PIRATICAL & TRAGICAL
ALMANAC,
FOR
1846.

DEATH OF MAJOR KENNEDY AND MOSES DOAN.

PHILADELPHIA:
JOHN B. FERRY, 198 MARKET STREET.
ZIEBER & CO., No. 3 LEDGER BUILDING.
Contributors to this Issue

JAMES MOSS, West Chester, Pennsylvania, is a doctoral student in the Department of Folklore and Folklife at the University of Pennsylvania. His analysis of the outlaw-hero in Pennsylvania — dealing with the Doans, Sandy Flash, and David Lewis — grew out of his long-standing interest in legendary figures in Pennsylvania’s past.

DR. ROBERT A. BARAKAT, St. Johns, Newfoundland, Canada, is professor of anthropology at the Memorial University of Newfoundland. His article in this issue is a sequel to his “Glossary of Pennsylvania German Terms Related to Construction and Tobacco Agriculture,” in the Spring 1977 issue of Pennsylvania Folklife. Both articles are drawn from his Ph.D. dissertation, on the Tobacco Culture of Southeastern Pennsylvania, done at the University of Pennsylvania. The informant whose description of tobacco-shed raising is given here is Phares Hurst, Old Order Mennonite farmer and builder of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

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COVER:
One variant of the 19th Century American Almanac was the sensational “true story” type, making use of criminal confessions and stories of native outlaws. The cover illustration, from the Editor’s Collection, is in fact the cover of the “Piratical & Tragical Almanac, for 1846” (Philadelphia: John B. Perry, 1845).
GENTLEMEN OF THE ROAD:
OUTLAW-HEROES OF EARLY PENNSYLVANIA
IN LIFE AND LEGEND
BY JAMES MOSS

Oh! we are free to ride
Wherever we may please;
We care not for the world beside,
So we can take our ease
We'll shout and holler and laugh,
Right joyfully we'll sing;
While whiskey we can quaff,
Success to our old King!

The rebels fear and tremble
When the cow-boy's on their track,
And when they hear us coming,
They will cry alas! alack!
We'll shout and holler, &c., &c.

For all the dirty rascals,
We have ever proved a match;
They have a right to hang us,
When our horses they can catch!
We'll shout and holler, &c., &c.

We're in a glorious land,
And from forest to the sea;
We are a chosen band,
The fearless and the free!
We'll shout and holler, &c., &c.

Our rifles carry well,
Our horses they can run;
Our conduct let them tell,
When we are out for fun.
We'll shout and holler, &c., &c.

We fear not now of danger,
We are ready for the foe;
As over hill and valley,
Right merrily we go.
We'll shout and holler, &c., &c.

The day sees us asleep,
At midnight we will ride;
And eat and drink at will,
At the rebels' own fireside.
We'll shout and holler, &c., &c.

—Ditty sung by James Fitzpatrick,
or Sandy Flash, legendary highwayman of Colonial Pennsylvania

"The highwayman and the traveler meet and clash in the wilderness but the fear of one, the bravado of the other find outlet in actions quite beyond our understanding."
—Robert Coates, The Outlaw Years

The early days of outlawry in America are substantiated with few records but many legends which the dignity of history passes over. Throughout the American Revolution, cattle rustling, horse stealing, and highway robbery flourished. These notorious escapades produced a unique type of hero, the outlaw-hero, a genuine product of folk tradition.

From a bare substratum of fact, many legends of various persuasions evolved around famous highwaymen. Fact and folklore are so intermingled concerning these outlaw-heroes that it is impossible to disentangle them; especially when their popularity is confined to a small locale. Pennsylvania is rich in local folklore about highwayman heroes. These legendary "Gentlemen of the Road" are far above the status of ordinary robbers and thieves. As outlaw-heroes, they were adorned with a romantic aura and remembered for chivalric gallantry.

Legends emerged during and soon after the Revolution celebrating the adventures of these "Badmen with Principles". Three heroic names emerge from the annals of early Pennsylvanian robbery — the Doans of Bucks County, their contemporary James "Sandy Flash" Fitzpatrick of Chester County, and later (1810-1820) "Lewis the Robber" of Centre County.

Violence is the lifeblood of the outlaw legend. The frontier of Colonial Pennsylvania was conducive to the highwayman's life and the creation of legends about him. The newly settled east was wild country in which no really strict social, moral or economic standards prevailed. The arm of the law was too weak to reach the forests and caves — the traditional homes and sanctuaries of outlaws. The violence indigenous to the frontier provided a natural setting for the unexpected. Life was hazardous. The fight for survival made anyone who lived a fit subject for adulation.
The natural and social conditions of the Revolution and the early republic were fertile ground for the creation of new outlaw-heroes in an old mold. Subsequently, many Robin Hood motifs were attributed to these new outlaw heroes. The legendary heroes were said to have been driven to outlawry because of persecutions or some other social injustice. Another less amiable view is that these bandits may have just seized upon the violent times as a curtain for their activities.

However, the folk idealized brigand figures in legend. Yet these outlaw heroes were no mere stereotype, but actually built on real characters. The frontier outlaw now acquired a romantic flavor of forest adventure. Chivalric by instinct, these “Badmen with Principles” showed a sensitive benevolence towards the poor, aged, or peaceful. Women were regarded with all due respect and treated with gallantry. The legendary outlaw was a man of force noted for his physical prowess and handsomeness. As a colorful, exciting character, the intrepid highwayman laughs in the face of death. An aura of mystery and romantic nobility surrounds the legendary “gentleman of the road.” The career of the outlaw has been traditionally seen as the fateful and fatal attempt of a man to win out against superior odds whether it be the local posse or government. We have a premonition from the beginning that the outlaw will lose his contest, but his attempt carries with it a certain nobility and our sympathies as well.

The American Revolution produced the original “cowboy” — a hard-riding, resourceful guerrilla fighter who worked for the British. They were named after cowboys who tended cows in Britain. The strife of the Revolution and unsettled state of the country afforded ample field and full opportunity to robbers and “cowboys” to evade the pursuit of the law.

Throughout this turbulent era rode the Doans — legendary outlaws and cowboys of Bucks County. They were celebrated in a seven year career by the relation of feats, adventures, daring exploits, hazardous enterprises and ingenious escapes. Many of the folk in the county felt or expressed admiration for the Doans. Their valor and generosity made them respected above ordinary robbers. They were known for their kindness to and protection of the weak, poor, peaceful, and the fairer sex.

The nucleus of the Doan gang was five brothers — Moses, Levi, Joseph, Aaron, Mahlon — and a cousin Abraham. All had reached manhood when the Revolution started. Moses was the gang leader and principal legendary figure, although the others reached legendary status as well.

Joseph Doan was their father, a Quaker noted for his benevolence and charity. He raised his boys in Plumstead Township, near Doylestown, Bucks County. While growing up the Doans hunted and fished along the Delaware and Tohickon, until every ravine, road, hill, valley and glen was familiar. They were excellent “sons of the forest.” As boys all were powerful in physique; all grew to be at least six feet — tall in those days. They became legendary champion wrestlers and broadjumpers. In those days there were many games of skill in jumping, racing and wrestling. The Doans always won. This caused envy and jealousy which led to many brawls. Some branded the Doan boys as bullies, but most said they just acted out of self-defense. It is claimed that the Doans’ violent disposition has been distorted by patriotic chroniclers. Those who disliked the boys claimed that the lack of discipline
from their father (being Quaker), encouraged their pursuit of a lawless career. Rebels branded the boys with degrading epithets. But others felt differently. Hiram Luken, a printer in Doylestown in the 1800's heard his grandmother say, “The Doans were pretty bad boys but they were not so black as painted.” Nevertheless, the Doans reached legendary status as outlaw heroes of Bucks County.

Most of the stories involve Moses, oldest and leader of the notorious gang. He was celebrated for his extreme handsomeness and tall stature. Long black hair and deep-seated sensitive eyes added to his striking looks. His tout ensemble partook much of the picturesque traditionally admired in the brigand. Moses wore a linen shirt, with no vest, and a red handkerchief around his neck. A grey suit of homespun material hung loosely on his tall frame.

The story of why Moses turned outlaw is an involved human drama. When Moses came of age, his father wanted him to run the farm. One crisp autumn night Moses said to his father: “I love the forest — wild and pursuit of game — this dull plodding life does not suit me. Let others plow and plant if they will; but a free and merry life for me!” A sad but stern Joseph Doan cast his son out of his house. So Moses mounted “Wild Devil”. It is said that this black horse was so well trained that during pursuit, he would dash into the pitch darkness of the forest and stand perfectly still until the pursuers had passed. So, Moses and Wild Devil rode on to the house of Mary Doremy, Moses’ girlfriend.

Just in time they arrived and stopped an Indian from setting fire to the house. The Indian ran for a home in the wild-wood. The Doans pursued them, and a chase ensued. On the other side of a creek the Indian jumped, a fierce struggle took place from which Moses emerged victorious. The next day some locals went to the spot and measured twenty-one feet from Moses’ footprints to the opposite bank. They jumped, a fierce struggle took place from which the pursuers had passed. So, Moses and Wild Devil rode on to the house of Mary Doremy, Moses’ girlfriend.

As suspicion grew, the Doans were ordered to appear upon whom rests the Doans’ eagle eye in proverbial status. Due to the sensitive spirit of Moses Doan, his rejection was an overwhelming blow of embitterment. His heart turned cold.

With no definite plans, Moses joined a band of Mingoes — who were known for having a great intuition for merit and bravery. They welcomed Moses, who passed his initiation as an incomparable marksman.

During this interlude, Moses’ career of outlawry was sparked by a “social injustice”. The Rebels apparently taxed much more heavily than the British. The Whigs came to the Doan spread demanding their dues. Being Quaker, and with no interest in the patriotic cause, the Doans refused to pay. With that the Whigs confiscated some grain and a horse from the farm. This was all the Doans needed to catalyze their vengeful careers into outlawry. Moses explained once to his cousin Abraham: “All’s fair in time of war, Abe, and if they will take our property we certainly have a good right to take theirs without asking questions.”

The cunning mind of Moses planned their future escapades. He was said to be the master spirit of the whole. In retaliation, the gang’s first raids were on the collectors of military and other taxes. John Shaw was the first victim, from whom they stole a horse. As suspicion grew, the Doans were ordered to appear for trial. They refused to comply. From then on the Doans became outlawed. Their vengeance reached proverbial status. It was said, “Woe to any man upon whom rests the Doans’ eagle eye in hatred.” To show their appreciation they returned to Shaw’s house one midnight, tied him up, beat up his son, and stole horses, wagons, tack, and any other valuables.

With their escapades begun and loyalties decided, Moses, Levi, and Aaron were employed as scouts and spies under General Howe in command of the British at Philadelphia. To spy on Putnam’s forces on Long Island was their first assignment. When General Howe offered them horses and money, the honest nature and love of adventure of Moses was revealed. “It

To a home in the wild-wood,
Or to one by the sea—
I reck not — I care not;
So it’s distant from thee!

"To a home in the wild-wood, or to one by the sea—"

Though a father may frown,
And hope disappears:
Though storms are around me,
Who cares — or who fears!

Wild Devil will bear me
Right onward — alone —
Where love will not trouble
The proud heart of Doan!

In the din of the battle
By the dying one’s groan;
At midnight will ring out
The vengeance of Doan!

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will only be fun for me, for horses I need not, as I have one that goes like the wind. As to money I want none until I have earned it.” Avarice was not his motivation as much as loyalty was. Moses was known to swear, “I am the foe of the rebels who are now fighting under General Washington against our monarch George III.”

As a spy for the British, the daring and reckless movements of Moses Doan gave vent to many legends where he was known as the “Eagle Spy”. With dauntless courage, he would spy from a tree to overhear the talk of American sentries. With a frightening howl he would pounce upon them, whistle to Wild Devil and vanish. In his excellence as an equestrian, Moses would ride on the side of his horse obstructed from view. Seeing the black horse gallop away with no rider astride, the terrified soldiers believed Moses to be devil-possessed.

There is no doubt that the courageous feats of the Doans were a huge bonus to the British efforts. In an anecdote General Howe commented on their prowess: “Sir, these Doans are the most devil-daring fellows that ever lived — the devil himself couldn’t match them, I believe!” From their intimate knowledge of the terrain, the scouts revealed a neglected pass leading to the Continental forces. As a result the American army was surprised, dispersed and forced to retreat from Long Island. It is believed, although not proven, that Moses carried a note of warning to the Hessian commander at Trenton. As the commander was too occupied playing cards, he never read the note sent to him, a fatal mistake. Washington crossed the Delaware and surprisingly annihilated the Hessians. Later, in the pocket of the dead commander a note was found with a scribbled “Washington’s on his way. Moses Doan”. Had this warning been heeded it would have been calamity for the American cause.

Meanwhile the Doans continued their selected code of thievery, preying on Whigs. At this point, Aaron, Joseph, and Cousin Abe joined in the adventures of the cowboys. These Doans also shared the legendary prowess as jumpers, horsemen and “sons of the forest”. With seven together, in their code of “honor among thieves” they vowed never to betray one another. Eventually the gang grew to about eighteen members. From this band, legends of individual Doans came to the fore.

Abe Doan, the cousin, was the most ruthless of all, but then he was not “directly” a Doan. He was six feet six and very heavy. His fiery red hair, which hung in three fat braids down to his neck, set him apart from the dark handsomeness of the Doan brothers. Legend has it that Abe wore an “iron fist” on his right hand — a spiked gauntlet of mail from medieval times. The lives of nine men were smashed out with his “fist,” according to tradition. Other uses were to move posts and drive spikes. Allegedly Abe “suffered from coughing and twitched and shook constantly”. On one occasion Abe robbed Gilbert Nugent on the road between Philadelphia and Bristol. Under the feigned name of Peterson, Abe met Nugent on the road. They talked awhile until they came to a tavern and went in. Nugent, pleased with his new companion, drank enough to make him tipsy. On their way again, Abe offered to drive the wagon, as Nugent was himself too drunk. They talked on and on while the farmer intermittently sang patriotic songs. “Have you heard anything about the Doans up in your neighborhood lately?”, asked Doan. The drunken farmer replied, “Yes, damn them, we seldom hear of anything else. The villains keep the whole country in a state of alarm. Why, everyone of them should be hanged. I would like to see a gallows with every one of them hanging.” With that the farmer broke out into song:

Who is so strong, so strong,  
As Moses, Moses Doan?  
Whose arms so long, so long,  
As Moses, Moses Doan!

Who rides so fast, so well,  
As Moses, Moses Doan!  
Can any can you tell,  
As Moses, Moses Doan!

Who fights, who robs so brave,  
As Moses, Moses Doan!  
Your gold you cannot save  
From Moses, Moses Doan!

He is the Briton’s friend,  
He is the freeman’s foe;  
Any may we pray God send  
To him a quick death-blow.¹

Abe drove the horses, and the farmer, tired of singing, finally passed out. At this opportune moment, Doan turned the wagon into the woods where he quickly stole Nugent’s watch and money. The bewildered farmer awoke the next morning with empty pockets, then it dawned on him that his pleasing companion was none other than a Doan!

There is another adventure related about Levi and Mahlon Doan based on the robbery of Isaiah Hallowell in Philadelphia. The daring and adventuresome spirit of this robbery would make a splendid film. Just imagine. In a tavern the Doans heard about Hallowell, a benevolent Quaker, a strong opponent of the Whigs, and his motivation as much as loyalty was. Moses was known to swear, “I am the foe of the rebels who are now fighting under General Washington against our monarch George III.”

¹Rogers, p. 41.
³Brooke, p. 3.
to war but known to have money and to help British and Whigs alike. Here Levi used quick wit and acting talent. Sitting on Hallowell’s front steps, in bandaged feet, Levi wretchedly coughed until the servant girl took notice. “I am a poor wanderer, I’ve left Washington’s Army — the cruelties of war were too much for my conscience to bear,” said Levi, playing on the man’s Quakerism. The beggar was invited inside, where he ate ravenously, and then took his tea in front of the fire. He talked intelligently with the Quaker about the graces of religion and the atrocities of war. This favorably impressed the old man who not only offered Levi a bed, but tucked him in as well.

Later, when Hallowell was snoring, Doan crept stealthily down the stairs and whistled to his companion in the alley. Mahlon quietly darted inside. With agility they picked the lock of an old secretary in the parlor and liberated 400 pounds in English notes and gold. After they had all the silver, spoons, candlesticks and snuffers, etc., they headed out the door when Levi’s intrepid spirit seized him. “Let’s get the old man’s watch, it’ll be a challenge.” Indeed, the watch was under Hallowell’s pillow. Levi stole into the bedroom and gently reached under the pillow. “Harriet, what do you want?,” Hallowell muttered. On the second attempt, Hallowell sat up in bed and claimed the reality of his dream. Levi remained crouched down at the bedside hidden by the night. The third try was successful, and with their booty the Doans jubilantly galloped away. The robbers were never detected until years later when they confessed.

As shown, the Doans were noted for their keen presence of mind in time of crisis. Another scene is an incident related that reveals the sagacity of Joseph Doan. He and another member of the gang operated as spies and robbers in Philadelphia, while staying at the “Sign of the Covered Wagon”. With great success they dressed like gentlemen, taking the names of Southerners. Joseph, who was quite handsome, bore a striking resemblance to Lord Rowdon — a very popular gentleman among the rich families of Philadelphia, Tory and Whig alike. As they were walking down the steps of a theatre, Joseph reached into the pocket of a man in front. Turning around the gentleman said, “I am so pleased to see you, my lordship — when did you arrive in Philadelphia?”

The sagacity of Doan perceived the situation and he played along. “I arrived this morning...” (whispering.) I am passing in disguise from the army in the south. I should feel ever so much more comfortable knowing you won’t betray me, lest the British apprehend me.” “On my honor,” replied the gentleman, “but you must come tomorrow and spend the day with us, we’d be delighted to have you.” The next day, Doan did indeed visit, and they all had such a splendid time that he was convinced to spend the night. Before dawn, Joseph departed from his delightful hosts with $500 worth of silver plate. Later, after the robbery of a patriotic innkeeper, Colonel Robert Robinson, the Doans fled to Montgomery County. Joseph was captured, but soon escaped to New Jersey where he taught school for a year.

During the reign of the Doans, many legends, probably spread by the Tories, grew to exalt their activities. The anecdotes recounting the Doans’ character are interesting. Many have come from “Uncle Charlie Barton,” born in 1815, a local Bucks County historian. He claimed that his father, a blacksmith, knew the Doans personally and shot their horses. The reason why the Doans eluded arrest for long was because they had many friends in the community. In the early days of arrest, insufficient evidence avoided conviction. If they were arrested, escape was always facilitated by a “careless” jailor.

In other anecdotes, the Doans were esteemed for their chivalrous character. They were “badmen with principles” who adhered to a restrictive code of thievery, but even then they were generous. “Uncle Charlie” related an anecdote told to him by an old lady. One of the Doans “borrowed” a horse of hers for a raid. A few days later she found the horse in her barn with a big bag of grain as well. Off and on, they left the lady other provisions which greatly helped her through hard times. She never told anyone until years later for fear of the retaliatory action of the Whigs.

Other anecdotes clue us into the sense of humor of Moses Doan and his delight in rascality. On one occasion he stole a very fine horse from a wealthy Delaware County farmer. The owner offered a substantial reward, so a few days later Moses met the man. “I think I know where your horse is hidden. If you’ll follow me,” said Moses, pointing. The farmer complied, got the horse and paid the reward. He then said, in no uncertain terms, just what he would do to the thief if he ever caught him. Galloping away, Moses called back, “I am your man! Try to catch me!”

So much is told about the great strength and bravery of the Doans, how they could overpower several men at a time and escape uninjured. Then there is the story about Mrs. Piper, proprietor of the Pipersville Inn. Two of the outlaws surprised her one day demanding the money she was sending to her husband in the American army. She was ironing at the time, and as one of the Doans pushed her aside she slammed him with the flat iron, breaking his arm. To add insult to injury, she then chased them from the inn with an old sword. You might wonder why such daredevils, with super human strength, could not handle a lone woman. As the case was, they never fought their battles with women.

Indeed, the Doans were celebrated for their gallantry, love and benevolence towards women. Cousin
Abe was an exception. Once he led an expedition to old Doremy's house, Moses' ex-love's abode. Moses arrived in time to prevent harm, and speaking for the character of Doan said, "Shame on you all, to act so cowardly and brutal to defenseless age and helpless woman, even a savage would scorn to behave so." And turning to Mary, with sadness in his eyes he spoke; "I am unworthy of you, but still I can protect and defend."

Another incident related about Mahlon Doan re-enforces their character as principled outlaws. Once he was captured and put in jail at Bedford. Soon he escaped, but not before releasing all the prisoners except one, who was convicted of robbing an old lady. Such a coward did not deserve freedom.

Not all incidents recounted of the Doans exalt them though. Brooke's *Annals of the Revolution: A History of the Doans* takes a patriotic perspective and casts an unfavorable shadow on the outlaw heroes. He gives a lengthy account of the Smith-Doan feud. The Smiths were of course the all-American boys, good pious soldiers in the Continental army. Any attempts of the Doans to plunder their spread were thwarted. "A Smith is too much for a Doan" became a proverbial saying. If the loyalists spread stories to celebrate the Doans, the Whigs naturally spread stories to degrade them. Again Brooke relates how, in June 1778, the Doans accompanied an expedition of 5,000 British to Elizabethtown, New Jersey. During their move Levi was said to have shot a Mrs. Caldwell in the head, while she was surrounded by her children. However, there is no claim of proof to substantiate Brooke's statement.

After the British evacuated, the Doans remaining in Bucks County, became more desperate than ever. They had caused such alarm in the county that the county Whigs pushed an assembly law; an act to encourage the speedy apprehending and bringing to justice of robbers, burglars and felons. A proclamation offered $100 reward for the apprehension of Aaron, Joseph, Mahlon, Abe, or Levi and $800 reward for Moses. At this time Joseph, living in New Jersey, overheard the avarice of some men talking in a tavern, so he fled to Canada. The rest became more cautious. They never traveled alone except in disguise, and lived in caves or deserted houses. "Devil's Cave" on the north side of Neshaminy Creek was said to be their main hideout. Yet the price put on their heads served only to make the Doans more daring.

At this time they successfully robbed the Bucks County treasury in Newtown. The Doan gang surrounded the house of John Hart, Esq., treasurer of Bucks County. At gun point he was ordered to deliver forth and the Doans collected a king's ransom.

But outlaws have a high mortality rate. There are various accounts of the apprehension and death of the Doans. The most popular version relates that on August 28, 1783, a small party of Whigs were informed that Moses, Levi, and Abe Doan were in a ruined house near Tohickon Creek. Led by Colonel Hart, the Whigs surrounded the house. Major Kennedy burst open the door and yelled, "Ah! You're here, are you?" Moses, rising to the occasion, shot Major Kennedy, while Levi and Abe escaped through a small window on the side. After a struggle, Moses surrendered, whereupon one of the apprehending gang pounced on him and shot him through the heart.

For many years it was generally believed that Moses Doan shot and killed Major Kennedy. To set the record straight, a letter by Samuel Hart, the son of one of the men in the group that captured Moses tells what actually happened.

About this time a boy went to mill in the vicinity known by the name of Hard Times, now Lumberville, to have a grist ground. The miller objected as to time, but the boy insisted, saying he must have it as the Doanes were at his home. The miller ground the grist and sent the boy home, then went to a vendue which happened to be near and spread the alarm. A party of men was organized, they went to their homes for firearms and arranged to convene at a place specified near the house where the Doanes were on Cabin Run, a small stream which passes into the west side of the Tohickon, about four miles from the Delaware. The arrangement was, that the party should divide into small squads, and at a given signal, advance toward the house closing in so they could not escape. The party that was to approach the door in front consisted of Major Samuel Hart and William Hart. William Hart looked through the logs and saw three Doanes sitting on a bench before the fire eating off a trencher; he opened the door, stepped in and ordered them to surrender, telling them that the house was surrounded and they could not escape. Without saying a word they rose from the bench, seized their guns and fired. The squad fired back, and in the midst of the smoke, Hart sprang at Moses and they had a desperate scuffle which ended with Moses lying on his back with William Hart's knees on his chest. As soon as he found himself overpowered he ceased to resist and called for quarter, which was granted. The other two Doanes ran up a ladder and in the confusion escaped through a small window. Major Kennedy and Samuel Hart were guarding the door where William entered. The charge from one of the guns that was fired passed between the logs of the house, cut off the barrel of Sam's gun below the first thimble and a splinter or scale from the barrel lodged in Major Kennedy's back inflicting a mortal wound from which he died. This was the only shot that took effect. After the prisoner had surrendered, one of the surrounding party, Bob Gibson, ran into the house and put the muzzle of his gun to Doane's chest and shot him through the heart!!! Moses was carried on horse back to the home of William
Death of Major Kennedy and Moses Doan. Woodcut from Philadelphia Almanac of 1846.

Hart, about two miles, that night. The following morning a messenger was sent to his father, a quiet, inoffensive man, who came and took him home and buried him.

Such is the account which I have heard related by the two surviving actors in the tragedy, and though some years have passed since I heard it, the circumstances, expression and some small matters not mentioned, are engraved on my mind as fresh and more enduring than if I had heard them yesterday.

The only reason for preserving such matters is, that as this generation passes away, they become more interesting to those who follow, and I believe that I alone survive who can relate it as told by two of the party therein.

Sincerely,
Thy friend,
Samuel Hart
Doylestown, Fifth month ninth, 1830.

Moses Doan remained a hero. It was a cowardly act indeed that he was shot down after surrendering. For fear of molestation of the body, Joseph Doan buried his son on Israel's farm. The gravestone commemorates, "Here lies the famous outlaw Moses Doane, hunted down, captured and killed after he had surrendered on Tohickon Creek, August 23, 1783."

There is an anecdote relating the capture of Levi Doan, a victim of his own fame. The account relates that in Lancaster, a group of men were at a tavern watching a broad jumping contest. An athletic man emerged from the crowd and challenged the winner. The stranger cleared the mark by several feet. The man outdone exclaimed; "By God, you must be either the Devil himself or one of the Doans!" With that, Levi was subdued, and taken from Lancaster to Philadelphia, where he was hanged September 24, 1788.

The date and place alone are correct. Actually, Abraham and Levi were captured in Chester County and taken to be hanged in the Philadelphia commons. The Doans were still held in high esteem among many people; fifty-six people signed a petition for their pardon, but to no avail. As a crowd gathered for the public execution, the Doans exhibited admirable calm and fortitude on their way to the gallows. A famous Philadelphian lawyer, Charles Biddle, relates, "I met them going in a cart... followed by relatives and friends. It was a very affecting sight, they died with great firmness." Actually they were hanged as Tories rather than as horse thieves or highwaymen. The public reaction to the hangings was that "it was an infamous murder since the men were protected by the treaty of peace signed in 1785."

The rest of the Doans survived, however. Joseph fled to Canada and raised eight children. After Aaron was released from prison he settled near Joseph and raised eleven children. Of Mahlon, it is believed that he shipped out to England with the British. Their father, Joseph, had all his lands confiscated by the new government, which claimed that he had harbored his sons who were traitors. You can look at that from another side. The old meaning of traitor was one who rebelled against the ruling king. The Doans were loyalists, and traitors only to the new government. Later, old Joseph moved to Canada and settled with his sons.

The last Bucks County incident of a Doan concerns Joseph Doan the younger, when he returned in 1830

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"Teeters, p. 21.

"Teeters, p. 22."
to collect $40. He went to William Hart, Jr., Esq., for legal help, who treated Doan with a cold disdain and businesslike manner. The money obtained, Joseph returned to Canada. Some who saw him said he was a shabby old man, broken hearted and down and out, but "Uncle Charlie" who was fifteen at the time, talked with Joseph and assures us that most of the people still regarded him and the other Doans as heroes.

JAMES FITZPATRICK — "SANDY FLASH"

While lounging in a groggy on Second Street, below Pine, the eye of Moses Doan became intently riveted upon a stranger. His tremendous physical frame, broad expansive chest and extraordinary muscular development rather impressed Moses, who had an eye for men of noble mold and kingly stature. His gaze evidently irritated the stranger; so calling for a gill of whiskey he asked who the gazer was. Before a reply, Doan rose from his chair and answered: "My name is Doan, and I claim the right of looking at whoever I please, without asking you."

"Easy, big fellow," replied the stranger, "or you may find yourself in difficulty without much trouble."

"Never fear but what I will take care of myself," Moses said.

"And do you wish to fight, sir bully?"

"Not unless I am pushed into it; I will take care of myself if I am."

"Do you know who you're talking to?"

"No, nor do I care."

"Well, I'll just tell you. My name is Fitzpatrick, born and raised in old Chester County. Been in a hundred sprees and never whipped yet; right now I'd just as soon fight as eat." A fist fight ensued, each one displaying marvelous dexterity and power. An exciting struggle for supremacy continued; finally Moses fell on top of Fitzpatrick. The brawl was broken up, whereupon Moses ordered drinks for all, and congratulated his opponent for a fine fight. The odd acquaintance of these two remarkably similar men formed into a deep and abiding friendship which continued to the end of their lives.

James Fitzpatrick or "Sandy Flash" hails as a hero from the folk tradition of Chester County. This dauntless bandit had a personality which threw a curtain of glamour over his crimes. He was rendered as a romantic outlaw hero. In the case of Sandy Flash, legend is so inextricably bound with sketchy history, that even his birth is confused.

Some believed that he was the son of a wealthy British family, while others say he was an Irish immigrant. However, the general consensus is that James Fitzpatrick was born humbly in 1748 near Doe Run in Chester County. He was indentured by his father as a blacksmith's apprentice to John Passmore, also of Doe Run.

As a youth Fitzpatrick was unusually strong and athletic. His 6'4" frame betokened power in all developments, although never cumbersome. He was strikingly handsome with a slightly roman nose, wide cut mouth, florid complexion, fine grey eyes, and a crop of sandy hair. As a boy, like the Doans, he was conspicuous in all sports, a champion wrestler, runner and equestrian. Fitzpatrick loved a good time. Along with his charismatic personality, enamoured by the young ladies, his special delight was dancing. One morning, returning home from a dance, galloping in the morning sun, hair streaming, a farmer exclaimed; "He went by like a sandy flash."

Watson said in his *Annals of Philadelphia, 1850*, of Sandy Flash; "It (his story) might form the basis of a romance." Indeed, Bayard Taylor, of local Kennett Square fame, picked up on the legend of Sandy Flash and wrote *The Story of Kennett* around it in 1872. Today Sandy Flash is known to only a few, usually to those who have read Taylor's novel.

Records are sparse concerning Sandy Flash, but as far as we know his boyhood passed happily and uneventfully. As a young man he either joined or more than likely was drafted into the Continental army. But army life cramped his style. In New York state he was flogged for some small breach of military discipline. Swimming the Hudson that night, he deserted to Philadelphia. Unfortunately someone recognized Fitzpatrick and he was promptly confined to the Walnut Street prison. As the Continental army was having difficulty recruiting soldiers, Sandy was offered his freedom if he re-enlisted. Never failing to seize an opportunity, he readily re-enlisted only to desert again immediately.

Being a peaceful sort, Sandy returned to Doe Run in Chester County where he worked honestly for a time as a blacksmith and hired hand during harvest. One summer day, in 1777, Fitzpatrick with several others was mowing a field of John Passmore's near Doe Run. Two Continental soldiers, sent from Wilmington, surprised and apprehended him. To regain his liberty Fitzpatrick rose to the occasion with quick thinking. On the pretense of saying good-bye to his aged mother, Sandy entered the house, seized a rifle and forced the soldiers to flee. These experiences with the patriotic cause engendered a strong resentment in Fitzpatrick and he vowed his vengeance against the American cause.

Thus began Sandy Flash's colorful career as the Chester County highwayman. He soon attached himself to the British army near Kennett Square and became a renowned scout and invaluable informer, which enabled the British to gain a decisive victory at the battle of Brandywine around Chadds Ford. From these exploits Sandy gained the noble and feared

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name of "Captain Fitz". While scouting for the British, Fitz intensified his distaste for the patriotic cause by preying on Whig tax collectors and landowners. Tories were his friends. His leadership gained him a bold band of followers who spread fear among the Whigs. This band operated independently as well as in cahoots with the Doan gang. Fitz's attitude is recorded in song:

Oh! we are a merry party,
A right real, jovial crew;
Who eat and drink quite hearty,
Till often we get quite blue.

We care not for the rebels,
Or all their boasting band;
We can whip them when united,
Or beat them single hand.

If they want to try us,
We are ready now for fight;
We are King George's friends,
And can lick them out of sight.

Our homes are in the forest,
Our hands are fond of silver;
If rebels we may meet,
We always cry deliver.

'Twas they began the battle,
And thinking 'twould be fun;
But when Howe started for them,
Oh! Lord, how they did run!"  

During his reign, Fitz and his gang established a number of hideouts throughout Chester and Delaware Counties. Most celebrated was Castle Rock on the West Chester Pike near Newtown Square. Other headquarters were allegedly established at Hand's Pass near Doe Run, and other spots along the Brandywine in Newlin and West Bradford townships. From these centers, the bold and courageous activities of Fitz's selective thievery flourished.

The intrepid highwayman began his plunder victimizing tax collectors. On one occasion, two heavily armed tax-gatherers met a man walking alone on a secluded bit of road and they began a conversation with him. As Fitz's exploits were the talk of the area, they asked the stranger if he had seen the highwayman or knew any information as to his whereabouts. "It's too bad he's not here now," said one of them; "He'd be barking up the wrong tree if he tackled me!" "I don't know," replied the stranger. "He's about said to be a pretty big fellow... about my size!" Springing suddenly, he disarmed both men and quietly stated, "I'm Captain Fitz, if you have gold or silver on you, I'd be obliged to have it." The trembling tax collectors readily obeyed. One of them, Captain McGowan, pleaded that his watch, an heirloom, be returned. Mercifully, Fitz returned it. He then tied McGowan to a tree, clipped off the fine queue so proudly worn, and gave him a sound whipping. News of this incident spread and was commemorated in a local ballad:

Some he did rob, then let them go free;
Bold Captain McGowan he tied to a tree.
Some he did whip and some he did spare;
He caught Captain McGowan and cut off his hair.

Fitz displayed an unusual delight in subduing those who boasted against him. The following incident is very similar to Robin Hood's adventure with the boastful sheriff of Nottingham. A captain of the Continental army was addressing a crowd of Whigs, boasting of how he could handle Fitz. "Just let him come near me, I'll bring him in like he was a lamb." Disguised with a rusty cloak, wig and staff, Sandy heard all this inciting speech and asked to see the captain alone so he could reveal Fitzpatrick's whereabouts. The gloating captain readily accompanied Fitz into an adjacent room. Immediately locking the door Fitz leveled a candlestick at the man and roared; "So you want to see Captain Fitz; I'm the man, now just hand over watch and purse or I'll blow your head off." Thinking that the candlestick was a blunderbuss, the trembling captain hastily delivered his valuables. Next Fitz tied his victim's hands behind his back with a handkerchief. He pushed the man out the door, saying, "Go to your friends and tell them that you have seen Captain Fitz." With that, Sandy bowed sardonically to the staring Whigs, mounted a horse and galloped away.

These bold acts aroused the anger of the Whigs and soon a prize of $500 was put on Fitz's head. This only whetted his appetite for adventure. "A more fearless spirit never lived." In contempt of this new bounty, Fitz was said to have once defiantly walked through the streets of Kennett Square armed with a pair of pistols and a dagger. He made his way to the old Unicorn Inn, full of men all talking of Sandy and his exploits. "I'll have a drink, please," Fitz asked the host Major John Bell. Sandy calmly drank it and quietly walked away without any attempt made to stop him. Apparently the audacity of Fitz acted to paralyze his pursuers.

Another similar incident has been related. One day, 20 or 30 heavily armed Whigs, depending on which version you prefer, set out to capture this bold highwayman. After a long and futile chase the posse retired to the Edgemont Inn. The audacious Fitz suddenly presented himself, "The first man who draws


1"Watson, p. 330. Watson gives a slightly different version. The room was dark and Fitz clicked the spring in a candle holder. The man thought it was a pistol cocking, so he delivered his goods.
a weapon is dead." Pistol in hand, he ordered a drink, quaffed it, threw down a coin, and backed out unmolested.

Despite his crimes, Sandy Flash displayed a rough chivalry. The gallantry and sensitivity he exhibited towards women became highly celebrated. First off, his devotion to his mother was ardently admired. A man from Nottingham Township, eager for the reward, accosted Sandy's mother hoping she would reveal her son's whereabouts. When she refused, the man angrily broke her spinning wheel and returned home. When Fitz heard this story he sent word to the man to receive him shortly. With mocking laughter the man replied that it would indeed by a pleasure to meet Fitz, but cautioned that Sandy should make his funeral arrangements for it would be necessary after their interview. One morning Fitz surprised the man who insulted his mother and took him to the woods where he tied the man to a tree and gave him a sound whipping.

Besides defending his mother's honor, Sandy further displayed his gallantry towards women. He was never known to rob the poor or ill-treat a female. True to the Robin Hood tradition, he often gave to the destitute money from the well-to-do.

An anecdote told by Lydia Mercer about her James ancestor's experience with Sandy Flash substantiates Fitz's Robin Hood nature. Mrs. James rode every Friday from their farm in Westtown Township to Philadelphia market. She carried chickens, eggs, and butter in paniers. On her way home on Saturday she was joined by a stranger near Newtown Square. He said, "Good evening, Madam, have you far to go?" She told him that she was coming home from market and she was always timid about passing Castle Rock for she was afraid Sandy Flash would take her market money. They talked horses, of Sandy Flash, etc., and at Castle Rock the stranger touched his horse and turned and waved his hat after stating, "I'm Sandy Flash. Don't ever be scared of Sandy Flash harming anybody in your circumstances. I only take from the rich to give to the poor."

In a similar story, he met an old lady near the Cain Friends Meeting House. As she was passing by Castle Rock a stranger approached. She told the tall handsome man that Sandy Flash had been seen in the vicinity and expressed a fear that he might rob her. When she suspected who the stranger was she fell imploringly on her knees and cried, "I am a poor old woman, and you thus deprive me of my sole means of existence." When Fitz found that she was indeed poor, he handed her several gold coins and said, "Fear not, good mother; I am Captain Fitz, I don't war upon old women, and I never rob the poor."

For some reason, the outlaw heroes got a special charge out of mentioning their own name and then surprising their new companions with a startling revelation of their identity. Another story recounts this often encountered motif. Sandy Flash rode up to a young blacksmith's apprentice.

"Young man, my horse has cast a shoe. Do you think you can put one on?"
"I think I can."
"Well, I'll let you try," said the stranger and dismounted. Soon the apprentice began.
"Young man," said the stranger, "just give me one of those aprons, and if you'll blow the bellows I'll try my hand at the job just to see what sort of blacksmith I'd make."
"It's a dangerous thing to drive a nail into a horse's foot, and you may lame him so that he will be ruined," said the boy.

"I'll take the chances," was the reply of the stranger as he put the apron on. The apprentice soon perceived that the stranger was a master, then he asked, "You are well armed, Sir, I see. Are you in the army?"
"It's dangerous traveling these roads alone, is it not? They tell me there is a Captain Fitz or Fitch who frequents this neighborhood, and people are much afraid of him, I've heard," said the stranger.
"Many people are afraid of him," replied the youth.
"Have you ever seen him?"
"No sir, but I've often heard him described," answered the boy.
"Do I answer the description you have had of Fitzpatrick," asked the stranger.
"I don't know that you do," was the boy's cautious reply. With that the stranger threw him some coins and said, "Pay your master for the shoe and keep the rest for yourself. I'm going now, and I might as well just say to you that Fitzpatrick happens to be my name."

Even Sandy Flash could not elude the outlaw's fate of capture and death. There are several versions of his legendary apprehension and death. The most popular story tells how he and several companions were surprised at their hideout by a posse on a fateful rainy night. Sandy and friends shot it out with the posse, but he was killed a few feet in front of the hideout. Bayard Taylor embellished this version somewhat. "Deb Smith," Sandy's girlfriend, revealed his whereabouts and led a posse to his hideout near Chadds Ford. As Sandy was apprehended he vehemently cursed the girl, who later became a half-crazed outcast.

The version I heard some years ago is similar only Sandy was a patriot. One night his girlfriend, two-timing on Sandy with a British officer, enticed the outlaw to visit her in London Grove on Street Road. Riding up he was ambushed by British soldiers and severely wounded. As he galloped away he cursed the girl. He then ran to his hideout near Chadds Ford with the British in hot pursuit. Sandy quickly dismounted and ran to the cabin; meanwhile his horse
was miraculously immune to bullets and killed six British soldiers defending its master. When the soldiers burst open the door they found Sandy Flash quietly sitting in front of the fire with a book in his hand. He had bled to death. Years later his curse was fulfilled. The girl was found dead in London Grove with a most horrible expression of terror on her face.

However, it is not totally untrue that a woman did help to capture Fitz. The most accurate recounting of Fitz’s capture was by Sarah Walker, who helped to capture him. On August 22, 1778, about five o'clock in the afternoon, Fitzpatrick approached the house of William McAfee, a rich Whig land owner in Edgemont on the West Chester Pike. The family was at tea when Captain Robert McAfee, a son, spied Fitz riding up armed with a rifle, a pair of pistols, and a sword swinging at his side. The rider dismounted, met the captain and said; “You be Captain Robert McAfee?” “I am Robert McAfee,” was the calm reply. “Well, I am Captain Fitzpatrick.” “Then won’t you have some tea with us?” asked McAfee. “No!” was the abrupt reply, “I’ve come to levy contributions from the rebels, your price is one hundred fifty pounds!” With that he pressed a pistol to McAfee’s head and ordered the family to deliver all their money and jewels. A pair of pumps adorned with silver buckles worn by McAfee struck Fitz’s fancy. He ordered McAfee to remove his shoes, and bent down to put them on as they were somewhat tight. At that opportune moment McAfee silently tossed his keys to his mother who ran upstairs, unlocked the money chest, and hid the money under some wheat. Noticing her absence, Fitz ordered her immediate return and the opportunity McAfee silently tossed his keys to his mother who ran upstairs, unlocked the money chest, and hid the money under some wheat. Noticing her absence, Fitz ordered her immediate return and the other in front. There was no money to be found. With that Fitz put his foot on a bed and stopped to adjust his new shoes. Seizing the opportunity, Sarah Walker, a servant girl, grabbed the gun out of Fitz’s hand while the McAfees struggled to apprehend him. When he was finally subdued, Fitz earnestly begged to have his brains blown out. They tied him to the bed while a servant ran for help which was some distance away since Tories resided around the farm. On his way the servant met a couple, told them the story, and their curiosity led them to the McAfees’ house. Sandy Flash seemed to have some type of supernatural Rasputin appeal with women. The passing girl took pity on him, combed his hair and even tried to untie his bonds, but was detected in time. Later a group of Continental soldiers arrived to deliver Fitz to Chester. One departing wish was that it be declared that he was taken by a woman, not a man. McAfee agreed to this request and spread the story that Sarah Walker had captured Fitz. Later, she and McAfee both got $500 in reward.

In Chester, Fitzpatrick filed off his irons and got out of his dungeon, and would have escaped but for vigilance of the jailor. From there he was transferred to jail in Philadelphia for more security. Even then he broke his handcuffs twice in one night.

The trial was held on September 26, 1778. “To hang by the neck until dead” was Sandy Flash’s sentence. His public hanging was shrouded with a supernatural cloak. A crude gallows was erected under a tree at the corner of Providence and Edgemont Avenues in Chester. As a balladeer sang;

Good people all, I pray give ear,
A woeful song you shall hear
’Tis of a robber stout as ever
Bade a true man stand and deliver.

A large crowd gathered in the hope of obtaining a souvenir. A piece of the hangman’s rope was said to cure toothaches and other ailments. Also, if used properly the bark from the gallows tree would ward off evil spirits. In the general custom, Sandy Flash was driven to the tree in a wagon with his coffin for a seat on the way. Fitzpatrick left one departing curse saying, “There is treasure enough buried within Castle Rock to buy Chester County many times over — but it will never see the light of day; the hand of man shall never again touch it.” Still in the wagon, the noose was fitted around his neck and the hangman whipped the horses. As the wagon moved away the prisoner was supposed to be left “dancing in the air”.

In final defiance, Sandy refused to dance this time. Tradition has it that as the cart moved away, the rope was too long. Sandy stood on his tip toes in a desperate effort to keep from strangling. The hangman was forced to pounce on his back and strangle Sandy Flash to death.

However, the spirit of Sandy Flash lives on. Farmers still believe the treasure is around. Local lore said (before Castle Rock was blasted for ballast in 1913) that the loot was secreted in a cave whose mouth was covered by a stone which is easily removed and rolls back in place automatically. But it is said that attempts to recover the treasure are useless, as the robber is still guarding his gold.

On the roads by the coves of Castle Rock and Hand’s Pass in Chester County gallops a phantom rider on a pale horse. When the road gleams and the cave casts its grim shadow on it “a horseman on a milkwhite steed dashes madly down the path that leads to the deserted cavern . . .” There are no echoing hoofbeats or haunting wail. “With a movement of exceeding grace the ghostly horseman turns in his saddle, with a smile of infinite scorn upon his death-white face and a gesture of supreme defiance, he puts the steed at the mass of rock and vanishes.”

*Philadelphia Press, September 15, 1901.*
DAVID LEWIS "THE ROBBER"

Although David Lewis was the subject of numerous legends, sharing the same motifs with the Doans and Sandy Flash, he deserves a somewhat different approach because he left his Confession. Fact and folklore are distinguished here. This rare book not only serves as a first hand account of Lewis' activities and his innermost thoughts and feelings, but it is a rich source revealing the existing folklore prevalent during the early nineteenth century in Pennsylvania. Snake lore, foodways, and outlaw rituals, plus the incidents upon which many legends were based are recorded in his Confessions. Here is the story of David Lewis, "The Robber" of Central Pennsylvania.

Just two years after Sandy Flash's hanging, another potential outlaw hero came into the world. Lewis was born on March 4, 1790 in Carlisle, Cumberland County, into a large and poor family. His father, a surveyor, moved the family to Bellefonte in Centre County when David was only ten. At this tender age David's father died. Through the following years a struggle for existence continued while a strong respect and affection for his mother developed.

As a youth, Lewis was renowned for his unusual physical strength and handsomeness. Despite his many childhood hardships he developed a charming and sensitive personality which won him many helpful friends throughout his youth and career as an outlaw.

With little future in sight, Lewis at 17, enlisted in the army. His rambling disposition was hardly suitable for army regulations. A sergeant had him "cobbed" for a petty offense, so David promptly deserted. Soon the War of 1812 was declared, the cry for soldiers went out, and a hungry, penniless Lewis found himself in the army again under a feigned name.

During this period, Lewis schemed with a corrupt lawyer to file a law suit in hopes of making easy money. Unfortunately, court appearances instigated some investigation into Lewis' past. His identity rediscovered, he was arrested and subsequently sentenced to death on charges of desertion and double enlistment. Lewis' Confessions recount his agonizing feelings — he feared death because he loved life, plus he never wanted to shame his good mother. Her appeals for his pardon were useless and Lewis was chained in the guard house in Carlisle, but not for long.

With his convincing personality, Lewis ingratiated himself to the good opinion of the sentry who allowed him to go to the outhouse alone. With a barlow knife slipped to him by his mother on one visit, the chains were severed and Lewis made his escape. This was the first of many daring ones to follow.

From then on, Lewis became outlawed. He fled to a cave on a Conodoguinet Creek and found shelter in the "Devil's Dining Room". Hunger induced him to leave whereupon he was cordially met at a farm-house. After a meal of fried sausage, bread, butter, milk and a big end of Yankee cheese, he climbed to a loft in an outbuilding to sleep. However, the "colt" sausage caused him to become violently sick. So as soon as he could, Lewis left to begin his famed career as a robber and counterfeiter.

His scheming mind decided to take advantage of the new establishment of country banks. The ignorant rural community was easy prey for counterfeiters then. A tin peddler on a Yankee cart, whom Lewis met on his ramblings, induced him to go to Vermont to make a small fortune. He was fairly successful until he returned to New York where he bought a horse from a General Root with bad money. The trick was discovered; Lewis was traced to a brothel, apprehended and put in jail.

His confinement was short. Lewis became enamoured with the jailor's daughter. When most of the townspeople were at church one Sunday evening she "forgot"
to lock the cell door. Under the assumed names of "Melinda" and Van Buren (it was Dutch country) they secretly made their way to Albany. Poor "Melinda" expressed such regret for her rashness that as soon as they got to town, Lewis found a minister and they were married. This began an unaltering love for his wife.

But Lewis' love was not enough to impel him towards an honest living. He concluded that it was not always profitable to be honest. He used the politicians as examples. "When I saw men who had cheated the people, defrauded the public and plundered the treasury, become the greatest favorites of the people; thinks I to myself, surely 'Honesty is not the best policy' . . . if it was not dishonorable for high men in trust to 'cheat' the people and oppress the poor, how can it be so very criminal in me to depredate on the rich, while I spare the poor." He felt it would render society a service to plunder these "official" marauders.

On the way to New York City, Lewis met another Yankee peddler who advised him to return to Pennsylvania where the population was "credulous, ignorant, unsuspicous and easy to be imposed upon." The success in such Pennsylvanian depredations was fondly called "Lifting Germany" among peddlers and outlaws.

But before he could reach Pennsylvania, Lewis fell into the company of other noted crooks in New York City. Here he reveals some valuable secrets and rituals of outlaws. These badmen had a peculiar "honesty among thieves". On their knees in a circle, clasping hands, each swore an oath of fidelity and secrecy. Rules and regulations were written in ink of blood from their veins. From there, New York City was easy prey. Theatres, hotels, unlocked shops, taverns, and wharves provided ample opportunity for plunder.

Then an incident occurred which caused Lewis to quit his partners. One night, Lewis dressed as a gentleman in true dandy style and attended an auction of lace and jewelry. He managed to leave with a purse carelessly thrown in a corner by Mrs. John Jacob Astor. The valuables were given to his wife instead of divided equally. This breach of oath caused a big fight. Lewis openly and secretly abhorred the gang's methods, so he moved to Princeton.

Here was a college town full of "empty heads and full purses." Like the Doans, Lewis possessed a rare acting talent and sagacity. This is a humorous period showing Lewis' talent as a true confidence man. He assumed the air of a Georgia planter able to "crack the bottle" with the best of them. His amiable personality soon won the favor of professors and students alike. The trick was to play on their greed and liberal-

ness with money. Lewis would at first feign ignorance at cards, then when all were drunk he would clean up on his real skill.

The success at Princeton whetted Lewis' appetite for plunder. He even schemed to rob the Girard Bank in Philadelphia, but the news that his daughter was ill caused him to abandon the project.

Again Lewis decided to join the army under General Alexander Smyth in the hope of more plunder and booty when they went to Canada. However, in the midst of the gambling and drinking Lewis lost what money he had. Under the name of Van Buren, he plundered officers and men of their money. When the campaign ended, Lewis headed for the Allegheny mountains of Pennsylvania. The scattered population, many caverns and coves afforded perfect hiding places for the fugitive.

His first stop was "Stoystown". An old acquaintance bore the bad news of the death of David's wife. At this point he was so sincerely affected that he nearly changed his mode of life. But as he fell into a gang of counterfeitters in Chambersburg, his attention was diverted.

A trip to Virginia for special printing paper revived his spirits and boldness. This was followed by a successful period of passing bad notes and horse trading in Brownsville, Unionville, Somerset and Bedford.

Success increased his audacity. It was difficult to apprehend counterfeitters. A long chain of gangs from state to state assured the thieves asylum. At this time Lewis and gang hid out in several caves. The secret code of admission was to say "Open, Susanna, Open". If a reply of "Susanna is at home" was returned, entrance was gained. Seriously considering an industrious life, Lewis was thrown out of the gang for "loitering". He took a good bit of money, buried it in a black bottle, but sadly enough could never relocate it.

Rambling on, Lewis married again, near Fayette, and headed for Centre County to visit his mother. Along the way he was caught passing bad money — but his quick mind facilitated another escape. Lewis' powers of persuasion must have been incredible. He induced his captors to leave him alone for a period so he could find a friend to vouch for him. Seizing the opportunity, he traveled to Bellefonte where his mother nearly convinced him to settle down.

But Lewis' rambling disposition and bad habits prevailed dominant. Taverns were a good place to gain information about rich travelers. Lewis and his partner Connelley and band of others robbed a Mr. McClelland near Bedford. Connelley insisted on shooting him, saying, "Dead men tell no tales." "You'll have to kill me first," was Lewis' authoritative reply. He was determined never to stain his hands with blood.

20 Lewis, p. 18.
21 Lewis, p. 27.
except in self defense. The gang was soon apprehended and put in jail in Bedford. Again Lewis escaped and like Mahlon Doan, released all the prisoners except an "ordinary thief who had robbed a poor widow. Such a thief should remain in jail to pay the price." 10

Lewis and Connelley then plundered York and Cumberland Counties preying on German farmers. However, few favorable opportunities existed. One incident is similar to the Doans' experience with old Mrs. Piper. At a tavern Lewis heard of a wealthy farmer, Mr. Beshore. The plot was frustrated when his wife blew a horn which alarmed all the neighbors. Lewis confessed that she displayed as much courage as any man and more resolution than any woman he had ever seen. Too drunk to resist, Lewis was captured again and secured in the Carlisle jail. Due to the negligence of the jailor, who "forgot" to lock the door, David made his escape again.

The restless mind of Lewis began scheming again. He wanted to pursue the nobler game of "highway robbery". A wagon load of merchandise belonging to Hamilton and Page was on its way through the Seven Mountains area outside of State College. Lewis and his "Merry Men" successfully plundered the wagon and made off with a big haul.

The guilt experienced by Lewis began to work on him. After the "Seven Mountains" haul he got an intuition of death, that his "glass was nearly run and he was called to answer in another world". 21 One dark night Lewis sat on what he thought was a log. When he stuck his knife into it, the log split away. Lewis claimed he sat on a 20 foot black snake with two heads. He believed it was the devil come to carry him away. So he decided to see his mother in Bellefonte. He risked capture and even his life just to see her.

As all outlaws, Lewis was destined to meet his fate. Legend has it that David was killed swimming the Susquehanna River at Clark's Ferry. His horse was shot out from under him and he dived into the river. A shot from a high powered rifle hit him while he was swimming to escape. When he reached the other side his insides were hanging out.

However, Lewis confesses the details of his capture himself. His own fame was responsible. On the way to Sinnemahoning, Connelly and Lewis participated in a shooting contest. They were recognized and ordered to surrender as rewards everywhere were offered for their arrest. Connelly fired, killing one man immediately.

As Lewis confessed, he never murdered anyone, so he shot into the air. The pursuers returned with earnest fire shooting Lewis in the arm and Connelley in the hip. Connelley was found later hiding in a tree top. The prisoners were loaded into canoes and taken to the Great Island, now Lock Haven, where their wounds were treated. Connelley died that night. As soon as his wounds would permit, Lewis was taken to the Bellefonte jail, where he died of gangrene about a month later on July 13, 1820.

The cunning of Lewis was such that he never served a sentence in any institution. The nature of his wounds made desire for escape from Bellefonte impossible, although he often told the jailor that he could easily escape any time he pleased.

Many of the incidents recorded by Lewis served as a foundation for the creation of tales which exalted him to the status of an outlaw hero. David Lewis was believed to be no ordinary robber who pursued petty thefts and spring house depredations. Like the other outlaw heroes he was renowned for his benevolence and generosity to the poor, gallantry towards women and courageous spirit.

His respect and gentleness to women is substantiated when he tells us, "A man who robs a woman of her virtue is a greater villain than a man who follows high-ways and robs a rich man of his money." 22 One night returning from the theatre in New York, Lewis heard the screams of a young woman from an isolated alley. He stopped the molesters in time to "save youth, beauty, and innocence from pollution and ruin." 23

There is an incident related about Lewis concerning a poor old widow. Once low on cash, David approached a farmhouse. He was met by an old lady, who he asked to change a five dollar bill. "That I am not able to do, for I am unfortunate and have not a dollar in the house and what is worse," she looked up and saw a man approaching, "there comes the constable now to take my cow for the last half-year's rent. I don't know what to do without her," she said despondently.

"How much do you owe?" Lewis hurriedly asked.
"$20, sir."
"Have you no one to help you?"
"No one."
"Then I will," and with that Lewis gave her the needed sum saying; "Pay that fellow his demand and be sure to take his receipt, but say nothing about me." He ran out the back door unobserved by the constable. With the receipt left, the constable rode on. Suddenly Lewis bounded on the road and said; "How d'ye, stranger? Got any spare change about you?" "No," said the official. "Come shell out old fellow, or I'll spare you the trouble". With that Lewis presented his pistol. The trembling official handed over the money. Lewis not only regained his $20 investment but got $40 besides. 24

[22] Lewis, p. 12.
[23] Lewis, p. 18.
Even in crime, Lewis gained a "Gentleman of the Road" reputation for generosity and benevolence. He practiced a restricted code of thievery. Often intended victims were spared because of their straightforwardness or honesty. Mr. Black of Cumberland, Maryland related a personal adventure with Lewis in the Allegheny mountains. Black had ridden to Brownsville to collect a sum of money. His black horse was very fast, so he won another in a race. Returning home he rode the new horse while leading "Blacky". In a lonely ravine a man jumped on Blacky's back and began to barter for the horse. "I'm sorry," said Black, "the horse is not for sale." The two rode on together until they came to a spring. Black offered the man food and peach brandy. By the second spring Black and his new companion were well acquainted. The stranger asked Black if he had seen David Lewis about whom there was great fear and excitement. "No," was the answer. "Well Sir," said the stranger jumping to his feet, "Here is Lewis — I am the man." Black pleaded, "Please don't rob me, I am an honest man with a wife and children." "Don't worry, for your cordiality and benevolence I'll spare you," said Lewis.

An anecdote told by Mrs. Snyder of Cumberland County has a similar motif. Once Lewis set out to rob a family, but approaching the house he heard them praying and lost heart. "I couldn't rob them people after that," was his testimony.

There is an incident related showing Lewis' audacious spirit and wry sense of humor. In Adams County a large searching party looking for Lewis met a well dressed stranger on horseback. They asked, "Have you seen Lewis the Robber, or know of his whereabouts?" "No, can't say that I have", said the stranger. "Do you mind if I join you in your pursuit?" The gentleman rode with the posse for awhile, then took his leave. Later he sent word to his companions that "they had been riding for several hours in the company of Lewis and he was anxious to know whether they found his company agreeable."**4**

The glimmering of virtue, heroism and gallantry of Lewis "The Robber" has been glamorized and idolized in local lore. But his Confessions show him to be a highly principled man, even though he led a life of crime. Lewis left a public notice in his Confessions when he says that his statement was to operate as a "solemn warning to old and young against indulging in the same wicked practices which have distinguished my unhappy life."**4** David Lewis remained a "badman with principles" to the end.

**CONCLUSIONS**

The outlaw hero in legend emerges as a product of genuine folk tradition. Now, each one of the brigand heroes here may easily deserve a full study, but there are advantages from comparing all three. The similar incidents and personalities are no mere coincidence. What we find is the continuation of folk tradition. The centripetal force of the heroic character attracts similar motifs like a magnet.

As shown in the beginning, we must first look at the context from which the legendary outlaw hero grew. The frontier is an essential setting. Violence is a main ingredient. The natural and social conditions provide a fertile foundation for outlaw activity and the embellishment of those exploits. The Doans, Sandy Flash, and David Lewis all flourished during an era of turbulence, due to war or the infancy of a republic government. Legends were transmitted to exalt these brigands to hero status. These were no ordinary debased thieves.

They were basically good men at heart, pushed into outlawry by some social injustice or other persecution. Through no "real" fault of their own, the destiny of outlawry seemed to be their fateful path. The Doans were "pushed" into robbery when Whig tax collectors forcefully confiscated their property. They acted in retaliation, violence begot violence. Sandy Flash was basically a peaceful man. Upon being drafted, flogged, then hunted down after desertion, his resentment for the patriotic cause intensified to the point of retaliation. Indirectly, David Lewis was forced into outlawry by social injustice. "Official" marauders, the politicians, cheated the poor and plundered the public treasury; so it seemed justified for him to make money off the rich; they could afford to support his thieving nature.

Outlawry makes the man a fugitive. A second major motif we see is the traditional forest home and the sanctuary of caves for the outlaw. Local caves are often associated with famous badmen. The Doans' "Devil's Cave," Sandy Flash's Castle Rock, and Lewis' "Devil's Dining Room" encapsulate this hideout motif.

Another similarity emerges. These outlaws gather around them a small group of loyal followers and have a particular "honesty among thieves". Their hideout strongholds become fortified. This is shown by the substantial prowess of the Doan gang and David Lewis' "Merry Men". Even Sandy Flash who appeared rather independent, often acted in cahoots with the Doans or his own gang of loyal followers.

The robbers then practice a rigid code of selective thievery. They prey on the rich, public tax gatherers or landowners. The heroes have definite loyalties, there is no indiscriminate plundering. So we see the Doans and Sandy Flash never preying on Tories and David Lewis never robbing the poor. Carrying this motif further, even in the midst of crime, these brigand heroes gain a reputation for generosity and a certain nobility. They become true "gentlemen of the road". The colonial outlaw is a member of the "folk" —
not nobility like Robin Hood. Nevertheless, they possess an admirable nobility of spirit. All are handsome, dashing and able to be perfect "gentlemen" when the occasion arises. The successful portrayal of southern planters by Joseph Doan and David Lewis are examples.

However, this nobility of spirit makes the outlaw a paradoxical paragon. The brigand heroes are mighty men, forceful and courageous. Yet they can also be compassionate and tender to the poor or weak.

An important motif shared by all these heroes is their chivalry and courteousness to women. Sandy Flash and David Lewis were never known to rob an old lady or to harm a female. Anecdotes bear this out. They even helped the poor women out financially. The Doans were renowned for their respect and generosity concerning women. The anecdote of how they "borrowed" a horse from a Bucks County woman, returned it and continued to furnish her with supplies in hard times comes to mind. It is also interesting that Mahlon Doan and David Lewis share the same incident of escaping from jail and releasing all the prisoners but one who stole from an old lady. They were definitely "badmen with principles". These men also display a deep and sensitive concern for their mothers or sweethearts. As Moses Doan sadly says to his ex-love, Mary Doremy, "I am unworthy of you, but I still can protect and defend," he speaks for the character of all the outlaw heroes. The incident of Sandy Flash and the Nottingham man substantiates Sandy's need to uphold the honor of his mother. David Lewis was said to risk capture and even his life just to visit his mother.

To survive and evade capture these outlaws had to live by their wit and extraordinary abilities. Naturally they share stories which celebrate their incredible sagacity or cunning. Here the story of Joseph Doan playing Lord Rowdon comes to mind. Also, Lewis' incredible ability to escape once he was captured displays this motif. The outlaws also possess fabulous skills with weapons, in fighting or riding. The effectiveness of these abilities clearly put them in an advantage to elude their adversaries.

Another trait attached to these heroes is their possession of a wry sense of humor. Common to all is the incident where an unsuspecting traveler meets the unrecognized outlaw. The brigand always asks, "Have you seen...?" Then they delight in startling their companion by revealing their identity. Also these
heroes have an admirable roguishness and bravado about them. This calls to mind the incident where Lewis, unrecognized, rides with the posse in search for him. He then delights in his roguishness by sending a letter asking if they found his company agreeable. The incident of Moses Doan and the Delaware County farmer bear this motif also.

There are always tales conjured to heighten the climactic death of the outlaw heroes. Moses Doan was martyred when he was cowardly shot down after he had surrendered. Sandy Flash was said to be foully betrayed by his sweetheart, sealing a fate beyond his control. Even the death of David Lewis was glamorized by the tale of how he made a desperate attempt to escape by swimming the Susquehanna when his insides were blown out.

The characteristics attributed to all the early Pennsylvanian outlaw heroes offer some insights into the creative process of legends. Legends may tell what the people actually believe. Any one famous may be made into a hero. One brilliant revelation along these lines is the creation of the "mistress betrays hero" motif in the legend of Sandy Flash. He requested that the story of how a woman captured him should be spread. So it was, and became a legend, even up to this day. I grew up always thinking that Sandy Flash was betrayed by his sweetheart. From this example we see the actual process of how a legend may get started and grow from oral transmission. The hero may even start the legend himself. Also, we must not underestimate the power of print in the perpetuation of folk materials. Watson's *Annals* may have inspired Bayard Taylor to write *The Story of Kennett* based on the romantic character of Sandy Flash. Unfortunately, this hero is nearly extinct except to those who have read the novel or those few who pursue local history.

One thing that becomes clear when reading the early accounts of these outlaw heroes is that there is no actual divorce between folklore and history. In many instances concerning the outlaws, fact and folklore are so intermingled it is impossible to disentangle them. From a substratum of fact, incidents are embellished and several versions of the same incident always appear. For instance, the slightly different versions of the "candle stick caper" between Sandy Flash and the boastful Continental Captain come to mind.

Also, researching these outlaws reveals the biased views of early historical accounts. Brooke in his *Annals of the Revolution* portrayed the Doans as traitors, murderers, and ruthless rapists who competed with the devil as ultimate sinners. On the other hand, Rogers approaches them from a totally different perspective. The Doans are justified loyalists in their retaliatory depredations. He also portrays them as courageous and sensitive brigands — true heroes of the folk. Of course I was persuaded by Rogers' favorable view.

Another value of researching outlaws is that precious sources of folklore and traditions of the colonial times come to light. We are told the dress of Moses Doan in Rogers' *History* along with a valuable description of colonial architecture when he depicts the log cabin built originally by Joseph Doan before he could afford a large house. We also get a first hand account of taverns and their importance to the community as gathering places and news rooms. Along these lines, we are clued into the traditional practices of public hangings and their significance as a social occasion.

David Lewis' *Confessions* is an invaluable source of the folk beliefs of death omens, foodways, and the society of outlaws. Of particular interest is the death omen of the black snake which Lewis believed to be the devil, a signal that Lewis' "glass had run out".

Also from Lewis we gain precious knowledge into the society of outlaws, their codes, lingo, and secret rituals. The strange "honesty among thieves" is fascinatingly portrayed as Lewis describes the ritual oath-swearing among the thieves in New York City. Outlaws emerge as a particular kind of society in their own right. It might be fun to investigate the lore and habits of outlaws as an independent folk group on their own.

In addition Lewis gives us some details of foodways in early Central Pennsylvania. The "colt" sausage incident immediately comes to mind.

The outlaw hero remains immortal. The same motifs were transmitted wherever the land was unsettled and violence prevailed. The hero moved west with the expansion of America. Jesse James, Sam Bass, Butch Cassidy, etc., took the place of the Doans, Sandy Flash, and Lewis the Robber, each locale creating a new hero in an old mold.

The outlaw hero is no mere felon or thief. He meets his victim face to face in an act of bravado, which is ripe for glamorization, embellishment and admiration. The outlaw is even more admired if he demonstrates generosity and courtesy to the poor or women. The glimmering of virtue, heroism, and gallantry that shines forth even in crime makes the outlaw a fit subject for adulation.
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PATENT MEDICINE IN PENNSYLVANIA BEFORE 1906: A HISTORY THROUGH ADVERTISING

BY HOLLY CUTTING BAKER

Patent medicines in America date back at least to the beginning of the 18th Century, when Nicholas Boone advertised the sale of Daffy's *Elixir Salutis* in the October 4, 1708, issue of the *Boston News-Letter*. It is not unlikely that actual use of such medicines may have preceded this written notice. Through the years, patent medicines have changed names and formulas, but their existence in some form has continued unabated to the present day.

This long history has provided the material for several accounts of the development of American patent medicines. Basically, three approaches have been used by those authors examining this area. The first substantial work was an expose of patent medicines by Samuel Hopkins Adams, a spiritual ancestor of Ralph Nader. His crusading stand has influenced most later researchers and, in fact, led to the Pure Food and Drugs Act, or Wiley Act, of 1906. Later writers, while acknowledging both the work of Adams and Wiley and the need for further legislation, concentrated on the history of the medicines and the men who made them. James Harvey Young is the chief authority on this subject. The third approach was a synthesis of the others, but with a different emphasis in both subject and spirit. Instead of patent medicines themselves, the advertisement of the medicines has been the focus of attention. These writers, in particular Gerald Carson and Adelaide Hechtlinger, looked for, and found, the absurd, outrageous, and humorous aspects of patent medicines through the use of their advertising.

Each of these approaches is valid in its own way, and each requires a different body of source material and a different academic background on the part of the researcher. As a result, the present paper will concern itself primarily with patent medicine advertising. Because of the nature of this advertising, actual illustrations are necessary to fully understand — and believe — its impact. This paper will be, in essence, a picture essay, since in most cases, the advertisements speak for themselves.

Carson and Hechtlinger treat patent medicine advertisements as curiosities tinted rose-colored through nostalgia. As a result, they sought out the outstanding examples of the art. The presentation in their books is loosely organized according to subject and genre, with only casual attention to either time or place. It is therefore very difficult to trace the development of patent medicines or their advertising through these books, except in terms of a general survey. The present paper is a study of a single locality, Philadelphia and its outlying regions, to see how patent medicine advertising progressed through the two centuries preceding the Wiley Act.

Philadelphia is a superb area for research into the history of any type of medicine. Folk medicine is well represented, especially among the Pennsylvania Germans. Academic medicine essentially began in Philadelphia with the founding of the first hospital in America, the Pennsylvania Hospital (1751), the first medical school — the Medical Department of the College of Philadelphia (1765), and an early medical association, the Philadelphia Medical Society (1766). Philadelphia has remained a leading center of academic medicine through the years. Patent medicine was also well represented in Philadelphia. The first American patent medicine magnate was a Philadelphian by residence, while several of the major figures were associated with Pennsylvania either through birth, residence, or education. Ironically, Philadelphia was also the home of one of the leading opponents of patent medicine, the *Ladies' Home Journal*.

The term patent medicine is technically incorrect when applied to the great majority of such preparations. Early medicines were imported from European countries, especially England. A few of these English imports, such as Dr. Bateman's Pectoral Drops and Turlington's Balsam of Life, were actually granted a royal patent. Likewise, a few early American patent medicines, such as the Pennsylvania-made Tuscarora Rice, managed to secure royal recognition. But most American made patent medicines were not patented. Between 1793 and 1836, only about seventy-
five patents were granted, with the first going to Samuel Lee, Jr. of Wyndham, Connecticut, in 1796 for his Bilious Pills.

Dr. Lee's genuine Wyndham Bilious Pills, prepared by Samuel Lee, jun. of Wyndham, Conn. for which discovery he obtained a patent agreeable to an act of Congress signed by G. Washington, late Pres. of the U.S., April 30, 1796.1

Why were these preparations not patented? Two reasons seem most probable. First, a patent application would require that the ingredients of the medicine be revealed. This idea was anathema to medical entrepreneurs. There was the natural fear of competition. Beyond that, there was fear that the formula would be recognized as either useless, dangerous, or simple to prepare at home. A patent application would reveal that most patent medicines consisted of water, herbs, mercury, narcotics, and alcohol, in combination with each other and with other substances, often more mysterious. The second major obstacle to patenting medicines was the short life of the patent.

Manufacturers sought other means to protect their investments. They turned to copyrights and common law as alternatives. Bottles that were the products of the medicine men's enterprises were patented, but this was of minor significance. The label that went on the bottle, the promotional literature that sold it, and the name by which its contents were known became all important and were protected by government copyrights. The trade marks of these medicines were protected by common law.

Copyrighting had several distinct advantages over patenting. The medicinal formulas were not held up to either public or governmental scrutiny. The term of the copyright was for twenty-four years, with option to renew for fourteen more. The copyright was easily transferable. If an ingredient was found to be dangerous or unavailable, it could be eliminated without any fuss at all or fear of government intervention. This prevalence of copyright as opposed to patenting causes these medicines to be properly named proprietary, since the manufacturers were the proprietors, or owners, of the copyright. However, since common usage employs the names as synonyms, this paper will also.

Nevertheless, the distinction between patent and proprietary medicines is essential to an adequate understanding of these medicines. The formula became irrelevant; money spent to improve it was considered wasted, since any improvement would not be protected by law. The owners turned instead to the promotional possibilities of what they actually owned, namely, the name, label, and literature. What good was ownership if these materials were not publicized? The alliance between proprietary medicine and advertising was born.

Patent medicines are unequivocally a media phenomenon. Their expansion parallels the growth of printed media, especially newspapers. The number of daily newspapers grew impressively in the early years of this country. In 1800, there were twenty American dailies; by 1860, there were four hundred, in addition to other papers publishing on a less frequent schedule.2 As newspapers promoted medicine, medicine returned the favor by financially supporting newspapers. Proprietary medicines were among the earliest and heaviest advertisers. In the later part of the 19th Century, this dependence was graphically illustrated by the "Red Clause". Agitation against patent medicine was beginning and restrictive legislation was a possibility. This "Red Clause" was placed by the proprietors in the advertising contract with the newspaper. It simply stated that if any legislation was passed restricting patent medicines, the contract was null and void. The newspapers were so reliant on patent medicine advertising revenue that this clause effectively stifled any opposition from the press and often brought editorial attacks on restrictive laws.

Although newspapers contained the heaviest concentration of this type of advertising, the enterprising proprietors left no opportunity for promotion to go unexplored. There were handbills, posters and billboards, trade cards and mail inserts, and all sorts of pamphlets and leaflets. Unfortunately, much of this material was ephemeral and has disappeared. Newspapers offer the most stable source, with their added benefit of reliable dating. Trade cards and some pamphlets were also preserved for their intrinsic value. It is these three sources which provide most of the following material.

In the early years of this century, a customer in search of patent medicines could turn to several sources. At first his choice would have been limited to distributors, since many patent medicines were imported and American manufacturers were few, except at the individual level. These middle-men operated a variety of retail establishments and professional services. The January 8, 1785 issue of the Pennsylvania Packet carried an advertisement for C. W. Lecke and Melbeck which included Dr. Kiesow's Drops and Doctor Kortholdt's Essence for the Stomach at the end of a long list of clothing and household sundries, evidently part of the inventory of a general store. John Wyeth, the publisher

1 Oracle of Dauphin and Harrisburg Advertiser, December 31, 1803.

of the Dauphin Oracle and Harrisburg Advertiser, carried on a thriving medicine business right in his book store-newspaper office. In the March 19, 1797 Oracle he placed a notice stating, “Dr. Anderson’s Scots Pills (fresh) may be had of the printer hereof.” As his business expanded, he could claim exclusive Harrisburg distribution rights for several medicines, including those of the aforementioned Samuel Lee, Jr. He even carried on a mail order business, as shown by the May 19, 1799 advertisement for Dr. Vicker’s Pills and Embrocation:

N.B. Any person wishing to possess this valuable medicine, residing in the country, can be supplied by directing a line to me with the necessary accompaniment, through the hands of the Mail-carrier.

Even after the customer, lured by such notices, entered the shop he had chosen to honor with his business, the work of advertising continued. The medicine bottles themselves were unmistakable. If the customer was illiterate and could not read either the affixed label or the name blown into the glass, he could still distinguish one medicine from another by the usually unique shape of the bottle.

C. W. Lecke and Melbeck and John Wyeth made no claims to be anything else except sellers of medicine, but other merchants were not so honest. At that time, medical standards were lax. There was no official licensing board, and just about anyone could assume the title “Doctor”. Even shopkeepers could promote themselves into professional ranks. In the Oracle of February 7, 1796, the partnership of Lepelletier and Benoit advertised an assortment of goods for sale, including some patent medicines. A few months later, an announcement appeared of the dissolution of that partnership, along with the notice that Lepelletier would continue to sell medicines. On May 17, 1797, in the Oracle, Doctor Lepelletier (emphasis mine),

informs the public that he has just received a fresh assortment of MEDICINE lately imported from Europe, which he will dispose of at a very reasonable price.

Even within the academic tradition the distinction between physician, surgeon, and apothecary was blurred. This was especially true outside major urban centers. Over and above the pure impostors such as Lepelletier, even those men with some tenuous attachment to the medical profession changed titles freely. Druggists called themselves doctors, as well they might, for they were often called upon to prescribe as well as dispense medication. By the same token, doctors were often obliged to carry or prepare their own medications. The Oracle printed many announcements for druggists/doctors. On November 14, 1796, Dr. Isaac McKinley announced that he had lately opened his office and had “a variety assortment of the best medicines”. On May 1, 1799, Dr. Henry Hall reminded his patients of his new address, and added that “he still continues to keep a handsome assortment of Drugs and Patent Medicines for sale, which he will dispose of on the lowest terms”.

Some doctors called their places of business apothecary shops instead of offices. The following advertisement of Dr. John Luther appeared in the November 19, 1797 Oracle, and is repeated here in its entirety because of the view it gives of the contents of a late eighteenth century drug store and of the material medica in general. Notice in particular his mention of the country, which indicates that even at that early date, farmers did have access to medicines in addition to their herbal remedies.
The Great Remedy for Pain.

Every constituent of the formula of St. Jacobs Oil, when in the Cure of Pain: as a combination its specific virtue is simply marvelous. Not an element of it would be disappointed by any intelligent physician; no one thoroughly can disqualify its success, nor deny the truth of every endorsement.

Every application gives relief. Every bottle tested as to quality. Every bottle contains a cure.

Every genuine bottle bears the firm's signature. Every testimonial strictly true. Every day increased demands. Every patient is amazed and cured. Every ache or pain succumbs.

FOR PAIN.
Cures Rheumatism, Neuralgia, Backache, Headache, Toothache, Sprains, Bruises, &c.

THE CHARLES A. VOGELER COMPANY,
Baltimore, Maryland, U. S. A.
Brances: 4 Farrington Road, London, England;
Toronto, Canada; San Francisco, California, U. S. A.;
Sydney, New South Wales; Melbourne, Victoria.
St. Jacobs Oil is sold by druggists and dealers in medicine everywhere, and by

From G. S. ROYER, Druggist,
Ephrata, PA

Doctor John Luther
at his Apothecary Shop, Southeast corner of the Market-Square, Harrisburg, has just received a fresh assortment of Chymical and Galenical and patent Drugs and Medicines, which he is determined to dispose of at the lowest rates.

Orders from the country shall be strictly attended to, and every possible satisfaction given.

Cassis Cinnamon
Castile Soap
Castor
Cinnebar Native
Cochineal
Lapis Calaminaris
Manna
Milk
Pearl Barley
Peruvian Bark
Opium
Orange Peel
Quicksilver
Roots of Angelica
Roots of Carolina-Pink
Roots of Columbia
Roots of Galangal
Roots of Gentian
Roots of Ginger
Roots of Ipecacua
Roots of Liquorice
Roots of Jalap
Roots of Orris
Roots of Rhubarb
Roots of Sassaparilla
Roots of Valerian
Roots of Zedoary
Saffron
Sago
Sal Ammoniac
Salt Petre
Seeds Anise
Seeds Cardamom
Seeds Fenugreek
Senna
Spermaceti
Succinum
Sulphur Common
Sulphur Vivum
Tartars, red and white
Venice Turpentine
Vividus, blue green and white
Vergilus
Wax, white and yellow
Cream of Tartar
Gum of Ammoniac
Gum of Arabic
Gum of Asafoetida
Gum of Benzoin
Gum of Elemi
Gum of Galbanum
Gum of Gamboge
Gum of Guaiacum
Gum of Juniper
Gum of Lacca
Gum of Mastic
Gum of Myrrh
Gum of Olibanum
Gum of Opoponax
Gum of Sagopenum
Gum of Sanguis Draconis
Gum of Storax
Gum of Trogacanth
Harthorn Calined
Harthorn Shavings
Isinglass
Juniper Berries

Electuary Diascordium
Electuary of Lemons
Flowers of Benzoin
Flour of Sulphur
Lac Sulphur
Lapis Infernalis
Magnesia

Mercurial Preparations
Mercury Precipitate, red and white
Mercury Dulcis or Calomel
Mercury Sublimate Corrosive

Oils per Expression
Oil of Almonds
Oil of Bays
Oil of Camphor Nuts

Oils Essential
Oil of Amer
Oil of Amniseed
Oil of Cloves
Oil of Juniper
Oil of Lavender
Oil of Mint
Oil of Pennyroyal
Oil of Pepper-Mint
Oil of Petre
Oil of Spike
Oil of Turpentine
Oil of Vitriol

Oxynel of Squilla
Salts Glauber
Salts Tartar
Salts Volatile
Spirits of Harthorn
Spirits of Lavender
Spirits of ditto compound
Spirits of Nitre Corrosive
Spirits of ditto Dulcified
Spirits of Sal Ammoniac
Spirits of Sal Volatile
Spirits of Vitriol Dulcified
Spirits of ditto Fortis
Syrup of Squilla
Water of Rose

Patent Medicines
Anderson’s Pills
Batemans Drops
British Oil
Court Sticking Plaster
Daffy’s Elixir
Essence of Peppermint
Franchise’s Female Strengthening
Elixir
Godfrey’s Cordial
Hooper’s Pills
Harlem Oil
Stoughten’s Bitters
In the next stage of patent medicine advertising, the medicines were produced in the United States. England and Germany lost their dominance as major suppliers. The early manufacturers were either individuals with small output and local customers, or firms, usually headed by a dominant figure, with national distribution. These native producers had a much larger stake in the proper marketing of their medicines, since they were the chief recipients of the profits. As a result, as native manufacturing increased, advertising became more extensive. This new variety of advertisement did not only mention the availability of a certain medicine, it extolled its virtues. It is at this point that proprietary medicines became big business and their advertisements began to take the shape which would characterize them until the 1860s.

The following excerpt was printed in the June 12, 1799 issue of the *Oracle* under the heading “Chinese Doctor,” and is a good example of the manner in which a single individual could promote his own preparations:

Chinese Doctor . . . respectfully informs the public that he will undertake to cure any disease or complaint whatsoever — even where other doctors have declared the patient incurable. The doctor will engage perfectly to cure the Cancer, King’s Evil, Gout, Dropsy, Rheumatism, Consumption, Cholic, Cramp, Stone or Gravel, Piles, Old Ulcers or Sores, Lameness, Deafness, Sore Eyes, Fits, Yellow Fever, etc. Likewise the flucks and Pleurisy — and the most violent toothache, cured in a short time without drawing.

The Doctor also informs the public that all the medicines he makes use of in curing any disorders are prepared by himself from HERBS and ROOTS only, which he has brought with him from China, for the purpose.

Of course, not all medicine was sold only by the proprietor on his own premises. The Doctor Vicker mentioned above was a Philadelphian whose Harrisburg agent was John Wyeth. Medicines such as Swaim’s Panacea, made in Philadelphia, began to receive the same sort of distribution and publicity once reserved for imported proprietary medicines, and surpassed the latter advertisements in copy length and exaggerated content.

Once the value of publicity was realized, proprietors began branching out from strictly verbal copy to illustrated advertisements.

The first such illustrations were rudimentary, such as the La Motts Cough Drops bottle, which seems to be the earliest newspaper illustration used. This bottle closely resembled other non-medical advertising, which often included a very small representation or symbol of the object for sale, such as a house for real estate or a horse for livestock, placed at the top column of print. These pictorial headings became more and more elaborate, and were to remain a constant feature of patent medicine advertising.

Pennsylvania, in particular Philadelphia, became an important center of proprietary medicine production in its next stage, the era of the medical magnates. Between 1810 and 1906, Thomas W. Dyott, William Swaim, David Jayne, J. C. Ayer, David Hostetter, Henry Hembold, J. Schenck, David Hartman and many others made their fortunes in the patent medicine business. Although their firms were among the largest in the country, and their products were distributed nationwide, these proprietors all had Pennsylvania connections. Dyott, Swaim, Jayne and Schenck were residents of Philadelphia, and based their firms in that city. David Hostetter was a native of Pittsburgh, while Samuel Hartman was born in Dauphin County. Henry Hembold began his business in Philadelphia, and J. C. Ayer had received his education at the University of Pennsylvania.

The names of these proprietors became household words, through their extravagant advertising and their eccentric life-styles. Thomas Dyott was the first American proprietor to gain national recognition. An apothecary’s apprentice in London, Dyott worked as a bootblack after his arrival in Philadelphia some time before 1805. His success was so great that he soon opened his own business. He chose the field of patent medicines as a likely investment prospect. Although the medicines he sold were of his own manufacture, he did not claim to be their inventor. Dyott attributed his formulas to a Dr. Robertson of Edinburgh, his grandfather — although later investigation revealed that no such person as Dr. Robertson existed. Diversification was the keynote of the Dyott enterprise. He produced not one or two but many nostrums under name of Dr. Robertson, such as the Vegetable Nervous Cordial, Patent Stomachic Wine Bitters, Celebrated Gout and Rheumatic Drops, and Infallible Worm Destroying Lozenges, and distributed other medicines under names such as Dr. Tissot’s Celebrated Gout and Rheumatic Drops, Dr. Jebb’s Nature’s Restorative, and Dr. Godbold’s Vegetable Balm of Life. He used his own name, after he had granted himself a medical degree, for Anti-Bilious Pills and a Patent Iitch Ointment. Several Preparations, such as the Balm Iberia and the Restorative Dentifrice, were marketed without medical endorsements in their names.

Dyott’s success was enormous. His policy of accepting payment in kind as well as in cash expanded his business to include a variety of goods. His 1820 advertisement in *Whitely’s Philadelphia Annual Advertiser* contains a list of his stock which ranges from patent medicines through coffee, firewood, and feathers. His "Medical Dispensary" was located in 1810, according to the April 10th *Oracle*, at “No. 116 North Second Street, second door above Race Street, Philadelphia”. By the time of the 1820 ad-
advertisement, his place of business had expanded to include the buildings extending to the corner of Race and Second Streets.

Thomas Dyott pioneered two patent medicine publicity techniques. The first one was the use of printed media other than newspapers. Although newspapers gladly accepted the advertising copy of nostrums, only a certain amount of space could be allotted to them, due to the limited size of early papers. Dyott solved this problem in the following way, in a notice printed in the Oracle of April 18, 1810.

Dr. Dyott respectfully solicits the public to observe that owing to the certificates of cures, performed through the efficacy of the above Medicines, having become too numerous for their insertion in a newspaper, he has in consequence published pamphlets, wherein are enrolled, in the most demonstrated and conspicuous manner, the undeniable fact signed by citizens of the first respectability, clergy and members of the faculty, and are now to be had gratis of him and his respective agents, throughout the United States.

By using such pamphlets, Dyott could expand his promotional campaign to any extent he desired, freed from the size limitations of newspapers and from the minimal restriction of editors. This move into pamphlets was to have great influence on all future patent medicine advertising, because it was in such pamphlets that this advertising reached its peak.

The second technique developed by Dyott was self-promotion. Not only did his name appear on some medicines, but all the medicines promoted by Dyott, whether produced by him or not, were subsumed under the caption "Doctor Dyott's Family Medicines". His business grew to such a point that he purchased the Kensington Glass Works to keep up the supply of bottles. Dyott founded a company town for his workers in the area adjacent to the factory, which he promptly renamed "Dyottsville". Since he completely controlled the manufacture of his bottles, he could design them to his liking. Unlike other proprietors who commissioned bottles with their names and the names of the products and their trademarks, Dyott was not satisfied until his portrait was reproduced in glass.

An unsuccessful venture into banking brought about Thomas W. Dyott's downfall in 1837. Undaunted after a brief prison term, he returned to the nostrum business, although he limited his activities to distribution. Dyott never regained his former primacy, for the field in which he was a pioneer was, by the 1840's, well populated by competing proprietors.

Several men filled the void left by Dyott. William Swaim promoted his Panacea, through "A Treatise on Swaim's Panacea; Being a Recent Discovery for the Cure of Scrofula or King's Evil, Mercurial Disease, Deep-Seated Syphilis, Rheumatism, and all Disorders Arising from a Contaminated or Impure State of the Blood," and other such pamphlets. D. Dodge Tomlinson of 400 North Third Street in Philadelphia, also adopted pamphlet advertising, in the manner of Dyott. However, although Tomlinson's leaflet is entirely dedicated to lauding the virtues of his H.H.H., its tones suggests the next step in pamphlets. Unlike the solemn wording of the earlier volumes, Tomlinson's copy was light and humorous. Although a far cry from an actual joke book, the H.H.H. pamphlet suggested a move towards dual purpose advertising.

Proprietors distributed joke books, dream books, historical treatises, medical advisors, and any other small publications which could serve as promotional vehicles. A song book in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania can serve as an example. Major J. Rohrer, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, published The Popular Songster to advertise his Rohrer's Expectorant Wild Cherry Tonic. The cover, back page, and all left hand pages of the twenty-six page volume carried promotional copy: a history of the drug, ingredients, uses, and customer testimonials. On the right hand pages were the words to current songs such as "Pat Malloy," "Napoleon's Grave," "We Parted by the Wayside," and a real gem entitled "Rohrer's Expectorant Wild Cherry Tonic". This opposite page arrangement of advertisements and songs was a clever ruse also used by other proprietors. It was impossible to use the "Songster" without being exposed to the advertising, and it was impossible to tear out the offending pages.

The most proficient exploiter of the expanded pamphlet form was David Hostetter of Pittsburgh. The son of a Lancaster County physician, Dr. Jacob Hostetter, David turned to patent medicines in 1853 after several business failures. He started with a formula developed by his father for his own patients, and promoted it, as Hostetter's Celebrated Stomachic Bitters Tonic, into the second largest patent medicine empire in the United States.

Although Hostetter employed several forms of advertising, including newspapers, he was best known for his Hostetter's United States Almanac, later Hostetter's United States Universal Almanac, first published in 1860. This was not the first proprietary medicine almanac, however. In the 1840's, David Jayne of Philadelphia began publication of his "Medical Almanac and Guide to Health," along with his dream books, while in the next decade, J. C. Ayer, the most successful proprietor of nostrums in the United States before 1900, began his

Hostetter's United States and Universal Almanac was eventually published in ten versions, one for each United States coast, in English, plus eight foreign language editions. Approximately 13,000,000 copies a year saw "gratuitous distribution," in the words of one edition. In the early years the format was simple. The cover carried name and trademark, while the inside cover was full of advertising. On page one was the zodiac, a universal feature in almanacs. Page two and all left hand pages carried astronomical and planting information. On page three and all right hand pages was a wealth of information about Hostetter's Celebrated Stomachic Bitters Tonic. Later editions somewhat toned down the advertising and added other features such as recipes, household hints, jokes, and cartoons.

Men like Jayne, Hostetter and Ayer might not have succeeded to such an extent without the advent of a new professional — the advertising agent. George Presbury Rowell, one of the founders of professional advertising, stated the correlation between the extent of advertising and success.

Hostetter's Bitters are said to sell now about as well as ever, and to have been the most profitable 'medicine' ever put on the market. Colonel Hostetter, when he died, left a fortune of $18,000,000 which nearly or quite equalled that left by Dr. J. C. Ayer, of Lowell, Massachusetts, who began his business earlier, owned many preparations, and advertised ten times as much.

A few pages later, Rowell added, "Dr. Ayer had the best corps of advertising men that ever travelled in the interest of a patent medicine." Another early agent, Claude C. Hopkins, offered a related idea.

Thirty years ago, medicine advertising offered the ad.-writer his greatest opportunity. It formed the supreme test of his skill. Medicines were worthless merchandise until a demand was created. They could not well be inventoried on the druggists' shelves at even one cent a bottle. Everything depended on advertising.

According to Rowell, who himself was proprietor of a few medicines, once advertising established the demand, future promotion was not at all difficult. The proprietary article that is managed with the greatest ease, when the demand for it is once firmly established, is a patent medicine. The cost of production is generally small, the percentage of profit consequently large, the methods of distribution are perfected, and a demand, once established on merit, will continue to some extent as long as children live who can remember hearing mothers commend the article, or having seen it used or participated in such.

Rowell himself provided an example of the longevity an impression of a patent medicine could have. The first memory Rowell had of advertising involved a patent medicine.

Although the mind recalls no newspaper advertisement at this time of his youth there is a memory of the presence in the house of a bottle containing a liquid of a golden pomegranate color, enclosed in a paper wrapper somewhat approaching the same shade . . . This wonderful patent medicine is still to be found at drug stores, still has the same color, same wrapper, and is still known as Ayer's Cherry Pectoral. The final stage in the development of nostrum advertising, until its curtailment by the Pure Food and Drug Act in 1906, was the perfection of the lithographic process in the 1870's. At last good quality, colored advertisements were possible. The advertising genre which most benefited from this process was the trade card. Although such cards had been available for many years, they took on new character through lithography. Unfortunately, black and white photography cannot begin to capture the vigorous expression of these cards. Pennsylvanians fully utilized this genre. Dr. J. H. Schenck and John Yungers of Philadelphia each printed at least one card. David Jayne issued a long series of cards, specializing in religious and sentimental scenes painted by popular artists such as R. W. Buss, "The Ghost Story," and Thomas Faed, "The Words of Comfort". Frederick Brown chose European costumes and newspapers as the subjects of his series. Like these, many trade card pictures bore little or no relationship to the advertised medicines, and could be used on the trade cards of other industries or businesses.

The expense involved in the printing of such elaborate advertising vehicles was justified not only by their eye-catching ability, but also by their longevity. Young Victorian ladies collected trade cards for their esthetic appeal, and then pasted them in albums for safekeeping and display. Many of the cards in the collection of the Free Library of Philadelphia bear glue marks as evidence of this practice. These marks are invariably on the printed side, as shown by a close examination of Dr. Stewart's advertisements which reveal missing words on the reverse of his four season cards. Dr. Thomas' Electric Oil, although it is related to Pennsylvania only through its sale there, is illustrated because it is a superb example of the lithographic art, and because, on the reverse side, the card bears the statement: "Handsome set of Cards sent free on receipt of a 3 ct. stamp". Proprietors thus actually encouraged collection. After all, what better audience for such advertising than the young women who would be responsible someday
for stocking the family medicine chest?

These cards occasionally served other secondary purposes. William M. Wilson and Company used his card not only to advertise his Syrup of Tar, Wild Cherry, and Horehound, but also to serve as a New Year’s Greeting card. Dr. D. B. Hand supplied mothers with bookmarks as well as with advice on baby remedies.

Up to this point, this paper has dealt only with the development of the various types of patent medicine advertising. The content of these advertisements has been deliberately omitted. An analysis of nostrum advertising reveals that, while the specific content of advertisements will naturally vary from product to product, the general content shows a remarkable consistency through time and across genres and products. All patent medicine advertising, beyond the simple listing of available products, shares the following characteristics to some extent, either in an individual ad or in a continuing campaign.

The most obvious characteristic shared by nostrums was a name, which more than likely was copyrighted. The most common names were composed of the proprietor’s name and a general description of the drug: Perry Davis’ Pain Killer, Dr. Leon’s Infant Remedy, Dr. Fairly’s Pile Ointment. This combination was often elaborated into names like Hembold’s Genuine Preparation of Highly Concentrated Compound Fluid Extract, which was usually shortened to Hembold’s Buchu. The connotation of the words describing the medicine was important, as in Swaim’s Panacea, which suggested a cure-all, or in any nostrum called bitters, a word translated by the knowledgeable sector of the public into “alcoholic beverage”.

The name of the proprietor was necessary to prevent confusion among Dr. Dyott’s Anti-Bilious Pills, Rawson’s Anti-Bilious Pills, Lee’s Anti-Bilious Pills, and Hahn’s Anti-Bilious Pills. Vermifuges and stomachic bitters suffered from the same popularity and also had to be distinguished by the names of the proprietors. Very few medicines were publicized anonymously: The Restorative Dentifrice, The Sovereign Ointment for the Itch. Included in many names were adjectives describing the fame or efficacy of the nostrum: Hostetter’s Celebrated Stomachic Bitters Tonic, Dr. Robertson’s Infallible Worm Destroying Lozenges, Lee’s Grand Restorative, Hahn’s True and Genuine German Corn Plaster. Several names were designed to attract attention through alliteration: Radway’s Ready Relief, also known as R.R.R., Pink Pills for Pale People, Burdock Blood Bitters, Carey’s Chinese Catarrh Cure. D. Dodge Tomlinson, in his advertising pamphlet for H.H.H., readily admitted the selling power of a name.

Seems like a strange name, doesn’t it? Well, you know what’s said about a name, ‘a rose by any other name would smell as sweet’. Just so with H.H.H. It would do its work as well under any one of 10,000 other possible names. But then none of these others might be as unusual and therefore effective because ‘catchy’.

Patent medicines also shared a propensity for using trademarks. The cover of Hostetter’s Almanac was adorned by St. George and the Dragon, to represent Hostetter slaying disease. William Swaim enlisted Hercules in his cause, in the act of defeating the many headed Hydra. The J. C. Ayer firm had a number of trademarks, including mortar and pestle, an ancient chemist in his laboratory, and an anchor.
symbol of Hope. Trademarks were often mentioned in the text of the advertisement as well, in terms of explanation.

As an appropriate tribute to the superlative medicinal virtues of H.H.H., we have registered as a trademark, in the United States Patent Office, this Ansated Cross, the old Egyptian Symbol of Life.

Probably the most famous proprietary medicine trademark in America was the face of Lydia E. Pinkham, which, according to legend, adorned the obituary notices of Queen Victoria and other notable women, in country newspapers with no other access to portraits of women. Mrs. Pinkham’s advertisement contains another characteristic of nostrum advertising, the slogan. Mrs. Pinkham’s was “Yours for Health,” followed by her signature. Wister’s Balsam of Wild Cherry announced “Consumption Can Be Cured,” in addition to its more subdued remedy, which cured all ills, such as “Best for man, best for beast”.

Only in the beginning of nostrum advertising was the knowledge of the applicability of a medicine on the part of the customer left to chance. The great majority of medical advertisements carried a specific list of diseases which would fall before the powerful onslaught of the medicine. Four types of medicines were promoted. There was the universal remedy, which cured all ills, such as H.H.H.

Its use in the treatment of disease of both man and horse are so numerous, that it performs the functions of many separate remedies — it is, in fact, many medicines in one — yet operates as effectively for each affection as it was intended solely for that one purpose and for no other.

This characteristic of H.H.H. was illustrated by means of a diagram of a large bottle in which were embedded many smaller bottles, each marked with the name of a specific disease. The proprietors of Hostetter’s Bitters were somewhat more modest. In the 1864 almanac, it was stated that, “It will not cure all the ills that flesh is heir to, but it will assuredly fortify the system against a considerable number of them”. Two years later, the celebrated bitters were given a little more power.

Now the pure liquid stimulant, of which Hostetter’s Bitters are in part composed, is charged with invaluable vegetable remedies, and these, by reason of its powerful diffusive principle, it conveys to every organ and introduces into the circulation. To use a common expression, IT GOES TO THE SPOT, taking with it just what is wanted there.

A proprietor who owned many medicines was not likely to promote many of them as universal cure-alls. His economic interest was best served by encouraging purchase of as many varieties as possible. Thus, each remedy was specific to one disease. Dr. Munyon, in a large ad in the January 2, 1898 Philadelphia Inquirer, listed twenty-three different remedies, and then concluded with the statement that he had “thirty-four other cures for thirty-four other ailments, equally reliable as those named above”.

The monistic theory of disease explained a third type of remedy, the specific cure for a universal cause. An advertisement in the October 20, 1804 issue of the Oracle, for the Essence and Extract of Mustard is a good example of this type.

Some may be surprised, that this medicine should be prescribed with equal success, in such a variety of cases, but this surprise will cease, when it is recalled that all those complaints result from the same cause — a slowness in the circulation of the lymph, or obstruction in lymphatic vessels.

**ORIGINAL AND INCOMPARABLE**

**MALT BITTERS, A FOOD AND A MEDICINE.**

Prepared without fermentation from Canadian BARLEY MALT and HOPS, and warranted richer in blood cell-provoking materials than all other preparations of malt, while free from the objections urged against malt liquors. Thousands are daily passing in premature graves, because unable to throw off the Debility which has fastened itself upon their systems. Why? Because the cause, ENEMBEDDED DIGES'TIVE AND IMPOVERISHED BLOOD, is not reached by any remedy or treatment. Give these alone, they perform something to sustain life, something to create, new, BRIGHT BLOOD. Give them Good Digestion, Active Liver, and Pure Blood will be manufactured in such quantities as to electrify the system and throw off disease. **MALT BITTERS**. At once a Medicine — a Food; this wonderful Nutrient and Invigorant builds up enfeebled digestion, regulates the flow of the system, dissolves and assimilates every article of diet, nourishes and strengthens the blood, quiets the nerves, clears the mind, and vitalizes the new life in every organ and limb of the body. For Feeble Digestion, Weakness of the Lungs, Kidneys and Urinary Organs, Mental and Physical Debility, Nervousness, and Want of Sleep. Charitable Weakness of Females, Exhaustion of Nursing Mothers and the Aged, of delicate Children, and every form of Debility, they are marvellous.

Ask for MALT BITTERS, prepared by the MALT BITTERS COMPANY, and see that every bottle bears the TRADE MARK LABEL, duly signed and enclosed in Wave Linen, as seen in cut. All infringements of this Trade Mark will be promptly prosecuted. The miniature face-simile here shown is about one-fourth the actual size of the bottle, which holds nearly one quart. **MALT BITTERS** are for sale by all Druggists.

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**Bitters were a popular 19th Century medicine. The more whiskey they contained, the more popular they became.**
A fourth, rather audacious, type of remedy exists in the form of "if this doesn’t cure you, you weren’t sick". Mother Swan’s Worm Syrup made the confident claim that “If worms are not expelled by it, you may depend that they do not exist”.

Truth in advertising was definitely not a goal of medical proprietors. The composition of the nostrums was carefully guarded. Lydia Pinkham broke tradition by printing her formula on the bottle label, but such disclosures were rare. The public reaction against the harsh remedies used by actual doctors was exploited to the utmost by the proprietors. Patent medicines were extolled as purely vegetable, uncontaminated by evil and harmful chemicals. Rohrer’s Expectorant Wild Cherry Tonic was “composed of the best roots and herbs that grow in the civilized world — in Germany, on the slopes of the Alps, Italy, Switzerland, North and South America, and in other countries”. Dr. Schenck’s Mandrake Pills contained “no calomel and are exclusively vegetable”. There was an understandable fear of calomel, or mercury, in medicine; several nostrums, such as Swain’s Panacea, were advertised as cures for mercurial poisoning, although an analysis of the Panacea showed that it contained the most virulent form of mercury.

The subject of ingredients raises the whole question of the narcotic and alcoholic content of patent medicines. The presence of opium, laudanum, or morphine in the medicines seems to have been a well kept secret, except among the addicts who had a ready supply of the drugs on which they were dependent. Alcohol was an entirely different situation. Certain nostrums had ambiguous advertisements, presented in such a way that clergy and members of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union would have no qualms about using them, at the same time these medicines were being dispensed by the shot glass in saloons. A diagram in Hopkins’ The Great American Fraud graphically illustrates the percentage of alcohol in three popular nostrums. Many unsuspecting users became alcoholics without ever realizing it, until that unfortunate day when their “medicine” was no longer available.

Whiskey in a pure form was recognized as having legitimate medicinal purposes, and was advertised for what it was. Any medicine called “bitters” was likely to have a high alcoholic content. The trade card of W. Harrison Ware, a Philadelphia wholesaler of wines and liquors, carried a poorly printed advertisement for Dr. Fisch’s Bitters on its reverse side, with the implication that the bitters could be had at the Ware establishment. The toddler waving a bottle of Burdock’s Blood Bitters appears to have had one dose too many. The proprietors of Tippecanoe claimed that “after using our ‘Tippecanoe’ you will use no nostrums or preparations called ‘Bitters’”. This advertisement may have been directed at those imbibers who would like a change from pseudo-whisky, since Tippecanoe was “as agreeable to the taste as wine”.

As can be expected, the advertising campaign of Hostetter’s Bitters placed much emphasis on its alcohol content — discreetly, of course. The amount of alcohol was too well known to be denied, and too important a selling point to be eliminated from the formula. The proprietor took great care to carefully distinguish bar room poisons and pure but useless spirits from the enormously beneficial Hostetter’s Celebrated Stomachic Bitters. The following excerpts are from the 1864 and 1866 almanacs; the phrasing is too exquisite not to repeat.

A just prejudice exists against thespiruous stimulants in common use. They are either adulterated with pungent drugs or are counterfeits of the liquors of which they bear the names. Analysis shows that they, one and all, contain active poisons.

No man who drinks the common tavern liquors can even guess at the nature of the compounds which he brings in contact with the coats of his stomach. Under what an extraordinary infatuation must those persons labor who, as a matter of choice, imbibe the deleterious concoctions sold as ‘imported spirits,’ when they can obtain a healthful tonic made of a pure domestic stimulant, tempered with the finest medicinal herbs and roots, at a cheaper rate than any of the poisons in question.

The ESSENCE OF RYE would undoubtedly diffuse through the organization as swiftly if administered pure and simple, as if mixed with the juices of tonic and alterative roots, barks, and herbs. But of what use would it be without their healing, strengthening, life-sustaining balm? It would merely excite. It could neither protect nor cure. And herein lies the essential difference between the effect of the purest stimulant when given alone, and the same stimulant when administered in the medicinal form of Hostetter’s Stomachic Bitters. Good Monongahela spirit is doubtless the mildest and most innocuous of all the varieties of liquor, but it only becomes a HEALTHFUL MEDICINE when impregnated with the vegetable elements employed in the preparation of the Bitters.

Endorsements and testimonials to the power of the patent medicine were regular features of advertising. So regular, in fact, that the proprietors themselves used condemnation of competitors’ testimonials as an effective technique for presenting their own. The proprietor of Paul’s Patent Columbia Oil, in the January 22, 1812 issue of the Pennsylvania Republican, promoted his nostrum as a domestic product, “not puffed up with a numerous train of pompous foreign certificates of persons from whom by the great distance that separates us, it is impossible to obtain information”. The eleven testimonials which
followed that statement were all from local users. Hostetter’s Almanac for 1864 contained a virulent attack on endorsements.

Worthless and pernicious articles are so often bolstered up in the advertising columns of the Press by fabricated letters, that the proprietors of Hostetter’s Bitters rarely give quotations from their business correspondence, lest the GENUINE OPINIONS of those who use and appreciate a GENUINE ARTICLE should be confounded by the unthinking with the FULSOME RIGMAROLE put into the mouths of MEN OF STRAW by unscrupulous empirics and charlatans whose double object it is to SELL both their trash and the PUBLIC.

As usual, however, there were some letters of such great importance that the proprietors felt forced to print them. Testimonials were judged according to the feats claimed to have been done by the nostrum or the prominence of the persons making the claim. Obviously, the more wondrous the cure and the greater the endorser, the better the testimonial. The following letter is a typical endorsement, and was printed as the entire advertisement of H.H.H. in the November 25, 1882 issue of the Philadelphia Press.

Certificate of Cures
Philadelphia, January 26, 1881

D.D. Tomlinson: 
Dear Sir: Having heard so much of the virtue as a curative of your “Celebrated H.H.H. Remedy,” one of my daughters who has suffered very much from a painful bunion on one of her feet, was induced to try your medicine as a liniment, and, to her great joy and surprise, after a few applications was permanently relieved of both pain and bunion. My wife has such confidence in its virtues that she resorts to it as a remedy for all the ills any of the family may be afflicted with. Several of our friends and neighbors after having used it, speak of it in the most glowing terms. To hear some speak of its very great powers to cure, one would almost imagine no other medicine was necessary. I am very respectfully yours,

James Mahoney, 835 North Fifth St.

Although Mr. Mahoney’s letter was probably very welcome, it would have carried more weight if his name had been preceded by a title such as “Dr.” or “Hon.”. Proprietors were not at all hesitant about employing letters of grateful and prominent users. Dr. Dyott, it will be remembered, printed the first patent medicine leaflet as a vehicle for testimonials. In the Pennsylvania Intelligencer of January 26, 1826, Dyott claimed that his medicines were “approved and recommended by Dr. Rush and Dr. Physick of Philadelphia and by the most eminent of the faculty of the United States”. Army Ague Drops, at the time of the Civil War, presented an impressive roster of names, although without letters, in the testimonial section of their ad in the Patriot and Union of Harrisburg.

A different testimonial tactic was to have the famous endorse not the product, but the character of either the proprietor or the actual endorser of a product. Major J. Rohrer had the uprightness of his own character attested to on the back page of the Popular Songster.
Lancaster, Pa., May 7th, 1867.

We the undersigned citizens of Pennsylvania, have known Major J. Rohrer (the proprietor of Rohrer's Expectoral Wild Cherry Tonic) for a number of years, and know him to be a man of responsibility, unexceptionable character and of thorough business habits.


Proprietary medicines were subject to piracy and fraud. In order to insure that customers were purchasing the genuine medicine — and thus putting profits in the right hands — the proprietors took care to give some sign by which the genuine medicine could be identified. Anyone reading the Pennsylvania Intelligencer for May 3, 1829 would be sure to recognize Swaim's Panacea in the future.

To secure the public against imposition, I had the genuine Panacea put in a white glass bottle, of an oblong square shape with the words blown on the glass: on the side 'Swaim's Panacea,' and on the ends 'Genuine-Philadelphia' with a label representing Hercules and the Hydra, and another label covering the cork, with my name on it.

Later in the century, Rohrer and Hostetter were each forced to adopt the same tactic in their promotional literature.

In order to prevent counterfeiting and protect the people from worthless imitations, the proprietor has adopted a Bottle with his name blown on, and a peculiar trademark of a Bottle Chase on every label, of which the engraving on this book is a faithful representation, which is copyrighted according to law, and upon which all imitations and infringements will be prosecuted.

Although Hostetter was circumventing the federal tax on liquor by presenting his Bitters as a medicine, he had no qualms about using the government to protect his own financial interests.

The counterfeiting of Hostetter's Bitters is now a somewhat more serious as well as difficult business than it was a few years ago, each bottle of the genuine article being authenticated by the OFFICIAL ENDORSEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES REVENUE DEPARTMENT in the form of a Stamp engraved on Steel, to counterfeit which is a felony. See, therefore, that this GOVERNMENT COUNTERSIGN, as well as the engraved label and note of hand of this proprietor, is attached to the bottle. The label is embellished with a superb representation of St. George on horseback in the act of spearing the Dragon, and underneath is a shield or escutcheon bearing a warning inscription, which counterfeiters are advised to read before they encounter the penalty which it sets forth. Below this again is Hostetter's and Smith's note of hand, the signature to which it would be rather a serious business to forge.

If the public will look to these verifications of the genuineness of the article before they purchase, they cannot be deceived. The proprietary label and government stamp are both executed on steel in the finest and most elaborate style of bank note engraving, and are probably the most expensive specimens of graphic art ever attached to any medicinal preparation. (1868 almanac).

Most proprietors did not go to such lengths, however. A warning against their competitors, who were usually called quacks, and a statement that the medicine was not valid without the signature of the proprietor on the label, usually sufficed.

Some proprietors attempted to bring a touch of high culture to their advertisements. David Jayne, as has been mentioned, reproduced the work of popular artists on his trade cards. Hostetter quoted Scripture, Shakespeare, and Byron in the advertising section of his almanac, culminating his poetic interests in the following rhymed excerpt from his 1864 almanac.
Make sure of Health. "But how?" you ask; We answer, 'tis an easy task. Strengthen the STOMACH, and sustain The NERVES,—the servants of the brain. The LIVER keep in active play, And regulate, from day to day. Each organ aid, on Nature's plan, Brace and refresh the INNER MAN, And like a watch, that's kept in chime, By constant care, with railroad time, The system's tone and strength renew, And thereby cheer the spirit, too. "How?" you inquire, "can this be done?" This Victory o'er Disease be won?" "HOSTETTER'S BITTERS," we reply, Is Health's SUPREME PROTECTION—TRY—

Rohrer’s Expectoral Wild Cherry Tonic was the name of a song as well as a medicine. The Popular Songster contained the instruction that it was to be sung to the tune of “The Prisoner’s Hope”.

I will sing you of a race, Which was run not long ago, On a smooth and even road not far away; All the Bitters in the land Were demolished and laid low, Rohrer’s Tonic was the cause I’d have you know. Chorus— On! On! Rohrer’s you have conquered, Wild Cherry Tonic’s all the go; It will free you from all woe, It will cause your cheeks to glow, It will place the bloom of health upon your brow. All the people in the land Were Spectators of the race, And some made a very good attempt, But when Rohrer came along, All the crown took up the cry, Hurrah! we’ll bet on Rohrer’s Tonic yet. Chorus And when the race was run, The judges from the stand Told the people who were standing ’round, That the Wild Cherry Tonic Was the Winner of the race, And could beat all the Bitters in the world.

The final shared characteristic of patent medicines was their actual place in the layout of a newspaper page. Unless the advertisement was a leader and was intended to be seen as a continuation of general news, it was placed in such a way as to provide maximum exposure. One device already mentioned was the use of trademarks at the beginning of the advertisement to draw attention to the column. Another was the use of unusual print types, such as italics or block letters. Even without illustrations, nostrum advertisements could be made the focal point on a page through strategic placement or a typical arrangement of type. Dr. Swaim’s Compound Syrup of Wild Cherry was advertised square in the center of the front page of the January 6, 1866 Miner’s Journal through an arresting type arrangement. Hembold’s Buchu occupied an entire column of the February 2, 1870 Philadelphia Press, with the spaced repetition of the same phrase: “Hembold’s Buchu is more strengthening than any of the preparations of Bark or Iron, infinitely safer and more pleasant”. The adjoining column was entirely devoted to Dr. Radway’s Sassaparillian Resolvent and Radway’s Ready Relief, less eye-catching, but more informative than the Buchu advertisement.

The patent medicine advertising in Pennsylvania sources can be considered typical of that found in the media of any major Eastern metropolitan area. It is distinguished only by the number of products of local origin which received national publicity and distribution. The examples presented in this paper do not completely exhaust the products nor their methods of publicity, but are representative of the proprietary medicine advertisements as they developed in a single locality through the span of a century.

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Scattered issues of the following newspapers:

Aurora and General Advertiser

Catholic Standard

Delap’s American Daily Advertiser

Miners’ Journal and Pottsville General Advertiser

National Gazette and Literary Register

North American and United States Gazette

Oracle of Dauphin and Harrisburg Advertiser

Pennsylvania Intelligence and Farm and Mechanics Journal

Pennsylvania Packet

Pennsylvania Republican

Philadelphia Inquirer

Philadelphia Press

Poulton’s American Daily Advertiser

Public Ledger

Pamphlets


David Hostetter. Hostetter’s United States Almanac.

Major J. Rohrer. The Popular Songster.
RAISING A TOBACCO SHED

BY ROBERT A. BARAKAT

[The following verbatim quotation is remarkable for several reasons. First, it represents the first time, to our knowledge, that anyone has taken time to record on magnetic tape a description of a tobacco-shed raising and the steps involved not only on the day of the actual erection but also the steps leading up to that day. Second, the speaker, Phares Hurst, Mennonite farmer and builder from Lancaster County, records many of the obvious details of construction that are usually overlooked by collectors in the field. Such things as the making of mortice and tenon joints, the laying down of the sills, and the constructing of the foundation walls are set forth in detail. Moreover, his digression on the social aspects of a shed raising is important in itself because it, too, has never been recorded in detail, although these have been observed and partially described by many individuals. Most significant, at least for our purposes, is that this remarkably articulate man is able to recall so much of his vast knowledge of his own Pennsylvania-German culture.]

After the farmer decides that he wants to invest in a tobacco shed, he’ll, of course, evaluate the costs for a certain length of time and find out that since the shed itself will maybe cost eight-thousand dollars for a medium sized shed...that can be sort of worked off in growing tobacco in about two or three years. This is why the erection of tobacco sheds has been, and still is, one of the most common carpenter things to be done for just ordinary barn carpenters like we know ourselves as. The farmer will first have to contact the contractor or the builder and then make arrangements. He will also have to decide where this shed will be positioned so that the contractor can come with his equipment to stake it off with strings and stakes at the corners.

Then after the farmer has decided just what length and width the shed should be, the contractor needs to, first of all, put up stakes on the original contour of the land, at the four corners of the shed, three stakes at each corner with battens across the stakes to hold strings. These strings are then hung to the exact positions of the outside foundation walls. The next thing in order is to have someone with digging equipment come in to dig out the site where these lines show them to dig. They will dig just a little bit beyond the line so that there is clearance enough to put either native field stone walls or a twelve-inch cement block wall. The twelve-inch cement block wall is the most recent thing because it’s gotten to be more uncommon or too expensive laborwise to erect a stone wall. But in the first experience of my carpentering, just about everyone used a fieldstone wall. But now it’s switching over to almost all block wall which is not quite as good.

The timing has to be established, too. Usually, the timing for a shed is during the summer. The digging should come in late spring, not necessarily, but ideally the farmer would prefer to have the shed erected in August which is the slack part of the year for his own timing. He would also have the shed finished for his fall crop of tobacco.

The contractor should not influence the farmer’s site selection. It’s entirely up to the farmer and most commonly the farmer will select a site which is southerly exposed, meaning sloping downhill towards the south. The stripping room can be southerly exposed and the north side will provide the barn-hill side where you drive in. Now if it happens to be a level spot, we will then just use the ground we dug out and move that to the north side where the entry onto the shed floor is made. We have erected [sheds] with stripping rooms towards the east. If you just can’t make it towards the south, then your second choice is to the east because of the cold westerly winds. Then north can still be used, too, but that is sort of the last selection. Yet there are some advantages to having the stripping room
towards the north. The north exposed stripping rooms are preferable only because of the fact that you will not have this noonday sun shining on your tobacco while you're working at the tobacco. The argument against that is that you pay more for a field if you face your stripping room towards the north. There will be less dust if there's no sun in the stripping room. So the ground must be excavated so that the ground outside is below the level of the windows of the stripping room.

Almost at the same time, after the carpenter has gotten the orders for building the shed for the farmer, he will immediately plan the shed and make out a lumber bill with all the dimensions of all the pieces of lumber that are required for this particular building because there are general rules to follow as to the sizes of timbers. You might have some of the timbers just a little bit larger in dimensions than others in an extra-large shed but you can reduce the size the least bit when the shed is a smaller size. There has been a universal and established way of building sheds which is followed by many different farmer-contractors or contractors who build other barns or sheds. Since I work for a carpenter who has built more tobacco sheds than other carpenters did, I was exposed to a lot of this type of work... and it's hard work, too... because of the roof timbers mostly... the heavy work that's done the hard way and the original way and a particular way not cutting corners unless we felt it was practical. The aim is to keep one thing in mind — to erect a building that will last a long time using a selection of woods at different locations — different parts of the shed — for straightness, for strength, for lasting quality.

The most common kind of wood [used in tobacco sheds] is oak, but there's about three different kinds of oak. In many cases when the contractor makes a list of the lumber, he will specify white oak for the sills and oak for the joists. Then he will specify soft woods for the rafters and rafter plates and pieces farther up. Also [he] will specify poplar — which goes for its straightness for the tobacco rails. It does amount to a number of thousands of pieces of lumber. Mostly, the farmer does not have his own supply of lumber, but occasionally you'll find a farmer who has an acreage of woodland with large trees sufficient to supply his own needed lumber — quite a saving of the lumber expenses.

The sawmiller that will get this bill of lumber to fill out can start working on it as soon as his [the farmer] turn comes up for this particular shed. And he will cut these pieces to dimensions until there is load after load of it ready to be hauled over to the site where the shed is going to be located. It's quite important for the proper unloading of the lumber locationwise and stacking it nicely so that whatever length of time is needed then to wait until the contractors are ready to start on this particular shed. Sometimes there's a waiting period between the fresh-sawn lumber and the sawmill lumber are finished until the contractor is able to start working at the new job. Eventually, the day will come which is an important one — the first day when the carpenters arrive to work in this new shed.

Now I'll discuss the building up of the foundation walls. This is mostly done soon after the digging out for the cellar has been finished, if possible. But again you have to wait until your turn comes up, until the masons can come around and start the walls. The masons can even be working at the walls [at] the same time as the carpenters are working at the lumber. But the walls should be finished a few days before the first timbers are laid on the walls such as sills. One thing that should be mentioned is the fact that the better the masons do their job, the... easier it is for the carpenters to fit their pieces to the walls. If the wall happens to be nice and straight, this will make for a better building and easier kind of work [for the carpenters].

A dry wall is never used. For extra strength, some of the cement block walls are filled with "ready mix". This also makes for a better and stronger wall and also makes for a waterproof wall, if there's this problem in a place where water or springs are nearby and can enter the walls. Now the wall is finished and the carpenters come and the first thing they do is to arrange for putting each piece of lumber on a scaffolding. For example, there will be a scaffold made for the sills and one for the rafters, and a scaffold for the framers. Actually there are ten or twelve different scaffolds to be made for the wall. That means you're using some of the timbers on cement blocks or any other of the blocking about sixteen or twenty inches off the ground so that these timbers are the right height for comfortable working at them... because there are so many things to be done at them, including the morticing and tenoning. Quite a number of hours are spent, each piece being handled a number of times.

The first pieces of timber to be handled are the sills and that is hardest... because the sills should be placed on scaffolding which has supports every fifteen or sixteen feet. These sills must be lined up very straight over the scaffolds, just as straight as they are after they are finished and fitted together than before they are moved on top of the wall for final placement. Each length of sill needs to be fitted at the ends for corners and where there is a lap joint.

The reason for straightness is so that the lap joints will have an almost perfect fit where you will cut and cut until there is a solid fit where the ends of
each sill meet each other. So if a carpenter has several helpers, he will assign one of his ten or twelve men to make the sills and this helper gets helpers, too...because the heavy pieces of oak timbers need to be turned several times until the sides are prepared, especially the top side,... the making of the ends and also the mortice holes where each frame-post fits in, and, finally, the pin holes, or the peg holes, are drilled which will later get pegs, or zappa.

The next most important timbers are the spans, but first of all, we must concentrate on the girders, the heaviest beams of all, usually ten by twelve or sometimes ten by ten for a smaller shed. For the average shed, these are ten by twelve by fifteen feet long or up to thirty-two feet long timbers that will be bigger beams that support the joists...and these girders are, of course, supported by girder posts which are set on cement pillars under the cellar. So these pillars have to be arranged for, also, before you will even put the girders in. So some of the first things that the carpenter gang will have to do, besides sorting the lumber, is to use strings to find the exact spot where the pillars are to be placed...Then they will make little forms and get some concrete mixed. These pillars are...a foot high and placed every fifteen feet through the center of the cellar to support the girder right underneath where the centerpost of each frame will be set up later.

So there will be a crew of maybe two or three men, and that part of the carpenter gang will need to work at that part, but that’s done only after the second day. Usually, when the work of building sheds during the summer was in full swing, our boss had ten or twelve men...an ideal number to start the shed. This meant that he supplied his own labor, especially on the first day at this new site where a shed was going to be erected, and where the lumber has been hauled from the sawmill and sorted on scaffolds made in about one or two hours. One scaffold will hold the rafters and for a sixty-foot shed you’d have sixty-two rafters to be placed on this scaffold...rafters are usually of poplar and will measure three by five by forty-eight feet long. There’s... ten or twelve kinds of scaffolds. For example, for the frameposts, for the purline posts, one for the sills, and a scaffold for the spans, so that everything has its own meaning, or special position.

There’s even a selection out of the...five or ten spans...to select two of the best ones for the end spans...the most perfect, straight ones, usually of oak. The same with the rafters....The end rafters would be the best ones out of the whole sixty-two rafters. There’s also quite a selection for posts. The four corner posts would be selected for straightness and other aspects, like full cutness, and will be of oak. The center posts can be of poplar or soft wood. So after we’ve carried these pieces apart, which means several hundred pieces, selection is also kept in mind.

After they’ve been placed on scaffolds, there will be another selection, another time where you would evaluate each individual piece and place it where it fits in best. Now, in many cases, a rushing carpenter, or a carpenter who is sort of homemade, will not do these final selections properly and will be very wasteful in making a building that is of less neatness and less durability. The good carpenter is quite fussy about this aspect because after the building is finished he wants to feel proud and... happy...that he accomplished this new building to his very best knowledge. He won’t be satisfied with anything next to the best. So after working at carpentering all these years, we can also get the same feeling, not only the contractor or the boss carpenter but the whole gang who did each individual part.... We spoke together; we worked together with the same thing in mind: to make a good shed even beyond what the farmer expected us to do. After a gang has built sheds, then this particular gang gets a reputation for doing those things which amount to everything to the best advantage and quality.

The first day is usually the hardest day, almost killing a person because of continuous walking back and forth carrying heavy timbers, just about all you can lift...with handspikes, like, for example, the eight by eight sills of which there are quite a number, the seven by eight frameposts, the seven by eight spans, all thirty-two feet long. Imagine this is where ten or twelve people need to work together, one at each end of a handspike, doing teamwork, first rolling each heavy timber piece onto handspikes and then with teamwork, reaching down and lifting them up all at once...then moving forward all together until you’ve arrived at the location where they’re supposed to be let down on the scaffolding, being careful not to drop them so that they can be worked on with other tools with the least amount of effort after being placed on the scaffolds.

So the first day is not looked forward to with much interest or enthusiasm because of the amount of heavy work. Yet, since it’s a new place to work with some things just a little different, there’s this anticipation of working at it. It’s for a different man, at a different location, with some minor things that have to be done just a little differently than you have ever done before. There’s always those little things done differently and you always aim to do just a little better job as to accuracy and other things. There’s always this feeling, even though you have worked with experienced men day after day, that you can make mistakes. This means that you want to keep your mind very alert and to pay atten-
used today make a lot of noise, like the electric girder that he has to handle. So this requires team-work, the slow way which means rolling a log, but these are squared now, tumbling it over and over until it's in position to what you're doing. This also means that on the second day you're so tired...from the heavy work of the day before but the second day can be [a] quiet day because you can have ten or twelve people working together without speaking a word to each other for hours on end...just using their pencils and their tools. Of course, many of the modern tools used today make a lot of noise, like the electric saws and drills. Sometimes the noise is so great that people can't talk anyway.

The electric tools used in today's contracting consist of two-inch electric drills that cut out the mortice holes. But that is not quite as noisy but it is hard for a person who works from morning till night. But he might take turns with others following the marks made by the contractor for cutting the mortice holes some of which will be two inches wide...and four inches long. Some will be six inches, or even eight, nine and ten inches long. Then later, of course, the tenons will fit into the mortice holes....For the tenons at the end of the timbers and at the end of the nail ties, and frameposts, a larger electric saw is used and these make the most noise, usually ten or twelve inch saws. The sawing is not so much done on the second day anymore because the first day consists mostly of marking the lumber as to length, for mortices, and tenons....But the third day is when all the electric tools will be used: drill saws and one big two-inch drill. Also, there will be the chopping out of the mortice holes where you use a two-inch chisel and a corner chisel to make rectangular holes where the electric drill had made round holes which are four inches deep...the tenon length is three and one-half inches.

Part of the second day's work is for them to install the girder, the *darrichzug*, and then the posts that are used to support the girder in the center, called die *darrichztieq poschite*, which then has to be placed on the pillars, braced up, and then plumbed. Then the heavy girder beams are rolled in, using canthooks, from the outside or you might have a derrick or hydraulic crane. But usually the original way...the slow way which means rolling a log, but these are squared now, tumbling it over and over until it's in position, over a scaffolding that reaches to the top of the girder posts. Of course, these girders were cut to length beforehand and, if there was any splicing to be done, of course, it was done. Then when the girders are in their final position, they need to be marked off to place the joists, usually every sixteen inches, with a blue crayon. [This is] another hard part of the erection to be finished because of their weight and a person feels small, thinking of the girder that he has to handle. So this requires teamwork so that each person will not overly strain himself. Each can help according to his own ability.

The whole gang will be working at the main thing which means to continue cutting lumber, making tenons, making mortices, and marking off lumber. It feels best when you’ve finished the day without making any serious errors. Sometimes the serious mistakes are just the minor little things like cutting a piece of lumber an inch or a fraction of an inch too short. Sometimes there's even a wrong foot measurement. If this happens, then it can amount to a very offending thing for the person who did not figure right or who was not minding his business while he was making his measurements. But things do take shape. The sills are aimed to finish first and they are the next pieces to be moved in towards the shed on top of the walls, just beside the side walls.

The next thing to do is to handle as many joists as possible, placing them every sixteen inches. The sills and the joists are known as *s gebelk* in the dialect, and *gebelk nei darrich* would be some of the third day's work and maybe into the fourth day. The *gebelk* includes all of the sills, plus the joists and the beams and framers. This requires only a few men, especially the younger men, but not the older men who are sort of figured to do most of the lighter work. The younger men are figured to do most of the physical work. The younger men will be installing the *gebelk*, while some of the older men are using pencils or sitting down chopping out mortice holes. The best position for chopping out mortice holes with chisels and corner chisels is the sitting-down position with both legs down each side of the timber you’re working on. This fits in for the older people but the boys will, of course, get some chance at that, too.

There's a certain percentage of time in the erection of a shed spent in making mortice holes because the mortice holes have to be completely chopped out before you can make the pin holes which are the *zappa liche*. These pin holes will need to be drilled in a certain position so that the tenon is drawn tightly into the mortice hole after the little pin is driven in. You always need to make a draw on these holes so that the little wooden [pin] will pull while it's being driven in and will stay in this pulling position as long as the building stands. Then there will be the other electric drill with a two-inch bit that will drill the pin holes.

Usually, it's figured that ten or twelve men can get a shed ready in about five days. Ready means when the *gebelk* is in and all the timbers are cut and every minor thing is arranged for the day of the raising, or *uffschlagging* — the raising. This is quite a concern for the farmer whose shed is being erected so that he may invite his friends, relatives, and his neighbors to come, fifty of them for an
average size shed. Weather should be also favorable on that day but they will work in hot weather or even in cold weather or even in the rain, more so on the day of raising than on other occasions because it's hard to put off the day of raising, and it hardly ever happens that you need to cancel it because of the weather. Especially during the summer, the raising will continue even though it's raining lightly, just because it's such a great occasion and so important. It has to be done because everything has been gotten ready.

[Here follows a digression on the day of raising that sets forth several important details about the preparations by the farmer’s wife for the day of the shed raising.]

In the farmhouse, the farmer's wife will also have friends' wives in to help prepare big meals for the men who are coming — the neighbors, friends and others. Up to this time, the carpenters have brought their own meals, but on this occasion, they will also be invited to have the big dinner with the family. This means the noon meal of the day. And also there will be a treat for the whole gang at mid-morning. It's called nein uhr schlick but it doesn't have to be at nine o'clock. It's more or less referred to as a "treat". Locally, we are getting more or less away from the old term of nein uhr schlick to calling it by the English term "treat". So when the treat is ready, the contractor or the farmer-owner will invite the people to come by saying that the treat is ready and to come and get some food. Usually, from the position that the shed is being erected you can see while you're working that they are getting the large tables ready out in the yard, usually, but sometimes in bad weather it can also be on the barn floor or inside another building. But in nice weather, it is held in the shade in the yard. The treat does not come until the last rafter is put on and nailed together. This also means that of the fifty or so men who came to work but have to leave to work at home will be staying and getting this treat, having finished the most important work where the greatest number of men are needed. Then after the treat maybe half the number of people who came to the uffschlagging or raising can then go home but it would be very nice if the other half could stay...to put siding on and finish the roof on the shed. So by nine o'clock the last rafter is on, and by evening, the siding is on and the roof is finished.

You see, the farmer is very glad for these people to come and help. And this is one reason for making the occasion on an off-season time of the year, like in August when the farmer's friends and neighbors can find a better time to come and help and to give a day of free labor as a community thing. This amounts to quite a saving of hours of paid labor to the carpenters if much of the shed is finished on the day of raising. On the day of raising, the regular carpenters have earned extra pay because they have to watch after many things of detail while the other farmer-helpers are there working to keep them busy. These carpenters must make sure that there are no miscuts or mistakes. There are so many things involved that come in order on the day of raising that each step has to be managed.

I should also say something about what needs to be done on the evening and afternoon of the day before the raising. You will need to have most of your carpenter-gang continue to check and to check; that is, checking for most everything that needs to be done before the day of raising, so that there will be no interruptions on that day. They will check that the rafters have been all marked for spacing of the laths. You have to check the boxing, which means to check on the size of the timbers themselves. If the sawmiller did not accurately cut the pieces, you will have to cut them down, for example, to eight inches if they were eight and a quarter inches. You have to cut just at the area where the nail tie or brace would join the post. Just at that point you would cut down the oversized timber to the proper size. This is called boxing it and is part of the checking that needs to be done. Then you would possibly check for mistakes as well as omissions. But still the day before a raising, can be a day of leisure. But it can also be a rushing day where you will be rushing around even working late to make sure everything is prepared. Sometimes you're not completely ready, so you have to come so much earlier on the day of the raising to finish these things before the farmer-helpers come. Even if everything is ready, the contractor will tell his men to come a half hour earlier before the other men come on the morning of the raising.

It's the day of the raising and it's summer, yet you'll come and be at work at six thirty instead of seven o'clock — daylight saving time. With anticipation of quite a bit of fun, good food and a lot of socializing, the day when people will forget their worries and be so much more anxious to do the best they can and work hard. Those that do come earlier, the neighbors and friends, are the ones that do this merely for prestige or partly to show off that they can be early. But being on time is a major thing. However, the earlier you come the more that can be finished for your neighbor who has this project going on. Some of the farmer-carpenters are commanded by the contractor who is the boss of the day and who will do most of the shouting. The other carpenters need to be out in the field by the scaffolds where the timbers are already laid out and will be there for the men to come and take each
timber as its time comes in the order of erection so that they get the pieces in the proper order.

I missed an important thing that must be done on the day before the raising. The girders, or gebelk, is properly installed. Sometimes neighbors will come and help put the planks loose on the floor. There has to be a covering on top of the joists and over the gebelk for people to walk on but this is only loose and temporary for the day of the raising. Sometimes if you are rushed on the day before, and weren’t able to put down the planks, you could put them on the morning of the raising. Usually, the boards are two-inch tongue-and-groove, but years ago they used to be two layers of one-inch boards.

The very first thing brought in is span number one and that is put on the blocking which keeps it about a foot off the floor. It is put in the correct position so that the frameposts and braces can be carried in and put together as straight as frame one that is all ready to set up. If everything is going normally, there will be sufficient neighbors...by this time who have gotten together so that they can then push up the frame, that is, after they have put on the standing brace and some of the nail ties. They will push up the frame with schtockaid* and two ropes tied to the span so that it’s plumb so they can stop it from going too far over center. This is the first time that the boss really shouts to give the group the proper directions...so that there’s teamwork to do the lifting and possibly groaning of pushing up the first frame at the proper speed. If it does go slowly, extra shouting will help to put more effort against the weight of the frame. If it goes normally, you will just keep still so it doesn’t go too fast. There’s only a certain speed that should be watched for. And another thing, as each frame goes up, there’s not one end that is going up faster than the other end....This is also directed by the boss to which end should move up faster. Once it’s upright, the weight is on the frame itself and people will just sort of prop the frame upright with the schtockaid*’s. Some other men will hold the frame with the ropes, one on each end of the span to keep it upright and centered. The next thing is to put up standing braces and pin them. Then the first frame is in erected position all ready to be left go and it’ll stay in that position and not move as long as the building is not changed.

We can then send a group of men for the next span. Many of the men who are helping, neighbors and friends, especially the older men who have helped so many times at raisings, will know without being told to go after span number two. So they will know what the next thing in line is and that is to assemble frame number two which means first to get the span and then to put that on the blocks on the floor and to bring the other frameposts and assemble them, including the braces and also to have the nail ties ready to stick in after the frame number two is in upright position...it will be a matter of minutes to line up to push up the next frame. And again the orders are given to line up; that means to have up to fifty men or so in a standing position along the span ready to lift up. They will have the schtockaid* lying beside them so that they merely reach down and pick them up off the floor once the span has moved up away from the floor sufficiently high so that it is out of reach for the hand spikes, men with the schtockaid* to continue pushing up with them...The span will then slow down as it reaches the point where it is out of reach of the men’s hands but will gain speed as the schtockaid* are used. At the center position, in the case of frame number two, the men will be younger people who will be very agile and able to crawl like monkeys to install the nail ties and side ties and the center ties and to pin them so that the frame number two is different by the support it gets from frame number one through the ties.

The next thing to do is to get frame number three assembled which is very much like frame number two in spans, frameposts, nail ties and center ties. It is merely a repetition of the other frames you have to put up...and the workers will be able to go ahead and even pick up the lumber and do everything in the proper way without being told. So frame numbers three and four, there being five frames for a sixty-foot shed, and then the fifth frame is again somewhat like the other frame...the first frame...and it’s the last frame, of course but is pushed up the opposite way. You see the first four frames were pushed up outwards towards the end of the shed where the first frame went up. The last one is pushed up the opposite way, outwards from the other end of the shed. By the time the fifth frame is in position, you will have a square, level top on your building.

Now there’s a different sort of excitement. The contractor needs to call as many men as can go upstairs on top of the spans, which is called the square of the building, and help, especially the younger people at first because there’s just the bare spans there, and they need to pull up either the tobacco rails and then lay them across the spans...or rafters, for people to walk on and to work on. Usually, there’s tobacco rails all ready to be used up there and will stay there. They are just merely tightly laid next to each other across the span so that there’s a platform way up there, about twenty feet up from the gebelk and floor.

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*A schtockaid is a long pole with a metal point. These come in various lengths ranging from six feet up to twenty feet.
The next thing to do is to bring up the rafter plates which are lifted up by tying ropes to the rafter plates. But before this is done, the purline is brought in, but some people prefer to put the rafter plates in before the purline is erected...or, the plates can be put up first....These are usually heavy timbers spanning two spaces which means a thirty-two foot span, a very heavy piece of timber to be brought up by ropes and pushing with **schlockaids** from the outside or the inside of the shed. If the rafter plate is brought up by the outside of the shed, it has to be placed along the outside frameposts and then pulled up over the niggerheads onto the top of the span. The hardest part is the passing up of the rafter plates out over the ends of the niggerheads. They can then be placed in the notches in the span where they fit and are spiked down where they will stay to support the rafters permanently. But the purline erection consists of more work and that means that the purline needs to be assembled like some of the frames, only the purline posts are shorter pieces, about six or seven feet long, and then each purline post gets braces, one on each side for the center posts and for the end purline only one brace is needed. Then after this assembling has been finished from one end to the other, people will line up again, standing on tobacco rails placed across the span for a platform. Then they will line up and be ready to pull and push up the purline, fitting them against standing braces which have braced the purline down against the span to keep that in plumb position. That will take care of one of the purlines and the same procedure will be followed for the one on the opposite side of the shed's roof.

So by that time those men who will definitely stay down and not come up can do other work. They can be busy at putting in cripple ties which means the timbers that are tied and cross over the standing braces along the outside of the shed....These are cut off at the proper length with the proper cut so that they can be nailed on the braces in a straight line, sort of having the appearance of an unbroken line, yet are fitted across the standing braces. As soon as the cripple ties are finished, then you can start putting on the siding at one of the corners of the shed. Right hand siding is used and you'll just know what corner to start putting siding on because there are only two on which right hand siding can be begun. So a group of people can be fully employed at getting the siding on while the younger people, who do the crawling, can be finishing the purline and putting rafters up. Those who will stay down will bring in the rafters and set them up against the shed for the people to push up and pull up. Those who are up on the scaffold will be pulling while the ones below will be pushing. The rafters are then placed in their proper positions.

Of course, there were four select ones for the ends where they were marked to be nailed on the rafter plate and will fit in notches in the purline...If the contractor has done everything right, these straight rafters will come together at the peak. But this is one of the things that in many cases is very difficult to accomplish properly so that everything, the purline, and so on, will fit neatly together at the peak. As soon as the last rafter is nailed on then the treat time comes. But sometimes that is finished before the women have the treat ready by nine o'clock. If the treat happens not to be ready, they will immediately start putting on the one-by-four laths onto which the tin roof is nailed....This consists of an easier job for the inexperienced boys because they can crawl good. They are sort of looked upon to take over in putting up the roofing laths while some of the older men who had crawled up can go downstairs to work at the siding, in making the doors as well as helping to make ventilators. Usually by that time many of the neighbors and friends will be leaving, possibly some will be leaving now, especially after the treat. Maybe half will be left to continue to work.

From this point on the men who stay will work at the doors, ventilators and finishing the roofing laths. As soon as one end of the roof is finished, then the cornish* needs to be made. That means that the roofing laths have to be cut off straight and the gable end siding needs to be put on. So each carpenter will aim to sort of get the siding finished on one side, if possible, and if the siding went on well then by noontime you can have one gable end ready to make the cornish so that the roof can be started at one end. Usually the end is selected towards the road, or towards the house or towards the face side of the shed. The cornish is simply the overhang at the end of the shed's roof; that is, if the farmer wants an overhang. Usually, the overhang is just for looks, a traditional pattern, a traditional thing to do. The overhang for the sides is a must because it's the lower side of the roof and measures twelve inches. At the end, the cornish is figured at twelve inches, too. But those who are a little more economically minded [and] do not follow the traditions merely add two strips of board on top of each other and cut off the roofing lath which usually stands out over the roof edge a little bit right even with the rafter so that there is no cornish but just a little more economically minded [and] do not follow the traditions merely add two strips of board on top of each other and cut off the roofing lath which usually stands out over the roof edge a little bit right even with the rafter so that there is no cornish but just a large board and when you make a cornish the laths have to be cut off only twelve inches beyond the end rafter. Then you have to apply boards on the underside of the roofing laths and also a little corner strip against the barn siding or against the shed siding.

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*Dialect pronunciation for cornice.
Of course, there will be a sort of face strip which is nailed against the very end of the lath, the top side of this little face strip is even with the top side of the laths and extends down beyond the bottom side of the boards that are nailed against the bottom side of the laths which makes the cornish.

After the cornish has been completed, the arrangements can be made to place stacks of tin on the roof and also arrangements can be made for six or so men who will then place the first piece of tin which needs to be placed properly. After the first one is placed, the others will be not so difficult to carefully position. The first one needs to be positioned especially in a very particular way and this is called the starter row, or the first course of tin. After the first row is on, they will continue putting on each two foot widths of tin sheets quite fast so that within hours after starting the work it can be finished, if there's six to ten men working at it. Sometimes when there's quite a sizable crew available why they will start both sides of the roof at that one end and will work towards the other end. And this hammering on tin will amount to a tremendous amount of banging sounds so that you will almost have to scream to talk to your neighbor. Then usually it's getting towards the end of the day by that time, usually there's not so much of the roof put on. Of course, next to the roof is the coping; if you really have a lot of help you might be able to put that on and finish the siding and make doors. It also happens that in some instances that there's still a good part of the day left after all these things have been finished and that the men would start installing the floor.

These pieces are then positioned with care, particularly the first course of boards, to make a start at the end of the place where you drive in. Then from there on anyone who can hammer nails can be of help to put down the flooring at a reasonably fast speed.

I'm sorry but I forgot to mention the windows. The windows are usually of metal sashes if in a cement block wall. However . . . years ago when native fieldstone was used for foundations, wooden sashes would be used and not be installed until later, sometime after the shed was finished. Now, in many cases, the farmer would let the carpenter gang put in the windows, that is, if the masons did not put them in. The stripping room would not be finished, anyway, because there would be so many other pressing jobs to be done by the carpenter that he would ask the farmer to wait until when there would be rainy weather in the fall of the year because the farmer would not be using the stripping room anyhow. So they would wait until that time; but the farmer might finish the room himself by putting in tables, stairs, and other necessary things.

The chimney, too, is interesting. The chimney footer is sometimes arranged when the footer for the sidewalls is arranged. But it can be brought up as far as the floor before the carpenters take over. So the chimney can be brought up as far as the center wall, the stripping wall, but there it has to stop until all the joists and things are fastened. Then, on the day of the raising will come back and cut out the floor, or the masons could have done it, and run the chimney up through the floor. But in many instances, we carpenters did the chimneys, too. We would bring the chimney on up through the floor while we were putting in the tobacco rails for scaffolding. Usually, the chimney would wait until the scaffolding was in and the roof finished. As the chimney progresses up, someone will have to cut a hole in the tin roofing for it. You would start the chimney in a position where it would not interfere with the rafters but will come between them; it can be stepped over to avoid them, something that can be done so that it is unnoticeable. Sixteen inch by sixteen inch chimney blocks with round holes in the middle are used. Usually, a hole will be cut in the roof on the day after the raising.

A great many things take place on the day after the raising, like the floor will be finished, tobacco rails are worked on, the doors are finished by the carpenter gang. The ventilators are usually the carpenter gang's job and are cut out of siding before the day of the raising in some cases. They sort of number the boards so that they know...you also mark the nail ties and as you put on the siding, you will know which boards are to be ventilators. Ventilators are...put on as you install the siding. Then, after the siding is on, it is the job of the carpenters to cut off these ventilators at the top and put battens on the ventilators and make them workable by putting on a larger batten on the tie...where it goes on. That...is also done on the day of the raising, but it can also be done on the day after.

[Another event of interest] is that so many young people will insist on having a Saturday night singing on a farm where a new shed or barn has been raised and finished. Before the equipment is moved in, they will demand to have a get together there. So, it is quite common to find that the first use of the floor will be to play the party games on. Some of the games are like dancing, but dancing is not allowed. But these do consist of quite a lot of action and movement, lasting maybe from nine o'clock to midnight. There will be singing to these games and mouth organ music played to the steps.
BICENTENNIAL EXHIBITIONS AND PUBLICATIONS IN GERMANY

BY KARL J. R. ARNDT

Program of Palatine Music and Dance Group which visited eight Pennsylvania colleges and universities, and the William Penn Museum, in October of 1976. The visit was a bicentennial tribute to Pennsylvania by the government of Rheinland-Pfalz.

One of the delightful and enduring results of our Bicentennial celebration has been the rather little publicized but lively participation in this event in Germany. Our E Pluribus Unum nation would be seriously short-changed if we relied entirely on what our now practically monolingual society hands down as history to coming generations, so we present here a review of such German material as has been exhibited to the public in Germany. The exhibitions of the Wolfenbuttel Library and that of the Boston Goethe Institute are traveling in America, yet we should like to have the readers of this journal to get some idea of what has been going on in Germany in this respect.

We begin with Bayern und die U S A, a catalogue published with a mimeographed guide to the chronologically arranged exhibition by the Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv in Munich. It is concerned with these chapters: the exploration and occupation of North America, the start of emigration from South Germany, the Seven Years War and start of differences with England, the road to Independence, the peace of Paris and fate of the Loyalists, the influence of the American Revolution, the basis of a world power, and the relations between Bavaria and the U.S.A. in the early 19th Century.

Boston's Goethe Institute, under the direction of Dr. Erhard Stättler, who wrote his dissertation on the Ansbach and Bayreuth mercenaries sent to America, by virtue of the tireless efforts of the Institute's relentless Coordinator of Exhibits, Dr. Annelies Harding, prepared a unique exhibition under the title: America through the eyes of German Immigrant Painters. Although this opened in Boston and is now traveling in America, it must be considered a German exhibition because of the German source of its support and the direction under which it was produced. Its excellent catalogue of 72 pages with reproductions of paintings in color and in black and white constitutes a lasting contribution to the celebration of the Bicentennial. We certainly hope that this great and unique work of German-American relations will be extended and expanded into a full illustrated history of German-American art.

Bremen's catalog Vorboten der Freiheit, which outlines the exhibition of the Deutsche Presseforschung located in Bremen, divides its offerings into six parts, showing a chronology of the events of the Revolution, portraits of individual newspapers, apologists for America, critics of the American Revolution, the uncommitted, and the results. Two striking poems by Isaac Maus should be noted:

Auf England
Wie falsch sagt man: Im Land der Britten
Da herrsche die Philosophie.
Wo Brüder stritten,
Da herrschte diese Göttin nie.

Auf Amerika
Amerika ficht tapfer für die Rechte,
Für Freiheit, ein zu edles Gut!
Es badet sich in Heldenblut,
Und nicht in Tränen feiger Knechte.
Bellona siehts, und schwint die Freiheitsfahne,
Hoch über ihrem Scheitel her;
Der Neid stürzt sich ins wilde Meer
Und rast im wütenden Orçane.
The Bicentennial exhibition and catalog of the University of Göttingen is entitled: 1776 Independence. Die Amerikanische Revolution im Spiegel zeitgenössischer Druckwerke. Ausstellung der Niedersächsischen Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen. It is not only because Göttingen has one of the best libraries for German-American studies and an atmosphere conducive to research but especially because of a devoted library staff that such an excellent exhibition and permanent catalog has been produced. The Göttingen catalog of 192 pages of text and 41 perfectly reproduced plates rivals anything produced in America and in this reviewer’s judgment deserves the gold medal for Bicentennial exhibitions. To justify this prize we summarize the divisions of the exhibition calling special attention to the fact that each division assigns a number to each title in the catalog in which works covering special subjects are carefully bibliographed so that any American researcher interested can prepare his call cards for the books he desires to examine in Göttingen prior to his journey there — thus greatly reducing research costs.

The Colonial Period is divided into the subdivisions: Discovery and Early Settlements, the Indian Aborigines, and the English Colonies up to 1763. These in turn group works in greater detail, e.g. under the second subdivision: General travel description, Indian languages, and Indian missions.

The Age of the American Revolution divides the titles exhibited under three subdivisions: On the Way to Independence, the War of Independence, and the American Revolution. Under these subdivisions again are more detailed groups of titles such as: The German Mercenaries, Individual Aspects of the Revolution, and the Loyalists.

The New Nation has the subdivisions: The Confederation, The Constitution of 1787, and the New Federal State 1789-1801. All of these again are appropriately divided into special groups of research interest, e.g. Literature, Science, and National Consciousness.

The Influence of the American Revolution makes up the last section of the text and is again divided into Europe, Germany and Hannover (Lower Saxony), ending fittingly with “The Discussion at the University of Göttingen.” The 41 plates follow this table of contents.

We have had the honor and pleasure of working at this great library and we are most grateful that Bibliotheksrat Reimer Eck and his colleagues took so much time and trouble to produce such an excellent permanent contribution to the celebration of our Bicentennial.

Another Bicentennial gift of the Göttingen Library was actually prepared by the Department of English of the University of Kiel, specifically by Paul G. Buchloh and Walter R. Rix with the assistance of Thomas Buschhorn and Elizabeth Schröder, but it is published as volume 15 of the Publications of the Library of the University of Göttingen. It is entitled: American Colony of Göttingen. Historical and other Data collected between the years 1855 and 1888. Actually, it is a full publication of the manuscript record kept by the American Colony of Göttingen and
later placed into the keeping of the University Library. It includes a foreword, an introduction, the printed text of the manuscript, with annotations and index. It must be kept in mind that not all Americans who registered at the University of Göttingen participated in the affairs of the American Colony, although an estimate of the names in the colony shows that about 800 Americans studied at Göttingen within the time covered by the book. The American Colony was a kind of student fraternity at the time when German student fraternity life tended to isolate non-fraternity students. From our student days at Marburg and Berlin we know that among the most serious American students abroad were those who would have absolutely no association with other Americans because they had come to Germany to be among Germans and to give themselves 100% exposure to that other world.

Notable in this American fraternity is its great patriotism as shown by the regular celebration of the 4th and by the patriotic songs in their “Kommersbuch,” songs American students today would probably not even recognize because patriotism is out and pot and Marx are “in.” Judging by the spelling and punctuation found in the original manuscript, the current complaint about poor teaching of English in our colleges is as old and American as apple pie. We must add, however, that some of this might well be erroneous transcription on the part of the Department of English at the University of Kiel. As example we would cite the printed “Worvester” Massachusetts for Worcester, so clearly written in George Bancroft’s curriculum vitae, which in this case is printed in facsimile beside the printed text. We admit that even natives of Massachusetts have trouble with the spelling of Worcester, even more with its various pronunciations, but can it be that the Department of English at the University of Kiel does not know how to spell Worcester, named after the city in England?

We have much sympathy with errors in transcribing from old English and German manuscripts because we have strained our eyes, brain, dictionaries, and encyclopedias a great deal over manuscripts, but any biographical dictionary would have provided the light that the great George Bancroft was born in Worcester, Massachusetts and not “Worvester.”

And then our sense of reliability is further shaken by the English translation of the Latin in Bancroft’s manuscript: “To the Most Consequential Order of Philosophers.” Consequential???? Should we not read: To the Most Honorable Faculty of Philosophy? In reading the English translation of Bancroft’s Latin texts we were reminded of this little episode from Heine’s *Harzreise*:

This episode also illustrates the difference between this and the previously discussed publication. As one further example we would only refer to pages 158 and 159 where Ticknor with democratic abandon is spelled in three different ways and “History” is capitalized as part of a title while Professor is not. In general, the notes might have profited by consulting Professor Krumpelmann’s *Southern Scholars in Goethe’s Germany* (Chapel Hill, 1964). Yet, we would not be picayunish about such human flaws. We have found and will continue to find this volume very useful in our German-American research and thank the Department of English at the University of Kiel for its most consequential publication.

The 52-page offset pamphlet of the Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg Hessen und die Amerikanische Revolution 1776 seems to have been designed entirely
Die Schwaben und börs' Geld
fährt der Teufel in alle Welt

This old German proverb also applies to America, for Wurttemberg has invested heavily in America and has sent us some of our finest and most productive citizens. It was to be expected, then, that Stuttgart, the “Stadt des Auslanddeutschums,” should be especially interested in a Bicentennial exhibition. The dominant interest in this exhibition was not to be the Declaration of Independence but rather it was to be the occasion to celebrate the historic interrelationship between Southwest Germany and the U.S.A. This end was achieved with the help of three publications: 1. A mimeographed 28-page guide to the exhibition itself which started with the naming of “Amerika” by Martin Waldseemüller and ended with the Stuttgart address of Secretary of State Byrnes. 2. An instructive collection of articles and 72 plates on the general theme: USA Und Baden-Württemberg in ihren geschichtlichen Beziehungen, edited by Professor Haselier. 3. A selected bibliography USA — Deutschland — Baden und Württemberg from the early beginnings of relations with America to the end of the Second World War, prepared by Gertrud Kuhn. Unfortunately, the mimeographed guide was not bound in with one of the two bound volumes, because it would then have been
better assured of future preservation, which the comments to items exhibited so richly deserve.

These publications give an impressive overview of the tremendous contributions of the Swabians to the building of our nation, but this very immensity of impact, beginning with the legendary sailor on Columbus' ship who was the first to reach America by jumping overboard and swimming to shore where he found a bunch of Swabian Indians on hand, might well have been extended to the many American cities and towns that still have Schwabenvereine. Unfortunately, the valiant souls who produced the exhibition with its publications were limited by a comparatively procrustean budget, as the reproduced plates show. It is a pity that the city with the Mercedes symbol shining over it like its morning and evening star could not tap some of the millions stacked away in the banks and hills in and around Stuttgart to contract for a copy of the magnificent scientifically built-to-scale model of Rapp's New Harmony on the Wabash, planned and built by 100% pure Swabian emigrants and in its time heralded throughout the United States as HARMONY, THAT WONDER OF THE WEST. This would have been a highpoint of the exhibition and one of lasting value. Yet, even this Swabian emigrant George Rapp buried his gold and silver in a basement hideaway under his bed, only to create some worthless millionaires who squandered what the old miser had accumulated from the blood, sweat, and tears of his ascetic and hard-working followers.

General Nicholas Herkimer received a mortal wound at the Battle of Oriskany Creek. He was one of the colonial Germans who played major roles on the colonists' side in the Revolution. Illustration from "Span 200," courtesy of Brown Brothers.
One of the gifts of German emigrants to America was the Christmas Tree. This illustration appeared in Hermann Bokum’s “The Stranger’s Gift” (1836). Illustration from “Span 200”.

Werner Giesebrecht: *Die Gründung der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika 1774-1789*. Würzburg, 1976. 42 pages. — This well-printed guide to the exhibition of the University of Würzburg combined with the Würzburg State Archives is not illustrated but the exhibits trace our history from the first Continental Congress to the adoption of the Constitution. Interesting is the introductory part showing a selection of placards developed in various other countries to commemorate the Bicentennial. There was a collection of stamps illustrating discovery, settlement, and founding of the independent United States of America. Special attention is given to each of the founding states of the union and there is a special exhibit dealing with the importance of the Revolutionary Flag and the meaning of the Stars and Stripes. A second special exhibit concentrates on coins and medals from the early days of the mint in Philadelphia. A specialty of this exhibit
was the description of the part the Ansbach-Bayreuth mercenaries played in the Revolution. It illustrated recruitment, embarkation, and composition of the troops in Ansbach, propaganda to counteract the negative attitude of the population to the sales of troops to Great Britain, and showed the concern of Margrave Alexander for his troops in American captivity. This seems to be the only exhibition that concluded with a wall picture of Richard Wagner's Centennial March with its motto: "He only deserves life and liberty who daily must conquer them anew."

Thomas Piltz: Two Hundred Years of German-American Relations. Heinz Moos Verlag, Munich, 1976. A documentary with 391 illustrations and plates in German and English. — This is not a catalog or guide to an exhibition but a very ambitious project which tries to present the relations between the two countries from 1776 to 1976, starting with a facsimile of the Declaration of Independence in manuscript with all signatures and ending with a very useful chronology giving an overview of history from 1456, publication date of the first printed book, the Latin Bible of Gutenberg, to 1976, the Bicentennial of the United States. Many of the illustrations were also used for the widely distributed Bicentennial calendar by Inter Nationes. It is the fullest of all the German Bicentennial publications and aims at the widest possible appeal in both countries, and we believe it has successfully achieved its purpose because many who would be too impatient or not sufficiently motivated intellectually or culturally will be "turned on" by the photographs of Marlene Dietrich in the Blue Angel or of Ernest Hemingway with a facsimile of his blood and money letter to Rosingh asking that he try to "dig up a little money so that I will have not to be at the Kaiserhof again waiting." Insofar as it is at all possible to do so in 188 pages, the Heinz Moos Verlag has attempted to illustrate and document the highlights of German-American relations over a period of two hundred years, with considerable stress on more recent history.

There are two very important omissions, documentation in facsimile of the first newspaper announcement of the Declaration of Independence, which was in German in Henry Miller's Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote of July 5, 1776, and the first publication of the full text of the Declaration in beautiful German Fraktur in Miller's Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote of July 9, 1776. Chronologically this printing of full text in a newspaper was the third, but esthetically it was the first in beauty and sense of dignity and importance of the occasion. Because these important national scoops have so often been questioned, they have been fully documented by facsimile reproduction in the Bicentennial edition of Arndt and Olsen: The

Thomas Nast Drawing of Santa Claus, from "Harper's Weekly". Nast was a German emigrant of 1846 who shaped the American popular Christmas celebration.

German Language Press of the Americas, Volume I, Munich, 1976, Verlag Dokumentation, which also must be credited to Germany as a contribution to the Bicentennial because no American publisher could be found to publish this reference work, now in its third edition, this one being for the Bicentennial.

Bibliography


Boston Goethe Institute. American through the eyes of German Immigrant Painters. Boston, July 1975. German Bicentennial Exhibition supported by Inter Nationes.


Work and Work Attitudes:
Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 50

Work, the daily work of regional and ethnic groups, is one of the major divisions of folklife studies. The family was originally an economic or work unit, and the folk community was also an economic unit. This questionnaire is designed to stir up our readers' memories on work patterns and attitudes toward work which they remember from their varied Pennsylvania backgrounds.

1. Division of Labor. Describe the division of labor in your community in which you grew up, whether a farm community or a village or a city. What work was carried on, i.e., what goods were produced by the family, and what goods were bought from community specialists? What specialists were involved in the production of food, clothing, and furniture for the farm family?

2. Men's Work. Describe the men's work on the farm or traditional community. What areas of the farm were more or less considered the province of the men? Were certain types of work actually forbidden to men? For instance, did men ever spin?

3. Women's Work. Describe the women's work on the farm or traditional community. What areas of the farm were the special province of women? Was the garden considered part of the men's or the women's domain? Did women ever help in the harvest fields?

4. Children's Work. What tasks did children learn first on the farm or traditional home? How soon were boys put to man's work, as for example, plowing? Describe the different types of work assigned to children, teenagers? Were teenagers ever used as babysitters in large families?

5. Grandparents' Work. In the traditional family, the grandparents were often an important fixture. Did they ever "retire" from farming? If so, was there a definite time for retirement, i.e., when the last son married and took over the farm? What sort of tasks did grandparents usually perform? What was their role in the passing on of traditions to their grandchildren?

6. Work and Seasons. Describe the seasonal calendar for the different types of work, particularly on a Pennsylvania farm. Describe the balance between inside and outside work on the farm, often controlled by the seasonal changes in the weather.

7. Work and Leisure. How did leisure time alternate with working time, particularly on the farm? When were the principal leisure seasons, and what sort of recreation filled them? Did Pennsylvanians ever combine work sessions with recreation, in such combinations as husking bees or schnitzing parties? If you remember such work parties — and there are many other examples — please describe them for us.

8. Work and Religion. Analysts of European religion have created the term "Protestant work ethic," mostly drawn from the Calvinist and Puritan types of Protestantism but not limited to them, or to Protestant forms of religion. What was your family's attitude toward work — was it considered a holy, necessary part of life? Was it considered (as Western religion has always taught) a discipline, a preparation for the life beyond this life? How seriously did your culture, or your family, take the Biblical "by the sweat of thy brow" passages?

9. Handwork and Accomplishment. In early stages of our American ethnic and regional cultures, handicrafts were normal ways of producing goods for community use. The craftsman, whether full time or part-time (many craftsmen were also part-time farmers) took intense pride in their product, in the perfection of their techniques, in the very work process itself. If you remember these attitudes of local craftsmen — shoemakers, millers, weavers, etc. — please describe them for us.

10. Present-Day Attitudes toward Work. How can you account for the great change in attitudes toward work today? Why are so many things no longer "made to last," as they were in the earlier stages of our culture? Is leisure time activity now overshadowing work? How has the concept of division of labor, especially that between men and women, changed in the 20th Century? What are the present attitudes toward hand-crafted work and factory-made items? How do you account for the growth of the "crafts movement" in our society today? Is it simply recreational or are there deeper needs in man's present life to which it relates?

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Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19174
The Festival and its Sponsorship

The Kutztown Folk Festival is sponsored by the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, a nonprofit educational corporation affiliated with URSINUS COLLEGE, Collegeville, Pennsylvania. The Society's purposes are threefold: First, the demonstrating and displaying of the lore and folkways of the Pennsylvania Dutch through the annual Kutztown Folk Festival; second, the collecting, studying, archiving and publishing the lore of the Dutch Country and Pennsylvania through the publication of PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE Magazine; and third, using the proceeds for scholarships and general educational purposes at URSINUS COLLEGE.