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Leisure Time Activities in the Early Republic
Contributors to this Issue

CARROLL HOPF, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, is Curator of the Pennsylvania Farm Museum at Landis Valley near Lancaster, one of the chain of museums operated by the Historical and Museum Commission of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. A graduate of the Folk Culture Program at Cooperstown, New York, he is a specialist in traditional rural life, particularly folk arts and crafts. For this issue he has prepared a technological treatment of painted furniture in rural Pennsylvania, with notes on the preparation of the paints and the techniques of their application.

GREGORY GIZELIS, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is a graduate of the University of Athens, Greece, who is at present in the doctoral program in Folklore and Folklife at the University of Pennsylvania. He has worked extensively in researching both the folk-medical practices and the traditional cookery of the Greek-American community in Philadelphia and its suburbs. His article in this issue discusses the changes in traditional cookery among Greek emigrants to the United States and their children. This is the second in our series of technical studies on the ethnic cookery systems in 20th Century Pennsylvania. The first was Toni F. Fratto, “Cookery in Red and White,” Pennsylvania Folklife, XIX:3 (Spring 1970), 2-15, which covers Italian cookery and foodways in the Italian-American settlements of Philadelphia.

DR. MAC E. BARRICK, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, is well known to our readers as author of articles dealing with the folk-culture of his home area, the Cumberland Valley in Pennsylvania West of the Susquehanna River. His latest article was “Jump-Rope Rhymes,” in Pennsylvania Folklife, XIX:4 (Summer 1970), 43-47. His article in this issue deals with a Cumberland County craftsman of the 20th Century who produced hayforks, brooms, and other handmade tools for house and barn.

SUSAN DWYER SHICK, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is a Ph.D. student in the Folklore and Folklife Program at the University of Pennsylvania. Her article in this issue is one of a series accenting the value of historical source materials, in this case sectarian autobiographies, for folklife research. Another recent article from Susan Shick’s researches, “Discovering the Community,” appeared in the Summer 1970 issue of our sister journal, The Goschenhoppen Region.


WILLIAM S. TROXELL (1893-1957) of Allentown, Pennsylvania, was one of the most prolific dialect writers in the history of Pennsylvania German literature. His “Pumpernickle Bill” column in the Allentown Morning Call ran for many years. William Troxell was also a key figure in the Pennsylvania German Society, author (with the Reverend Thomas R. Brendle) of the standard volume of Pennsylvania German Folk Tales, and a leader in the “Persammling” and “Grundsow Lodeh” movements of the 1930’s. The dialect sketch in this issue was prompted by the U. S. Census of 1930.

RUTH K. HAGY, West Chester, Pennsylvania, is a doctoral student in the American History Program at the University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware. Her article, using 19th Century source materials, gives details on the great range of amusements which West Chester residents found for themselves in the first half of the last century, from traditional home-made folk recreations to the traveling menageries and strolling players of ante-bellum America.
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Local Characters and Originals:  
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COVER: Detail from Harvest Home Party Invitation at the Jacobs Farm, Chester County, Pennsylvania, July 22, 1845, from original at Chester County Historical Society. Farmers’ picnics of this sort, in harvest time, were popular among Pennsylvania’s ethnic groups from the British Isles. They are not the same as the “Harvest Home” services held in the Pennsylvania German churches, where the church is decorated with the fruits of the harvest.
By CARROLL HOPF

Within the vast realm of our folk material culture lies the relatively unexplored concept of the embellishment of interior furnishings with paint. Aside from the occasional studies and references to the significance of social cultural motifs appearing on furniture and other objects, the traditions and techniques of painted furniture have largely gone unnoticed. My purpose, presented here, is to acquaint the reader with various facets of the material culture traditions of painting furniture. That the embryos of these traditions are to be found on the continent of Europe and in the British Isles there can be no doubt. Many fine specimens of "peasant furniture" are to be found in the museums of Europe and England. It is these examples which provide a basis for American folk furniture, that is, in form, construction methods, and decoration.

The term "folk furniture" is implied here to differentiate between furniture style based upon local cultural-environmental precedents and that which was created upon current stylish vogues occurring within overlapping intervals beginning in the latter 16th Century and terminating, for the most part, by mid-19th Century. The latter phenomenon was founded upon contemporary interpretations of classical Greek and Roman art forms and architecture. Together with this, the spirit and forms of the Gothic age and Oriental culture also influenced contemporary taste of the time. Modern day phrasology—"William and Mary," "Queen Anne," "Chippendale," "Adam," "Hepplewhite," "Sheraton," and "Empire"—tend to define these furniture forms which were of the most elegant style. Such furnishings appealed to and were sought after by members of the aristocratic strata who possessed the necessary formal education to appreciate the latest in vogue. What is dwelt upon here are those humble environmental precedents and that which was created upon current stylish vogues occurring within overlapping intervals beginning in the latter 16th Century and terminating, for the most part, by mid-19th Century.


Example of a dower chest decorated with purty grain ing, this piece probably originates from upstate New York or one of the New England states. The coloring is two tones of brown. Dating from the middle of the 19th Century, this example is a typical form found in the above areas. It is not particularly common in southeastern Pennsylvania. Courtesy of the New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, New York.
When the hanging corner cupboard was purchased it was covered with a thick coat of white enameled paint. Careful removal of the paint revealed the original decoration shown here. The door panel is a careful imitation of birds-eye maple while the framing members are grained curly maple. The cupboard is a lavender hue, circa 1800. It measures 61" high, 29" wide. Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Farm Museum of Landis Valley.

A traditional Pennsylvania German dish cupboard decorated to resemble marquetry. This piece represents one of the rarer instances where the identical technique was employed on German furniture. The pattern is executed in dark brown over a light brown ground. Top and base moldings are painted a dark gray-green color. Circa 1840. Courtesy of A. Christian Revi.

The soot of a tallow candle was carefully applied to this chair while the gray-white ground paint was tacky. A coat of varnish was applied to prevent the soot decoration from wearing off. The chair displays an unusually fine hand painted crest rail of green, red, and white floral motifs. Dating from about 1840, this chair is thought to have originated in the Ephrata-Reamstown area of Lancaster County. Privately owned.

Forms of furniture (if you will), which are most expressive of people's inherited patterns of normality as pertinent to their material culture.

What is paint? Essentially paint consists of two components—a coloring agent and a liquid medium to contain and convey the color. The liquid may be an oil as traditionally derived from flaxseed, rapeseed, walnuts, or fish oil. Linseed oil, obtained from flaxseed, is the most frequently mentioned in early literature pertaining to paint formulas. Oils could be mixed singly with pigments, or turpentine was often added as a thinning and drier medium. Litharge, an oxide of lead, was another favorite drier added to paint mixtures.

Frequently linseed oil was adulterated with rapeseed oil, cottonseed oil, mineral oil, resin, and fish oil. See Paint and Varnish Facts and Formulæ, (Newark, New Jersey: Central Publishing Company, 1904), p. 50.
By far less expensive and commonly available in rural areas was skimmed milk as a liquid substitute. Today we frequently hear the term "old buttermilk red" in reference to the milk base which ordinarily was fed to hogs when not used as a cheap substitute for oil paint. The following recipe from a Lancaster County book of recipes is typical of the skimmed milk formulas for paint said to be durable for exterior as well as interior painting.

A SUBSTITUTE FOR OIL PAINT

A piece of good stone lime must be dipped in water, and then laid on a board to fall to pieces in the air. 8 Ounces of the lime as soon as it is cold must be mixed with as much sweet skim milk, as will make it about as thick as Cream. To this mixture, one gill of linseed oil must be stirred into the lime and milk (any kind of oil will answer, but for white paint the linseed oil is best) then melt two ounces of rosin in four tablespoonsful of the same kind of oil, and mix the whole together. After this more milk must be added, and five pounds of clean whiting rolled fine must be stirred into the mass and the paint will be fit for use. Any type of pigment could be added to this formula to obtain a desired color.

Sources of color were varied and many. We can think of pigments as being of organic and inorganic origins. Basic of all pigments was White Lead. It was and still is the basic medium to dilute and lighten color pigments. Pulverized chalk, listed under various names, was another popular source for white. White lead was readily available in kegs in a paste consistency as it was mixed with linseed oil. However, if an individual was unfortunate enough not to have a prepared supply of white lead at hand, supposedly the following formula would produce an equal product.

A WHITE FOR PAINTERS WHICH MAY BE PRESERVED FOR EVER

"Put into a large pan three quarts of linters oil, with an equal quantity of brandy, and four of the best double distilled vinegar; three dozen of eggs, new laid and whole; three or four pounds of mutton suit, chopped small. Cover all with a lead plate, and lute it well. Lay this pan in the cellar for three weeks, then take skillfully the white off, then dry it."

Common sources of black included Lamp Black, burnt or calcined ivory, bone, or peach stones, and pulverized pit coal. Red pigments were derived from

![](image1)

An excellent example of painted furniture, this Schrank (Kas) is in original untouched condition. It is painted in blue, red, and white. The center row of panels are combed in an X pattern of red and blue over a white ground. The large panel surfaces are painted in blue with an overall stipple pattern created by the use of the fugue. This piece has an early history of association with Charming Forge in Berks County. It was probably made sometime during the last quarter of the 18th Century. Measurements are: 67" high, 191/4" in depth, and 58" wide. Courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Lester Breininger.


For a recent study of paint pigments see Richard M. Cardey, "Housepaints in Colonial America," originally printed for Color Engineering magazine in four parts (New York: Chromatic Publishing Company, Inc., 1966-1967). For an earlier publication on the same subject see Paint and Varnish Facts and Formulas, op. cit. This latter reference is quite helpful as it lists and describes not only the earlier traditional pigments, but those developed during the latter half of the 19th Century.


The "attic" or "youth" bed, painted an apple green, is only 32" wide and 6' long. The straw cutter is painted a traditional sky blue color. Built date from the first half of the 19th Century and are of southeastern Pennsylvania origin. Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Farm Museum of Landis Valley.
The decoration on this corner cupboard exemplifies the statement in the text: "more impressive on the imagination, more delightful to the eye," regarding the fourth category of decoration, more than any other piece illustrated. The colors are brown over an orange ground with yellow striping. Base molding and feet are a bluish gray. The pattern was possibly executed with brushes or feathers while the striping was probably done free hand with a fitch or pencil brush. The cupboard probably dates from the first quarter of the 19th Century and has a history of association in upper Montgomery County. Courtesy of the Geschenhoppen Folklife Museum, Vernonfield, Pennsylvania.

several sources, the principal ones being Red Lead, Carmine (obtained from the cochineal insect), Vermillion (occurring naturally and prepared artificially from cinnabar), and natural earths containing high concentrations of iron oxides. Common generic names for these clayish pigments are "Indian Red," "Venetian Red," "Spanish Brown," and "Red Ochre" to name several. The traditional pigment for orange color was Orange Mineral. This pigment was obtained from roasting white lead. Brown pigments were mainly made from natural earths either burned or unburned. Thus Burnt Umber and Raw Umber are descriptive names in regard to their preparation.

Prussian Blue, a chemically formulated pigment first discovered in the early 18th Century in Berlin, and the vegetable matter Indigo were two important sources for blue. Probably indigo was more readily available in many communities as it was the important dye stuff used by the community blue dyer. Each of these blue pigments produces its own distinctive blue hue. Yellow color of a brilliant permanent nature was difficult to obtain until the availability of coal tar base color pigments in the mid-19th Century. Common Yellow Ochre was probably the standard source for yellow. Again, the roasting of white lead to a known degree of heat would produce a yellow pigment known as Massicot. Rich hues of green were obtained from oxide of copper compounds known as Verdigris. The process of producing verdigris has been known since the

The reference here is to aniline dyes first discovered in 1826, but not commercially manufactured to any scale until the 1850's. My information is from The Century Dictionary of the English Language, An Encyclopedic Lexicon (New York: The Century Co., 1889), I, 217.
Greek and Roman periods of history and probably has varied little from the following 19th Century method.

Vine stalks [grape], well dried in the sun, are put into earthen pots, and upon them wine is poured. The pots being fully covered, the wine then undergoes the acetic fermentation, which in summer is finished in seven or eight days. When the fermentation is sufficiently advanced, the stalls are taken out of the pots, and being by this method impregnated with all the acid of the wine, the remaining liquor is but a very weak vinegar. The stalls well drained, are put in earthen pots, in alternate layers with plates of copper. The copper is thus left to the action of the vinegar for three or four days, or more; in which time the plates become covered Verdigris. The plates are then taken out of the pots and left in the cellar three or four days; when they are moistened with water, or with the weak vinegar above mentioned, and left to dry. When this moistening and drying of the plates has been thrice repeated, the Verdigris will be found to have considerably increased in quantity; and it may then be scraped off for sale.

Terre Verte, "a green earth much used by painters, both singly for a good standing green, and in mixture with other colours," was another 18th and 19th Century source of green used in this country. Accordingly, in a pure state it was of "deep bluish-green colour" and primarily imported from France, Italy, and Cyprus.

Reducing pigments to the proper fineness for paint was accomplished by grinding. The use of a stone muller and marble slab, or in larger establishments, a rounded stone to be rolled in a stone trough were the traditional methods of grinding pigments. Later, with the introduction of the castron paint mills, the muller and slab was gradually replaced by this innovation. General procedure for grinding pigments on the slab consisted of taking two or three teaspoons of pigment and mixing them into a paste consistency with linseed oil. Then began the arduous process of grind-

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Ibid., p. 336.

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Basic color and decoration techniques are employed on this dower chest dated 1774. The arched panels are white; floral motifs and background painting around the panels are brown. The background painting is a combed or linear pattern leaving much of the wood exposed. The chest is 19" high, 50" long, and 22" deep. Courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Lester Breininger.

The technique of creating pattern with a corn cob is expertly done on this dower chest, circa 1820. The pattern is a deep shade of red over a lighter red ground color. Other examples are known with a yellow ground and a red pattern. Besides dower chests, several dish cupboards are known decorated in the same manner. It is quite possible all were decorated by one individual. To the best of the author's knowledge this type of decoration is unknown outside of southeastern Pennsylvania. Present location of this piece is unknown.
each category wood played an essential part in fabrication.

In terms of furnishings, two or three and sometimes more varieties of wood were used in a single piece of furniture. It must have been a challenge to try to disguise so much raw wood surface which normally appeared in the home. Then too, wood was a problem, at least in the early stages of settlement, in the exterior environment. Peter Recher, a Swiss emigrant to Pennsylvania, describes the problem in a letter written in 1751. "Wood is so plentiful here that they let it lie in the forests so thick that one can scarcely walk through." Wood certainly was essential, yet it must have been a burden under many circumstances. These factors tend to explain why interiors were generally painted and/or whitewashed either plain white or frequently colored. As much time as is spent today removing the layers of paint or lime coats from interior woodwork, undoubtedly an equal portion was expended through the years applying a covering medium. So with furniture, coloring was applied, as part explanation, to conceal the raw wood. Many pieces were simply given a uniform coat of paint, the color itself being the pleasing factor to the eye.

Johann David Schöpf, a German surgeon, traveling through Eastern Pennsylvania in 1783-1784 noted in one house "a great four cornered stove, a table in the corner with benches fastened to the wall, everything daubed with red." An 1805 will recorded in Berks County, Pennsylvania, mentions "my blue cupboard and blue chest standing upstairs." More elaborate decoration was also the rule in painting furniture. The concept of traditional motifs, each betraying the sentiments of those who applied them whether upon a dower chest, illuminated manuscript, or a fine linen sampler, all were utilized by individuals to express pictorially the symbols of the culture. The thoughts and feelings which motivated the symbolic motifs were carried to

Brilliant contrasting colors of blue and yellow applied with the putty-gunning technique decorate this dower chest from southeastern Pennsylvania. Decoration of this type may be thought of as "just for fun," however the purpose of concealing the bare wood is thoroughly carried out. The chest originates from upper Montgomery County and descended from the Huebner family. Courtesy of the Schweinfelder Museum, Pottsville, Pennsylvania.

The dower chest is decorated with a fanciful overall wood grain pattern of black over an orange ground. The decorator's personal approach to composition, pattern, and color dominated any attempt to slavishly copy a figured wood grain. This example is of southeastern Pennsylvania origin and dates circa 1830. It is 24" high, 41" long, and 21" in depth. Privately owned.

The two dower chests from upper Montgomery County are each painted in a shade of blue-gray with trim moldings above and below the drawers painted an orange-red. Courtesy of the Schweinfelder Museum, Pottsville, Pennsylvania.
this country by the emigrants and certainly they and their immediate generations fostered and expressed these ideals. However, the pluralistic society in this country of English, German, Irish, Scotch, French, Dutch, etc., slowly evolved into a homogeneous society which in turn began to propagate a material culture which may be described as American. The value and significance of the traditional motifs faded away during the gradual evolution towards unity. Consequently in the early decades of the 19th Century different emphasis on decorative embellishment began to emerge out of the traditional methods.

It is characteristic of human nature to seek and invent substitutes for things not readily obtainable. This trait was amply expressed by decorating furniture, constructed of unpretentious woods, to resemble something made of finer wood such as mahogany, rosewood, cedar, and maple. Marble types were also frequently copied by skilled decorators. Furniture displaying this type of decoration is easy to recognize and understand. Numerous pieces were decorated in this country in the above manner during the 18th and particularly in the 19th Century.

Directions for preparing colors, mixing paints, and applying painted decoration to furniture were available to the general public in publications pertaining to domestic home economy, cabinetmaking, and artist’s manuals. A. E. Youman in his Dictionary of Every-Day Wants stated the following advice for securing correct results in graining furniture: “In the imitations of woods and marbles, it is necessary to procure panels of bits of veneer and copy the color and form of the grains as near as possible.” For graining in oil Youman states: “Mix the grain color in boiled oil and turpentine, and add a little soap, or whiting, or even both; it makes it flow better.” To grain in distemper, the same reference provides the following advice: “the grain color is ground in ale, beer, vinegar, or whiskey; the object being to bind the color so that it will not rub off.” The choice of graining in oil or distemper was often determined by the desideratum of the finisher and the characteristics of the grain, and also depended upon the desired final effect of the decoration. For example, the mottled quality acquired in putty graining is only successful if done in distemper.

From this tradition of imitation wood grains emerged another form of decoration which can be summed up in the following statement. “Colouring may be divided into two kinds: that which is necessary for rendering the imitation just and natural; and that which is fascinating, and renders the work more impressive on the imagination, more delightful to the eye.” It is this last category of decorated furniture which delights the eye of those who seek examples of it, yet defies the imagination of one who tries to explain the decoration from a basis of reality. Intricate overall patterns were effected by employing simple implements as a cork, piece of glazer’s putty, comb, corn cob, brush, sponge, textured leather, feather, and also the soot from a tallow candle or kerosene lamp. Frequently the overall pattern will vaguely resemble the grain of wood, yet the executor’s personal sense of form, color, and proportion completely dominates any attempt to create an exact copy.

Seldom does one find painted furniture signed by the decorator. Consequently we do not usually know who was responsible for the embellishment, whether it was the cabinetmaker, a local painter or artist, or possibly the owner. A rare exception is a grained blanket chest in the collection of the Pennsylvania Farm Museum signed by “J.D. Miller, Painter April 6, 1893.” Occasionally the work of an individual is recognized by the personal techniques which are revealed in each piece of furniture that he has decorated.

Decorated furniture reflects the varied attempts by earlier generations at making their everyday home environment more aesthetically pleasing. It is a part of the material culture which at one time commanded the appropriate attention and respect of those who produced and used it. But like much else from an earlier age, it is today only recognized by a few who are interested enough to inquire into its origins and traditions.

Ibid., p. 255.
Ibid., p. 255.

Dated 1800, this dinner chest is an early example displaying traditional floral motifs which the Pennsylvania Germans commonly utilized in their graphic arts during the 18th Century. It is interesting to note the composition of floral motifs based upon symmetrical units of three. Note also the putty grained background (green and brown) which later in the 19th Century was employed to decorate chests in their entirety. Motifs are red, brown, and black against white panels. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Robert W. DeForest.

The purpose of this paper is to discover whether the traditional food of Greek-Americans has undergone any transformation and if so to characterize the forces which have brought about such change.

Scientific literature on this subject is lacking. Therefore, I have had to rely almost exclusively on my fieldwork in the Greek community of Philadelphia. The result of this research has limited value as it applies only to Greek-American communities which share similar conditions.

To fully understand the Greek-American diet, and changes in it, it is necessary to become acquainted with the traditional cookery of the old country. Therefore, I would like to give a brief and rather impressionistic history. Sanders, a student of the Greek rural community, gives us an idea on how the diet varies in Greece:

Regional variations in food habits throughout Greece depend upon the local products available. Where the olive is not grown, but is obtained only through purchase or barter, the peasant usually has milk products such as cheese or yoghurt. Where Citrus fruit is lacking, more red peppers in the bean stews provide vitamins. Within a community there are also differences in diet based on differences in income.

However, with those foods that are available nationally, there is a Greek or national way of preparation. These foods are: cereals, vegetables, garden herbs, fruits, and meats. Rather than trying to review all the ways these foods are prepared in the country at large, I have selected two modes of preparing these nationally available foods. One is called "stuffed food or stuffed pastries," the other is "Glyko tou Koutalyu".

"Stuffed food" consists of a filling of meat, or rice, and/or other ingredients wrapped in a layer of vegetables like tomatoes, eggplant, pepper, squash, cabbage or grape leaves. "Stuffed pastry" consists of a filling wrapped in layers of fyllo, a dough stretched as thin as cigarette paper. Glyko tou Koutalyu is a homemade sweet jam served on a tea spoon. For simplicity, I will refer to it from now on as Glyko.

Both these methods of preparing foods that are readily available, are found all over the Balkans and

Asia Minor. Folklorists who are familiar with the culinary art of countries in the area will recognize them immediately. If one relies on the name given to some Greek dishes made in this way, one might incorrectly conclude these methods are of Turkish origin. Actually they can easily be traced back to antiquity. For instance, "Tyropitta," cheese wrapped in dough, is referred to by Artemidoros' and pastries with "fyillo" (the dough wrapping) have an ancient antecedent, known as "kopton," noted by the scholar Koukoules: Well pounded almonds, hazel-nuts, honey, pepper, sesame, and poppy compose a stuff laid between two leaves made of dough.2

Koukoules again reports that the technique of using cabbage leaves to wrap over a mixture of raisins and rice was found among the Byzantine Greeks.3 So much for the uses of the "stuffed food" and "stuffed pastries." What about Glyko, the jam? It too can easily be traced back to the Byzantine period. Koukoules has this to say on the topic:

Many a sweet, mainly the so-called "Glyko tou Koutalyu," in the Byzantine period ended in -aton, e.g., Kritaton [of Citron], as they do in modern times.4

My point so far is that there exists a Greek way of preparing certain common foods and that these processes can be traced back to antiquity. Now I want to examine any changes that occurred in these methods of preparation in America. I succeeded in my intention of contacting an equal number of first and second generation informants. It has been argued that some aspects of culture like food habits, language, and greetings are retained intact through the first generation and partially into the second.5

The literature concerning Greek foodways in America gives us the following picture. As recently as 1938 Lovejoy in his efforts to illustrate the acculturatation of the Greek community at Tarpon Springs, Florida, confesses in respect to food that:

Whereas practically all age groups have adopted the American manner of dressing only the younger groups seem to have changed materially the traditional Greek diet, and even with them the changes have been neither pronounced nor extensive.6

Twenty-nine years later Baxbaum investigating the life of the same people concluded:

The Americans would not prepare a meal in the style and elaborateness of the Greek meal.7

Stykos speaking for another community in a North-eastern town states:

In every family, Greek cooking was preferred and predominated in the menus.8

2Artemidoros, Onirocriticon, 1, 72.
4Ibid., p. 94.
5Ibid., p. 117.

West writing the best informative, though unprofessional, article on the food of the Greeks at Chicago cites the Greek consul's statement that:

Visitors from Greece are astonished by the way Chicago's Greek-Americans have kept alive their Hellenic customs, especially in their menus.9

From a general standpoint I would say I came to the same conclusion, when I received the returns to the question, "What kind of food do you prepare?" The immigrants replied: "Greek food only." On the other hand, the second generation retorted: "Sometimes Greek, sometimes American".

Before I come to the details I have an explanation for the steadfast loyalty of the immigrants to their cuisine. It seems that Greek cookery entered the United States along with the increase in the number of the female immigrants. In addition to other hardships the men had to face unfamiliar dietary habits.10 Undoubt-
edly this is one of the main reasons that forced them to bring over Greek women.

The latter, occupied with household chores, could spend only the minimum necessary time preparing ethnic food. The following excerpt from Georges' dissertation shows clearly the status of the woman:

Women were strictly forbidden to engage in employment outside the home. Their principal duties continued to be to maintain a proper household. Any difficulty the first women met in finding Greek ingredients practically died out at the time of establishment of the first communities, for the immigrants set up an import trade to supply Greek products. After that as Kanoutas says:

These products started also to be imported by the Italians, Jews, Syrians, Americans, and some other races the taste of which is identical or does not have great difference from the Greek one. One more factor played an important role in the perpetuation of these habits as well. This has to do with the fact that the Greeks went into the food business early. Although many put up their enterprises to satisfy the palate of the American customers, they could easily provide the indispensable items for their family. Part of my questions covered the subject under consideration. Since I was familiar with the settlement of the Greeks at Philadelphia, my research included two chronologically different areas: the old community, and the new one produced by the exodus towards the suburbs.

It seems that the Greek immigrants living at the quarters bounded between Locust, Spruce, Eighth, and Twelfth Streets were not concerned about obtaining the material needed. Greek groceries in the vicinity, Greek peddlers, and the neighboring Italian market took care of the immigrants' special needs. Even those who found it comfortable to live far away from "Greektown" used to go either to the Greek shops, especially on Sundays after mass, or to the

S. G. Kanoutas, Ho Hellenismos en Amerike, 1918, p. 151.
Reported by M. Topakas and H. Thomas, Sr.
Reported by all the informants.
Reported by M. Topakas.
Reported by all the informants.
Reported by M. Topakas and H. Thomas, Jr.

Italian market. A second generation Greek-American, husband of one of my informants, who is familiar with the theme said to me:

Christian Street has not changed for fifty years; all the people, mainly the immigrants, e.g., Italians, Greeks, Armenians, Jews were versed in these shops. Carrying their bags they used to walk or take the bus, there were trolley buses, to Christian Street in order to buy cheese, vegetables, etc. They still do it. The economic boom of the Greeks brought on the splitting of their community. The change of their residence coincided with the development of the Super Markets, which furnish them almost everything they want. Furthermore, delicatessens in the suburbs sell pure Greek products. Strangely enough, certain spices or seasonal garden herbs are found in the back yards of their suburban houses. This phenomenon was explained by one informant in the following way:

With these aromatics as we call them, e.g., mint, parsley, anise, onion, etc., the food tastes different. I have seeded mint and parsley down at my yard, because in the "marketta" you find them rotten. Despite the uttered evidence of persistence of the Greeks in their traditional cookery, unavoidable changes came out. Since household chores are the predominant occupation of the Greek peasant woman, she becomes to a great extent expert in the culinary art. In some cases, in the old patriarchal families the status of the new bride was dependent on her ability to offer tasteful dishes made of scanty ingredients put at her disposal. Consequently she acquired some relative qualifications summarized by West as follows:

Nor is it easy to get a recipe from a Greek housewife. She may be willing enough, but she seldom has anything in writing. Usually she does her cooking by memory, instinct and invention.

In the U.S.A. she changed many recipes in the course of application of this last ability. See how one informant explains the enrichment of the staple in "Tyropitta":

"Peter Thomas participated for a while in the interview session held at the house of his mother-in-law.
"Reported by Mrs. Skyllakos.
"Sanders, op. cit., pp. 143-144.
"West, op. cit., p. 66.
In certain areas where the Greek cheese is lacking, they put Myzethra [she implies sour cheese] and cream cheese. The last one is white and moreover, is kept concrete. Even when you use Greek cheese, the "Tyropitta" tastes good if it is mixed with cream cheese. 

The lack of "Feta," Greek cheese, whenever it was needed, spurred the female imagination to find substitutes. Exerting them the Greek housewives came across some qualities of the new blend, which gained their acknowledgement. From the frequency of the report as well as from the information available in the cookbooks edited by the ladies of various Greek communities springs my firm conviction that in America "Tyropitta" has taken its own peculiar and distinct style. My opinion is backed besides by the fact that the second generation accepts the new mixture de facto.

The use of a material available in great quantities in the U.S.A., contrary to the old country, plays a conspicuous role too. The "stuffed food" in Greece was made of rice, as staple, with or without ground meat. In many a region the latter is tasted on festive days only. Since the American markets have a variety of meats, the cook does not worry about obtaining it; to prepare this "stuffed food" she purchases mince made not only of the familiar lamb but beef as well.

Oddly, one traditional "stuffed dish" is no longer served as a main course. This is the Dolmades—a grape leaf stuffed with meat and rice. In Greece the dolmades is the main course in a peasant meal and is highly regarded because of its meat filling. But in America where meat is consumed more than in Greece, it is served by itself, as a kind of status symbol, and the dolmades moved up into the hors d'oeuvre category. Further, it is now stuffed only with rice—the idea being that if you have meat, why waste it in a dolmades?

The technology of modern civilization undoubtedly affects food habits more than any other factor. All the first-generation informants expressed their satisfaction with the refrigerator, the oven, the mixer, the blender, and so forth. They spare time and labor. Because the "stuffed food" requires an oven, in Greece, the industrious Greek peasant woman uses the opportunity when baking bread to prepare such fare. She would hardly heat up the clay bake-oven just to make "stuffed food."

But in Philadelphia, it is the contrary; she is free of the old bake-oven. She is, therefore, able to prepare the favourite food or pastry more often. Some remarks of the informants shed light on this new development:

Here, the sweets become better. . . . How can I explain? We have ovens and bake the candies immediately. Besides, we make much more; the more you prepare the more experience you get."

She continued:

Here, you can prepare a whole "cheese pie" or "spinach pie" and put it unbaked in your freezer; when someone calls on you, you put it into the kitchen stove, turn it on and that's it."

Another interviewee emphatically points out:

"Any time you want you can prepare a candy, because everything is located in your house. . . . You do not think the preparation of it over."

A third participant obviously agrees with the former:

"Here, we have everything. . . . Whenever it smokes to me [a literal translation of a phrase used by the folk very often. Its real meaning: whenever I desire]. I stretch the "Fyllo" and I make the "Baklava.""

I sum up with a fourth informant's statement: "Here we have all the facilities.""

So much for the "stuffed foods" and "stuffed pastries." They flourished among first-generation Greek-Americans because they could be prepared more easily. On the other hand, Glyko, the sweet jam, passes out of the diet. It was primarily used as a treat for guests because it was easily made from the seasonal fruits and/or vegetables. In Philadelphia the first-generation Greek woman prefers to exege the old country custom of hospitality by offering sweets, candies, or round cookies which used to be and still are indispensable parts of certain festive periods or days."

As far as the immigrants' children are concerned some more striking changes are observed. All in all the trend to less elaborate dishes and simpler methods of cooking is obvious. This is what they mean by the phrase "American way." Usually the older female immigrant who is used to the household jobs looks down upon this point of view.

Nothwithstanding, two very good reasons work toward this modification. First, a rich and nutritious food like..."
Greek was recorded on tape. Second, the girl born here spends more time out of the house than her mother used to. Consequently she began employing quick methods of cooking which in the course of the years became habitual.

The second-generation wife does follow the traditional patterns concerning the "stuffed food" and "stuffed pastries". Although "Glyko tou koutalyu" has been dropped out of her menu, she may not be completely ignorant of its construction. She just does not want to go to the trouble of preparing it. Now she is content to offer a drink and a traditional sweet that is easier to prepare.

I would now like to move on to the main reasons for change in a Greek immigrant food habit. Essentially it is the factor that I indicated before: "the technology of modern civilization" or urbanization. Virtually it is the factor that I indicated before: "the technology from rural areas. In a Greek rural community, everything concerning foodways has its designated function. The woman by virtue of her responsibilities for feeding the family familiarizes herself, mainly through imitation, observation, and participation, with the traditional ways of utilizing everything edible in the environment. What she prepares is determined by what is available. Thus the diet is mostly seasonal in content. Further, she does not need a recipe to prepare the customary seasonal food. In the American city, it is just the opposite. Greek foodstuffs are available anytime, in or out of season, and because of the modern kitchen, they can be prepared far more easily than in the old country. Amazingly, Greek women will prepare specialties they never could in rural Greece, and begin collecting recipes from books and friends for these dishes. These are the end products of urbanization, not "Americanization".

The latter process does take place in two instances: in the use of simple methods of cooking and in the embellishment of the traditional recipe with ingredients found in America only. These new ways coming in contact with the Greek food habits culminate in a novel blending which is neither pure Greek nor American. It is Greek-American.

**TRANSCRIPTION OF SEGMENTS OF THE TAPED INTERVIEWS**

To get across to the reader the methods of cooking discussed I include in this supplementary part of my paper a few representative specimens of recipes that the informants turned out. The information, given in Greek, was recorded on tape.

I. Technique of making "Stuffed Food" or "Stuffed Pastries."

A. Covering with "Fyllo".

1. "Baklava". Contributor Mrs. Skylakos.

**Collector:** Where do you find the "Fyllo"?

**Informant:** Hal Ha! Hal! (she laughs). I make it by myself. I make "Chlylopittes" [a kind of noodles] too.

**Collector:** Do you have a "blasti"?

**Informant:** Yes, I do.

**Collector:** Would you like to explain your method of stretching the "Fyllo"?

**Informant:** Yes. I take flour, eggs, milk, some sugar, and a little salt. To turn them into dough I mix and work them well. I many times roll the "blasti" on every piece of dough, until I make it a very thin stiffly leaf. I have to watch out to avoid splitting.

**Collector:** What next?

**Informant:** Then I grease the baking rectangular pan with olive oil. Using butter this time, I do the same work with every piece of "Fyllo". I place several pieces of "Fyllo" on the bottom of the pan. Then I place the pounded walnuts on it and again pieces of "Fyllo". I am accustomed to heat butter and olive oil together and brush the top "Fyllo" with this blending. Then I carve it into pieces and put the pan in the oven. When the pastry is done I take it out and leave it until it becomes cold. Then I pour over it the syrup which must be hot.

**Collector:** What do you make the syrup of?

**Informant:** I make it of water mixed with sugar, cinnamon and cloves.

**Collector:** Where did you learn this recipe?

**Informant:** In Greece.

Mrs. M. Topakas gave some more details on the same sweet. She amounted the pieces of "Fyllo" which constitute the first layer in fourteen. Her mixture consists of walnuts or almonds, cinnamon, sugar and some very small pieces of "Fyllo". Counting from the bottom, she covers the first levels of the stuff with four pieces of "Fyllo". She places this stuff and the "Fyllo" four times turn and turn about. In the long run, she covers the top with sixteen pieces of "Fyllo". The following passage is quoted verbatim from the interview with Mrs. M. Topakas.

**Informant:** Before I make it I sprinkle the top of "Baklava" with water in order that the "Fyllo" may not blow up. This piece of advice was given me by my aunt.

2. "Tyropitta". Participants in the discussion Mrs. M. Topakas and her daughter Mrs. H. Thomas, Jr.

**Collector:** Where do you find the "Fyllo"? Do you stretch it by yourself?

**M. Topakas:** No, I do not know how to stretch it. I purchase it in Mr. Theophanes' shop or in "Kypseli" [the name of a pastry shop run by a Greek-American].

**Collector:** What other ingredients do you need?

**M. Topakas:** I need "Feta", cottage cheese, cream cheese. More cream cheese than cottage cheese because the latter is more liquid.

**H. Thomas, Jr.:** And one egg.

**Collector:** Why do you use three kinds of cheese? In Greece they use "Feta" only.
B. Covering with vegetables or garden plants.

1. "Dolmades". Interviewee Mrs. Christides.

**Collector**: How do you prepare "Dolmades"?

**Informant**: There are two kinds of "Giapprakia" [other name for "Dolmades"], with or without mince. I prefer the ones with mince.

**Collector**: Any specific reason?

**Informant**: We the "Epeirotes" [her parents come from Epirus] are highlanders; we, therefore, eat more often meat and butter than "Ladera" [food in which olive oil is used, without meat]. I mix ground meat, green onion, parsley, rice, egg, salt, pepper, and some carrots. I cut this stuff in balls and wrap them over with boiled leaves of cabbage or green grape vine. Then I boil all of them together.

**Collector**: Where do you find leaves of green grape vine?

**Informant**: I buy them in the Greek shops.

**Collector**: I have heard that some Greek ladies in Philadelphia in spring or summer time pickle them in order that they may preserve them for the winter months.

**Informant**: That's right! That's right!

The method of pickling the leaves of green grape vine for future use is given by Mrs. Petas as follows:

**Informant**: My mother, when she was in Philadelphia, used to collect leaves of grape vine and put them in salt.

**Collector**: Where could she find them?

**Informant**: We have in our backyard.

**Collector**: What method did she exactly follow?

**Informant**: Well, she used leaf and salt in turn. When she formed a bunch of fifteen leaves, she put them in a jar full of salted water.

When the staple of the "Dolmades" is mince, "Augolemonosoupa" [egg-lemon sauce] constitutes an essential supplement of them. The following excerpt from my discussion with Mrs. Th. Topakas will shed light on the way of preparation of this sauce.

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**H. Thomas, Jr.**: "Feta" only would be too heavy.

**M. Topakas**: I don't know, it is written in the recipe sent me from Greece.

**Collector**: They do not have cream cheese and cottage cheese in Greece.

**M. Topakas**: I do not know. [Obviously she does not remember where she got this recipe. As she confessed later on she was not used to prepare this kind of food at Chios].

**Collector**: Let us go on!

**M. Topakas**: Well, using a fork I stir this material up. When it is well mixed I lay it between two levels of "Fyllo" and fit it in the oven.

The stuff of Mrs. Christides differs a little bit. It consists of milk, flour, eggs, "Feta," cottage cheese and butter.

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**Collector**: How do you prepare "Augolemonosoupa"?

**Informant**: I start with beating the whites of eggs. Then I add the yolks and beat them again. Further on I add the juice of lemons, mix this stuff up with a cup of broth from the "Dolmades" and pour it over the "Dolmades" served in the plate.


**Petas**: I make "Kolokythia Gemista" a little differently from the other stuffed food.

**Collector**: What do you mean?

**Petas**: With a spoon I take the stuff out of the "Kolokythia" [squashes] and with it and other ingredients I make a filling resembling the "Kefteles". That means I use more mince than rice.

**Konstantos**: Do you put bread too?

**Petas**: Yes! As it is done with "Kefteles".

**Konstantos**: We do not follow this system. First we brown the ground meat with onion. We blend this stuff with pepper and other spices. We mainly use mint, a lot of mint.

**Petas**: I also do, but I use small pieces of bread because of its qualification to keep the mince tied to the rest stuff.... I firmly follow the technique of baking the tomato plants, pepper plants, etc., as I learned it in Greece. I take their stuff with a spoon out of them and mix it with onion, butter, garlic pepper and few seeds of rice. Before I set this stuffed food in the oven I pour a sauce over it.

**Collector**: What kind of sauce?

**Konstantos**: [Interfering] In our country we use a sauce made of tomatoes. Here, my sister uses a sauce she buys at the market. It contains many spices. I like it.
II. Technique of making “Glyko tou Koutalyu”.

Although only the first generation prepares this kind of preserves I use the words of an informant born here because I want to clarify my statement that this custom is fading away.

Collector: Do you remember what other sweets your mother used to prepare?
Informant: “Glyka tou Koutalyu”.
Collector: Would you like to name them?
Informant: A variety of fruits. Apricots, plums, cherries, sour cherries, grapes, oranges, their peel, watermelon, its peel, and so forth.
Collector: The peel of watermelon?
Informant: Yes. It is a delicious sweet. My brother has always in his refrigerator this kind of sweet.
Collector: Does his wife make it?
Informant: Yes. [My informant’s brother is a New Yorker M.D. whose wife was born in Athens].
Collector: Do you turn the fruits into sweet?
Informant: I know but I don’t do it.
Collector: Why?
Informant: You know, only the women born in Greece make it. The second generation avoids it.
Collector: Why?
Informant: They take care of their appearance.
Collector: I am sure this is not the reason. A spoonful of that preserves has less calories than the baked sweet you offered me.
Informant: Anyway! At my mother’s house I used to make them. They were tasty.
Collector: I don’t doubt.

Informant: The technique is very simple. Whole fruits or narrow strips of fruits with water, sugar and cinnamon or mint are boiled until they are “tied up” [the fruits are done and the syrup becomes heavy].

Collector: Do all these fruits share the same technique?
Informant: Yes, but some of them need an additional preparation. For instance, the apricots, plums, and watermelon have to stand in a pot with water and solution of lime.

Collector: Lime? Isn’t it dangerous?
Informant: No! No! I cut, say the peel of the watermelon, the green part, into small pieces and put them in water mixed with two or three spoonfuls of lime. I let them stand for several hours. After I wash them many times, I cook them. I pour out the first boiling water and fill the pot up with fresh one mixed with the ingredients I mentioned before.

Glossary

Avgo lemonosoupa = egg-lemon sauce.
Baklava = it is composed of many layers of “Fyllo,” laid one by one in a baking pan, almonds or walnuts being spread between every few layers.
Blasti = a kind of rolling pin about three feet long.
Chylopoftites = a kind of noodles.
Dolmades = stuffed leaves of green grape-vine or cabbage leaves.
Domates Gemistes = stuffed tomatoes; main ingredients rice with or without meat.
Feta = white very sharp cheese.
Fyllo = a piece of dough stretched to become very thin as a cigarette sheet.
Giaprakia = other name of “Dolmades”.
Glyko tou koutalyu = whole fruits or narrow strips of fruits turned into a kind of jam. It is very sweet.
Keftedes = a kind of meat balls.
Kolokythia gemista = stuffed squashes.
Kotron = ancient Greek pastry the filling of which is laid between two layers of leaf of dough.
Melitzanes = eggplants.
Piperies Gemistes = stuffed pepper plants.
Spanakopithta = spinach pie.
Tyropitta = cheese pie.

Informants

Mrs. E. Christides: age, early fifties; housewife; born in New York, N.Y.
Mrs. T. Konstantos: age, middle forties; housewife; emigrated from Kozani, Greece, in 1968.
Mrs. A. Petas: age, early forties; housewife; emigrated from Kozani, Greece, in 1918.
Mrs. M. Skyllakos: age, middle seventies; housewife; emigrated from Amalias, Greece, in 1929.
Mrs. H. Thomas, Sr.: age, 60; housewife; emigrated from Euboea, Greece, in 1911.
Mrs. H. Thomas, Jr.: former Helen Topakas; age, early thirties; housewife; born in Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. M. Topakas: age, early fifties; emigrated from Chios, Greece, in 1937.
Mrs. T. Topakas: age, middle thirties; born in Philadelphia, Pa.
David Stoner: 
Notes on a Neglected Craftsman

By MAC E. BARRICK

In simpler times, every member of a culture group normally possessed all or most of the skills necessary for existence within that group, whether the group subsisted on an agricultural, a pastoral, or a maritime economy. In rural 18th and 19th Century America, each man was his own carpenter, repairman and veterinarian. Yet in each community there were certain individuals who possessed special knowledge that set them apart and made them sought after by their neighbors. The blacksmith was looked upon with special awe because he worked with fire and transmuted metals in an almost alchemical manner. A man with considerable experience at meat-cutting was invited to all the local butcheries and functioned as group leader there for a small payment of fitch or sausage. One wagon-maker, one tanner, and one broom-maker served a wide area because of the need for special equipment or abilities not generally available.

One such man was David Elias Stoner. When Stoner died, his obituary noted that "he was a farmer most of his life and was widely-known for his ability to build lime stacks and fences." He had other special abilities as well. For much of his life, he made wooden rakes and shaking forks, and for a long time he was a skilled broom-maker. His talent was such that he visited another broom-maker in Newville, Ollie Burkholder, then returned home and built his own broom-making outfit from scratch. He did blacksmithing, cleaned wells, and performed many other special functions in addition to the usual chores around the farm.

Born December 19, 1880, David was one of four sons of Simon and Mary Catherine (Shenk) Stoner. The farm where he was born, and where he lived for sixty years, is located near Kerrsville, about three miles east of Newville, Pennsylvania. In 1901, David married Martha Culp, and they had six children: Paul, Mary (Sellers), Catherine (Keck), David Edgar, Ruth (Boisvert), and Ralph, who died an infant. Stoner joined the Diller Mennonite Church near Newville in 1910 and was a faithful supporter of the church the rest of his life. His profound religiosity was evident in an incident involving another man who, during an argument, slapped him on the cheek; Stoner turned the other cheek and the man slapped that one too. In 1941, his wife having left him ten years before, he moved from the farm to live with his daughter Catherine, west of Newville. In 1958, he contracted pneumonia, and, while recuperating, died of a heart attack April 27 of that year. He was buried in Prospect Hill Cemetery at Newville.

The bare details of his life reveal little about the nature of the man or of the hardships and frustrations of his life. Those who knew him say simply, "He never got into any trouble," or "He worked like a horse," which for the lives of ordinary men would be
sufficient comment. But Dave Stoner was something more than ordinary, for he possessed a highly inventive native genius and a remarkable skill with his hands. He lived unobtrusively among his neighbors, yet served them in varied and valuable ways.

**Forks**

Wooden forks of varying designs were used for a wide range of purposes in Central Pennsylvania. The earliest such forks were apparently made from carefully selected forked branches bent to shape. One-piece oats forks with three prongs and an opposing thumb still exist, though most oats forks used in Cumberland County were later commercial models on which the thumb was mounted in an iron shoe (cf. Sloan, p. 104). More common was the split-wood shaking fork used in handling hay and grain.

Three-pronged wooden shaking forks were one of Stoner's strictly utilitarian products, yet they are highly artistic in their design. These forks were made from white oak cut from his own groves and allowed to cure for a year or so before being used. The first step in the operation was the splitting of the logs into one-inch slabs. The smaller pieces produced by the first splits were used for rake handles and parts. Larger slabs were shaved to produce an oar-shaped blank about 5-½ or 6 feet long, tapering from about one inch thick at one end to about three inches in width at the widest point. Stoner always split his wood, rather than sawing it, since splitting produced stronger tools less likely to crack or splinter in constant use. However, he did use a saw to separate the prongs of the fork. The handle and prongs were rounded and formed with a drawknife, and once the shaping was completed, the wood was steamed, bent, and placed in a special form that held it in position until permanently set. Rosin was used during steaming to make the wood stronger. Stoner's apparatus was apparently constructed by his father, who also made shaking forks. The apparatus consisted of three iron channels for holding the prongs, so this limited production to three-prong forks, although four- and six-prong forks were also used in the area (Figure 1). Curved dowels were inserted between the prongs to hold them in position and a bolt was placed transversely through the handle at the base of the prongs to prevent splitting.

One of Stoner's forks, made for his cousin John Shenk, had the two outside prongs shaved from separate pieces of wood and attached to the handle with a bolt (Figure 2). The handle itself was shaped to

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*Fig. 1.* Three forks used in Cumberland County. Top, fork signed "M. B. Young," west of Neaville (Nov. 1969); Young's forks are found frequently in Dauphin County. Center, six-prong fork, east of Carlisle (May 1969). Bottom, near Allen, southeast of Carlisle (March 1968).

*Fig. 2.* Three-prong signed fork made by Stoner for his cousin John Shenk.

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form the center prong, which was signed on the upper surface. The workmanship of this particular example is crude in comparison with that of other forks and probably represents an early stage in the maker’s career.

Despite many statements to the contrary,’ these wooden forks continued in use well into the 20th Century. Sears’ catalog for 1902 (p. 668) offered “The Acme Wooden Fork . . . made of one piece of Indian hickory, finished by hand. Just the thing around horses or cattle, being made of wood will not injure the animals. Also makes an excellent fork for field use. Price each . . . . 40 c.” John Shenk recalls that as a boy he was not allowed to use iron forks around the animals, and examples of shaking forks found on local farms in the 1960s were still kept in barns and sheds, suggesting recent usage.

*E.g., S. W. Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1640-1840* (Harrisburg, 1950), p. 104: “Between 1740 and 1840 hand tools were greatly improved in both effectiveness and lightness . . . Wooden shovels, spades, scoops, forks and other hand tools were banished to the attic and replaced by lighter and better designed implements having steel blades or tines.”

**Rakes**

Wooden rakes were used commonly to gather hay or grain after it had been cut with a sickle, scythe or cradle, and despite the fact that the McCormick reaper was first introduced into Pennsylvania in 1840 on a farm near Carlisle, many farmers in that area still cradled, raked and tied their grain as recently as the early 1930’s.

In Southern Pennsylvania, there basic types of rakes were made and used. Type I consists of a one-piece handle with braces split from the handle to support the head. A sub-type (Ia) has the end of the handle split and flared slightly. Type II uses one or two curved dowels as braces between the handle and the head. Type III uses wire instead of wood for bracing.

A few examples of type I exist on which wooden dowels or wire were added later to strengthen cracked or weakened braces. Pennsylvania rakes usually have eight teeth, though some have only six.

Stoner’s rakes were of Type I, and, like his forks, were split from white oak logs and shaved to roundness. Though most rake-makers sawed their braces, with the result that they were easily broken, Stoner split his handles. To prevent the split from spreading, he riveted a tin ring around the handle at the base of the bracing (Figure 3). At the point where the handle and braces entered the head, small nails were used to secure the joints. Unlike examples from other makers, the teeth in Stoner’s rakes were not nailed in place, probably to facilitate their replacement when broken.


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*Fig. 3.—Wooden rake, signed by Stoner (near Mechanicsburg, April 1970).*
Brooms

Broom-making is still a widely practiced craft in Cumberland County. Unlike other crafts, it tends to be passed on to apprentices outside the family. Only rarely do sons follow their fathers in this trade. Ollie Burkholder, a Newville broom-maker, learned the craft from Brady Brechtel, and he in turn taught many others—Park Hoover, Harry Barrick, Elmer Stake, and Glenn Burkholder, in addition to David Stoner. Broo-making was not a lucrative profession, but a useful and satisfying one. Ollie claimed that a man could make a good day's wages if he made twenty brooms a day, but it was a seasonal profession, rarely lasting longer than a few months in the fall when the broomcorn was ready to use. Then too, most broom-makers worked "for the half," making brooms from the corn brought in by neighboring farmers.

Because of the equipment involved, some makers called their shops "broom factories." Mervin Jumper had a "broom factory" near Bloserville in the 1930's, and several such "factories" still exist in the area, one operated by Everett Fry at Bloserville and another by Roy G. Morrison at Stoughtown south of Newville. The broom equipment consists of a primitive threshing machine for removing the seeds from the broomcorn, a cutting-box, a large upright floor-vise, and the broom machine itself, which is a large cubical frame about three feet on each side into which is mounted a chain-driven hub operated by a treadmill. The machine has a work platform on top and also provides space for mounting a roll of wire used in the process. Com-

A selection of Cumberland County rakes, shown from the underside to illustrate details of bracing. A. Type I, near Newville (October 1966); B. Type I, with added brace of copper tubing, Mifflin Township, near Newville (March 1970); C. Type Ia, Newville (August 1969); D. Type II, repaired with baling wire, Newburg (September 1967); E. Type IIa, near Mechanicsburg (August 1969); F. Type II, northwest of Carlisle (March 1970); G. Type III, near Carlisle (May 1969).

Stoner's broom-making equipment, now in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Harvey Keck. Top, upright floor vise used to hold brooms while sawing. Lower left, broom-rack made from a slab of wood, in which brooms were placed to dry. Center, the broom-machine, made of 2x2's and measuring overall 3 feet 6 inches by 1 foot 10 inches wide by 3 feet 5 inches high. The drive belt and sprocket wheel were adapted from grain-binder parts. Note the cutting block for trimming the broomcorn, attached to the front. Bottom, a primitive type of threshing machine used for removing the seeds from the broomcorn. The revolving drum is made from 2x2's mounted between Model A Ford wheel hubs; the teeth are 12-penny nails driven partway through the wood, to permit further extension as they wear down.

mercial machines have a drawer for storing the hand tools—knives, combs, needles and hammers—and are designed to fit into a corner of a workshop. The thresher is usually homemade, and hence varies in form, though it generally consists of a toothed drum rotating against a series of fixed teeth inside a tin or wooden enclosure. Though most broom-makers today use commercial equipment, Stoner's apparatus was completely homemade, except for the cutting box.

Corn brooms are made from the straw-like panicles of a variety of millet (sorghum vulgare technicum) which is grown by local farmers, often from seed furnished by the broom-maker. Most of the local broom-makers purchase ready-made handles from suppliers in Baltimore or Philadelphia. Such handles usually have a hole drilled about \( \frac{3}{4} \) inches from the end. To start his broom, the maker inserts the handle into the hub of his broom machine. This hub is connected by a chain or belt to the treadmill, thus enabling the operator to turn the broom and still have both hands free to hold the broomcorn. The broom-maker inserts the end of his wire into the hole in the handle, or if there is no hole, he attaches the wire with a small nail. He then takes a handful of panicles and distributes them evenly around the handle, butt-end toward the hub, and turns the handle so that the wire holds them securely. The second handful of broomcorn is placed butt-end away from the hub, the handle is turned to wrap the wire around it, then the corn is bent forward over the first layer to form the second layer of the broom-head. At this point, some makers trim the ends of the first layer around the handle with a sharp knife. Depending on the weight of broom desired, two, three, or four additional layers are applied, all with the butt-end toward the hub, slightly more broomcorn being added to two sides of the broom. Each time, the layer is wrapped with three or four turns of wire to secure it to the handle, then more broomcorn is applied and wrapped. After the last layer, usually a coarser grade

Stoner's homemade broom machine. A finished broom has been inserted to illustrate the procedure. The object on the work platform is the wire-spool which had been removed for storage.

Handmade broom tools. Top, the needle for sewing brooms; Bottom, a comb made from a piece of saw blade, for removing seeds and snags.

Hand-built threshing machine which Stoner used for cleaning his broomcorn.

Broom-making equipment used by Elmer Stake, Lower Mifflin Township, Cumberland County, northwest of Neuville (June 1969).
of broomcorn, wire is turned around the handle to cover the ends of the panicles (some makers use a small piece of tin called a "lock"), then a nail is driven to hold the wire in place. Now the broom is ready to be removed from the machine. To flatten the head, the broom is placed in the floor vise. The broom-head is then sewn with cotton thread to hold the shape, the sewing being done by hand. The broom-maker wears a heavy leather glove or other protection on the palm of his hand to drive the needle through the broomcorn. Stoner wore two such gloves, one on each hand, to facilitate the back-and-forth sewing motion. Once the broom is sewn, it is trimmed in the cutting-box to complete the operation. Finally the broom is placed in a stand or hung up to dry, since the broomcorn must be dampened during the broom-making procedure.

Some broom-makers weighed out the quantity of broomcorn—one or two pounds—to be used, before beginning each broom. Others took pride in being able to produce brooms that varied less than an ounce, simply by practiced guessing at the amount of broomcorn. It is a common claim that handmade brooms always last longer, and of each local broom-maker, someone always says, "He made the best brooms around." But there is no question of the excellence of Stoner's brooms. Some of them are still in use, as full-weight and firm as the day he made them.

FENCES

The making of post-and-rail fences has already been adequately described elsewhere, and David Stoner's method of constructing them was no different from that discussed by Amos Long (art. cit., p. 34). As with the forks, the rails were produced by the laborious method of splitting and shaving. The posts were split with the forks, the rails produced by the laborious method of building lime stacks. Fletcher notes that the practice was a later development in lime burning, appearing only after coal replaced wood as a fuel (Pennsylvania Agriculture, p. 133). Kiln burning and stack burning of lime continued in practice at the same time, however, and both methods fell into disuse about 1940.

J. Russell Barrick, Carlisle, recalls helping to build lime stacks as a boy near Oakville (between Newville and Shippensburg) about 1915:

When we lived up there below Oakville we made a lime stack every year. Dad'd have the coal there an' build it. Ya hadda know what you were doin' there, so it'd burn right, 'cause it was covered with ground all over. You'd make a layer of coal [about 2-3 inches thick], then a layer of stone [about 12-14 inches thick], an' a layer of coal, an' a layer of stone, until you had a mound about ten or twelve feet high. Then you'd cover that with ground an' leave a hole in the top fer the smoke ta git out an' the air ta git in. You'd start with wood at the bottom, across this way and then more wood across this way [criss-crossed]. Ya had an opening at the bottom t' get in there to start the wood. Nobody went in after it was started. The wood would start the coal, and it would burn the stone. It'd take a week or two fer it to burn, that coal would burn real slow. Sometimes if you had stone with sand in it, it wouldn't burn right, an' you'd have to go an' pick up the rocks afterwards [after the lime was spread in the fields]. But we always picked out good blue stone, and it'd all shake, there wouldn't be any core left.

From available pictures it is evident that Stoner's lime stacks were built the same way (Figure 4).

Mechanization of farm equipment has removed the need for the old wooden harvest tools. Lime is now shipped into the area from Ohio, or ground (rather than burned) lime is used. Wire has replaced the old rail fences almost everywhere in Cumberland County. There is in fact little place on today's farms for the skills of men like David Stoner. In a previous age, he was an important figure, and fortunately sufficient evidence of his work is available to provide some insight into the life of a man, not unique in his abilities certainly, not nonetheless remarkable.

INFORMANTS


Samuel Burkholder, Newville, Pennsylvania; May 9, 1970.

BAPTIST AUTOBIOGRAPHY
As a Folklife Source

By SUSAN DWYER SHICK

The research and writing of the following paper have been undertaken for two primary reasons: (1) to provide the author with experience in working with diary and autobiographical material as folklife resources, and (2) to examine the feasibility and productivity of the historical approach to folklife study. This paper necessarily represents a very limited exploration into the type and the amount of information available in diary and autobiographical sources for the folklife scholar. Any interpretations are meant to be suggestive, rather than exhaustive; provocative, rather than definitive. Yet this study does seek to explore material and methodology that is of interest to the trained scholar of American folk life.

Preliminary research, conducted at the libraries of Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pennsylvania, and Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, has uncovered a great number of autobiographies of ministers, with almost all of the Protestant denominations and many of the sects being represented. It was anticipated that because of the Baptist affiliation of both seminaries, diary and autobiographical works of Baptist ministers would be prevalent in each library's holdings. This anticipation was founded for those few unpublished manuscripts which were uncovered, most especially when the writer had had some contact with the particular seminary. However, this anticipation was not borne out for published materials. Disappointing to this author was the lack of adequately catalogued unpublished manuscripts, and the almost total absence of cross-indexing of the available pictures of the ministers in question.

An unanticipated result of this research has been the acquaintance of Dr. Edward C. Starr who is presently the curator of American Baptist Historical Society's collection, new located at Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, Rochester, New York. The primary undertaking of Dr. Starr as representative of the American Baptist Historical Society is at this time the compiling of a master listing of the holdings of all American Baptist related and affiliated institutions, with concentration being upon works which are about and/or by men and women of American Baptist affiliation. When this ambitious project is completed—it is midway in realization at this time—the material available to the folklife scholar through one central location will be staggering.

While the initial research design of this study was based on the utilization of unpublished materials, when these were not available in significant quantity, the design was altered to include those materials which were either published by the author himself, or, as in one case, by a member of the family who acknowledges having relied heavily upon the individual's own previously unpublished writings.1 These restrictions were included to afford work with materials having experienced the minimum of editing by persons other than the author himself.

Through the historical approach to folk life studies, utilizing such materials as included within the scope of this paper, the scholar is able to establish traditional continuity, rather than being confined in his research to investigation of present form only. In this sense, then, the diary and the autobiography become the "field" and the "informant." It is these written sources which can yield informative insight into the prevalent customs, the daily patterns of leisure and labor, the ideational and non-ideational aspects of traditional ways of life during previous times. It is to be hoped that in the following paper such areas will be revealed with respect to costume, worldview, cookery, and other levels of pertinent interest to the folklife scholar.

Motivation of the Autobiography

Without exception, these eight manuscripts begin with a listing of the reasons for their undertaking. Included in the introduction each author asserts the urgings of his brethren and kin to recall some of his reminiscences of men and events. There is usually reference made to the writer's gratefulness to God for having permitted him to enjoy a long life in the service of His Gospel. Another common element is the disclaiming of any pretensions to fame that writing might bring, with the attempt by the author to place himself among everyday folks. For example, Jeremiah Jeter has written in his introductory remarks, "My life having been passed, much of it, in obscurity, and but little of it among the men and the scenes which go to

make up the world’s history . . . .” John L. Dagg includes the following admonition about publication:

I wish you to understand that I furnish the sketch for the gratification of my children and not for publication. I do not wish to write my own biography for publication; and I do not wish any one else to write it until he can tell how I have finished my course on earth."

Some of the introductory dedications are plainly and openly didactic. Timothy Woodbridge writes that he has sought to “afford some useful lessons to others, particularly to young men; who will learn that adverse events, to which they are all exposed, need not subdue them.”

Jonas Abraham Davis, a converted Jew later ordained a Baptist minister, addresses himself to his Jewish brethren still seen as living in ignorance, beseeching them to “throw off your galling yoke!” While many of the autobiographical sketches were privately published, or published in limited quantity only, the Dagg volume carries this double inscription:

(1) Written by Request, for the Perusal of his Family and not for Publication.

and

(2) Printed for the Purpose of Preservation in the Dagg Family, and not for Sale or Distribution."

Iconographic Sources

In seven of the eight volumes researched the only illustrations included have been photographs of the authors themselves, placed at the beginning of each book. The lone exception is the Todd volume, which includes nine drawings—apparently of the pen-and-ink type—of various churches that Todd served, his residence, some household rooms, a wilderness camp, and the Lawrence Academy located in Groton, Massachusetts. As in the other seven volumes a photograph of the author is included, complete with autograph! No drawings attributed to the authors have been included in any of the eight volumes, although it is possible that sketches or doodlings could have been present on some of the original manuscripts.

The photographs that have been included are of the formal portrait type, with both seated and standing poses represented. We can clearly discern that the hair is long, and that beards and/or moustaches are typical. Rather than being photographed in clerical gown, the ministers without exception have been shown in suits and shirts which were the dress of their day. Some photographs indicate the presence of a cloak casually draped over one shoulder, but most do not.

MEDICINE AND RELATED BELIEFS

While the writings of these men do not indicate an overly concentrated concern with death, there is frequent reference to, and discussion of, human ills and prescription for their eradication. George Baldwin shares with his readers the difficulty that he experienced while a seminary student:
My success as a student was sadly indifferent. Three causes contributed to that result. One was a permanent weakness of my eyes, on account of which I have never used them more than two hours a day. Another was a lack of the power of concentration, which made it impossible to fix my attention.

The chief cause, however, of my failure, was a restless desire to get into the active work of the ministry.

Help for the second "affliction" has been described by Baldwin in this way:

This, in the latter part of my course, was helped by a phrenologist, who, upon examining my head, found a depression, where, as indicative of concentretiveness, there should have been an elevation, and exclaimed: "Young man, you can never become a real student, nor succeed on any line of life."

Baldwin records his great depression upon hearing this pronouncement, but hastens to assure us that the phrenologist, after a careful examination of the patient's other "organs," reported the evidence of compensatory facilities. The prescription—"Sufficient willpower" to overcome the constitutional defect.

Shortness of life is referred to in several ways, and each minister has given due credit to God's mercy for the unusual length of his own life. J. M. Pendleton expressed it in this way—"On all the rest the stroke of mortality has fallen." Sometimes an individual's death has been accredited to an epidemic, with no other accompanying description. Other times the description includes reference to such symptoms as depression, sleeplessness, and knowledge of the end of life.

Childbed fever and exhaustion from childbirth are frequently referred to as causes for a mother's premature death. All of the authors were born of parents who conceived and delivered several children, but in each case only a small number of these children had survived past infancy. It appears not uncommon for the family's minister, or a respected Elder of the local church, to have stayed with the family during the latter days of confinement and through delivery, being available afterwards to assist in the planning for a christening or a funeral.

Pendleton discusses illness experienced during his childhood in this manner:

In looking back to my boyhood, I think of spells of sickness that I sometimes had. There was no doctor in less than ten miles, and my mother administered medicine. The two prominent remedies then were "Tartar Emetic" and "Calomel." They were both nauseous, especially the former. It required an effort to swallow it, and I had to take it in several portions, draughts of warm water intervening, and oh! how offensive it all was!

He continues concerning the results:

The object was to produce vomiting, and this followed every portion of the medicine I took. My mother held my head as I threw up green bile, and when she thought my stomach in proper condition she gave me a little chicken soup, which was highly exhilarating. Afterward came warm water with toasted bread in it to allay my thirst. Todd recounts for his readers the following incident during one of his father's frequent illnesses:

There were . . . a number of Indian tribes in Vermont receiving annuities from the Government, and some of them had sent representatives to present their claims to the council. Among them was an old chief who, in the prosecution of his suit, visited Doctor Todd at his lodging to solicit his influence, and happened to call when he was dressing his wound. "Ah!" exclaimed the old Indian, "him velly bad! Indian do him good." He went away immediately, and after a time returned with some leaves of a plant called "tory weed," and told the doctor to apply them to the wound, using fresh ones every day, and, when the leaves were gone, to make a decoction of the root. The learned physician followed the prescription of his savage professional brother, and the inflammation then first began to abate."

Jeter has provided us with his recollections of the cholera epidemic of 1832 in this fashion:

No place in Virginia suffered from the epidemic more severely than did Richmond. When at its acme more than fifty persons were buried in a single day from a population of about 20,000—equal to 200 a day from its present inhabitants—a terrible levy on human life, surely. At the time of its prevalence in the city I had occasion to visit my parents in Bedford County. My route lay through the infested city, and I dreaded much to pass through it. Pass through it I did and then learned to my delight that not one of my acquaintances . . . had fallen a victim to the plague. It was a remarkable fact that the disease on that visit preyed almost entirely on the intemperate, the imprudent, and the dwellers in unhealthy localities and in crowded and ill-ventilated houses.

From Pendleton's account we hear the following:

However much I suffered from fever, I was lectured as to the danger of taking a swallow of cold water, and was told of a boy who brought on his "death by drinking cold water." No one thought it possible for cold water to come into beneficial antagonism with the hottest fever, but blood-letting was the resort. I am glad that many changes, in the practice of medicine, have taken place since the days of my boyhood."

Samuel Pickard, a converted Quaker ordained as a Baptist minister, has recorded for his readers what appeared to him to be ample reason for returning:

East from an unfortunate Westward trek:

...ague was our chief torment. As the prairie sod which was broken up by the new settlers would rot, its exhalations, together with those of the vast quantities of wild vegetation which decayed each year, loaded the air with such effluvia as to breed ague in abundance.

Many of the first settlers who were much afflicted
REMINISCENCES
OF A LONG LIFE.

BY J. M. PENDLETON.

"But call to remembrance the former days." — Hebrews 11:34.

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY
PRESS BAPTIST BOOK CONGRESS.
1891.

The Reminiscences of J. M. Pendleton published in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1891, provide valuable material for the folklife scholar.

with age and fevers, thinking that such diseases would always prevail, became discouraged and returned East with evil reports of the goodly land. Jeter has noted that "the grosser superstitions of my neighborhood were passing away at the time of my boyhood. I never saw a witch, or a woman reputed to be one, though I heard many thrilling stories of witches that had recently resided in the vicinity." Included in his writing is the following story attributed to his grandfather, who once lived near the reputed witch:

One of her neighbors suffered loss by a disease among his cattle or hogs . . . . It was resolved that the matter should be put to a test. It was believed that if new needles were boiled in a pot the witch would come to the house and not be able to enter it unless she could pick up something in the yard to take with her. Arrangements were made for the trial. The yard was carefully swept, and every movable thing was taken away. New needles were put into a pot of boiling water, and all were on the qui vive for the arrival of Mrs. Gatson. Sure enough, she soon made her appearance, walked through the yard, and, picking up a little child that had been permitted to stray beyond the door, went directly into the house. The trial had been a partial failure, but the measure of success had been sufficient to strengthen the suspicion that she was a witch."

Jeter, p. 102.

FOLK ARCHITECTURE

There appears only scant discussion of the types of houses occupied by the authors, and, somewhat surprisingly, little description of church buildings. Mention is made, however, of single and married clergy without children being boarded with hospitable parishioners.

Dagg describes his home as a young man in these terms: "Small log building in which he (the author's father) had commenced his business." Several years after having reached manhood, Dagg returned to visit the house of his youth, describing what he saw thus:

The log house in which my first days were passed had now been removed, and a brick store stood on the site. In it a man by the name of Johnson was selling dry goods and groceries in the year 1807."

From Todd's volume we learn of his experience with the parsonage of First Baptist, Pittsfield, Massachusetts: "We have got into our new house, and, as usual, everything was down at the heel. I have whitewashed, and painted, and papered, till it seemed impossible ever to get through. Then the fences and barns were all in ruins." The drawing included with this text is that of a stately two-story building, having double chimneys and a wide side-porch. Hitching-posts are evident, as are the fences Todd bemoaned. It is in this volume that we also find illustrations of the reverend's study and his workshop. The latter's contents have been described in great detail:

Three or four lathes, a buzz-saw, scroll and jig-saws, a fine bench with an anvil, and a perfect little steam-engine of about half-horse power, con-

Jeter, pp. 102-103.
Dagg, p. 3.
Dagg, p. 8.
Todd, p. 318; illustration faces.

25
Jeremiah B. Jeter was one of the best known Baptist preachers in 19th Century America. His autobiography is useful for everyday life and religion in Virginia in the pre-Civil War era.

George Colfax Baldwin, bearded in Civil War style, wrote an important Baptist autobiography, published in Philadelphia, 1888.

In the interior, low galleries ran around three sides, one of them appropriated by men, the opposite one by women, and the middle one by the choir, who were not crowded by the organ; in the back corners, under the galleries, lingered two or three box-pews claimed by some of the older families; along the fronts of the galleries ran interminable stove-pipes, which dripped pyrolygenous acid abundantly on the well-stained carpets, but diffused little heat; behind the lofty pulpit, a supposed window was concealed by faded and dingy crimson tapestry.33

Wanting to look also on the bright side of things, Todd did find something upon which to comment favorably: "The church has a good bell, a very good town-clock on it, and a good clock inside, on the gallery, fronting the pulpit."

The second church was situated on Long Lake in Massachusetts, within what is described as a very small, destitute community. As seen from the drawing, and referred to in the small accompanying text, the chief mode of transportation to and from the primitively constructed log building was by water:

... the little boats coming up, some rowed by a father with all his family in it, some by the sisters, and some by the little brothers; and one huge bark canoe, with an old hunter, who lived alone forty miles farther in the wilderness.

While descriptions are somewhat lacking with regard to house and church structures, abundant discussions and descriptions of the school buildings have been included. Pendleton provides perhaps the most complete description of a Quaker school house which he attended as a young boy:

After some years my father resumed his former vocation of Teacher. The neighbors, built a schoolhouse about a quarter of a mile from his own residence on his own land. It was one of the typical school-houses of that day. It was built of rough logs, the chinks between which were imperfectly filled and daubed with red clay. There were no windows worthy of the name, but parts of logs were cut out to let in the light, and panes of glass were so adjusted as to keep out the cold. The floor was of dirt and the chimney had a fire-place six feet wide and four feet deep.34

He continues with a discussion of the interior furnishings, providing his own opinion as to their comfort:

The benches were made of slabs, and these were

33Todd, pp. 489-490; illustration 489.
34Todd, pp. 315-316; illustration faces 314.
35Todd, p. 316.
36Todd, p. 478; illustration faces.
the outsides of sawed logs. There were no backs to the benches, and everything seemed to be arranged as to keep the feet of small children from reaching the floor. This, though not so designed, was the refinement of cruelty. No less than six hours a day were spent in school, and during that time the small children had no support for their backs and feet! I know of no epithet that can describe the injustice of this arrangement, and I say no more about it.  

Pickard, another Baptist minister converted from Quakerism, considered his common school (his words) a "novelty" to a person unaccustomed to Quakers. According to Pickard, all of the schools were conducted under the supervision of the Church, with no teacher being employed in the community unless he was a Quaker, and none but Quaker pupils allowed in the school, unless through special permission of the trustees. He has set forth the following description, for he himself considered it of possible interest to his future readers:

The house was about twenty-five by forty feet in size, and was, for a new country, built with much regard to health and convenience, and was a model of order and cleanliness.  

With his comments on the school building, Pickard also has included notes concerning the seating arrangement of the students and teacher:

From forty to sixty children, plainly and cleanly attired, sat in order around the room, and behind the writing-desk sat the pedagogue.

He usually had near at hand a good tough hickory or birch rod, with which he often tanned our jackets in unruly cases, and woe to the little Quaker who was found guilty of misdemeanor. Often was I made to dance jigs and hornpipes to the music of the gad!  

Jeremiah Jeter shares his memories of his boyhood school-house in this fashion:

The school-houses were of a primitive style of architecture, bearing a very slight resemblance to the Doric, Grecian, or Roman order. They were constructed of logs, notched at the corners, daubed with clay, covered with boards, kept in their position by weighty poles laid across them, and lighted, not by glass, but through an aperture between the logs, at a convenient height, which might be closed for comfort by a plank suspended above it on leathern hinges. They had wide chimneys.

Revealing his attitude, Jeter commented: "Those who have seen them (school houses) need no description of them, and to those who have not seen them, no description could impart any just conception of them."

He continues by describing their interior:

These houses were furnished with benches, without backs, on each of which a dozen or more pupils might sit in close contact. A chair and a table for the teacher, with one or more good rods, completed the furniture of the school-room.

A slate and a pencil, with paper and ink for the advanced students, completed the outfit for an education in the "Old-Field Schools." John Dagg provided his family with this description of the structure in which he first acquired his acknowledged fondness for learning and education: "The neighborhood schools were ... poor; and were taught, for the most part, in rough log cabins with dirt floors and without windows or chimney." He goes on to describe this neighborhood school as being located a mile from the village in which he lived, but he does not include reference to his means of transportation, or the difficulties that were no doubt present in his reaching school during certain times of the year. When Dagg was nine years of age, an academy was opened in the town, which he has described as offering advantages far superior to any which had previously been known in the neighborhood.

**Trades and Crafts**

Several of the ministers were apprenticed during their boyhood years. Dagg has described his apprenticeship in a saddler's shop in this way: "The making of whip lashes, girts, and bridles, had as few attractions for me, as hic haec hoc!"

Pickard learned the art of clearing a forest for the erection of a house under the watchful supervision of
his father. He has acknowledged that he was "well drilled in chopping, logging, lifting, and many of those kinds of labor that require the free use of muscle." It is to this experience that he attributes his bodily strength and powers of endurance, further stating his "unqualified verdict ... that all boys, whether they expect to be presidents, preachers, or farmers, ought to be taught to do manual labor." Pendleton has shared with his readers his own fascination with the skill exercised by one of the family servants in driving a team:

When the mill stream failed, as it did in the Summer, it was necessary to go to more distant mills on larger streams. Then my father would send his wagon, and his servant "Ben" was the driver, while I went along. I remember how Ben cracked his whip, and I thought if I ever became a man, the height of my ambition would be reached if I could drive a wagon and crack a whip.

The adequateness of the teacher or school master has been discussed by Jeter in this manner:

Persons too lazy to work, and unfit for other profitable employments, were usually engaged as pedagogues.

If most of the teachers had ever heard of accent, or emphasis, they furnished to their scholars no proof of their knowledge. Of punctuation they had some vague conception."

Leisure Activities

Pendleton has described himself as "a boy fond of play and fun and frolic, with sufficient perception of the ludicrous to call forth many a laugh." Playtime (his term) was remembered as having been filled with "delight":

It was delightful to sport and romp with my fellows, and I thought it no little thing that I could outrun most of them, and was quite adroit in avoiding balls that were thrown in some of our plays."

He goes on to recall for his readers vivid recollections of the "singing-school:

It was in my boyhood that I went with my sisters to a "singing-school," I remember the teacher well. He was a large man and enjoyed in a high degree feelings of self-satisfaction. His musical abilities were not of the first order, but he thought they were and made his pupils believe it. Seats were so arranged that he could stand and walk between them. We had small "singing books," which contained what were called "patent notes," and we sang four tunes, "common, short and long meter" with "sevens." Sometimes there was discord, and the teacher could stop everything by stamping on the floor. I do not know.

Pendleton, p. 19.
think that we learned much, and to hear such sounds as we made would now excite the
realization of every musician on either side of the Atlantic." His opinion of the changes within the musical sphere are obvious to us.
Within the last sixty years there has been, perhaps, as much improvement in music as in anything else. Many changes have taken place in human affairs, but all changes are not improvements."
While the above comments by Pendleton are perhaps the most complete description of some youthful activities, the other authors also make frequent reference to running and jumping games, hunting, attendance at weddings and funerals, and other activities carried on in groups as having been part of their childhood and later adult life. The most frequently discussed activity of the young seminarian and the newly ordained minister seems to have been attending and/or conducting revival or protracted meetings.
Jeter shares with his readers the favorite sports of some of his former students. While serving as a headmaster he observed:

"Play-time was invariably announced by the schoolmaster, by the words "Lay by your books." Books, slates, pens and paper were cast aside, and the demon of uproar seemed to be unchained. The girls betook themselves to the shabby bower and all the mimic arts of house-keeping. The sports of the boys took a wider range. The favorite amusements of the time were marbles, cat, base-ball, prisoner's base, steal-goods, and the like. The popular athletic sports were running, wrestling, jumping, chasing the fox, and boxing, an exercise that sometimes caused more pain than pleasure. The amusements were brought to a close by some boy, of strong lungs, commissioned by the master to cry at the top of his voice: "Come to books!"

"AT THE TABLE"
The one description of dining patterns has been preserved by Pickard in recalling his school years when a young boy:

The teacher had a very pleasant way of managing the noon-supper dinner. We were commonly seated with military precision in a hollow square behind the writing-desks. Heads of classes were permitted the official honor of getting the dinner baskets, and placing them before their respective owners, who in turn laid out the dinner on the desk before them. The teacher's seat was considered the head of the table. The victuals being spread, at a motion of his hand all would become perfectly quiet for saying grace, which was done in silence, occupying one or two minutes, and which was broken by another signal from the teacher, when all would eat their dinner."

He further recalls that when the weather was particularly pleasant his teacher would "take us to a shady grove, where our dinner was spread upon the grass, and eaten with the same order and decorum as before mentioned."

John Todd refers to the reception which he and his family got upon their arrival to take up a new pastorate:

"We had a day of visiting: not less than three hundred, and probably not less than four hundred, came; and they all had to be teased and coffeed. We had provisions enough sent in, and all the ladies came in and did all the work . . . ."

"TEMPERANCE ORIENTATION"
John Dagg has expressed his consternation over the consumption of "ardent spirits" by his fellow ministers with this somewhat amusing anecdote:

"Soon after my settlement in Philadelphia, it became necessary to give a practical proof of my opposition to the use of ardent spirits. The ministers of the Association were accustomed to meet every three months at some one of the churches. A sermon was delivered by a brother appointed at the previous meeting. After the sermon, the ministers dined with the pastor; and, in the afternoon, in a ministerial conference, criticised the sermon for the common benefit. In the first meeting of this sort that I attended, my heart was pained to see ardent spirits set out on the pastor's side-board, and the guests partaking freely. At subsequent meetings the same custom was observed. At length it became my turn to entertain the ministers meeting. The best food that the market afforded, I gladly provided for the table; but my conscience would not permit me to offer the pernicious beverage. The effect, I think, was good. So far as I know, the deacon was never seen afterwards at a ministers meeting. Praise God!"

From Pickard's book we learn that "the town of S*** contained only about eight hundred souls, but it supported a number of whiskey shops, and was a perfect devil's nest—a complete sink of iniquity." During one of his protracted meetings we are told of the following incident:

"The roughs finally went so far with their insults that they brought a bottle of whiskey with them into the congregation, and held a mock communion with it during divine service."

Equating Unitarianism with the devil's influence, Todd has recalled that when he attempted to organize a Baptist meeting within a town formerly inhabited only by Unitarians, he found "their stores open, and all supplied with drink gratis, and cake and cheese gratis, and they even carried rum by the pailful into the meeting-house, in order to influence unprincipled men to vote against evangelical religion."

The majority of the authors held very negative positions concerning the use of alcohol, as has been demonstrated by the quoted excerpts. The only slightly favorable position was that held by Jeremiah Jeter. Although he himself professed and adhered to total abstinence during his own life, he has written: "If, however, a man dissent from my opinion on the subject, and uses intoxicating drinks without drunkenness, I am not authorized by any law of God or man to condemn him."
Dress

One of the most adequate descriptions of the dress prevalent in the community is that which has been recorded by Pickard in describing his schoolmaster:

"He wore an old, time-honored broad-brimmed hat, tight-fitting pants and stockings, and a smooth, buttonless, shad-bellied coat . . . ."

It is Todd who provides his readers with a description of the garments that he wore while in the pulpit:

In the prime of life he was tall and straight, and finely proportioned, and wore a close-fitting dress-coat. In later years he was a little bent by infirmity, and preferred a frock-coat, buttoned up in military style. In cool weather he often wore an immense broadcloth cloak, which had a great velvet collar and reached quite to his heels . . . .

Around his neck was wound in many folds a large white cravat, which, with its stiff standing-collar, allowed him head but little movement. It was not till the very last years of life that he discarded this relic of antiquity, and adopted the bent collar and its cravat—to the regret of many of his people, but to his own unspeakable relief." Jeter has shared with his readers his own experiences upon adopting the use of collars—recently come into fashion—which were separate from shirts:

By chance I borrowed a collar, and while using it spent a night at the plain and hospitable home of the Deacon. On rising in the morning, I remarked that I had never worn a collar before—

that I was pleased with it, and that I must get me a supply of collars . . . . After some delay he said: "I am not sure that it is right to wear collars." Without the slightest doubt of my ability to convince him that there was nothing wrong in the practice, I commenced an argument in its favor. The more I argued on the subject the more deeply he seemed to be convinced that it was sinful. "It is," he said, "hypocrisy—a make-believe. You pretend to have on a clean shirt, and you haven't." It is Jeter who has also rendered the following comments upon the dress of the ladies of his day:

In my early years women's attire, within the range of my observation, was exceedingly simple. Five or six yards of calico or cambric were deemed an ample pattern for the dress of a lady of ordinary proportions. It was made with gores, so as to admit of due expansion in walking. It was perfectly plain in its style, and free from ruffles, fur-belowes, and pleats. The bonnet of those days was designed to cover the head and to protect the face from the rays of the sun, and it was well adapted to its purposes. It was sparingly supplied with bows and ribbons. All the other garments and adornments of the sex were in harmony with these chief articles of apparel.

Continuing:

The first manifest departure from the old fashions was a dress short in front and long behind. It greatly offended the common taste, but it was fashionable, and from the law of fashion there was no appeal. The garment was modified by the varying tastes of its wearers, but those who took the lead in fashion wore it half way to the knees and trailing in the dust behind . . . . the practice of tight lacing became common. It was deemed necessary not only to exhibit the bust, but by compression to give its graceful form. Of all the fashions that I have ever known this was carried to the most ridiculous excess.

As if to lend strength to his own pronouncements, Jeter has added: "Whether it is from instinct or training that women are peculiarly devoted to fashion I know not . . . . All the cautions in the Scriptures against fondness for dress and costly ornaments are addressed to the gentler sex."

CONCLUSION

Through the use of diary and autobiographical materials it has been possible for us to glimpse something of the ideational and non-ideational patterns of the 19th Century. Insight is broadened by such attention to the past, and a more complete perception of culture continuity is the scholar's reward. It is not an exaggeration to say that the roots of the present are found to lie within the past. It also does not appear to be an exaggerated statement that a scholar who knows how the present has come to be what it is will hold a fuller appreciation and understanding of that present.

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The commonest of the bank buildings was the "bank barn," also known as the Swiss or Pennsylvania barn. This one is located on the Harold Blecker farm south of Kleinertsville, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, now part of the state waterfowl and game land project. Photographed 1960.

BANK (Multi-Level) STRUCTURES
In Rural Pennsylvania

By AMOS LONG, JR.

The method of constructing buildings into a bank or hillside was a common practice among many of the early European settlers. Just as the multi-level structure was widely adopted by the people of Switzerland and South Germany because of the deep valleys and steep mountains, the bank buildings became widespread among the rolling hills in Southeastern and Central Pennsylvania where a large number of emigrants from those countries settled. Not only were the barns and houses of these early settlers constructed in this manner but many of the outbuildings which were so vital a part of the early farmstead. A hillside was also frequently sought out for the construction of grist mills, many of the early churches and other public buildings.

Contour and slope of the land were basic factors in determining this type of construction. Survivals of this architectural style are still to be found in the more remote rural areas of Pennsylvania, particularly among the buildings of the older established and traditional farmsteads.

A bank or multi-level structure is one that has been constructed into or against a partly excavated bank or hillside, so that one, two or three sides of the building are partly below the ground surface. These buildings, which at first glance appear to be growing out of the hillside, were well adapted to the site, making them both convenient and practical. This arrangement also provided for less extremes in temperature on the lower level during the hottest and coldest months of the year.

Although most of the bank structures were entirely of masonry construction, some were erected with log or frame materials on the level above the ground surface. Masonry was used on the lower level because of direct contact with the earth.

Another feature of this method of construction was the provision for access to and entrance into the building on two levels. Many have at one time had a varying number of steps, depending on the depth of the slope, located beside or on the outside of the building. The steps led between the doorways on the two levels for convenience in getting from one level of the build-

Photography by Amos Long, Jr.
ing or doorway to the other and because in many instances there were no interior steps.

THE BANK BARN

The large bank barn structures, frequently referred to as the “Swiss” or “bank barn” or “cellar barn” by some of the early writers, with their unsupported cantilever forebay, are the best known examples of this type of architecture.

The bank barn was constructed of logs, stone, brick and frame or a combination of these materials. The most durable and graceful examples are those built of stone. Walls of limestone or sandstone cleared from fields or quarried on a nearby hillside were laid up in slaked lime mortar to the hayloft floor, or to the peak of the gable and across the ramped broad side of the barn which flanked the large doors to the threshing floor. Built into a bank so that the rear stone foundation wall extended to ground level, the lower area provided stables for horses, cattle, sheep and swine below grade. The ground or lower level, enclosed by the stone wall, provided warmth in winter and cooler temperatures in summer for the farm animals. The upper level or second floor was approached from the rear over a ramp of ground through large, swinging doors, supported by heavy wrought iron strap hinges, which allowed for the entrance of a wagon fully loaded with hay or straw. In one of the large doors of each pair, there was a smaller door which allows access without opening the large ones. Some of the large barns contain two or three pairs of doors.

The upper area, supported by heavy logs or timber girders and joists, contains the mows on one or both ends for storage of straw and hay with a granary in the rear or in the area above the forebay. The forebay, of log or frame construction, is a survival of the projecting room and balcony commonly found in many forms of Swiss architecture. The area between the mows served as a threshing floor and for storage of wagons and other larger pieces of equipment. Today the entire upper level is used for storage of hay, straw, grains, equipment and vehicles. The larger barns contain more than one section which served as threshing floors, each approached over a bank or high ramp of ground. Roof construction was timber covered with a protective material.
Many of the barns not constructed in a bank or natural slope have a built-up ramp in the rear which leads into the upper level. These man-made earth ramps are typical of the bridging construction used in medieval Europe.

**Bank Houses**

A number of masonry or part-masonry cabins were constructed with a gable end or the front or rear wall built into a bank. Although many of the bank houses were one story and a half with a low roof line; some were a full two and one-half stories high with a rather sharply slanted roof and a pent or shed roof which encircled both upper floor and roof line. Unusual among these houses are the primitive tile roofs, typical of Old World design, to protect against the elements.

Some of the larger dwellings still to be found were built against or superseded a smaller, original cabin. Many were constructed to accommodate large families. Some through the years were extended or enlarged by the descendants of the original settlers to provide living quarters for more than one family or for several generations of one family. These early houses were constructed not only for the lifetime of the builders, but in terms of the generations who would follow. For this reason many builders used stone as a material for construction because stone is more durable and sturdy. This is largely the reason for the survival of these dwellings for nearly two centuries.

The characteristics of this European-style architecture in Pennsylvania vary, but generally the houses are rectangular in shape and similar in design. Many follow the same pattern of interior arrangement with much of the living area partly below ground level.

The main entrance door leading into the upper or higher level which led into the kitchen area is located in the front portion of the house constructed into the bank. The cellar entrance door leading into the lower level was generally located in the rear or lower exposed side portion of the house.

Although there was generally a kitchen or living area on both upper and lower levels of the cabin or house, the lower kitchen area, located in the exposed portion of the house, constructed outside the bank, was used most frequently throughout the year.

The lower level was usually divided into several areas separated by partitions which helped to support the weight of the house making it more substantial and permanent. Some had three distinct areas, the cooking area which contained a fireplace, the arched or storage area, and an area between which was a separate work or processing area.

The storage area was located in the lower portion of the house which was built into the bank. The area was frequently arched with a doorway providing an entrance through the thick, solid, stonewall partition.
which separated this portion from the rest of the cellar. It is referred to as the root cellar or arched cellar (gewelb Keller) in the dialect. The arched structure or vault, characteristic of European architecture, varies from nearly flat to almost circular. It is located completely beneath the ground surface and extends approximately six feet above the floor.

In the area, outside the vault, beneath many bank houses, there was to be found a natural spring which provided a steady flow of fresh, clean water for domestic use and a stone-lined trough through which the water flowed. Here crocks, kettles and jugs with their contents were kept cool; and because of the lower temperatures, the area provided an excellent year-round storage area for root crops, milk, and other perishable foods. In many of the early houses, only a portion of the area beneath the dwelling was excavated. The floors were clay, flat stone, and in later years brick. Having the water, fireplace, cooking facilities, and storage areas close together provided for a convenient arrangement and removed many activities from the upper kitchen.

The upper floor of the smaller original houses consisted of the main kitchen (Küche) and one or more bed rooms (Kammer). The kitchen area on this level was used primarily during the coldest months of the year and after the work of the spring and summer seasons was completed. Located here was another fireplace above or near the same flue as the one on the lower level. The fireplace in the earliest houses of Germanic architecture was located in the center. In later structures, it was located to one end or in a corner of the kitchen area. The fireplace was designed to meet the heating and cooking needs of the family.

Some of the larger houses contain a hallway (die Gang), which leads from the front door to another interior door at the end of the hall leading into the kitchen area. A long open stairway located within the hall leads to the second floor and attic. Most of the larger dwellings contain a set of interior steps leading from a hallway or the kitchen area of the upper floor to the cellar beneath. It soon becomes evident in the study of these early houses that the function and layout was geared to the contour of the land and the needs of the family.
The larger area which frequently contained a fireplace was used for butchering, laundering the family clothes, and for cooking apple butter and boiling soap. Here one usually found a bench for tubs, bowls, paddles, prints, molds, and perhaps a table on which the butter was salted and molded. A wooden or stone shelf was built on one or more sides of the room.

The entrance into the springroom varies but in many, access is gained by descending several steps below the surface level. The steps were laid with stone and were from two to four feet wide.

The door leading into the lower level was made with considerable weight and sturdiness. The doors on both upper and lower levels were sometimes divided horizontally into upper and lower sections, the top section being slightly smaller than the lower. The upper section was opened for light and ventilation during warm weather. The lower section was kept closed to keep out dogs, cats, fowl, and pigs.

Windows on the lower level were few and small. More windows are to be found on the upper level. The interior of the springroom was rather dark, the open doorway providing most of the light.

Moisture was always present. The temperature in the springroom was always above freezing but never so high as to cause food to spoil. The temperature varied but a few degrees both summer and winter. It was in this area that earthen vessels of various shapes and sizes, jugs and cans with their contents rested in the cold water which flowed over the gravel bed. Many of the springrooms contained only earthen floors partly or entirely covered with large, flat stones or brick, some of which have been replaced with concrete in more recent years to allow the channel of water from the spring to pass through, against one of the walls.

The interior walls of stone or brick within the springroom are approximately six feet in height. They were kept very clean and whitewashed so that any foods stored within the area could be easily preserved. Some of the walls have recessed openings or cooling closets and protruding stones to support shelves on which vessels and earthen containers with their contents were placed. Some of the rooms have a vaulted ceiling of stone or brick particularly if located beneath a bank or hillside. Many springhouses had a fireplace on either the upper or lower level or both. Today, these areas have been converted to a place for doing the family laundry or for storage.

**Bank Summerhouses**

Some of the structures used as a summerhouse were built into the side of a bank, near or directly over a spring with an entrance at both upper and lower levels. The summerhouse served well as a dwelling during warm months and provided an excellent place to perform the many rougher household chores. In addition to eliminating storage, fire, heat, smoke, odors, flies and other activities associated with cooking in the

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**Bank Springhouses**

Many springhouses, some of them the original dwelling on the farmstead, were built into the side of a bank. Again the bank or hillside was partly excavated and the area around the spring was enclosed with a wall so that the area to be used as a springroom was partly or entirely beneath the ground surface. The water then issued from below the surface and flowed into a small shallow stream within the springroom where it was used for cooling in addition to protecting the water supply. At the other end of the springroom was an opening which allowed the water to escape to the outside where it continued on as a small stream.

Many of the bank springhouses were built primarily as a cover and protection for the spring. In addition to protecting the water against contamination, they were used to cool milk and milk products. Some of the vegetables and fruits from the family garden and orchard were kept here until they were marketed or consumed during the winter months. Barrels of cider, vinegar, and wine were also kept in this area.

Some of the springhouses were constructed so that the spring was enclosed in a bank structure attached to the springhouse. The water then flowed from the spring enclosure through an opening into a channel within the springroom and again to the outside.

If the springhouse had another floor, as did many of those on older farmsteads, the upper level often served as living quarters until a larger and better house was built.

Many springhouses had only one floor with two rooms. The one area in which the milk and cream were separated, the butter churned and cheese made was larger than the room which housed the spring.
big house, the summerhouse frequently avoided much confusion and disorder. It also provided for better ventilation and often more appropriate accommodations for the farm hands. From sometime in early spring until late fall, usually from April to October, depending on the weather, the various daily activities of the household from dawn until dusk were performed here.

The summerhouse consisted of a large square or rectangular room on the first floor. Many contained a second floor area which was used as a storage area or sleeping quarters and a basement beneath the first floor which was used for food storage. The thick walls of masonry provided deep window sills which found many uses.

The front of the summerhouse and the porch were usually built to face south or east. This was done to provide as much sunlight and warmth as possible inside the kitchen and on the large porch. It was on the porch that much of the domestic work was performed during the late spring and early summer months.

Of the many chores performed in the summerhouse, cooking was the most frequent and important. Aside from cooking, there were weekly or semi-weekly chores such as baking, and laundering. There was also the seasonal work such as drying and canning of fruits and vegetables, the butchering, curing and smoking of meats and cooking applebutter and boiling soap. The summerhouse proved a very practical arrangement to the housewife up until about the time of the first World War as a place to perform the heavier home industries.

**Bank Smokehouses**

Among the oldest of the smokehouses yet to be found on the early farmsteads are those which were built into the side of a hill to provide easy access into the smoking chamber on the upper level with a convenient arrangement for the removal of ashes from the ashpit on the lower level. Some smokehouses, the writer observed, contain a smoking chamber with an entrance on the upper level, a bakeoven on the side with steps for access and a fireplace on the lowest level.

The fire arrangement was located inside the smoking chamber. It may have been a small fireplace which consisted of simple but sturdy walls built of stone or brick with an opening in front. Many smokehouses had just several large, even stones placed in a circular or rectangular arrangement which was covered over with a piece of sheet iron. In others the ground floor was recessed so as to have a pit several feet deep in which the fire was built.

After the meat which was to be smoked had been cured to guard against spoilage, it was hung in the smokehouse for a period of time depending on the size of the meat and the wishes of the individual. Sawdust or wood chips were then added, enough to cause the fire, which had been started earlier, to smolder and provide the smoke necessary for the meats.

**Bank Ice-houses**

Numerous ice-houses were built into a bank, out of sight, in a wooded area. Although most family-type ice-houses were small wooden structures constructed with wide boards and battens covering the openings between, those which were located in a hillside were in part or entirely of masonry construction. Many who stored ice related that an ice-house constructed partly beneath the ground surface or on a hillside served its purpose better than any other type. This arrangement...
allowed for better drainage of any excess water that might accumulate through a protected opening at the lowest, exposed level.

In the cellar of the ice-house was stored the year’s supply of ice which was harvested from nearby bodies of water during the coldest months and used throughout the warmer months for family and marketing needs.

Caves and Root Cellars
Located as conveniently to the house as possible, the ground, cave or root cellar constructed with stone was built into a nearby hillside. This ventilated, subterranean room was excavated from a bank, walled in on all sides and vaulted with stone or brick to a depth which kept it completely below ground surface. It served for storage and protection of food and provided a cool, reasonably dry place if properly ventilated in summer, and moisture free protection against cold and frost in winter.

Bank smokehouse of combination stone and brick, on Noah Shenk farm near Greencastle in Franklin County. Dimensions: 14 feet long, 11 feet wide, 8 feet high to eaves, overall height 12 feet. Photographed 1965.

Combination bakeoven-smokehouse-fireplace structure on Kitzer homestead, Robesonia, Berks County. Early 19th Century construction with dimensions as follows: 8 feet long, 8 feet wide, 8 feet high in front upper level, 15 feet in rear, 18 feet to roof peak. Smokehouse located in front portion, bakeoven on side, approached by four stone and seven board steps. Fireplace in rear of structure on lower level. Interior and roof of smokehouse burned in 1910. Photographed 1964.

Stairs laid with stone in a cellarway which varied from two to four feet wide were built to enter the vault. The entrances varied from a vertical to a nearly horizontal-type door which measured up to six feet in length. The walls frequently had protruding stones to support shelves, usually of wood, on which vegetables and earthen containers with their contents were placed. Some of the cellars had the side walls corbelled out near the top to support the roof which was constructed of large slabs of limestone laid over the wall on each side of the chamber. These old cave cellars or hillside refrigerators which were recessed into a bank served well in their time as a substitute for our modern refrigerators of today. They were extremely dark; cool and dry in summer and warm in winter.

Some of those which are in existence are still being used for their original purpose. Some have been renovated to be more useful and effective; some stand idle and others are being used for storage of garbage and refuse. Many are no longer being maintained and have fallen into so decrepit a condition that their mound-like tops have completely fallen in and are covered over with underbrush and other growth.

The Limekiln
The limekiln used to burn limestone was built by the farmer on an isolated hillside and into a bank with a southern exposure to prevent strong winds from causing too rapid combustion.
Large, rough, native stones, similar to those which were used for burning were used in its construction. In some areas sandstones were used. The stones were piled one on top of another to the dimensions desired. Construction was similar to that of a dry wall since no mortar is found in the joints. The front of the kiln is nearly vertical with a slight backward slope from bottom to top. Usually square or rectangular in dimensions, the bottom width varied from eighteen to twenty-four inches and at the top from sixteen to twenty inches. The height of the kiln varied from ten to twenty feet and the top of the kiln was built up to meet the ground level in the rear. Frequently the walls were extended from the sides to fit the contour of the slope with a roadway behind the wall leading to the top of the kiln. At the base of the kiln was a large central opening which measured approximately six feet at the base, six to ten feet in height and thirty inches deep. With-
in the larger opening was a small aperture through which the fuel was ignited, where air passed through for combustion and through which the burned limestone was removed. The smaller opening was rectangular or square in dimensions or tapered toward the top.

The dimensions of the cylindrical shaft excavated from the hillside measured from eight to twelve or more feet in diameter across the top opening and tapered to four or six feet at the bottom. The depth of the shaft varied from twelve to twenty feet. Most of the shafts were vertically constructed for approximately half the depth of the pot and tapered below that point to the bottom giving them a conical or egg-shaped appearance. The space between the firebrick lining and the outside walls was filled with native field stones of all sizes.

The powdered lime which resulted from burning the limestones in the kilns had many uses but most of it found its way to the fields as a means of increasing crop production.

Other Bank Structures

Some pump houses or shelters, of masonry construction, which earlier may have housed a hydraulic ram, have been built into the side of a hill.

Many chicken houses, pigsties, and other earlier constructed shelters for farm animals were built on a high, stone foundation, the rear portion of the building erected into a bank or hillside which was excavated for that purpose. This arrangement allowed for the floor to be recessed several feet with added protection on one or more sides and greater warmth in housing the animals or fowl.

Although examples of the bank or multi-level structures may still be found in the more backward rural areas of Pennsylvania, many are rapidly deteriorating and vanishing from the scene because of non-use and lack of attention. Most of those in existence today are being used for storage, laundering, butchering, and for the performance of other domestic and farm chores.


Double limekiln with arched openings, along Route 662 north of Yellow House, Berks County. Photographed 1963.
Der Census Enumerator

By WILLIAM S. TROXELL

[Among the Pennsylvania German dialect broadsides one of our favorites is one that appeared in 1930 from the pen of the Allentown journalist William S. Troxell ("Pumpernickel Bill"), who produced more dialect prose in the 20th Century than any other of our dialect writers. Entitled "Der Census Enumerator," it presents a situation, typical in Pennsylvania German comedy and humorous prose, where an outsider, in this case a somewhat unorthodox U.S. Census Enumerator, is confronted with the sharp tongue and voluble dialect of a Pennsylvania German Hausfrau, and almost, to be sure, with her rolling-pin. Her expressions and reactions are "echt," and much more fun in Dutch than in English. We present this comedy sketch to our readers, with a facsimile of the original broadside, from the Editor's Collection, in honor of the U.S. Census of 1970.—EDITOR.]

Question — Census Enumerator.

Answer — Centapezer's [i.e. Pennypincher's] number? Why, he lives six doors farther up.

Q. No, you don't understand me. I am the census man — I want to put you people on the roll.
A. Well, you don't need to put us on the roll, we have all the groceries we need this week.
Q. No, I just want to have the names of your family.
A. Oh, you are the 'numerator. Come in.
Q. Now, who is the boss in this house?
A. I am.
Q. Aren't you married?
A. Why, of course. Where do you think all these children came from?
Q. Well, your husband is the head of this house, isn't he?
A. Well, he can call himself the head — or anything else — but I'm still the boss.
Q. What is your husband's name?
A. My man's name is Gottlieb Schmidt.
Q. Is it blacksmith, tinsmith, or tinkersmith?
A. You're getting pretty smart. My man's name is Smith and that's all there is to it. You can go on with your questions but watch out what you ask.
Q. Is your husband white or black?
A. You dirty dog you! Do you think I'd be married to a n----r? Do these children look as if they're half black?
Q. I have to ask these things. I meet many people that have white skins but still and all they're very green, and some have a yellow streak. How old is your husband?
A. My man is 51 years old.
Q. Where was he born?
A. I don't known, but I think in Jersey, anyhow not in the United States.
Q. Did your husband have a father and a mother?
A. Well, let's hope so. Do you think the donkey kicked him out of the wall? You stupid grass cripple!
Q. What kind of work does your husband do?
A. Well, forenoons he doesn't do anything and afternoons he rests.
Q. No, what is his trade?
A. Well, he was found guilty of chicken stealing but he's on parole.
Q. Is your husband Lutheran, Reformed, or Democrat?
A. My man is a Socialist and quite a red one at that.
Q. Do you people own this house?
A. Of course, you nebbose.
Q. Do you have the house clear or is there a mortgage on it?
A. Well now, that is none of your business.
Q. Yes, but I must know that.
A. I tell you that's none of your business and if you're going to go on like this I'm going for the rolling-pin.
Q. If you don't tell me then I can have you put in jail.
A. Well, this mortgage that's on the house we are able to pay off and don't have to ask you for money, you fool! You don't have five cents to your name anyhow.
Q. Do you have cattle?
A. Why yes, and some are oxen just like you.
Q. Do you have a donkey or Guggenheimer in the cellar — something that kicks?
A. I do the kicking around here and you are the only donkey in the house.
Q. Now, what is your name?
A. Araminta Lucinda Schmidt.
Q. You have a pretty name. Now, how old are you?
A. You confounded trouble-maker, what does it matter to you how old I am?
Q. You better answer my question or I'll fetch the police.
A. And I'll fetch my rolling-pin.
Q. Once again — how old are you?
A. I'm just as old as my little finger.
Q. Are you white or black?
A. The Devil take you! Are you blind?
Q. Are you the mother of all these children?
A. To be sure — certainly not the father.
Q. Where were you born?
A. In East Texas [i.e., a small town near Allentown].
Q. Did you have parents?

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A. Well, do you think I grew on a chestnut tree?
Q. I didn't know. You are something of an "Old Chestnut".
A. Now that does it! There is the door, you shameless dirty dog!
Q. Do you have corns?
A. Why, sure, but they don't keep me from kicking.
Q. Do you believe in witches?
A. I don't believe in witches or in such Bolsheviks like you. I believe in long sausages and short prayers.

Q. Do you have corns?
A. Why sure, but they don't keep me from kicking.
Q. What size corset do you wear?
A. None of your business!
Q. Do you have a business or a trade?
A. Why sure, cooking and washing dishes.
Q. Well, that's about all that your Uncle Sam wants to know. If we live and are well I'll see you again in ten years.
A. You can tell Uncle Sam he's pretty nosy, and as for you, you can go to the Devil for all I care.
GOOD-BYE.
Leisure Time Activities
In West Chester, Pennsylvania
1800-1850

By RUTH K. HAGY

In the year 1800, West Chester, Pennsylvania, was fourteen years old. It was the county seat of Chester County, and its largest community. Its 374 inhabitants were mostly Quakers, though the nearest meeting houses, until 1813, were in the nearby townships of Birmingham, Goshen, and Bradford. The townsmen were farmers, but some ten or twelve were tradesmen, eight were storekeepers, and several practiced law.

There were about fifty widely scattered houses, a court house and jail, a Roman Catholic chapel, a fire house, and four taverns. By 1804 the village had a post office; four years later, a weekly newspaper, the Chester and Delaware Federalist; and in 1814 a bank was established.

Pigs, sheep, and cattle roamed at will on its unpaved roads, which were twelve inches of mud for half the year alternating with six inches of dust during the other half. Nevertheless, it was a center for traffic going north and south, and east and west, and bell-ringing wagon-trains, carrying immigrants and cargoes westward, gave it a colorful hustle and bustle.

Life was simple for the citizens of West Chester and the surrounding townships in the early years of the new century, and so was its amusement. Men frequented the taverns and passed time listening to the tales of teamsters and drovers who stopped for food and lodging. The women found happiness in their homes, though they found little time for leisure there. In winter, they generally hibernated, as the depth and tenacity of the clay in the streets rendered it expedient, and rather customary, for ladies to take leave of each other on the approach of winter... until the frost was fairly out of the ground and the streets dry.

Any traveling about in the winter snow was done mostly on two-horse sleds. A few families had two-horse sleighs, but the one-horse sleigh had not yet been designed.

While an afternoon hour of sacred music could sometimes be enjoyed at the court house, needlework, largely of necessity, was the usual feminine winter pastime. Young girls embroidered aprons and pin cushions, and worked samplers in patterns of flowers and birds, geometric motifs and verses. Women hooked rugs and made "trapunto" stuffed-work spreads and coverlets.

A busy housewife also made quilts and the exchange of scraps of material among friends and neighbors was an accepted social custom... In spare half hours she took up a bit of the pretty work, which not only delighted her eye but gave her a moment of genuine relaxation.

West Chester about 1825, showing the Turk's Head Inn on the right.
Original designs were made by appliqué or by sewing together the pieces of fabric, after which the "quilting" was applied. But women did not quilt alone, for the "quilting bee" was a favorite form of hospitality. There were usually seven guests at this popular social function, who, together with the hostess, worked the stitching, sitting two on each side of the quilt that was stretched over a home-made frame supported on the tops of low-backed chairs. A delicious meal or two would be served by the hostess in return for the handiwork of her friends."

In fall, the farm families combined their chores with pleasure in order to help one another. Applebutter parties were in vogue. The large copper or brass kettles used for boiling the apples were scarce, and so were loaned from one family to another. One family in the area owned a kettle that was in great demand because it held a whole barrel of apples at once, but they also sent it along with an Irish woman, whose name was Sally, to see that it was properly taken care of and not burned. Sally had an endless collection of ghost stories that the young people delighted in hearing. The parties would run far into the night. Often a fiddler was on hand and there would be dancing. One West Chester resident reminisced of a certain fiddler "that whatever tune he would begin with, he would end with "Jenny Dangled the Weaver." There were no carpets to be rolled up but every housewife took pride in having clean, shiny floors. On these occasions, the floor of the "best room" was often decorated with stars and birds and animals formed with pewter sand."

There were also apple paring companies at which "mirth and jollity prevailed" while the apples were pared and cut, then laid out on racks to dry. Corn huskings were conducted in the evenings. "If a young man got a red ear of corn, it was a sure passport for a kiss from one of the young ladies in the company. If a young lady got a red ear, it was modestly concealed." Chopping matches were common in the autumn also. Five or six neighbors would come by invitation to one farm, spend the afternoon cutting and splitting firewood for the winter, and then would be served a good supper."

These rustic diversions were supplemented in 1813 with a unique visit by a live elephant. The advertisement which announced its arrival in town advised that "the present generation may never have an opportunity of seeing an elephant again" since it was "the only one in America." But, with the exception of the 4th of July, there were no holidays to otherwise break the routine of country life. The Quakers treated Christmas like any other day and they took a dim view of those who did not." A county newspaper noted in 1814 that "The legislature adjourned on the Christmas holidays as they are foolishly called, and shamefully received pay when they unjustly absented themselves from their employment. This fraud cost the state more than $2000 for doing nothing."

However, the "Jubilee of American Liberty" was habitually honored "in a manner suited to an occasion so important." In 1815 for example, this glorious Holy-day was duly observed in the borough of West Chester, by a company of citizens whose hearts cordially respond to the sentiments contained in the Declaration of Independence. About 1 o'clock A.M. the inhabitants were serenaded by the Pickeland band of music. At noon the company was organized, and having marched in procession around the town they proceeded to Liberty Grove, where the Declaration of Independence was read. They returned to the house of John Brinton for dinner after which . . . toast and
sentiments were drunk and cheered with all that animated satisfaction which becomes a free, prosperous and victorious people.  
There were thirty-three toasts at this celebration, each followed by cheers and appropriate songs such as “Yankee Doodle Dandy.”

In 1815, the West Chester Library Association was formed with a small collection of books. Home libraries were almost entirely religious, for frivolous reading was frowned on as a pastime. The prevailing viewpoint on the subject of novels was printed in the Chester and Delaware Federalist:

A volume would not be sufficient to expose the dangers of these books. They lead young people into an enchanted country, and open their view to an incalculable [sic] world, full of unviolable friendships, attachments, ecstasies, accomplishments etc. and such visionary joys as never will be realized in the coarseness of real life. . . . They corrupt all principle.  
The record of the books loaned by the Library Company from 1815 to 1825 indicates that its members generally held the same opinion. Among the most popular volumes are Plutarch’s Lives, Scottish Chiefs, the works of Swift, Scott, and Milton, histories of England and of France, biographies of Washington and Patrick Henry, Don Quixote, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Goldsmith’s Animated Nature, Tom Jones, and the writings of Franklin. The library also loaned copies of the current periodicals—The Port Folio, New Monthly Magazine, North American Review, and Knickerbocker’s New York. While the borrowers were almost entirely men, it is likely that some women were also reading the books and journals their fathers and husbands brought home, since Quaker girls, as well as boys, were taught to read.

Intellectualism was further introduced into the leisure hours of West Chester’s citizens in 1819 when a Debating Society came into existence. Its meetings were held in the West Chester Academy, a private school that had opened in 1813. The public was invited to attend its programs which included such discussions as:

Is the proposition for colonizing the free blacks of this country consistent with sound policy and justice, and is it practicable?  
Is it consistent with sound policy in the legislature of Pennsylvania, to raise money by way of lottery for useful and necessary purposes?  
If Spain persists in her refusal to ratify the Treaty,

Village Record, January 27, 1819.  
Village Record, January 8, 1819.
would it be proper for our government to take possession of Florida?" Sometimes a debate was held over for a second meeting in order that a topic could be more fully argued.

The velocipede arrived in the borough in 1819. The Villeage Record, the new name for the weekly newspaper, warned that "it is a frisky, kick up thing, and very apt to throw an inexperienced rider." But in the same year, the town was favored with a visit by another elephant. For $2.50 anyone could view the creature and watch it dance to music."

By this time, West Chester residents could venture into Philadelphia to catch the Cape May Steam Boat which left the wharf at Market Street every Monday and Thursday during the "Warm season," or they could take in the Washington Museum at 2nd and Market to see its three hundred wax statues, the latest of which was a group representing the "Death of Queen Dido.""

The leisure life of the town was thus becoming less drab and provincial by 1820. The population had increased only to 532, but the county had gained by more than 12,000 and so was over 44,000. There were seventy-three homes, eleven of which were farm houses. Six taverns accommodated the increasing number of wagoners who passed through the village. In 1822, another weekly newspaper, the American Republican, was being published. In 1823, the authorities ordered the town's sidewalks to be paved.

For entertainment, young boys continued to play the usual games of "ball corner, shiny or towns" in the Academy yard on Saturday afternoons. There was sledding and skating for all on nearby ponds in winter; swimming, cherry picking and berrying in the summer or fishing parties along the Brandywine, where dozens of fish could be caught in a single afternoon. In the fall, everyone gathered chestnuts.

Animal caravans began to pass more frequently through the town. Children would excitedly escort the elephants and tigers into the borough at night with torches and candles and then to The Green Tree Tavern. The next day, everyone from the surrounding townships would come to see the spectacle. There were other oddities to amuse, such as the "Chester County Cat Skin, exhibiting a human likeness," which could be seen at "Mr. Strickland's Inn" for 12/6d.

In the 20's, fox hunting was popular. Although it was a sport almost as old as the county, for many a gentleman colonist had brought his horses with him from England, the first hunt on record in the area was not until 1815. The hounds, brought together as the hunt was called, not kenneled together at one place as they are today, hunted raccoons, which were plentiful, as well as foxes. "Hunts were held at someone's farm or one of the local taverns would let out a fox:

NOTICE TO HUNTERS AND OTHERS that a large fox will be let out at the Brick Tavern, West Brandywine Township, Chester County, on Saturday the 11th instant at 10 o'clock, a.m. Fox hunters are particularly invited to attend." The cry of "hark-away" was apparently not always favorably heard for there were some notices in the local papers threatening prosecution of all trespassing hunters.


Indeed, by 1826, the scientific movement that was spreading over the New Republic had reached West Chester and claimed part of the leisure time of many of its inhabitants. In that year, a group of men assembled at the Turk's Head Inn to form the Chester County Cabinet of Natural Science. The Cabinet met in a second floor room of the Academy, where members began collecting books, papers and specimens for a complete natural history of the county. During the same year, a series of lectures on astronomy was advertised to the public.

In 1827, forty-one of the town's leading citizens organized the "Athenaeum." Its stockholders and annual subscribers had access to a comfortable reading room over the Post Office, which housed a valuable collection of books, maps and atlases, current newspapers, and the latest scientific and literary journals. Athenaeum members also started to gather material and manuscripts relating to the history of the county.

Social life was taking on more grace. West Chester residents were receiving formal invitations requesting the pleasure of their company at a tea or dinner, or just to pass an afternoon or evening with a friend. They were invited to cotillions and to "Birthday Balls" held on George Washington's birthday. It was customary on that day for a parade to march to the Court House where the "Farewell Address" was read and the town's cannon fired in salute. A dinner for the elders would follow, in the style of the July 4th celebrations.

By 1830, West Chester had approximately forty professional men—clergymen, attorneys, and physicians—

*Village Record, January 19, 1820.
*Village Record, July 7, 1819.
*Village Record, April 14, 1819.
*Village Record, July 7, 1819.
*Village Record, February 17, 1819.
*History and Progress of Chester County (Commissioners of Chester County, Revised 1965), p. 44.
*Chester County Day Paper, October 1, 1966.
*Futhey and Cope, pp. 326-327.
*Futhey, p. 28.
*Daily Local News, April 22, 1887.
*Village Record, August 21, 1822.
*Village Record, April 20, 1825.
*American Republican (West Chester), September 14, 1825.
and nearly one hundred tradesmen, skilled in a wide variety of crafts. Fifteen stores sold dry goods, groceries, and hardware. There were two hundred dwellings. The population, now more than 1200, was augmented in the summer months by Philadelphians who took accommodations at the Turk's Head Inn to escape the heat of the city. The town's two main streets were macadamized and in 1832 a horse-drawn rail line to and from Philadelphia was opened.

About this time the first piano arrived in town. It was considered a "rare piece of furniture," though it is not known whether anyone could play it. A "professor" of dancing opened a school in the village, while a "Professor of Elocution and Rhetoric" conducted classes for gentlemen and ladies—a "charming intellectual repast" one newspaper commented. On the fourth Saturday of each month the newly organized "Volunteer Company of National Blues" met for drill. The Corps began to officiate at patriotic ceremonies, wearing a smart uniform of single-breasted blue coat with red collar, trimmed with buttons and silver lace, white pantaloons, and a red and black cockaded leather cap.

The citizenry continued to ride to the hounds or to "shoot red birds which were attracted to the local millet fields. They fished with scoopnets in the Brandywine or joined in boat excursions to sea bathe at Cape May," or made "a jaunt to Yellow Springs (Chester Springs) to take a glass or two at the fountain." There was more socializing at teas and dinner parties, for which the company was "expected to put on a clean shirt." Party Committees were formed and they arranged "Harvest Home" Parties, held in a local barn, balls, and soirees. There were invitations to Wednesday Evening Parties, May Parties on the banks of the Brandywine, and Wistar Parties for the men. There was the new relaxation of pleasure rides on the railway.

Two debating societies were now in existence—a junior and a senior group. The Cabinet of Natural Science erected a three-story brick "hall" to house its museum of minerals, shells, and stuffed birds, and its herbarium of over 7000 species of plants. The public attended entertainments, exhibits, and lectures on natural history, which were regularly presented at the Cabinet.

By 1836 the Athenaeum library totaled about 1400 books, including 500 volumes that the former Chester County Library had merged with it. Colonel Anthony Wayne had contributed a group of papers and letters as the nucleus for a collection of Revolutionary relics and history. The American Republican noted that the reading room was a place where anyone "might find leisure to retire one hour at least from the cares of the world and devote that hour to storing the mind with treasure." The newspapers carried notices of amusements to satisfy all tastes: vocal artists, such as Miss Caroline J. Clark, whom music lovers could hear, accompanied by a Spanish guitar, for 25¢. Miss Clark was forty-four inches high and weighed forty-six pounds, and one paper commented that she was "well proportioned, very intelligent, vivacious, and accomplished." There were musical and dramatic soirees, piano concerts by a "distinguished German performer," and demonstrations of phrenology by a gentleman who had "taken casts of many of the most distinguished men in the country." Another phrenologist promised that he would close each lecture with a public examination of the mental development of such individuals as may be selected by the audience, thus affording a practical test of the truth of the science.

Still another advertised that those who wished "to obtain a correct verbal or written description or chart of their mental qualities" were invited to call at his hotel, where they would be "waited upon" for the modest fee of 12½¢.

In addition, there were winter lecture series, some to which an entire family could subscribe for $4.00, that covered almost the entire range of scientific interest: astronomy; the properties of matter; hydrogen, gas and water; geology; biology; anatomy; and psychology. There were also lectures on philosophy, constitutional law, architecture, Shakespeare, English grammar, and the British poets, as well as on Chinese painting and Japanning.

A demonstration of the "induction of Electricity and the accumulation of electric fluid" included an instrument which "when once charged, will give the electric shock several times in succession." One Dr. Theophilus F. Kloz, M.D., gave lectures on animal magnetism (hypnotism). A patron wrote in a letter to the Editor
of the American Republican that the lecturer had informed his friends, before he took the stand, that the quality of his snuff had a great effect upon his voice, and as his elocution was much improved, we judge that he had procured some genuine, first rate Maccoban. Great attention was paid during the whole evening.

The writer added a postscript to his letter:

Mr. J.J. and Mr. J.H.B., you and others, and the little blacksmith, must not sit upon the backs of the seats at the next lecture."

Traveling shows were coming regularly to the town: fireworks entertainments consisting of twenty-four fanciful devices, upon which immense labor has been bestowed, and which by the aid of machinery, produces a most perfect illusion . . . unrivalled for tasteful design and splendor of color;" circuses which promised that nothing will be introduced into the performance that could in the least offend the most delicate and fastidious persons, but the whole will be conducted with that order and respectability, calculated to insure the patronage of genteel society;" menageries, one of which advertised that in its collection will be found the following:— The majestic Male Elephant Virginius, the African Lion & Lioness, the Rhinoceros or Unicorn, this animal was unfortunately killed by the elephant during the last winter, but has been fully preserved, and looks about as well [as] when living, striped Hyena, Ocelot, Royal Bengal Tiger, Egyptian Giraffe or Cameleopard, this animal was brought to this country alive from Africa, but the change of climate being too sudden and severe, it died shortly after its arrival in this country, but has been elegantly put up, and looks as well as when living," and the Siamese Twins, who received "guests" in their hotel room for 25¢."

In the last decade of the half-century there was an increasing resort to professional, light-minded entertainment. The town's population had grown to over 2000 and it had enjoyed rising prosperity as the produce of the county fed more rapidly into the market and port of Philadelphia. Many of its homes were being built with side yards and ornamental plantings of trees and shrubs." There was a church for almost every denomination." Steam engines replaced the horse-drawn rail

"American Republican, December 25, 1838.
"American Republican, July 23, 1837.
"American Republican, August 8, 1837.
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"American Republican, December 25, 1838.
"American Republican, July 23, 1837.
"American Republican, August 8, 1837.
Wise's 55th Atmospheric Voyage,

WILL be made, from West Chester, on Saturday next, August 22, at 12 o'clock precisely. This ascension will be made public and free to all, but at the same time, it would not be amiss for those who attend to provide themselves with an extra "quarter" or "levy," as a collection will be taken up on the ground, for the purpose of giving a little ballast to the Aeronaut.

On this occasion, a beautiful Dolphin will be sent up, and other attractions exhibited, on the occasion. August 18.

American Republican, August 18, 1846.

cars" and four weekly newspapers were in publication." The papers still carried notices of lectures and concerts, but these were outnumbered by advertisements of "mammoth circuses," ventriloquistis," minstrels, the "Nightingale-Ethiopians," and "Brewer's Panorama of American Scenery and Egyptian Views." There was a lady "institute of arms" who executed "by means of her mouth and toes, every variety of fancy needlework, paper cutting and penmanship, with great taste," and an expert in "sleigh of hand" who could send a shawl to any part of the Borough selected by his audience."

Balooning came to the town in 1846 when a crowd of "anxious and delighted" spectators witnessed the ascension of the balloon "Rio Grande" after it had been filled with 45,000 pounds of hydrogen gas. The "aeronaut" and his balloon travelled about thirty-five miles and it was reported that a little girl sitting under an apple tree, who looked up and saw it after hearing someone call to her, fled to her home, crying to her mother, "the Good Man is coming—indeed he is mother—I saw him in the sky.""

Nevertheless, West Chester ladies continued to go to quilting bees in the last years before mid-century, though Godsey's Lady's Book was probably influencing their taste in design and pattern, as well as setting the style in gaudy, handmade household decorations of shell and wax, seeds, and lace. There were Polkas, Bachelors' Balls, and Winter Evening Parties, as well as the other social gatherings that had become familiar. Toasts were yet being offered on the 22nd of February and the 4th of July. The Victorian picnic was ever popular and, in winter, the village streets were still merry with sleigh-bells—"the hale yeomancy dashing into town, swift as the wind, with a load of light-hearted, rosy-cheeked girls, . . . all fun and laughter."

Thus, in the first half of the 19th century, the manner of spending leisure time in West Chester passed from activities born of the necessities of frugal country life, to polite social intercourse, cultural and intellectual pursuits, the faddish and frivolous. The social life of the village changed with its rising prosperity and moved with the trend of the new republic. Its people embraced the scientific movement which swept the nation, took up the new intellectualism, and then yielded to the professional entertainer. But, by mid-century, though it had taken on the aspects of urbanity, it had not entirely lost sight of its beginnings. Its citizens still nourished an open spirit of patriotism and still turned, though perhaps with new style, to pastimes characteristic of its rural nature.

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Local Characters and Originals
Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 18

In the past every rural and small-town community was faced with the problem of various types of non-conformity. Some community members for various reasons developed into “characters,” either in the strong-minded sense of being “originals” or “eccentrics,” or by default, e.g., through weakmindedness. In the case of the latter, every community had a few “village idiot” types, to use the traditional if unfortunate word for them, many of whom are still remembered for classic sayings and actions.

When the nonconformity produced antisocial action, again for various motives, the offending, or protesting individual moved out of the community and became a hermit. Disappointment in love (yes, even in rural Pennsylvania) was the usual cause assigned to hermitry by the community, but there must have been many causes. In the 18th and 19th Centuries Pennsylvania seems to have been full of hermits, from the elusive “Baerrick-Michel” (Mountain Mike) who lived on top of the Mahantongo Mountain in Schuylkill County, coming down to “civilization” only when he needed certain staples, to the saintly “Baerrick-Maria” (Mountain Mary), about whom our readers can inform themselves in Pennsylvania Folklife, XVI:3 (Spring 1967), 10-16.

Halfway between the mountain hermits and the settled householders who made up every rural community, there were the unmarried members of the family; the bachelor uncles and old maid aunts who usually, though not always, were assured a place to live on the family farm. Farmhouses were large and commodious on Pennsylvania farms, and they gave shelter to everyone from the many children in the farmer’s family, to the grandparents, the hired servants, and the unmarried members of the family. Most of us had unmarried aunts and uncles to comprehend in our larger “Freundschaft” when we were children. Some of these developed memorable ways and habits within the family just on this side of eccentricity. We are anxious to receive our readers’ reminiscences of the place that these old maid aunts and bachelor uncles had in family and community.

Note that in this questionnaire we are requesting materials on the local characters who stayed within or on the edge of our rural or small-town communities. In another questionnaire we dealt with itinerant folk, i.e., the traveling or non-local eccentrics. See “Itinerants: Peddlers, Drovers, Wagoners, Gypsies, Tramps,” Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 15, Pennsylvania Folklife, XIX:3 (Spring 1970), 47-48.

1. What different types of local characters do you remember from your home community in your childhood days?

2. What were their characteristics? Were they known by nicknames? Did they speak in unusual ways? Were they remembered for particular expressions or bywords? Where did they live? How did they make a living?

3. If you remember any hermits who lived in the hills near your childhood home, would you describe these to us? What were the reasons assigned by the community for this type of nonconforming life? Did these marginal individuals living on the fringes of society, perform any services for the community? Were any of them healers, like Mountain Mary for example, or pouvoeurs? Where did the persons whom the community branded as witches fit into this context of non-conformity?

4. In the case of feeblemindedness, or mental disturbance, what were the family’s and the community’s reactions to this condition? How were the feebleminded and mentally disturbed members cared for within the family in the days before such persons were treated in state institutions?

5. As we mentioned above, almost every family had bachelor uncles and old maid aunts who were non-conformists at least to the point of not marrying. What do you think were the reasons for their nonconformity? What sort of function did they have within the larger family? Did they, for example, have work, or tasks, or personal influences, which complemented those of the parents? Are they remembered also for slight eccentricities, sayings, expressions, bywords?

6. What were these unmarried older members of the family called? Were there, for instance, any euphemisms for the term “old maid”? What do you remember of the Pennsylvania custom of calling other older relatives, cousins for example, by the honorary term “uncle” or “aunt”? What is meant by the older German term Base which was earlier used in our Pennsylvania German families?

7. Do you remember any songs or rhymes, in English or Pennsylvania German, about local characters? Do you recall any rhymes (Spottreime) which were shouted at local characters by naughty children?

8. Do you see any relationship between these earlier and universal types of nonconformity and the present wave of “hippy” nonconformity in the United States?

Send your replies to:

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An invitation to become a subscriber to the Society’s periodical PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE, now in its twenty-first year, published quarterly, in Fall, Winter, Spring and Summer. Each issue appears in a colored cover, with 48 pages or more of text, and is profusely illustrated. Subjects covered include: architecture, cookery, costume, customs of the year, folk art and antiques, folk dancing, folk medicine, folk literature, folk religion, folk speech, home-making lore, recreation, superstitions, traditional farm and craft practices, transportation lore and numerous others.

The purpose of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, a non-profit corporation, is three-fold: collecting and displaying the lore of the Dutch Country and Pennsylvania; studying and archiving it; and making it available to the public.