	0
444	6 chairs	@10/ea	3	0
445	3 window curtains		15	0
446	a wash stand complete		15	0
447	pictures		5	0
448	5 window curtains	@5/ea	1	5

below stairs
In The Draw^g Room

449	a p ^r looking glasses		10	0	0
450	11 pictures	@5/ea	2	15	0
451	3 chimney ornaments			10	0
452	a water urn & stand		3	0	0
453	10 mahogany chairs	@17/6	8	15	0
454	ditto dining table		8	0	0
455	tea table		3	0	0
456	a fire screen			5	0
457	fire tongs, shovell, brush and fender		2	0	0
458	a tea tray			15	0
459	a carpett		4	10	0
460	4 doz & 11 wine glasses	@5/pdoz	1	4	7
461	4 plated candle sticks	@7/6ea	1	10	0
462	254½ oz silver furniture	@5/6p ^r oz	69	19	9
463	a sett silver castors		4	0	0
464	a p ^r silver snuffers			8	0
465	a silver must ^d pott and 4 silver salts		1	15	0
466	2 glass salts & peper box			12	6
467	a coffee urn		1	15	0
468	a bread basket			7	6
469	3 cases old knives	@2.00	2	0	0
470	a stand w ^t 3 bottles		1	0	0
471	20 gobblets	@ /10		16	8
472	a small waiter			7	6
473	6 pint decanters			15	0
474	5 quart ditto and 4 coasters	@25/	1	5	0
475	a sett blue table ware		8	0	0
476	a china mug & pitcher			5	0
477	a snuffer and stand			6	0

up
In The Front Palor

478	a bed & stead complete w ^t sheets and blanketts		10	0	0
479	a mahogany desk		7	0	0
480	an easy chair		3	10	0
481	a small mahogany table			17	6
482	a pine ditto			5	0
483	6 chairs @10/		3	0	0
484	a p ^r dog irons @10/			10	0
485	a fire tongs- shovell, poker, brush and bellows			15	0
486	an old carpett		1	5	0
487	8 pictures @40/		2	0	0
488	a looking glass		2	0	0
489	a p ^r brass sconces			2	6
490	3 flower glasses			1	0
491	3 window curtains		3	10	0

In The Closset In The Front Parlour

492	a spy glass @20/		1	0	0
493	a tin fender			1	0
494	3 small waiters			3	0
495	1 large ditto			3	0
496	a sett common castors			7	6
497	2 p ^r tumblers			2	0
498	8 china plates			4	0
499	2 ditto dishes			5	0
500	2 china punch bowls			5	0
501	6 blue glass egg cups @4/			4	0
502	6 ditto earthen @4/			4	0
503	2 white china pitcher			10	0
	a silver punch ladle		2	0	0
504	18 china custard cups @10/			10	0
505	1 blue pitcher & quart			1	3

506	1 sett china tea ware		2	0	0
507	1 sett Liverpool ditto			10	0

In The Hall

508	an eight day clock		10	0	0
509	3 windsor chairs	@5/		15	0
510	a mahogany table			15	0
511	a glass lamp			7	6

In The Kitchen

512	11 large pewter dishes	@5/	2	15	0
513	3 tin tea kettles	@1/		3	0
514	3 old copper ditto	@10/		10	0
515	3 iron tea kettles			10	0
516	20 tin patty pans	@1/8		1	8
517	8 pewter water plates	@25/	1	5	0
518	2 tin graters			1	0
519	a coffee mill			5	0
520	6 dish covers (block tin)			15	0
521	a cullender			2	0
522	2 grind stones			12	6
523	15 brass candlesticks		3	0	0
524	9 flat irons w ^t 2 stands		1	10	0
525	3 brass ladles			5	0
526	a copper cake pan			1	0
527	1 sett skewers			2	6
528	2 setts candle moulds			15	0
529	a mortar			5	0
530	a bell metal skillet			15	0
531	a large brass kettle		2	0	0
532	1 smaller ditto (old)			2	0
533	a copper sauce pan (old)			1	0
534	a chaffing dish			3	0

535	a fish kettle		12	6
536	2 dripping pans		5	0
538	a warming pan		3	0
539	fire tongs & shovell, poker, dog irons	@20/	1	0
540	a table		10	0
541	a smaller ditto	@5/	5	0
542	2 benches & 2 chairs		5	0
543	2 soup tureens		5	0
544	2 fruit dishes		2	0
545	3 pudding ditto		4	0
546	4 large dishes 19 smaller ditto 39 plates 6 pitchers 3 quarts 9 p ^r cuts & saucers 2 tea potts & 2 fish strainers			
547	8 bowls 18 chase plates 3 large earthen dishes 10 crocks 2 waiters 12 dish matts ½ doz knives & ½ doz forks		2	15
548	2 serv ^{ts} beds	@5.00	5	0

Books In The Library

549	Homer	4 vols
	Pope	6 vols
	Josephus	3 vols
	Spectator	8 vols
	Chesterfield	4 vols
	Sterns' works	3 vols
	Enticks Survey	4 vols
	Locke on Human Undersg	2 vols
	Complete Body of Husb ^y	1 vol
	Berkley on Human Know ^g	3 vols
	Cicero (Latin)	1 vol
	Horace (ditto)	1 vol

Books In The Library

549	Life of Cromwell	1 vol
	The Epigoniad	1 vol
	Clark and Leibnitz's let ^{rs}	1 vol
	Maxwells HusbY	1 vol
	Bradley's ditto	1 vol
	Dialogue of the dead	1 vol
	Longinuson on the Sublime	1 vol
	HistY of the Primitive Church	1 vol
	Irish Excursion	4 vol
	Fashionable Involvements	3 vols
	Rash Vows	3 vol
	Excellence of a Free State	1 vol
	Female Conduct	1 vol
	Universal Accountant	2 vol
	ditto magazine (1798)	2 vol
	Popery condemned	1 vol
	Joseph Andrews	1 vol
	Berrymans Sermons	2 vol
	Female Spectator	4 vol
	Prince Arthur	2 vols
	Vicar of Wakefield	1 vol
	The Tattler	5 vol
	Adventures of a Guinea	4 vol
	Death of Abel	1 vol
	MPY(?) Power(?) Letters	1 vol
	Nettletonon Virtue	1 vol
	Addison on Metals	1 vol
	Fenelons demonstrations	1 vol
	Fennings use of the Globes	1 vol
	Prince of Abbysiana	1 vol
	Belisarus	1 vol
	Every Farmer his own Farmer	1 vol
	The Complete Masoner	1 vol
	HistY of $\frac{e}{y}$ Rivolu ^r in France	1 vol
	Evidence of Christianity	1 vol
	Junius Letters	2 vols
	DictY of Arts & Sciences	8 vols
	a large English Bible	1 vol
	ditto German	1 vol
	Euclids Elements	1 vol
	Chambauds Grammer	1 vol
	Gazetteer	1 vol
	Drilling Court on Death	1 vol

Books In The Library

549	3 German Hymn Book	3 vols
	an account of Virtue	1 vol
	German Testament	1 vol
	German Pray ^r Book after the form of Ch of England	1 vol
	2 small English Dict ^s	2
	1 French ditto	1
	Hist ^y of Rome	1 vol
	6 Prayer Books	6 vol
	English Testament	1 vol
	Ladys Companion	2
	3 Ladys Magazine	3 vols
	a Ration ^l acct of the Protest ⁿ Religion	1 vol
	a Holland Bible	1 vol
	Paradise Lost	1 vol
	Latin Syntax	1 vol
	Greek Testament	1 vol
	French Prayer Book after e form of e Church of y y England	1 vol
	a French Bible	1 vol
	Fluxions	1 vol
	Hidibrass	1 vol
	an acct of Hudsons Bay	1 vol
	a Brief View of Religious (?)	1 vol
	Discoveries d/c(?) to the academy of Belles Lettres	1 vol
	Culture of Silk	1 vol
	Defence of Christian Revelation	1 vol
	Spanish Hiseling detec ^d	1 vol
	Book Keeping Modernized ^d	1 vol
	Hist ^y of England & Ireland	1 vol
	Cardinal alderberona	1 vol
	Universal Magazine	1 vol
	Elegant Extracts	1 vol
	Improvements in Plant ^g	1 vol
	a discourse upon Revenue	1 vol
	Beveridges Thoughts	1 vol
	Virgil (Latin)	1 vol
	Sir Isaac Newtons Prophecies	1 vol
	Leidervicks Dict ^y	4 vols
	Burns Justice	4 vols

Books In The Library

549	Blackstone Comment ^Y	4 vols			
	Jacob Law Dict ^Y	1 vol			
	Province Law	1 vol			
	Abbot on Shipping	1 vol			
	Parks on Insurance	1 vol			
	Magistrates apistant (?)	1 vol			
	Cokes Institutes	1 vol			
	Baileys Dict ^Y	1			
		<hr/>			
		178 vols			
	74 odd volumes con ^Y of English, French, German & Latin	74			
		<hr/>			
	whole number	252 vols	20	0	0
	A quantity of old magazines stitc ^d in paper, and also sermons, plays & Pamphlets		1	0	0

Spare Sheets & Linnen

550	12 fine Russia sheets		6	0	0
	12 com ditto		4	10	0
	5 com Russia ditto		1	15	0
	2 white counter panes		3	0	0
	4 callico ditto (wore)	@20/	4	0	0
	4 p ^r blanketts		7	0	0
	2 large damask table cloths		7	0	0
	6 smaller ditto ditto (wore)		3	0	0
	7 damask breakfast ditto (wore)		2	10	0
	2 silver watches (old)		3	0	0

In The Yard

550	11 empty barrels			5	0
	11 iron bound kegs			5	0
	8 iron ditto casks	1		12	0
	a firkin			10	0
	lott old boxes and cage			1	6
	10 empty boxes			5	0

In The Yard

550	11 empty casks	15	0
	a lott of tools consisting of 2 crowbars		
	2 hows & a lott gardening utensils	1	0 0
	2 saws & an ax	15	0
	a box w ^t old iron	2	6
	a grindstone	4	0

The Inside Cellar No 1

550	3 boxes	1	6
	5 empty casks	1	6
	1 cask	4	0
	16 doz empty bottles	2	0 0
	1 case w ^t 18½ gal bottles	18	0
	an old chest w ^t 3 caggs paint	15	0
	entry obliterated		
	5 empty boxes	2	6
	11 oyl jarrs	1	0 0
	an old case w ^t 3 bottles	2	0
	7 wash tubs	15	0
	4 empty barrels	2	0
	a copper baking kettle	1	0 0
	4 black basketts	5	0
	a watering pott	2	6
	1 bbl lime	8	0
	2 water bucketts	2	6

In The Stable

	a horse 21 years old	2	0	0
	a cow	4	0	0
	10 sheep @10/	5	0	0
	a horse tackling complete	2	0	0
	a binding chain		10	0
	an iron hobble		5	0
	a dug fork		2	6
	a shovell		3	0
	2 hay forks		2	6
	a long truck w ^t ladders	3	10	0
	a box trunk	1	0	0
	a chain (chaise?)	5	0	0
	a sley w ^t harness	3	0	0

In The Stable

550	a new p ^r truck wheels	3	10	0
	a log of mahogany	10	0	0
	an old saddle & bridel		17	6
	a harness		15	0
	6 rakes		3	0
	a ladder (10 feet)		1	0
	a barrel & box		1	6
	a curry comb & brush		1	6
	a box w ^t old harness		4	0
	some gardening utensils		2	6

Store On The Wharf

	fish (?) & frame		15	0
	a quantity of clabboards between 1 & 2 m feet	5	0	0
	a sett of blocks for heaving vessels down	1	10	0
		<hr/>		
		419	1	5
	amount of shop goods as p ^r valuation	499	11	2½
	Money in the house at the decease of the late CW	90	0	0
		<hr/>		
	Total of Personal Prop ^y	1008	12	7½

Lunenburg 6th Jan^y 1810. We certify that we this day did finish the valuation of the personal prop^y of the late C.W.

Frank Rudolf
John Bolman
&
John Rudolf

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