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Pennsylvania FOLKLIFE

AUTUMN 1971



THE FRAKTUR OF MONROE COUNTY

Contributors to this Issue

DR. EARL F. ROBACKER, White Plains, New York, is the long-time antiques specialist for *Pennsylvania Folklife*. His article in this issue throws light on an important but neglected area of fraktur scholarship—Monroe County, Pennsylvania. Dr. Robacker's books are the standard introduction to Pennsylvania German antiques and antique-collecting. The latest of them is *Touch of the Dutchland* (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1965).

ELEANOR FEIN REISHTEN, Merion Station, Pennsylvania, a native of Wilkes-Barre, is at present studying for the Ph.D. degree in the Graduate Folklore and Folklife Program at the University of Pennsylvania. Her article presents unusual materials on everyday life on the farm, as discussed from the women's viewpoint, by a Chester County farmwomen's group of the 1860's. We are grateful to the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Pennsylvania, for permission to use these important folklife materials, which were deposited in their collection by the West Grove Housekeepers' Association.

DR. RONALD L. MICHAEL, California, Pennsylvania, is a member of the Social Science Department of California State College. His doctorate, in geography, is from Ball State University in Indiana. His contribution to this issue grew out of the work of the California State College Archaeological Field School which during the summer of 1970, under Dr. Michael's direction, excavated the site of the Searight Tavern on the former National (Cumberland) Road in Fayette County in Western Pennsylvania. The paper pioneers in its analysis of tavern architecture and tavern history and will serve as model for additional studies of tavern sites in other areas of the commonwealth.

C. FRANCES BERMAN, Grove City, Pennsylvania, is a student at Grove City College in Western Pennsylvania. Her article on the variants and history of the "Brown Sugar" game in Western Pennsylvania was done for the folklore classes of Dr. Hilda A. Kring, who is on the Editorial Committee of our magazine.

DR. MAURICE A. MOOK, Boalsburg, Pennsylvania, is emeritus professor of anthropology, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania. Since his retirement he has taught at Lycoming College in Williamsport. In Pennsylvania studies he is well known as an authority on the Amish, Quakers, and other plain sects. Because of his contributions in this field, he serves on the Editorial Committee of *Pennsylvania Folklife*.

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DON YODER

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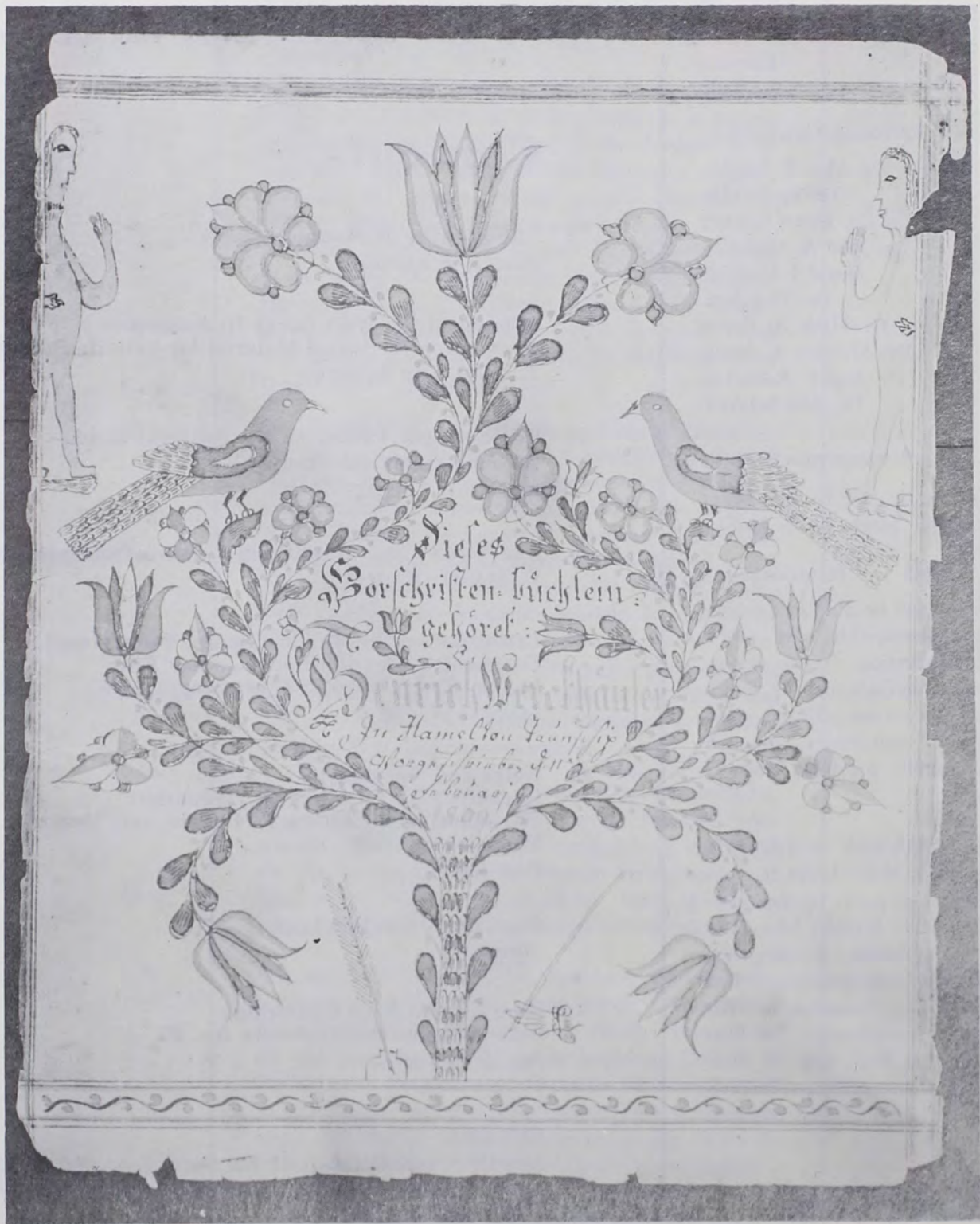
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COVER:

Henrich Fenner fraktur, with flat Dutch heart and American eagle. Robacker Collection. Photograph by Karas, Hartsdale, New York.

The **F**raktur of Monroe County

Photography by Stephen A. Karas,
Hartsdale, New York



A Georg Adam Roth copybook cover, dated 18...
Note the quill pen insigne at the bottom.

Courtesy of the Monroe County Historical Society



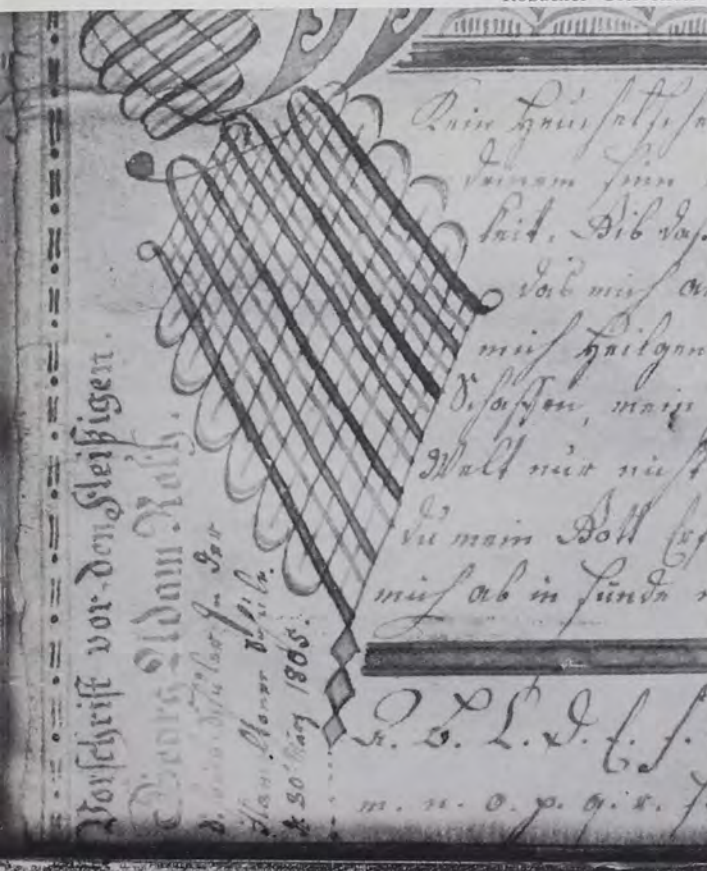
Robacker Collection

One of Georg Adam Roth's best pieces, this Vorschrift, 8 by 14 inches, in red, green, and black, must once have been brilliantly colorful. The leaf-like motifs in the large members of the capital letters are typical of Roth's work.

By EARL F. ROBACKER

Fraktur artistry has long been recognized as a characteristic of the entire Dutch Country, and the birth and baptismal certificates of hundreds of long-gone citizens have been recorded, photographed, reproduced—and bought and sold—to a most surprising degree . . . surprising except to those who see in them not official documents only but highly desirable works of untutored art as well. It would seem from the zeal expended in collecting fraktur specimens over the past three or four decades that by now everything which could ever come to light must have done so—but the facts do not bear out such an assumption. Fraktur, good fraktur, too, is still being discovered, though with decreasing frequency, in the heart of the Dutch Country, where it used to be found in abundance.

Reactions among dealers, collectors, investors, and art students range from delight to incredulity when a hitherto unknown specimen meets the light of day, perhaps for almost the first time since it was created. One such was a superb specimen, larger by many square inches than any the present writer had seen or even



Close-up of the signature of Georg Adam Roth on the Vorschrift pictured. Translated, it reads "Copy-model for the industrious Georg Adam Roth, student of penmanship in the Hamilton School, March 30, 1805."



By right of lengthy association, these small pieces, 2½ by 3½ inches, should "go together." The face of Eve all but exactly matches that of Eve in the copybook cover shown. The kneeling figure and the angel, however, appear to be the creation of a different scrivener.

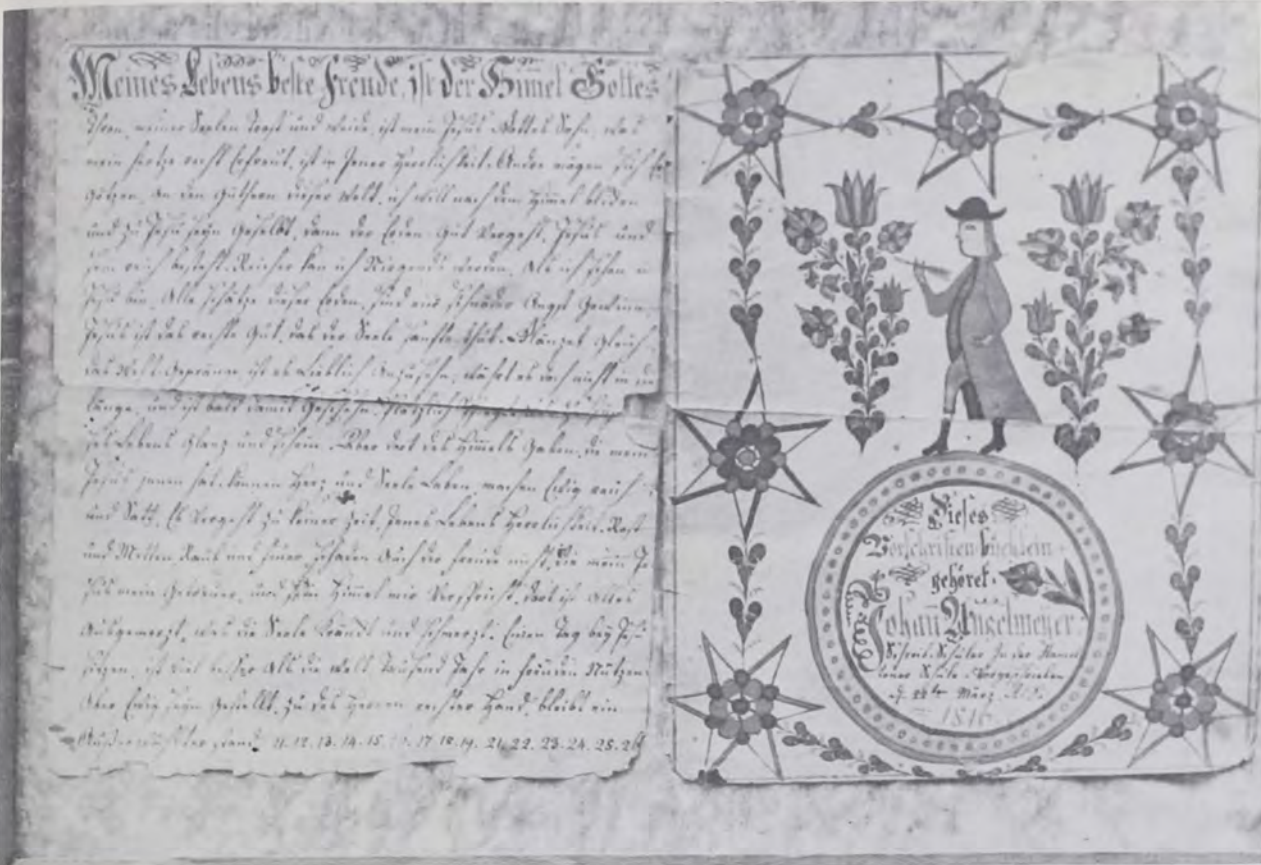
heard of, casually presented for inspection after a lecture at a folk festival at Schaefferstown, Pennsylvania. Another was a most competently done piece, framed, and hanging on the wall of a living room in Nova Scotia—carried there by long-departed members of a family emigrating from Pennsylvania in the late 1700's. A rolled-up collection of still others was offered for the scrutiny of the writer in Stroudsburg as recently as 1969, with the query, "Are these any good? I've had them in a bureau drawer for years."

The specimen at Schaefferstown was "deep" Dutch Country in provenance, almost certainly done by Henrich Otto, the dean of all fraktur writers. The others were peripheral in origin—and it is in the Dutch Country periphery that one should be looking right now—perhaps not in Nova Scotia but in Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, Ohio, Illinois, in the households of old families with German names . . . and most particularly in Monroe County's West End, where one of the comparatively few really gifted scribes lived, worked, died—and was forgotten until a very few years ago.

We know pathetically little about this man. His name was Georg (*sic*) Adam Roth, and for a part of his life he lived in Hamilton Township, the heart of

which is Hamilton Square. He and his wife Catarina Bi(e)secker were listed in the 1810 census; eight of their children, born in the span of years from 1805 to 1820, were baptized at the Hamilton Township Lutheran and Reformed Union Church. Rudolph Drach, the West End potter, and his first wife Magdalena were baptismal sponsors for Lea(h) Roth, born July 11 and baptized September 24, 1809. An earlier child, Anna, was born and baptized in 1803, according to records in the Drylands Church at Hecktown, Nazareth Township, Northampton County, a little farther south. (In these years Monroe County was a part of Northampton. Counties in the first days of the Commonwealth were large. In 1836 Monroe was created from Northampton, which had in 1752 been carved from Bucks, one of the original three.) There was a Georg Adam Roth in Drylands, born to Christian and Catherine Roth in 1784, who may or may not have been our fraktur writer; the family was an extensive and prolific one, and given names were repeated and repeated again, to the evident satisfaction of the families, but the despair of the genealogist.

Roth, according to his own statement, recorded on a *Vorschrift* dated March 30, 1805, was a "*Schreiber*"—a teacher of writing—at the Hamilton school, which



"This little specimen copybook belongs to John Angelmeyer, penmanship student in the Hamilton School. Done on March 22, A.D. 1816."

had been established in 1789. Not only was he an accomplished penman and pen-and-ink decorator of superior caliber; he possessed a number of original touches which set him apart from other practitioners of the calligraphic art.

One of these is a stylized leaf motif which he uses to advantage as a kind of repeated inset in the large fancy red initial capitals of his 1805 *Vorschrift*. "Inset" is a somewhat inexact term, since the little motif is outlined in black, the area outside it being red while the enclosed portion remains uncolored. He uses this motif again in a pair of leaves on the cover of a *Vorschrift-Büchlein* (a model copybook) written February 11, 1809, also in Hamilton Township. It appears for a third time as the principal decorative device on a red and black document box from Monroe County, but of course a box is not a piece of fraktur, though fraktur writers did decorate boxes and chests. (The devices on Centre County dower chests are sometimes so delicately detailed that the fraktur writer immediately comes to mind as the probable artist.)

A second peculiarity of Roth's is a kind of insigne in two parts: on the left, a quill pen shown broadside in a bottle of ink, and at the right a pen in profile, grasped in a hand at the wrist of which is a frilled cuff.

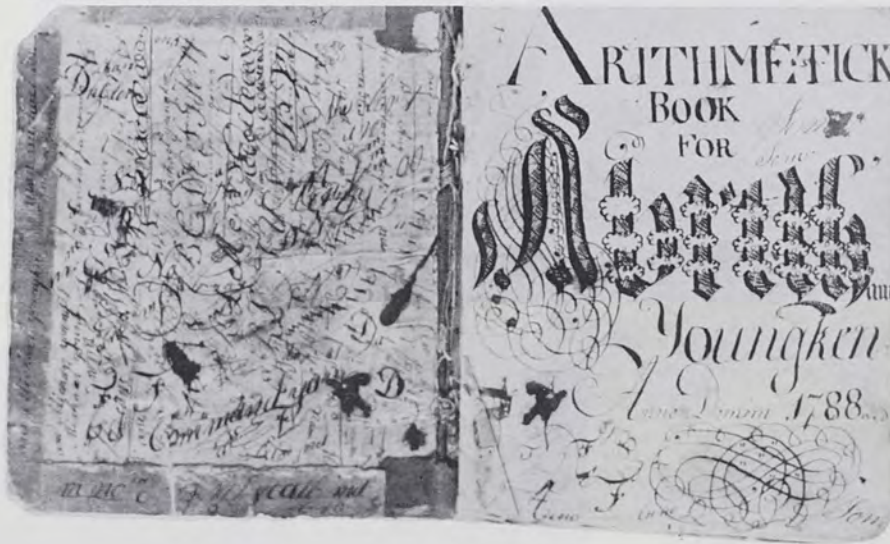


Title page of the Lower Smithfield Lutheran and Reformed General Church Book, done by the so-called Easton Bible artist.



Courtesy of the Monroe County Historical Society

A pair of title pages from the personal, hand-written, leather-bound arithmetic book of Abraham Youngken (Jungchen), (1775-1850). Youngken is buried in the Delaware Water Gap Cemetery. Practice pages show experimentation with fraktur flowers, names and dates.



Courtesy of James R. Schlough, Editor, The Easton Express

Facing halves of the title page of the Schlatter Bible of the Easton, Pennsylvania, First Reformed Church shown beside the birth-baptismal certificate of Joseph Röder.



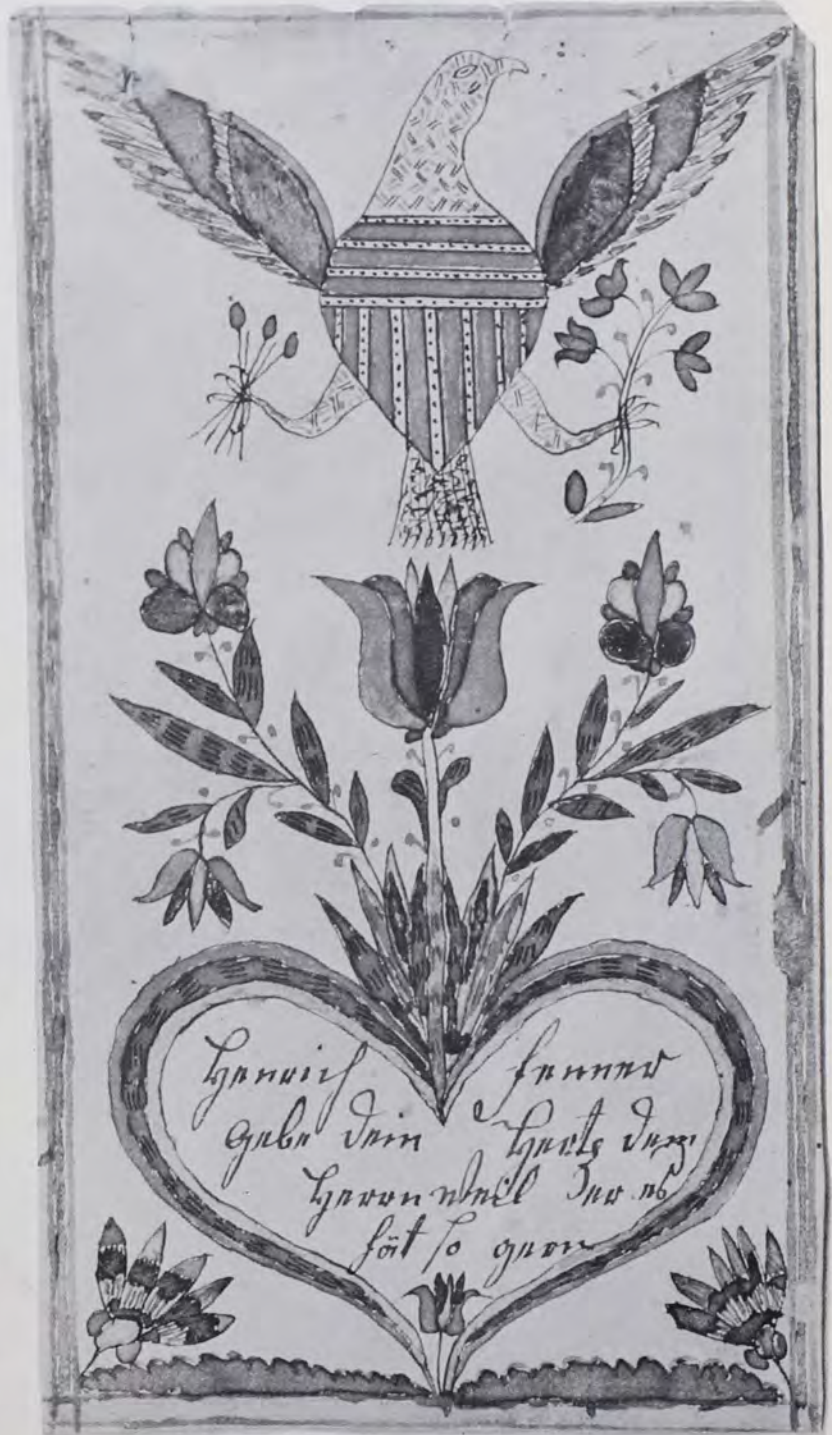
In the 1809 piece mentioned above, this "signature" appears at the base of an elaborate bird and flower arrangement, one of the most intricate thus far come upon in fraktur. This piece is further distinguished by its representation of Adam and Eve, shown at the top, one figure on each side. Found in a store ledger of Jacob Learn's, it is now owned by the Monroe County Historical Society.

Fraktur, Georg Adam Roth, and the Angelmeyer family of Monroe County are twined and intertwined to such an extent that what was undoubtedly perfectly clear a century and a half ago is now at best seen through a glass darkly. One of Roth's most accomplished pieces is a little specimen copy book he did for John Angelmeyer, a "penmanship student in the Hamilton (Township) School," date 1816. John was born December 22, 1802. He married Catharina Roth, born April 24, 1799.

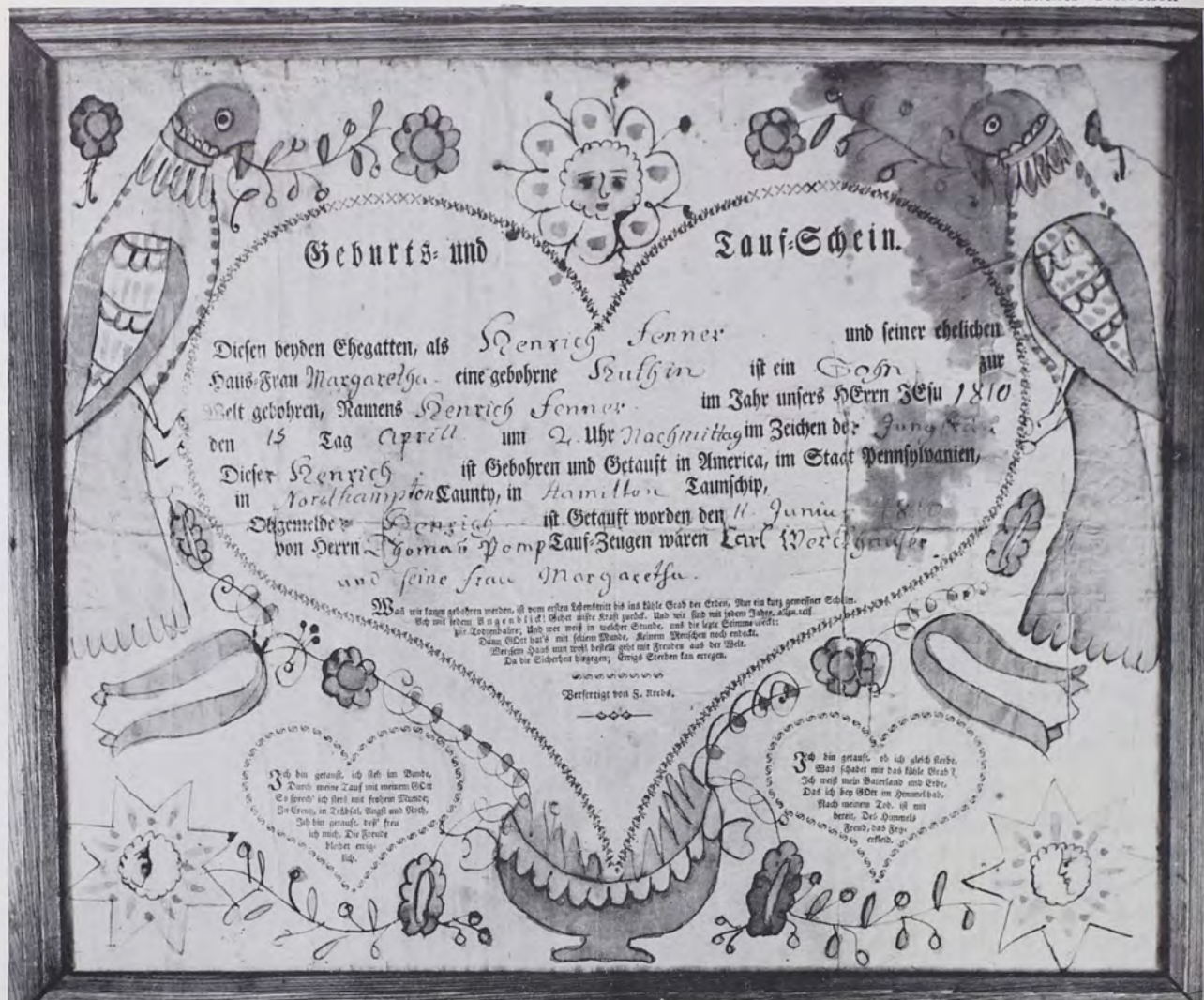
John's son Sim(p)son, according to the record, was born on March 30, 1836, in Pocono Township, *Monroe County*, at or near Tannersville. But note: Monroe County did not become a governmental unit in its own right until April 1, 1836. This seemingly anomalous situation can be reconciled, however, in that the birth certificate could have been filled in and decorated at almost any time after the child's birth. Sometimes there was a lapse of years between the time of birth and the time the certificate was prepared. What is less easy to explain is the fact that the calligraphy in this pre-printed piece is almost certainly in the distinctive hand of Georg Adam Roth. Did Georg Adam, in his later years, abandon the practice of illumination in favor of the short-cut method of the times? It seems reasonable that he may have done so, at least in this instance, which presumably involved a kinsman. If he did, however, a new field for speculation arises in the study of fraktur: Did other scribes also, as years passed and the population increased, simply act as amanuenses because of their good handwriting? If such should be the case, a great many little-prized "late" fraktur records might turn out to be more valuable than they are in their present state of anonymity, in terms of the person who manipulated the pen.

Another skilled penman was John Adam Eyer (also spelled Oyer), who lived from 1755 to 1837. He had been an instructor in Mt. Bethel, a little farther south, at "some time after 1774." Then we find him as an established, settled citizen in Hamilton Township, conducting a school in what must have been the original church building, erected in 1775. The records do not particularize the building, but the school had been established in 1789, as noted above.

Eyer's instruction was in German. He was apparently an unusually popular teacher, having as many as 60 students at one time. Tuition was 50 cents a month in those days.



Small fraktur, 3¼ by 6 inches. One of a pair made for Henrich Fenner, they suggest the touch of Georg Adam Roth. The other example is on our cover.



Birth certificate of Henry Fenner, early land-holder, farmer, and man of affairs in Hamilton Township, Monroe County. Even this early, partly pre-printed forms were being used.



The Henry Fenner, born in 1810, whose birth certificate is shown here. The picture was taken by Peter & Kresge, "Excelsior Traveling Artists."

According to tradition, other fraktur writers operated in the community, but none of Roth's caliber or Eyer's reputation. One wonders about John Groat (Groth?), a very early teacher (some time not long after 1780) in nearby Smithfield Township. According to a local historian, Groat was "an excellent penman and a fine scholar." No Groat piece of fraktur has been reported, however. In passing, we might note that he was not the *first* teacher in the township; that distinction goes to one James Middlecut—about whose handwriting we know nothing at all!

One of the mysteries in the world of fraktur-writing is the identity of the person known by the baffling title of "the Easton Bible artist." This appellation may first have been applied in print by Dr. Donald Shelley (See Bibliography), although speculation as to just who the artist was had gone on for years before Shelley's book appeared. The elusive title came about because of the distinctive fly-leaf decoration in the Bible presented to the First Reformed Church in Easton by the Reverend Michael Schlatter. Schlatter had been sent to America by the Synod of Holland in 1746 to visit, synthesize, and organize congregations in the Reformed faith. He presented the celebrated Bible to the congregation at the Forks of the Delaware (Easton) at some time before 1755. It is believed that the Easton congregation was organized between 1747 and 1750.

Because no similar piece of work had been reported elsewhere, it was long assumed that the scrivener was an Eastonian. Then, in 1964, John Joseph Stoudt (See Bibliography) pictured a birth certificate for one Michael Fackenthal, Durham Township, Bucks County, obviously by the same hand. Dated 1795, the piece is in the possession of the Bucks County Historical Society. (Incidentally, Fackenthal is a surname well known in Easton.)

Now, two other pieces in the same calligraphy have come to the attention of that part of the world interested in fraktur. One is a birth and baptismal certificate made for Joseph Röder, born December 5, 1801, in Nazareth Township, Northampton County. The stiff, stubby floral decorations on this document would in themselves establish kinship with those in the Schlatter Bible, but the human figures on the two pieces—partly, be-wigged heralds blowing trumpets—are so similar that there can be little doubt that the same pen was responsible for both. The Röder document is in the collection of the Northampton County Museum, in Easton.

It is the fourth piece, though, which extends the mystery northward into the up-country area—another title page. This one is in the General Church Book of the combined Lutheran and Reformed Congregation of Lower Smithfield Township, Northampton County (Monroe County after 1836). Roughly, Lower Smithfield is the territory north and east of the Delaware

Courtesy of the Monroe County Historical Society



A group of typical printed Rewards of Merit, presented in Monroe County schools, late Nineteenth Century.

Water Gap—Shawnee-on-Delaware, Minisink Hills, and the country toward Bushkill.

The record was begun on May 18, 1798, although there is a notation of baptisms as far back as 1787. The Reverend John Mann was the Reformed pastor in this church from 1798 to 1800. (The Lutheran minister is not named.) By any chance, was Pastor Mann—who, like many ministers in his day, may in his circuit have served congregations as far apart as Easton, Smithfield Township, and Nazareth Township—the artist? Such speculation is *only* speculation, and idle at that, but it was men who traveled widely who created many of the early fraktur records. What



Stroudsburg imprints are seldom found. This one, printed in English at the office of the Monroe Democrat, is transitional in that it combines a partly printed, conventionally bordered format with purely traditional decoration. The birth it records took place in 1829.

is not idle speculation, however, is the fact that whoever did one of these pieces must have done all of them.

After the mushrooming number of births in the new country made it impractical, and finally out of the question, to have completely hand drawn and lettered certificates for each child, pre-printed outlines were utilized. One of these made for Henrich Fenner, born in Hamilton Township at two o'clock in the afternoon on the fifteenth of April, 1810, in the sign of the Virgin ("Jungfrau"), is representative of others which follow

a well established pattern. The conventional words, beginning "To this honorably married couple," are spaced within the confines of a broad heart which has been created by a lineup of tiny tulips—but such individual details as the name of the minister (Thomas Pomp) and of the baptismal witnesses (Carl and Margaretha Werckheuser) have been inked in, in spaces left for the purpose. The printer's name, Friedrich Krebs (not a Monroe countian), is carefully centered in alignment with the cusp of the heart, but well out

Geburts und

Taufschein.



Courtesy of the Monroe County Historical Society



Tulip and heart decoration in what was probably a Sunday School presentation piece. It is 2½ by 3 inches in size.

The celebrated Sim(p)son Anglemeyer certificate of 1836, recording a Monroe County birth two days before Monroe became a county. The handwriting, exceptionally good, appears to be that of Georg Adam Roth. Simpson's mother was Catharina Roth.

of the way, near the bottom. Stanzas of well-liked hymns—one within the large heart and two others, each in its own separate small heart—complete the printing operation.

The hand decoration, once brilliant but now faded, is what gives major distinction to the piece. Just below the point of the larger heart is a flattish urn from which spring four floral sprays, two on each side. The lower ones terminate in eight-pointed "stars," each framing a face in profile. One school of thought has it that these symbols are intended to represent the sun. The gracefully curving upper sprays have three flowers each—two merely conventionalized but the middle one in each spray a tulip. On either side of the upper lobes of the heart perches a red, yellow, and green parrot with a floral spray in its beak. Rounding out the entire composition—crudely executed but symmet-

rically conceived—is an eight-sided daisy-like figure with an enclosed face, this time full instead of in profile.

There are several progressions beyond this type of certificate, each step representing a further necessary move toward a purely factual statement of vital statistics and away from the artistry which made the early drawings and paintings a delight to the eye. Commercial printing establishments and newspaper presses turned out, by the thousand, large vertical certificates in which the salient features were a pair of angels, two pairs of birds, and sprays of cherries in a perfectly balanced composition. It may or may not be remarkable that, with children filling in many of these outlines with water colors, as was not infrequently the case, there can be so much variety in their appearance. As the end of the 19th Century approached, there

Courtesy of the Monroe County Historical Society



Colored cut-out fraktur, 2 1/2 by 3 1/2 inches, perhaps a presentation piece.



Perhaps the principal distinguishing mark in Susanna Bonser's certificate of 1852 is that the angels face out instead of in. Since the wood blocks were portable, such a switch is not extraordinary. The Bonsers lived in Tobyhanna Township.

were so many other creations for framed decorations that these admittedly naive pieces were more often put away in a chest of drawers than hung on the wall.

In this category of certificates, St. John's Church (probably in Nazareth, but possibly in Mt. Bethel) and a printery in Kreidersville did their part in making it possible to record births for this part of Dutchdom. It should be noted, though, that in a handful of certificates for members of a single family one might find Nazareth, Easton, Allentown, Bath—and, rarely, Stroudsburg—represented. In Bath or Kreidersville, the printer would probably have been J. S. Dreisbach or possibly S. (Samuel) Siegfried; in Easton, one of the Hütters or A. H. Senseman; in Stroudsburg the printing would have been done by the *Monroe Democrat*.

Some of the forms of fraktur found elsewhere in the German-speaking parts of Pennsylvania seem not to

have flourished this far north—in particular, the house blessing, the elaborately designed and colored flyleaf of Bible or Testament, and the manuscript songbook. There was, however, the special blessing known as the Letter from Heaven, an all-print broadside “let down from Heaven and received in the city of Magdeburg (Germany) in 1783.” House blessing and Letter from Heaven were similar in one respect; they served as a kind of charm to preserve either the house or the occupants thereof from harm. Letters from Heaven and comparable printed prayers (“*Heiliges Gebeth*”), known all over the Dutchland, are still produced, and were carried by soldiers as amulets as late as World War II. For the most part these blessings or charms were merely printed, either in the old German Gothic style or in modern roman type. They may, however, be more elaborate—printed in hand-set gilt letters and ornamented with red, as were title pages in some old



A Hamilton Township piece, $3\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 inches, long used as a bookmark in the German-language Bible (Basel, 1798) of the Henrich Fenner family. No further details are available.

Bibles. It seems to be the consensus that pieces set "in letters of gold," as was the reputed original Magdeburg document, were actually done some time after the middle of Victoria's reign.

A number of small pieces of the "Reward of Merit" type—mentioned above in connection with John Adam Eyer—survive. Two of these, less than three inches square, come from Fennersville in Monroe County, the village which since 1867 has been called Sciota—stronghold of the pioneer Fenner family. One, with a simple colored flower, bears only the succinct statement, "Louisa Fenner, 44 verses." Its companion, created for whatever purpose, states, under date of Fennersville, May 31, 1842, "This is to certify that Louisa Fenner by dilligence (*sic*) and good behaviour Merits my approbation." It is signed Rachel S. Reese. Rachel Reese was a daughter of Col. Jacob Stroud, the founder of Stroudsburg. The Strouds were English,



Certificate of John Franklin Christman, born in 1863. This pre-printed but very colorful form stands near the end of the period in which vital statistics were regarded as a work of art as well as a matter of official record.

not German, and a piece of fraktur signed by an English Sunday School teacher for a little Pennsylvania Dutch girl must be regarded as a rarity, especially since the German and English cultures did not always blend easily or harmoniously.

Louisa, who later married William Croasdale, a Quaker, was a sister of one of the Henrich Fenners who have confused researchers to the point of desperation for years. (For more than a century a John and a Henry Fenner—with an occasional John Henry or Henry J.—in each generation have made the job of isolating any *one* John Henry a chance-ridden one.) The Henrich who was born in 1810 and whose birth record is preserved on the Krebs fraktur certificate previously mentioned appears to have been Louisa's father. There is a religious Award of Merit (the words "award" and "reward" were used interchangeably) surmounted by an American eagle and bearing the name Henrich Fenner, done apparently by Georg Adam Roth. Undated, it has the quality symbols we have come to associate with Roth. This little piece has a companion—a close copy of the first but not done by the same sure



Birth certificate by N. Currier, something of a rarity. Note that it was lettered in German rather than in English. Whoever filled in the vital statistics spelled Jackson (for Jackson Township) as he would probably have pronounced it—"Shacksen."

hand. It may be that Henrich himself tried his skill at the art of illuminating—but we shall never know for certain.

Just where to draw the line on what is and what is not honest-to-goodness fraktur is a problem for which no solution is offered here. Today's businesslike birth certificate is obviously not fraktur—not that anyone has suggested that it is. Records involving vital statistics might well be thought of as existing on a continuum, with one set of characteristics back at the beginning and another closer to the here and now. The student of folk art will certainly have a set of values to apply to what is early in fraktur—but so will the person, just as dedicated, who finds the later lithographed productions

of Currier and Ives to his taste. Are Currier and Ives documents fraktur? Dr. Shelley includes them in his exhaustive work. If they are not fraktur in the sense of hand-drawing, then perhaps neither are the thousands of bird-and-angel pieces turned out by the presses all over the Dutch Country. But if they are, then the Up-country is represented, too, in about the same degree as the rest of Dutchdom. Currier and Ives records may be comparatively late, but they have at least one quality which demands and gets the attention of the collector: They are harder to find, for some reason, than even the very early *echt* pieces!

One wonders why, in the face of the almost solid Pennsylvania Dutch concentration in much of Monroe



Hand-drawn and colored (left, pink; right, yellow) gift pieces in 1844 to Louisa Fenner, Fennersville, Hamilton Twp., for memorizing verses of Scripture. The name of Fennersville was changed to Sciota in 1867.

Robacker Collection

County, so little fraktur has survived—or why, for that matter, so few authentic artifacts of all kinds. The reason may not be far to seek. As one goes northward and into the lower sections of Wayne and Pike Counties—Canadensis, La Anna, Newfoundland, Hawley—there are fewer and fewer families of Pennsylvania Dutch origin, although there are some, especially in Newfoundland. It follows, of course, that there are more and more of other ethnic origins, especially English and Irish. And the English-Irish and the Pennsylvania Dutch did not meld easily—two hundred years ago, or fifty, or now. Where those of Germanic background were in the minority, their marks of differentness tended to be concealed in the first generation, to disappear almost completely in the second, and to be lost or forgotten after that. Thus, the old hand-written documents, the early hand-forged iron, the crude hand-made pottery were almost as though they had never existed. Minorities just wanted to be accepted, to be like everybody else—and “everybody else” in this part of the country was—or spoke—English!

A sad and somewhat ironic little footnote on the passing of the German language is a memorandum pasted inside the cover of a copy of a Christopher Sauer Bible, printed in Germantown in 1743, and now in the possession of the writer: “This Bible descended through the Otto family for a number of generations, and was presented to be by grandmother Maria Otto, when I was a boy of about 16 years of age, as a reward for learning to read the German language and for being the only one of her many descendants who could at that time read it. I now present this precious relic to my son David Ernst Shoemaker with the charge that he preserve it carefully in the family.” The note is signed David Otto Shoemaker and is dated August 3, 1891.

The writer found the Bible in an antique shop.

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MINUTES of the WEST GROVE HOUSEKEEPERS ASSOCIATION As Source Material for Folklife Studies

By ELEANOR FEIN REISHTEN

"We, the women, who have attended with pleasure and profit the West Grove Farmers and Gardeners Association; feeling the need of more time and opportunity to debate to our special department of labor—have agreed to form a separate organization to be called the West Grove Housekeepers Association . . ."

So reads the preamble to the Constitution of the Association which first met in December of 1863, and was active until 1931 when the decision was made to return to the original policy of holding joint meetings with the Farmers Club.

The minutes of this organization provide an excellent source of information on housekeeping procedures and attitudes of an occupational and regional group—farmers' wives of a predominantly Quaker community approximately thirty miles west of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Through the minutes we are able to get an inside view of their interests, concerns, and problems. Other source materials, such as magazines and news-

¹West Grove Housekeepers Association, Constitution, By-laws, Minute Books, etc. 1862-1931. Mss 76120-76131.2, Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Pennsylvania.

papers, give us an outside view—from them we learn what the popular issues of the day were, what sort of ideas were being fostered, but they give us no insight as to how these were being accepted and applied by the homemaker. The carefully kept minutes of the Housekeepers Club, however, prove to be an invaluable source of information on the actual problems and concerns of the housekeeper.

The present paper is a preliminary study of the various types of information that can be culled from this sort of manuscript. It covers only the first six years of the association's existence. This period, from the founding in December 1863 to the re-evaluation of the club by the members in August 1869, represents the beginning of a century of almost revolutionary changes that were to occur both in farm practice and in the farm home. In these six years, however, we have only an occasional faint glimmer of the mechanization of the farm and the urbanization of rural life that was on its way. For example, one of the women when asked if it was possible that the milking machine would give satisfaction, answered in February 1867 that "she

Residence of Job H. Jackson, West Grove. Illustration from Futhey and Cope's History of Chester County, Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1881).



At the suggestion of Ann Jackson
the ladies present at Club which
met at Charles Dingee's retired
to another apartment to consider the
propriety of organizing an associa-
tion to consider housekeeping in
its various phases. After some dis-
cussion as to its merits & demerits.
On motion Wm. Jackson a vote
was taken which resulted in favor
of establishing such an association.
On motion Ann Jackson was
appointed Pres & E. S. Jackson Secy. &c.
On motion a committee of three
was appointed to draft resolutions
to be forwarded to the next meet-
ing as a basis for said association.
Com. consisted of Bulah Preston

Organization of the West Grove Housekeepers Association, November, 1863. From original minute books of the West Grove Farmers and Gardeners Association, Chester County Historical Society.

had had no experience with them herself but had heard them recommended very highly, though at the same time thought the old fashioned way with two hands was the true way; it was left for experiment to prove which is the best."

The ladies decided to form their own group at the meeting which took place at Charles Dingee's in November of 1863. The minutes of that meeting of the Farmers and Gardeners Association make no mention of the ladies' decision to go their own way, but it is interesting to note that from this date on the minutes of the parent group become noticeably shorter and more business-like. A glance through the records which preceded the separation, however, makes the decision of the women quite understandable.²

The West Grove Farmers and Gardeners Association was founded January 21, 1860, for the purpose of promoting agricultural and social interests. It was patterned, as were most of the neighborhood Farmers' Clubs of the period, after the Farmers Club of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture which had been formed in 1847. It was limited to fifteen members who met at each others' houses the "second

²West Grove Farmers and Gardeners Association, Constitution, By-Laws, Minutes, etc. 1860 ff., Manuscript Collections, Chester County Historical Society.

seventh day of every month" except April, June, and July. The meetings were attended by the whole family, but unlike most of the farmers' clubs the men and women did not hold separate meetings. The constitution, however, in its original form was set up completely from the masculine point of view and did not take into any consideration the interests of the feminine part of the household. Article seven reads: "Each member shall be required to produce an Essay upon the Subject of Agriculture or Horticulture to be read at the meeting held at his house," and Section Third of the By-laws reads: "All conversation which is not upon the subject of Agriculture or Horticulture will be considered out of order during the session".

It was not too long, however, before the women made themselves heard. At the third meeting in March of 1860, the following statement was appended to Article nine: "The wives of members and other women who may be in attendance are requested to participate in the discussions and exercises of the meeting," and the Third Section of the By-laws was amended to read: "All conversation which is not upon the subject of Agriculture, Horticulture, or Domestic Economy will be considered out of order". This is the last time that women were recognized in the minutes and rarely did the discussion leave the level of Economy with a capital E. Throughout the minutes of both groups, Economy was always of the greatest consideration, but, as we shall see, the women preferred their discussions to be on a more personal how-to-do level, while the men kept theirs on a general plane. For example, the essay of August 1861 on "the importance of more strict economy in our farming and household operations . . . in these trying times when war to suppress Rebellion is upon us and National debt and Taxation before us" was more likely to lead to a discussion of the war and taxation than one about the economical merits of brown sugar or white. Only once was a subject introduced which seemed to have the feminine touch. In January 1862 "the importance of the cultivation of taste for the beautiful in connection with our agricultural pursuits was happily impressed upon the attention of the society. The planting of ornamental trees and flowers and shrubs around our homes should not only be a pleasure but a duty. As making home more attractive, labor less irksome, leisure more delightful." However, the essays of the farmers' group never really allowed for the intimate type of discussion so dear to a woman's heart. For the most part, the women who were present patiently and politely endured interminable discussions of the why, what, and how of fertilizers. Is it any wonder then that they decided to form their own group?

Unlike the majority of these women's groups which just met under no formal procedures to discuss home making, this group patterned itself after the men's

with officers, constitution, by-laws, and a specific order of business. The following resolutions were adopted:

1st That our society shall not exceed 18 members. The wives of the members to the Farmers Club shall have the preference. Those who may not wish to be active members shall enjoy all the privileges except that of voting, and not required to perform any of the duties.

2nd We who are identified as members will be expected to participate in the business that comes before our meetings and have the privilege of withdrawing at any time if such intention is made known by tendering a resignation, but if two meetings are omitted without sufficient excuse being given the right of membership will be forfeited.

3rd When it is practicable we meet at the same time and place as that adopted by the men.

4th That we appoint a President and Secretary to serve for six months.

5th That it shall be the duty of the President to maintain order and see that every member has an opportunity to express her sentiments on any questions that come before our meetings.

6th That the Secretary be required to keep a record of all business to note all questions that come before us for discussion to call the roll after the minutes of previous meetings are read—and note all delinquent members.

7th That all subjects pertaining to household economy shall be considered legitimate. Objects of charity also may claim our attention.³

8th That while voluntary essays shall be acceptable and encouraged it shall not be considered an obligatory duty.⁴

9th That promiscuous conversation be considered out of order during our organized meetings.

10th That in preparing our meals we try to be guided by our own ideas of simplicity and economy.⁵

11th That the Housekeepers extend a most cordial invitation to the *young* ladies who are members of this association to meet at their respective homes with this association.

12th That when the names of persons are offered as candidates for membership they may be received by a two thirds vote of all the members present.

In August 1865, the Constitution was revised. It was mostly a matter of refinement. The preamble was reworded to read: "The undersigned believing (*sic*), we can benefit each other by uniting our efforts to bring together information that we individually possess upon the methods pursued (*sic*) in the various duties pertaining to housekeeping, including these with the important care of the sick and of infancy; and that

³While the women considered charity as a possibility, no further mention is made of it in the minutes of the first six years.

⁴The women obviously found essay writing too much of a chore. During the first six years only three essays were submitted.

⁵This undoubtedly refers to the dinner that was served at the meetings. It was the custom for the Farmers Clubs to meet in the morning, stop for dinner, and continue the meeting in the afternoon. The only specific reference we find to this procedure in the West Grove Farmers Club is in the minutes of the first meeting in January 1860, where in commenting on the late arrival of most of the members it states "nearly all however arrived in time to partake of the dinner which was a pattern in every respect full, plain, and good".

we need the opportunity to improve in the knowledge and practice of associated bodies as a means of developing useful and correct ideas of the subjects demanding our attention—we adopt the following articles as an organic basis".

Article 1st — The Name shall be "The West Grove Housekeepers Association".

Article 2nd — The officers shall be a President and Secretary who shall each serve for a term of six months, and be elected by ballot the meetings held in October and May.

Article 3rd — It shall be the duty of the President to maintain order, and see that every member has an opportunity to express her sentiments on all questions before our meeting.

Article 4th — The Secretary shall be required to call the roll (*sic*), note all delinquent members, read the minutes of the previous meeting, and to keep a record of the business acted upon in each meeting.

Article 5th — The number of members shall not exceed 18—the wives of the members of the "Farmers and Gardeners' Association" shall have the preference (*sic*) and their daughters, will be accepted as members, whenever they can attend in addition to the 18.

Those who do not wish to be actual members may enjoy all the privileges of such except that of voting and will not be required to perform any of the duties.

Article 6th — Any member absent two consecutive meetings without a sufficient excuse shall forfeit her right of membership.

Article 7th — Promiscuous conversation is disorderly when any subject is under discussion.

Article 8th — When the names of persons are offered as candidates for membership they may be received by a two third's vote of the members present.

Article 9th — This Constitution shall be subject to amendment at any time by a two third's vote, notice of such amendment being given at a previous meeting.

The constitution remained in this form throughout the period covered by this paper, and was duly signed by the following seventeen members:

Ann C. Jackson	Mary Armstrong
Beulah H. Preston	Amanda Mackey
Margaret Hodgson	Elizabeth J. Dingee
Amanda Good	Emeline Coates
Ellen L. Jackson	Rebecca H. Starr
Mary E. Phillips	Angeline Wickersham
Mary L. Conard	Sallie Ann Conard
Emma Armstrong	Rebecca J. Conard
Mary E. Hood	



"Echo Farm," Residence of Aaron Baker, Londongrove Township. From Futhey and Cope, 1881.

The order of business which was spelled out at the first meeting was rigidly adhered to:

- 1st — Calling the roll
- 2nd — Reading the minutes of the previous meeting and consideration thereof.
- 3rd — Unfinished business
- 4th — Answering questions
- 5th — Report of the committee on questions
- 6th — Referring questions
- 7th — Appointing a committee to bring forward questions for next meeting
- 8th — Reading essays
- 9th — Bringing forward specimens of industry or taste that may be of benefit or interest to the society—such as Recipes — Patterns — Seeds, etc. etc.
- 10th — Miscellaneous business
- 11th — Adjournment.

It is to be seen from the order of business that the most important part of the meetings was the answering of questions. At each meeting a committee of two women was appointed to bring in questions to the next meeting. These questions were then assigned to other members—one question to one member—who were called upon to answer them at the next meeting. Occasionally the member was absent and the answer deferred, occasionally it was deferred to the point of being forgotten, but the majority were answered, discussed, and a consensus was taken. All this was dutifully noted in the minutes, and it is through these that we get to know the members, their mode of living, and their attitudes, opinions, and interests. It is interesting to note that the members were often assigned questions the subject matter of which was not within their per-

sonal experience. They never, however, turned them down, but tried to answer to the best of their ability—most often by asking around rather than reading up on the subject, or, if it was a recipe, by trying to make it and reporting on the results. This would be the most natural way for them to go about it, since they valued most the "tried-and-tested" testimony of those who had had successful experiences. A frequent opening to a reply is the phrase that "she had had no experience in the matter, but . . ." Amusingly, when M. E. P. was asked for the recipe for making pumpkin sauce, she said, after deferring the answer for two months, "they had very seldom made it because they do not like it . . . Once she had made an article that was somewhat palatable . . ." (January 1869). This sort of answer never deterred them—there was almost always some other member who had experience and was willing to keep the ball rolling. The questions, of course, could be on any housekeeping subject and we find they divided themselves into three categories: 1) Food, 2) maintenance of the home and clothing, and 3) general problems of interest to the homemaker as wife and mother.

The following is a sampling of questions and answers chosen from each category to illustrate the value of the minutes as source material for folklife studies. When the material is viewed in its entirety, one soon realizes that the above categories are arbitrary, there is frequent overlapping, and further division within each category is possible. It would, of course, depend on the interest of the researcher as to where the emphasis would be placed.

In the category of food, we soon see that the realm of the Housekeeper was not limited to the kitchen and cooking. Her interest in food did not start with already processed ingredients ready to be put together for a meal. The dairy, the poultry yard, and the kitchen garden were also parts of her domain.

Let us look at a few of the dairy chores discussed by the women. In March 1865, the ladies talked about the best feed for milk cows. In the same month of the previous year, the ladies discussed whether milk should "be set in shallow or deep pans," but "no one having experimented upon the matter no very correct conclusion could be arrived at". The churning and working of butter was a frequent subject of investigation, and upon this they had more decided opinions. For example, in October 1864 "it was thought desirable to have the cream at a temperature of about 60°, churn in a cool place and avoid as much as possible having water come in contact with the butter never to wash it, etc. This opinion was disagreed by several experienced butter makers present who were in the habit of washing their butter. There were many interesting remarks made on the whole process of working, salting, etc. Mrs. Mackey gave her plan which was to wash the butter after churning—add 9 ounces of salt to 12 pounds of butter and work and print before the butter gets hard—she recommends sifting the salt in order to get all the lumps fine; her method seemed to meet with general approval." And in February 1869 A. G. was asked "the cause of cream frothing and not being able to get butter after churning a great length of time". She "did not know from experience, but thought it most likely it was on account of the cows being strippers—several of the members thought it was perhaps more owing to being too cold than any other one cause—that a proper temperature was indispensable to quick success—those who use a thermometer say they have never had the least trouble since using it, but had at times before—the proper heat at churning is 65°-F or from 60-65 according to the Thermometer. Another reason mentioned was, that perhaps the cows were not properly fed—these were several remedies given for this difficulty in churning—some scalded [scald] the cream and when cool churn again. Another puts a little fine salt in the churn, while another thought a very little salt petre was very good to make butter come". In June 1864 and in March 1868, the process for making home made cheese was examined. From all the questions we realize that the farmer's wife had to know everything from the feeding of the cows to the processing of the milk for butter and cheese.

She had to know relatively the same things about the poultry yard. She had to care for the chickens and decide what to do with the eggs—preserve them as eggs or raise more chickens. The discussions that center around this section make us aware also of the House-

of the members having to leave, there was
not much business done & the meeting
met at W. C. Hodgson's in Feb.
Rebecca J. Conard

The Housekeeping Association met
in a room at W. C. Hodgson's on the 8th of Feb.
B. C. Preston was appointed pres. present -
The roll called 13 members answered to their
names. The minutes were read & adopted.
The mrs. then proceeded to answering questions -
1st What is the best way to make mince pies?
W. C. Phillips said she took equal
parts of green apples & meat & mixed them with
milk & butter & put them in a pan & then
put in spices to taste, making the crust as
she would make in any other kind of good pie,
some use grapes, currants & green berries instead
of apples when they cannot be had - three apples
take the place of green ones very well.
Young's Brandy is often used in mince pies
as well as in many other kinds of cooking -
but in practice we hold to be wrong - in our studies
we are very cautious that that which once

Sample Minutes of Housekeepers Association, 1868. The subject for the day was "the best way to make mince pies"—obviously without wine and brandy.

keepers' keen interest in market. In October 1865 the conversation turned to "the best way to fatten chickens for market". M. A. said their plan was to put them up in a dark place for about two weeks before they wanted to send them to market, feeding with cooked corn and bran alternately, being careful to keep them supplied with gravel. This method pursued (sic) by most members present—although one person was in practice of keeping them up as long as six weeks and feeding frequently with mush and milk". Other questions were concerned with the profitableness of certain varieties of chickens (March 1866) and of poultry raising in general (March 1867). The most favorable time to have early chickens and the best way to raise turkeys were discussed in May 1868 and "the chicken question gave rise to considerable talk about the gaps—their cause and cure.—They are worms that as they grow fill up the wind-pipe and will take the life of the chicken unless they can be taken from them.—The method for taking them out is to double a horse-hair and putting it down its throat, twist it round and pull it out, and the worms will be found clinging to it. Some think the location has something to do with

chickens being thus afflicted—such as shady places not so good as where the sun shines, etc.” So we learn of another of the Housewife’s duties.

The majority of the questions in the kitchen garden section have to do with the raising of early vegetables and fruits. There are two reasons for their interest in the best methods “to adopt to have an early supply of vegetables” (March 1868). — By the end of winter they were anxious to have fresh vegetables for their own use, and, even of more importance to them, early produce brought more money in the market.

Once the raw products of the dairy, the poultry yard, and the kitchen garden reached the kitchen, preservation became the Housekeepers’ major concern. Of the 96 questions presented during the years 1864 through 1869 concerning food the greatest number by far dealt with problems of preservation. Thus it was also the province of the farm woman to run a food processing plant. In May 1864 the discussion turned to “the best manner of preserving eggs for winter use”. In June 1869, the ladies talked over “the best way of putting up summer butter for winter use”. “A. G. said she salted the butter more than for present use, then worked it well and packed tightly with a masher in a stone jar, then put a cloth over it and a layer of salt until the next churning—pack it in the same way and so on with the different lots of butter until the jar is within an inch of the top, then put on a thin cloth and fill up with salt. She found this a good way—another was to put the butter in four-pound rolls, wrap each one in a cloth and put it into brine with more salt than is dissolved—she had found this to be good as the other and a rather more convenient plan.—R. H. S. packed as A. G., but put upon the top first a cloth wet in salt-petre water, then four inches of salt—she told of an instance where a roll of butter was kept all winter exposed to the air and *kept perfectly*.” Some questions deal with the preserving of meat products. In June 1864 they considered the best way to keep dried beef through the summer. “Answered by Mrs. H. was to put it under ashes or lime. But the question was soon taken up in a broader sense taking up meat in general from its fresh state through its various stages until ready to prepare for table use. There were various recipes given for curing both beef and pork; the former allowing less salt than the latter. It was allowed nine days to be long enough for beef to lay in pickle. One member said she had never failed in keeping meat and made the pickle only so strong as to bear an egg, putting plenty of molasses in it, as she was pretty well convinced that it had great preserving tendencies (*sic*) and likewise neutralized (*sic*) the effects of the salt. It was strongly recommended to rub Hams with different mixtures such as salt, sugar, and by so doing made them proof against flies and at the same time not destroying all the flavor and sweetness of the meat

as is the case when so large a proportion of salt is used. It would seem from the experience of some that meat can be kept with little difficulty if kept in a proper room. The questions were asked and discussed with unusual life and interest many good and useful suggestions being made which were of practical worth.”

Information was frequently sought on the preservation of fruits and vegetables whether in their fresh form or by canning. In October 1865, “M. E. P. had not had much experience” in keeping grapes for winter use. “She had tried wrapping them in paper and laying them in a drawer but thought them tasteless. Other members had kept them in different ways some by dipping the end of the stem in cement and hanging on a line in the cellar; others by rolling them in paper and laying them between layers of cotton and sitting in a cool place.” In January 1868 the making of Sour Krout was put forward. “M. E. H. said she was not in the way of making it but gave the following as the best way she knew of—cut the cabbage middling fine and pound it down in a barrel, layer about with salt. By bruising the cabbage it will make pickle enough to cover it, when ready to use it just wash it and boil it as we boil cabbage and it is ready for the table. It is a dish very little known among any of our members.” This last statement is of interest from the point of view of the acceptance of a food associated with a neighboring but distinct ethnic group. A rather amusing insight into the Housekeepers’ idea of how to economize occurs in an entry for June 1868 in their answer to the question “which is the most economical to buy dried apples or dried peaches supposing both are equally well prepared and from nice fruit”. “A. G. thought *apples* were, because they swelled more and besides were not so well liked as peaches—and she recommended mixing them—that they made a pleasant sauce better than either alone—it appeared to be the general opinion that peaches were better than apples and so would not go too far—and several thought mixing them a good plan.” Other garden items discussed were sweet potatoes, pumpkins, lima beans, tomatoes, cucumbers, cauliflower, corn, gooseberries, and additional forms of apples and peaches.

Several questions were on preserving in general. One example concerned the economy of stone and glass jars. The answer given in February 1865, was that “glass was preferred because it looked better—but stone was preferred because it kept better and cost less . . . ” In November 1867 the “following suggestion was sent in by R.H.S., to save all the bladders in butchering time as they are elegant wet in warm water and stretched over crocks of sauce as they are equal to cement. Was received as very good and well worth doing.”

In addition to the above kitchen duties, the farmer’s wife also prepared three large meals a day for the members of her household. However, daily meal prep-

aration as such was never discussed and very few recipes belonging to this category were included.⁶ Most of these were for bread and pies. The Housekeepers seem to be especially tactful in their discussions of this type of product—they seem to be attempting not to tread on any other member's toes or to imply that their way was better than any other. Bread, all agreed, was the most important article of food, but no conclusions were ever reached as to the best process for making it. This attitude is well illustrated in the discussion that occurred in May 1868 on the "best receipt for making soda biscuit. M. A. said she had no regular rule—put in a little butter and some cream or Buttermilk plus a little soda and bake in a quick oven—some of the members use sweet milk and cream of tartar—some use thick milk—some use all lard, and some both lard and butter—one mixed the dry soda in the flour—another dissolved it in vinegar, others in water and some in milk—some made the dough stiff others very stiff—some thought the quicker it was mixed up and rolled out the better; while others worked it a long time, fully persuaded that was the best plan, so it seemed to be a composition that could be made many ways, and supposing all our members equally good cooks, one could scarcely go *amiss* in the manufacture of this species of warm bread." Cakes and cookies which figure so prominently in handwritten recipe books of the period are represented by only one request for gingerbread in January 1866. Of the six other recipes for daily food preparation the one for oyster pie proves the most interesting—the Secretary of the Housekeepers Association was carried away. In June 1867 she wrote, "Line a dish with crust and in it put the oysters with their juice, season with pepper and salt and thickened with a little flour and butter rubbed together, and some bony pieces of roast fowl to help hold up the top crust—also she thought it improved the flavor of the pie—when the whole was completed she baked it in a slow oven for an hour though she knew of other methods, she considered this the best. But little experience was obtained from other members—a few had made them, one said she always baked the crust alone, and the oysters she prepared and stewed as for tea, then took off the top crust, put oysters in, replaced the lid and it was ready for the table—to hold up the top crust while baking in some way, one put a plate inside, another enclosed a towel (*poor towel!!*)."

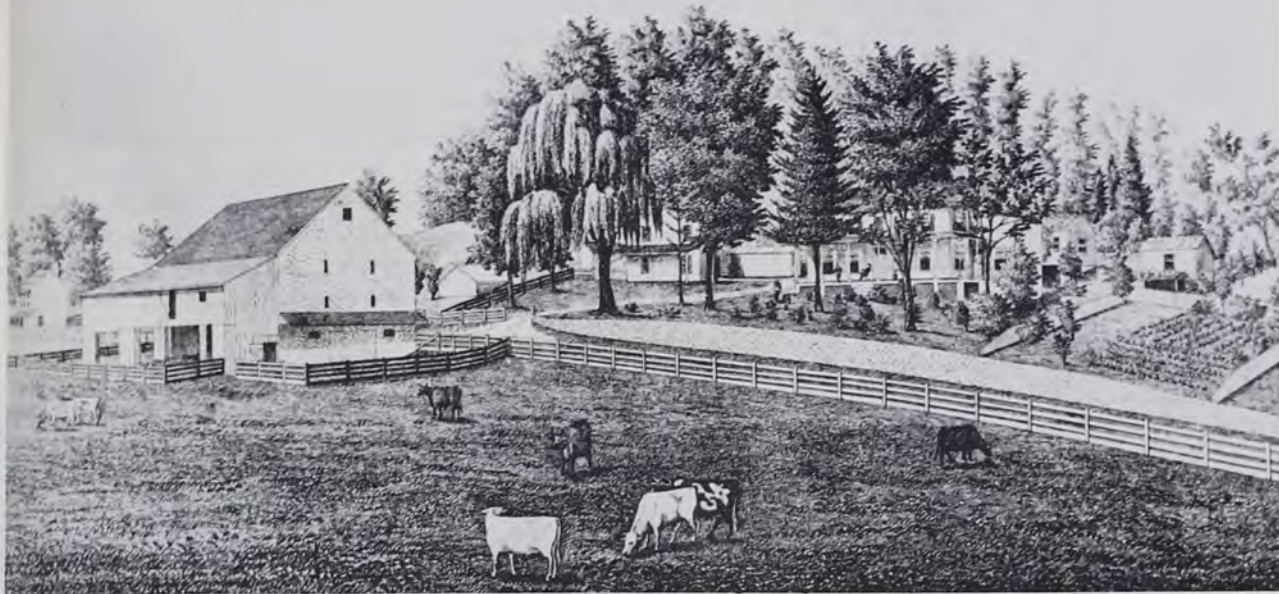
While the questions in the category of food cover a rather extensive territory, they do not exhibit much evidence of change. In the second category, that of Maintenance of Home and Clothing, the Housekeepers showed themselves more adaptable to new products. Shortcuts and aids were more actively sought. For example, in November 1866 the question "Will the

⁶The West Grove Housekeepers Association also kept a Recipe Book, but since the ladies did not start it until 1877, it is not within the time scope of this paper.

Doty washing machine do all the agents claim for it or is it a humbug?" did not bring the response that the old-fashioned way with two hands was the best. "R. J. C. thought it was no humbug if properly used, but did all the agents claimed it to do, the same opinion was expressed by all the members that had used it."

The inquiries in this section were mostly concerned with cleaning and sewing. Under cleaning, laundry and spot removal questions were discussed most frequently. Recipes were sought for hard soap (March 1868) and soft soap (June 1868). In May 1867, the Housekeepers debated the economy of making or buying clear starch. "B. H. P. said she has not been in the way of making clear starch, but used flour starch for all but some particular things and that she bought, which was the general practice of most members. Some had always made clear starch until the last few years, but the bran has so little starch left in it since the millers have improved their art that it has been given up as not paying for the labor it takes, and all buy what starch they require." Several questions were asked about the washing of specific fabrics—such as, how to wash flannel without shrinking (September 1864), and calico without running (June 1866). The bleaching of white woolens seemed to be quite a problem. In March 1867 "R. H. S. had always been in the way of burning brimstone in a close vessel where she could hang her flannels and smoke them with it. Many concurred while others thought in winter to hang them out to freeze and in summer spread them out to the sun answered the same purpose." Among other types of household stains, the Housekeepers discussed "the best method of cleaning marks off the furniture" (March 1866), "the best way to keep knives and forks from rusting when laid away" (February 1869), and "the best method of washing windows to have them clear with *the least labor*" (March 1864). Stoves, both cooking and heating had to be kept polished and shiny black, and the talk in December 1868 turned to the best way to black a Russia-iron stove. "M. E. H. said she oiled her stove in the spring when she put it away, and when taken out in the fall, blacked it with black lead mixed with water and put on with a soft brush—never has any difficulty in keeping it bright and free of rust. Some recommended a woolen cloth instead of a brush and one said, if the stove was oiled when put away, and when put up for use, rubbed with turpentine, it would look as well as if blacked."

Another rather large problem in the cleaning department was the control of house pests—moths (February 1864, September 1867), black ants (September 1865), silver fish (October 1865), roaches (October 1865), "those black bugs that infest vaults" (November 1865), flies (February 1867), rats (March 1866), red Aunts (*sic*) (March 1866), and bed bugs (March 1865) all had their turn. For control of the last it was "A. C. J.'s



"Toughkenamon Homestead," the Residence of John Richards in New Garden Township. From Futhey and Cope, 1881.

decided opinion that if housekeepers were always careful to keep bed-steads clean and free from dust, there would be no difficulty in keeping clear of bugs—but if persons had to live in houses where that care had not been extended and they had been allowed to accumulate in cracks and corners—they could be destroyed by vialent (*sic*) watching and by applying corrosive sublimate where they were found. Some members had used coal oil and thought it of advantage."

The only questions submitted on sewing had to do with rag carpets (May 1864, January 1869), corn husk mattresses (September 1868), and patterns for underwear (August 1866). R. H. S. said in her directions for making corn husk mattresses "to have the husks nicely dried, then hackle them into fine shreds and mix about one third feathers with them, fill the tick tight and full and stitch as others are done". Although the questions were asked about underwear, the minutes give use no information—"After some discussion on patterns for underclothing, the meeting adjourned".

Sewing machines *per se* were also the subjects of conversation. In March 1866 the ladies wanted to know whether it was better to have a sewing machine or to employ a seamstress to do their sewing. "E. L. J. answered both, she said in the first place every woman should have a Sewing Machine and then if not able to do her sewing without injury to herself employ (*sic*) a seamstress." By November 1868 when the Housekeepers debated the best kind of sewing machine to use, it was obvious that the majority already owned them and were "united in the belief that a straight needle must be the most satisfactory everything else being equally as good".

Fancy sewing was discussed only during the show-and-tell sessions. This gave the ladies the opportunity to have their handiwork admired. "In the way of needlework the attention of the company was called," in March 1865, "to a very pretty and tasteful chair cushion made by M. W. consisting of light colored cloth, embroidered with red braid". Quilts and afghans were frequently displayed. "When the call was made for fancy work, etc.," at the May 1868 meeting, "A. M. showed a very nice afghan she had knit herself—which at the same time that it was very good and useful, was handsome. Afghans are certainly a combination of use and beauty". In September 1868 "R. H. S. produced an infant's cap of her own make, which all agreed was very pretty and appropriate and not expensive—materials, fine white flannel and blue ribbon."

As revealing as these are of the ladies' attitudes, in one question, which rightfully belongs in the third category, the Housekeepers examined directly their feelings about fancy work. In March 1868 they considered whether the time spent in making embroidery and doing fancy work could be put to better use. "A. M. thought it useful so far as it did not interfere with other more improving things.— It was approved by all while not done to excess or to the exclusion of a better culture of mind. It was thought to be good in so much as it gives us habits of industry, as it can often be done when we would otherwise sit unemployed (*sic*)—and also as it is always done to enhance the beauty, so in that way it is good—as whatever we can do to cultivate our love of the beautiful in nature or art, not only greatly increases our own happiness but the happiness of those around us. As we work for and appreciate the beautiful and finer parts of our

organization and the world, so will our enjoyments of this world and our appreciation of a higher life and an over ruling power be strengthened and life be a pleasant duty ever pointing to a glorious hereafter."

While the first two categories give us much information on material objects and reveal some of the housekeepers' attitudes, the third category—that of general problems of interest to the members as homemakers, wives, and mothers—deals in the main with non-material subjects and reveals much about their way of life. These questions were more difficult for the housekeeper to answer and we find more of them dangling in the air unanswered, and longer delays between question and answer than in the first two categories. When answered, however, they show more care in wording and some of them were in the essay form.

The Housekeepers frequently asked themselves what made a good housekeeper and what constituted good housekeeping. In November 1866 "A. M. said it depended on one who tended to having things done in the right time and way not allowing anything to go to waste and keeping things generally in good order, whether she did it with her own hands or not was not important". R. H. S. said, in December 1867, "she considered there was a great deal gained by having our work all arranged in regular order and as nearly as possible carrying out that order, as by that means we may know just what is to be done and when we can accomplish it—which was coincided (*sic*) with by all. It was also urged that when things came, as they ever do, unforeseen perhaps, making it impossible to accomplish the work intended for that particular time, we should be able to lay it aside without allowing it to trouble us as nothing would be gained by this worrying but instead, our own strength and nervous system are weakened and we are less able to perform it when the time comes, than had we let it go easily." And again, in May 1869, A. M. thought good housekeeping "consisted in having everything in its right place and everything done in the right time. R. G. thought the beauty of housekeeping was often spoiled by overnicety, that many husbands were made uncomfortable by wives being so particular."

This last sentence also belongs to the group of questions which concern the housekeeper as wife. In May 1869 the ladies discussed "the best way for a neat housekeeper and good wife to get along with a man who will smoke and chew". "L. W. said she had no experience whatever. Some members thought we should be as lenient as possible. That we often did harm by being too harsh." A few months later, in August 1869, the women wondered to what extent "a true wife should adopt and conform to her husbands views. R. H. S. was to answer this but she was not able to decide, saying she could not understand the meaning of the question—but most of the members spoke quite freely upon the subject, and it appeared to be the general

sentiment, that in all spiritual and other very important matters, every woman must be guided by the dictates of her own conscience, but in minor things there should be and will be, if people are rightly married, a *mutual* yielding—but the wife will quietly and gracefully yield her point always in these lesser things, rather than have any differences or trouble anyway."

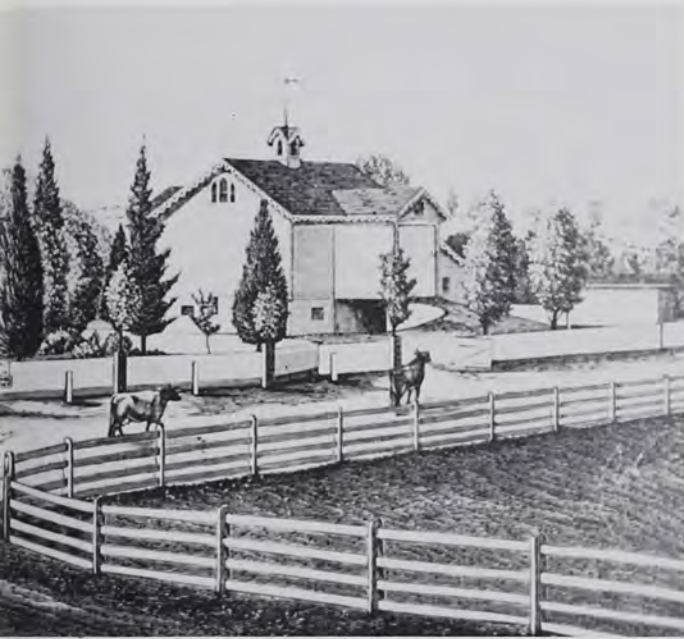
The major number of questions in this category, however, were concerned with the Housekeeper as parent. Some inquiries considered the health of the mother (September 1866), others the health of the



"Avon," Residence of Samuel C. Ken

children (February 1867, August 1868), but the greatest number were on the training and education of children. In January 1865 the mothers discussed whether it was "right under any circumstances to correct a child by striking it". "M. T. C. thought it was seldom necessary—that where those having authority had the training of children from their infancy, that they could be taught obedience without the use of the rod—her sentiment was united with by most present but it was maintained that obedience must be required in order to have children well disciplined." Overindulgence was thought about in December 1867, and the conclusions were the same. In October 1866 the mothers investigated whether the study of music would "destroy a love for the more sterling accomplishments". "M. H. thought it did not if they commenced it while young before old enough to do much with other studies and then limited in the time to be devoted to it during school hours, which was the opinion of the meeting as far as they had any experience." The question of

how to "make Sundays both pleasant and useful to children" was taken up in May 1869. "M. A. thought they should go to church in the morning, to Sabbath School in the afternoon, and furnish them with good books to read and after reading ask them questions—to be 'kept' in the house and as quiet as possible—some thought they should be allowed a little amusement in the house: that it was unnatural to keep them still—others had no rules different from other days—did not regard Sundays any more sacred than other days of the week." An inquiry in June 1868 was, "Should parents instruct their children that in



Grove. Note Victorian house and barn.

their intercourse with society, *right* should be adhered to at the cost of friends and favor?". "S.A.C. answered, *Yes, most certainly*—earnest, careful, thoughtful parents will teach their children to do *right* under *all* circumstances because it *is* right—a quiet peaceful conscience being worth far more than any acquisition of friends or favor, or any worldly position—all were apparently united in these views." The problems of "the growing evil of using tobacco" (June 1869), and "marriage in their children under the age of twenty" (November 1866) were looked into. The reading matter of young people (October 1866, September 1867, March 1868, March 1869) was good for an annual discussion.

The Housekeepers leave us in no doubt as to their attitude toward the use of alcoholic beverages. Their many discussions of the subject (June 1864, September 1864, August 1865, March 1866, August 1867) are summed up in the minutes of February 1868—" . . . we should in no way cultivate that taste, which is so liable to be the fore-runner of untold miseries".

The training of daughters came up for consideration more frequently than that of sons. In September 1867, the Housekeepers probed into "the proper training and accomplishments for farmers daughters". "L.W. seemed to feel that there was but little difference in what was necessary to make an accomplished Farmers daughters (*sic*) and the daughters of a person of any other vocation. That with endeavoring to have them understand housekeeping thoroughly should be added a good school education and such home training as to make all work together practically . . ." There were just not enough hours in the day, however, for the daughters to learn to be good housekeepers and get a school education. Manual labor vs. intellectual attainments was a subject for debate several times. In August 1865, they discussed whether it was "better for girls to be kept closely to their studies during their schooldays or extend that period over a longer period and teach them to be housekeepers between". "M.L.C. claimed that the health of but few girls admitted of their attending school year after year without injury—such being the case she thought it might be best to extend the schooldays over more time. Her sentiment was agreed to by many though it was urged that where there was talent and inclination for intellectual attainment circumstances were most favorable for that to push study as fast as the health of the girl would bear it . . ." In May 1866, the ladies felt that a thorough "Knowledge of a Housekeepers duties" was as "necessary as any other branch of Education, but to make them thorough was impossible without the experience of years and when they become entirely dependent on themselves." To add to the girl's burdens, the Housekeepers unanimously decided in December 1866 that it was advisable for girls "to have trades after they are done going to school," that "to insure a girls happiness through life it was very necessary that she should have employment and some means of making herself feel independent that she might be able to meet any change in fortune that may overtake her". In September 1867 it was felt that this statement needed clarification. They wanted to know if this state of independence would "be best reached by thorough and strict discipline in general habits of industry and application, fitting the individual for the acquisition of any business or profession? or in the selection and persuance of a special branch to the exclusion of other employments?". The latter was considered the best plan.

Finally, in June 1869, the ladies decided to evaluate the club itself.—"Has the Housekeepers Association been a benefit to its members?". "A. M. thought it had evidently and all united with her sentiments—all thought they had not only learned many things, but had learned to express themselves so much better than at first, and so could communicate to others so much more freely what they know." And with this we take their leave.

The SEARIGHT TAVERN

On the National Road:

An Archaeological Study

By RONALD L. MICHAEL

Nearly fifty years have passed since residents of Western Pennsylvania have been able to patronize the relatively large 2 or 2½ story frame, brick, or stone taverns or inns that once graced the countryside. However, their vestiges are evident along most of the older roads. The taverns, places of great activity during the 19th Century, faded from prominence with the changing times. The beginning of their end was heralded by the railroad which pushed throughout the fertile valleys connecting the small but expanding farm towns by rail. Not only lodging and boarding receipts dropped, but also cattle feed and water fees disappeared with the advance of the railroad. Cattlemen no longer had to rely on drovers' trails to get their steers to market or on the tavern stable to supply food for their stock.

While the railroad decreased the regional and national appeal of the taverns, their local popularity as a gathering place where peddlers, businessmen, politicians, and local travelers could find camaraderie, dancing, and a tankard of beer or a shot of "red eye" was temporarily maintained. Their demise was also slowed as long as the services of the stable-keepers, the blacksmiths, and the wagon-makers, who lived near the taverns, were needed. But with the introduction of the motorized carriage in the early 20th Century their services were no longer necessary and the doom of the tavern stands was finally sealed.

Romanticists have viewed the fading prominence and eventual ruin of the taverns with sadness, but the citizenry of the times, while disappointed by the closing of what was possibly their favorite haunt, found the lure of the city hard to resist. Actually the closing of the taverns was quite similar to the closing of the country bars that dotted the highways for the first fifty years of the 20th Century. Both died for what was termed progress. The 19th Century tavern or inn was a victim of the development of the automobile which in turn forced an improvement in existing roads and the building of new arteries. Ironically,

the 20th Century country bar, which frequently offered tired travelers a room or cabin for the night, also fell to highway improvement. Throughout the 1950's and 1960's the building of super-highways decreased the need for travelers to stop between cities or for farmers or people living in the countryside to seek camaraderie and recreation a few miles from home rather than in town.

The analogy between the tavern and the country bar is further supported if it is realized that many of the main buildings of both of these businesses became private residences. Generally, few structural modifications were made in the tavern buildings, but the little remodeling done plus the changes in or removal of the surrounding structures were enough to cause the average person difficulty in recognizing the earlier function of the buildings. Missing from the taverns, the main concern of this essay, are the porches which spanned the front of many taverns. On those porches fellow travelers spent the evening chatting or relaxing after a trying day's ride in a carriage. Also gone are the watering troughs and large stables where a rider's mount or a team of horses were watered, fed, and bedded. The once numerous outbuildings — smoke houses, summer kitchens, spring houses, wash houses, and privies have also disappeared. What usually remains of the often magnificent tavern stands is the main tavern building, without a porch, which has been converted into a residence. Since the basic architecture of the taverns was little different from that of a residence, virtually nothing, either inside or outside the building, would tell a visitor whether the structure was originally designed as a tavern or residence. The only distinguishing features of a tavern stand were the bar in the tavern building, a large watering trough, and the outbuildings that were associated with the tavern business.

Besides having lost an accurate physical picture of the tavern stands, Americans have little knowledge of the everyday life at a tavern, especially one in Western



FIG. 1: View of the Searight Tavern, circa 1890.

Pennsylvania. Few living people have ever spent a night at a 19th Century tavern, had a horse shod by the resident blacksmith, or had a wagon repaired by the wheelwright plying his trade nearby. Even fewer people have tried to describe accurately what it was like stopping overnight at one of these inns, say during the years Andrew Jackson was President or during the period of the Civil War.

It was with the aim of beginning to change this situation that the California State College Archaeological Field School, under the direction of the author, spent the summer of 1970 excavating at a tavern stand along the famed National Road (Cumberland

Road). The Searight Tavern, located nearly halfway between Brownsville and Uniontown, Pennsylvania, about fifty miles south of Pittsburgh, was selected for excavation for several reasons. The tavern, owned during its heyday by William Searight, a popular local politician who was Commissioner of the National Road in Pennsylvania for a time, was felt to have been one of the better known taverns in the area. Additionally, the tavern had been destroyed by fire and the ruins were accessible for excavating. Lastly, what remained of the tavern and the surrounding grounds was threatened with heavy disturbance because of pending landscaping.

The tavern building had been constructed by Josiah Frost in the tradition of early southwestern Pennsylvania stone tavern and farm house architecture. It was L-shaped and had a five-bay window facade, a verandah or porch across the entire front, a central main hall with doors at both ends, and chimneys at each of the gabled ends. The house had two stories and an attic except for the "L" which was one story with a lift above (Figure 1).

For the tavern site, Frost had selected a plot of land at the crossroads of the National Road and a drovers' trail between Grave Creek, Virginia, and either Greensburg or Bedford, Pennsylvania.¹ Construction began in 1819, just one year after the National Road had been officially opened. On July 20, 1821, before he had been able to open the tavern for business, Frost and Joseph Gadd, his presumed business partner, sold the structure and 113 acres of land to William Searight for \$2900.00.²

William Searight, who had been born on December 5, 1792, in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, was of Scots-Irish parentage. At about the age of twenty-one he left the family home, which was then along the Loyalhanna River a few miles above Ligonier, Pennsylvania, and moved into Fayette County in the vicinity of Perryopolis where he plied the fulling trade. It was after he had established himself as a fuller that he decided to become a tavern owner.

While he became the owner of the tavern, he did not become the innkeeper. In fact, as the following list of innkeepers between 1822 and 1881 shows, the Searights personally were the innkeepers for only a few years.³

1822-23:	Joseph T. Noble
1824-25:	Not Available
1826-27:	John Gray
1828-33:	William Searight
1834-35:	Not Available
1836	James Allison
1837	John Risler
1838	Mathias Fry
1839-40:	William Searight
1841-42:	Mathias Fry
1843-44:	Mathias Fry or Joseph Gray
1844-50:	Joseph Gray
1851-54:	William Shaw
1855-56:	Not Available
1857-63:	Henry C. Rush
1864	Not Available
1865-66:	Thomas F. Allen
1867-69:	Robert Moxley
1870-72:	James Frost
1873-79:	Not Available
1880	Cuthbert W. Downer
1881	Ewing Searight

Two explanations are plausible as to why the family choose not to operate or live in the tavern. The Searights may have been able to rely on their investments in stocks, bonds, and promissory notes; farm income

off their 113 acres and later 180 acres of land; income from rental of the tavern or tavern profits after the innkeeper was paid; income from their livery stable, wagon-maker's shop, blacksmith's shop, and shoe shop; and rent from several houses where the wheelwright, blacksmith, and cobbler lived (Figure 2). In other words, William Searight may have purchased the tavern with the aim of using it as the nucleus of a village where travelers could obtain nearly all the goods and services they might require. Certainly the fact that he built the above mentioned businesses either beside or immediately across the National Road from the tavern supports this idea. The idea is further supported by the fact that William Searight was listed in the county tax records several times as "gentleman," thus indicating that he was a wealthy and respected man. He was one of the most wealthy, if not the wealthiest, men in Menallen Township, the township where he resided between 1821 and his death in 1852.⁴ Also, his son, James, in writing a short book in memoriam to his parents, stated that "at the village of Searights, William Searight laid the foundation of a large fortune"⁵

The other possible reason why William Searight and later his son Ewing chose not to manage or live at the

¹Lois Mulkearn and Edwin V. Pugh, *A Travelers' Guide to Historic Western Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1954), p. 225. Charles Hatfield, interview, December, 1970.

²Fayette County, Recorder's Office, Deed Book, Letter O, p. 144.

³Fayette County, Commissioners' Office, Property Roll, Menallen township, 1821-82.

⁴Fayette County, Commissioners' Office, Property Roll, 1816-55.

⁵James A. Searight, *In Loving Memory of a Revered Father and a Sainted Mother* (Uniontown, Pennsylvania, ca. 1890), p. 13.

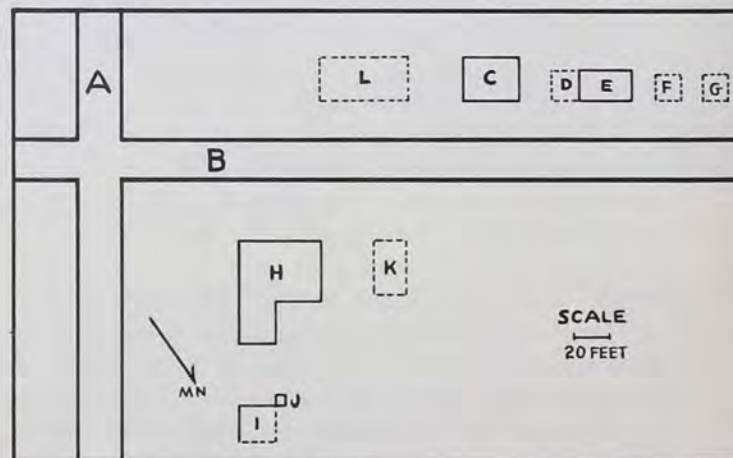


FIG. 2: Lay-out of the Village of Searights as it presumably was in the mid-1800's. A) Drovers trail, B) National Road, C) William Searight's home, D) Shoemaker's shop, E) Blacksmith's home, F) Blacksmith's shop, G) Wagon-maker's shop, H) Tavern, I) Main Outbuilding excavation area, J) Small outbuilding excavation area, K) General Store, L) Stable. Dashed lines indicate hypothesized foundation lines.



FIG. 3: View of the tavern in the spring of 1970 after 30 years of honeysuckle, poison ivy, and locust growth. The National Road is in the foreground.

tavern may have been that liquor was dispensed there.⁶ They were a religious family which supported the basic tenets of Calvinism. Shortly before his death, William was remembered as saying, "Our prayers have been answered; I feel that if I should die to-night, the Lord will receive me into His Holy Kingdom." Perhaps the most religious of the family was Rachel, William's wife. She had apparently been reared by a staunch Methodist family and educated in a school maintained by the church. Undoubtedly her early experiences affected her married life. While she was married to William and rearing a family, the entire family faithfully attended the Grace Episcopal Church located about one half mile from their home. In fact, before the church building was completed, the services were frequently held in the Searight home.⁷

At present, it is not possible to conclude why the Searight family chose not to manage the tavern. The likelihood is that the real reason is a combination of the two above explanations. Whatever the answer, the fact remains that William was not encumbered with managing an inn and was therefore able to concentrate his energies elsewhere. In addition to developing a small village and becoming relatively wealthy through the sales of services at that village, William Searight became a "prominent and zealous old-time Democratic politician, and wielded a large influence."⁸ As one of

⁶Searight McCormick, interview, August, 1970.

⁷Searight, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 37, 38.

⁹Franklin Ellis, *History of Fayette County, Pennsylvania, with Biographical Sketches of Many of its Pioneers and Prominent Men* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts and Co., 1882), p. 665.

Fayette County's strongest Jacksonian Democrats many important political meetings were held at his tavern.

It was through his political associations that he was appointed Commissioner of the Cumberland Road in Pennsylvania. After appointment by David Porter, a Democratic governor of Pennsylvania, Searight controlled and supervised the operations of the portion of the road in Pennsylvania from May 3, 1842, until April 19, 1845. After a national reorganization of the supervisory structure of the road, he again served as road commissioner; his second term extended from April 8, 1848, until early in 1852, but his jurisdiction was limited to Fayette County.¹⁰ These were important political appointments. During a time when the average man was earning little over \$100 per year, the job of supervising operations of the road in Pennsylvania paid about \$730.00 annually. Even when the area of jurisdiction was limited to Fayette County, it had an annual evaluation of \$200.00.¹¹

Actually the appointments as road commissioner were but a beginning of what might have been a greater political future. Searight had apparently "paid his Democratic dues" and the party was about to reward him when he died on August 12, 1852. Shortly after his second appointment as road commissioner had expired, the Democrats nominated him for one of Pennsylvania's most important offices, commissioner of canals. Had he lived he apparently would have been elected.¹²

Upon his death his estate was inherited by his widow. She lived at the Village of Searights until 1858 when she remarried and left the state. From that time until 1880, the estate and businesses were managed by Ewing Searight, one of William and Rachel's sons. On May 17, 1880, Ewing finally purchased all of his mother's Menallen Township holdings for approximately \$8,000.¹³

Ewing never became as well known politically as his father, but he held office in both Menallen Township and Fayette County government and served for two years as superintendent of the National Road in Fayette County. Also, like his father, he was a shrewd businessman. The tavern and associated businesses thrived under his guidance—that is, until the very late 1800's or the very early 1900's. By that time the heyday of travel

¹⁰Thomas B. Searight, *The Old Pike: A History of the National Road with Incidents, Accidents, and Anecdotes Thereon* (Uniontown, 1894), p. 317.

¹¹Fayette County, Commissioners' Office, Property Roll, Menallen Township, 1841-55.

¹²Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 666.

¹³Fayette County, Records' Office, Deed Book, No. 40, pp. 82-83. Ewing's mother had remarried, and therefore at the time of the sale her name was Rachel Stidger.

on the road had passed, the enlarged impact of the railroad as a result of the coal mining boom in the 1880's and 1890's had taken its toll, and people were generally looking to Uniontown and Brownsville or the coal company mining towns for their services and supplies.

By April 26, 1902, when Ewing died, several buildings, including the blacksmith's shop, shoemaker's shop, and the wagonmaker's shop, were deteriorating. They continued to decay while Ewing's wife Elizabeth lived and by the time of her death, when they were inherited by her grandson Searight McCormick whom she and Ewing had reared, the buildings were collapsing wrecks.¹⁴

Also by the time McCormick acquired title to the property, the tavern building was being used as a residence by McCormick's brother and his wife, Ruth L. and George E. McCormick. When the tavern stopped being used as an inn is unknown, but the George McCormicks, who moved into the tavern shortly after the turn of the twentieth century, never operated it as an inn.¹⁵

In 1924 Searight McCormick sold the tavern and 56 acres to his brother and sister-in-law. In 1927 the tavern was sold to and occupied by Gertrude C. and Earl Rogers, neither of whom was related to the Searight family.¹⁶ The Rogerses used the tavern building as a residence until the winter of 1939-40 when a recently installed furnace overheated setting the building ablaze. After the ensuing fire only a partial stone shell remained (Figure 3). The Rogerses retained ownership of the property, though, until 1959 when it was purchased for speculative purposes by Emma G. and Theodore Wallace of Pittsburgh.¹⁷

It was largely because of Mr. Wallace's plans for the land on which the tavern stood that the California State College Archaeological Field School prepared to do excavation at the tavern site. Since the tavern had been one of the best known inns along the National Road, and the remaining stone-work was in danger of being destroyed and the surrounding area re-landscaped, it seemed only logical to learn everything possible about the tavern building and grounds. For many years archaeologists have been interested in the traditional cultural styles of the prehistoric American Indian, but their interest in the traditional cultural styles of white Americans is a more recent development. Today historical archaeologists, that is, persons trained in both the research techniques of historians and the methods of the prehistoric archaeologist, are attempting to ascertain the cultural styles for historic America.

¹⁴Fayette County, Register of Wills Office, Will Book, Volume 12, pp. 350-352. Searight McCormick, Interview, August, 1970.

¹⁵Ruth McCormick, interview, August, 1970.

¹⁶Fayette County, Recorder's Office, Deed Book, Volume 446, p. 474. Volume 476, p. 239.

¹⁷Fayette County, Recorders' Office, Deed Book, Volume 992, p. 108.

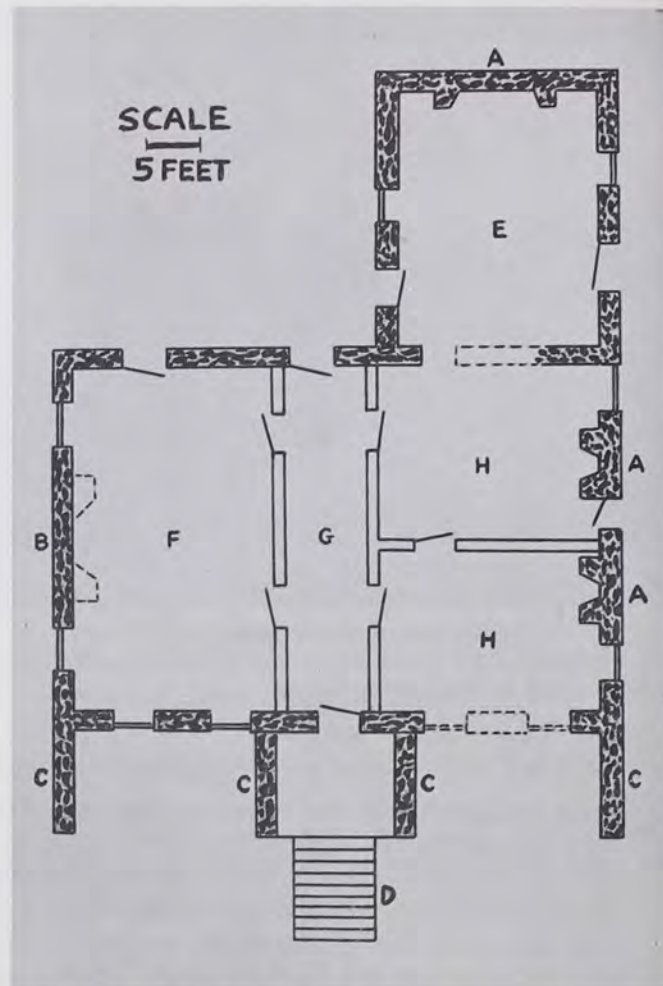


FIG. 4: Floor plan of the tavern's main floor. A) Kitchen fireplace and two sitting room fireplaces, B) Approximate location of barroom fireplace, C) Front porch supports, D) Front steps which led up to the porch, E) Kitchen, F) Barroom, G) Main hallway, H) Sitting rooms. Dashed lines indicate assumed architectural features.

In regards to the Searight Tavern, preliminary historical research yielded little information about the tavern itself, its outbuildings, and the buildings that comprised the Village of Searights. All that was learned was the relative locations of the major buildings that William Searight had built. It was with that small amount of information that the recording began. After clearing thirty years of honeysuckle and vining poison ivy growth, measurements were taken of the remaining foundation walls. From these measurements, from discolorations on the interior of some of the remaining wall portions, from architects' sketches of typical 19th Century stone houses in southwestern Pennsylvania, and by viewing two photographs of the exterior of the tavern, it was possible to draw the general floor plan of the tavern (Figure 4).

Further, the manner in which the stone walls were built was noted. The walls, which were uniformly

approximately 24 inches thick, consisted of two types of sandstone. The exterior or face of the tavern was constructed of finished quarried sandstone blocks ranging in size from about 6 x 6 x 6 inches to nearly 18 x 18 x 36 inches. These stones were probably cut from outcroppings of sandstone which appear along the Monongahela River which flows five miles to the west of the tavern. The remaining portions of the walls were composed of irregular pieces of field sandstone (Figure 5). All of the quarried and field sandstone were held in place by mortar having a high lime and sand content—in other words, a mortar that deteriorated rather rapidly, especially when exposed to wind, rain, and snow. Thus, large areas of the exterior walls had been pointed in recent years with a higher quality mortar.

The interior of the walls had been plastered. The rough coat was approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ inch to $\frac{5}{8}$ inch thick and was applied directly to the mortared stones. A finishing coat of plaster about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch thick was applied over the rough coat. Little plaster still adhered to the stone after the fire, but the hardness and durability of that which remained was high. Its comparative quality was much higher than that of the mortar.

Besides portions of the walls and portions of three fireplaces, which will be discussed later, the only other visible remains were the front porch supports and the steps to the front porch. The four 20-inch-thick field sandstone porch supports abutted the front of the house and extended 102 inches outward from that wall. They would have raised the approximately $47\frac{1}{2}$ x 9 foot roofed wooden porch to nearly the level of the front door. The resulting 6 foot drop to the ground was overcome by a series of 8 cut and faced sandstone slab steps and 3 modern concrete steps, each of which measured 12 inches deep, 72 inches wide and had a $7\frac{1}{2}$ inch rise. The slab steps were supported at their outer edges by other horizontally laid sandstone slabs which were perpendicular to the steps. The steps met the porch opposite the front door (Figure 6).

After all the above mentioned information had been collected, the excavation of the interior of the structure was begun. The cellar area, which had a ground level entry-way from under the porch, was selected for initial excavation. Since 19th Century homes often had dirt-floor cellars, the potential of recovering valuable cultural data seemed high. The cellar was divided into six excavation units measuring 8 x 10 feet each. Disappointingly, it was soon discovered that a modern concrete floor had been laid over the original dirt floor. Since the structural condition of the stone walls, which rose about 18 feet above the cellar floor, was poor, no attempt was made to remove the floor. However, the excavation of the cellar was not abandoned immediately. The digging continued but at a less meticulous pace

until $2\frac{1}{2}$ of the 8 x 10 feet units were cleared. This gave exposure to the bases of two identical fireplaces which were parallel to one another (Figure 7). Between the two fireplaces, an area 48 x 25 x 38 inches had been constructed out of the same type of field sandstone as that of the house. The stone work was not tied into either of the fireplace bases or the exterior building wall but abutted the sides of the fireplaces and the wall. The area was apparently designed as a work bench since such a feature was often built at the base and between two closely situated fireplaces.

The fireplaces were in two separate main floor sitting rooms, and were constructed of cut field and quarried sandstone. The field stone was used internally while cut and dressed quarried sandstone was used as facing. The facing stone was not of uniform size but varied from pieces about 10 x 10 x 10 inches to pieces about 24 x 12 x 10 inches. All the stones were held in place by the same type of mortar that was used in the general wall construction. Thus, the fireplaces were in a badly deteriorated condition. In fact, with few exceptions the stones could be rapidly undermined several inches by scraping the mortar with a small stick.

By design, the fireplaces did not have solid bases, but instead the bases each consisted of two parallel 28 x 25 x 58 inch stone pillars 34 inches apart. Each pillar, which extended about 18 inches below the cellar floor, rested on bedrock and abutted the cellar foundation wall. Out of necessity the cellar foundation was allowed to shift independently of the fireplace foundations.

At a point 58 inches above the cellar floor and 21 inches below the floor of the room above, a scrap piece of roughly sawed white oak about 4 inches thick, 12 inches wide, and 44 inches long was inserted between the pillars of each fireplace as a lintel. This lintel supported the stones and mortar which composed the hearth. The fireplace opening was approximately 30 inches wide, 54 inches high, and 18 inches deep. There was no provision for ashes to fall to the cellar. Presumably a fixed iron grate had originally been placed in the opening and a wooden mantel attached to the face of the fireplace. At least that was the procedure followed in other stone houses of similar age in the immediate vicinity.

Each fireplace flue, which measured 15 x 64 inches on the outside and approximately 10 x 30 inches on the inside, extended to second floor bedrooms where another fireplace was connected to each flue. Since all available pictures of the tavern show only a single chimney at each end of the building, the two flues must have been angled toward one another as they passed through the attic and neared the roof gable. As far as is known, the entire chimney was built of stone.

The kitchen fireplace chimney, unlike those in the sitting rooms, had a brick extension of 48 inches. This

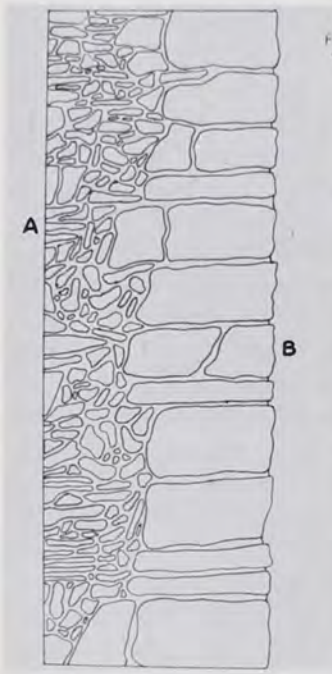


FIG. 5: Cross section of foundation walls. A) Interior side of wall which consisted of irregularly sized field sandstone, B) Exterior side of wall which was constructed out of dressed quarried sandstone.



FIG. 6: Front steps. Each step was a six foot long slab of dressed quarried sandstone.

fireplace was truly a magnificent sight (Figure 8). Since it appeared to be intact, attention was devoted to the kitchen after excavation in the cellar was abandoned.

Upon clearing the kitchen area of weeds, shrubs, and trees, it was decided that the fireplace should be opened. It had been sealed some years before the house burned. A nine inch diameter hole in the face of the fireplace flue, about 71 inches above the floor level, suggested that a cookstove had functionally replaced the fireplace. Since the fireplace was to be destroyed, no attempt was made to brace its face as the seal of rectangular earthen tile and mortar was removed. Fortunately, little of the face fell. With the entire front of the fireplace open, the opening was easily cleared. Little artifactual material was recovered from behind the seal, but the hearth stones were found intact. They were irregular sandstone slabs 2 to 3 inches thick and of various shapes and sizes. The tops of the stones were about 2 inches below the present kitchen floor. Whether the kitchen floor level had been changed over the years was not evident and since the floor was cement no attempt was made to determine the original floor level.

The opening of the fireplace measured 84 inches across, 18 inches deep, and 54 inches high, the latter

of the two measurements being identical to those of the sitting room fireplaces. The lack of support for the 7 foot span of the fireplace opening had necessitated at least one rebuilding of the entire face. The present mortar holding the face in place was of a higher quality and newer than that used elsewhere in the tavern. The only vestige of the fireplace having been used for cooking was a set of crane holders mortared into one of the walls of the opening. The overall height of the fireplace and chimney was 18 feet 9 inches. Since only a loft had existed above the kitchen the chimney height was less than that of the other fireplace chimneys.

In addition to the fireplace, several other unique features were noted in the kitchen. One stone wall had an area about 3 x 5 feet into which several tapered holes about $\frac{1}{2}$ - $\frac{5}{8}$ inch in diameter and 2 inches deep had been drilled. Wooden pegs had been pounded into the holes and presumably various cooking utensils had hung from the pegs. Also of interest in the kitchen was a 1 inch by about 8 inch white oak plate which had been sunken into the wall and extended along the two sides of the room which were at right angles to the fireplace. The plates were immediately below where eight white oak ceiling beams approximately 5 x 6 x 82 inches and 25 inches apart had

been secured about 5 inches into the two kitchen walls 7½ feet above the cement floor. Similar plates did not appear where other beam holes evidencing support for the floors of the sitting rooms or the bar room appeared.

The only other recordable architectural data of the tavern was that of windows, exterior doorways, and thresholds. Both height and width measurements were obtainable for only 7 windows and 3 doors, but the width measurements were taken for another 4 windows and 4 doors. (The window frames had been constructed out of hemlock.) Even with so few measurements some consistency in size was evident.

Windows

- 3'6" wide—Cellar
- 3' x 4'8"—Kitchen
- 2'11" x 4'7"—Kitchen
- 3'6" x 4'2"—Barroom
- 3'8" x 2'—Barroom
- 3'7" wide—Barroom
- 3'7" wide—Barroom
- 3'7" wide—Sitting Room
- 4'3" x 5'4"—Sitting Room
- 3'2" x 3'—Loft
- 3'3" x 3'1½"—Loft

Doors

- 3'6" x 6'3"—Kitchen
- 3'4" x 6'3"—Kitchen
- 3'4" wide—Barroom
- 3'7" wide—Barroom
- 3' wide—Sitting Room
- 4' wide—Cellar
- 3'7" x 8'2½"—Front

Thresholds

- 4'7" x 1'4" x 1'½" (Front Door)
- Kitchen Door facing drovers trail

OUTBUILDINGS

The kitchen and portions of the cellar were the only two areas of the inn extensively examined. Due to limited time and the scarcity of all but 20th Century artifacts within the tavern, excavation efforts were largely devoted to locating outbuildings of the tavern, with the aim of gathering artifacts and information that would help reveal "the routine of life" at the tavern during the 19th Century. With the aid of a transit, a grid consisting of 5 x 5 feet excavation units was established. While the grid covered the area on all sides of the tavern, the only area staked for excavation was directly behind the kitchen. A late 19th Century photograph of the tavern taken from about half a mile to the southeast showed outbuildings about 30 feet behind the exterior kitchen wall.

As excavation of the area below the present post-fire soil layer proceeded, occupational material was rapidly collected; however, the material was not stratigraphically separated. From the quantity of cut nails, dinnerware, stoneware, and glass fragments, and other artifacts recovered, it was obvious that the excavation was continuing either on a building site or in the area of a trash dump. The latter idea was largely discounted

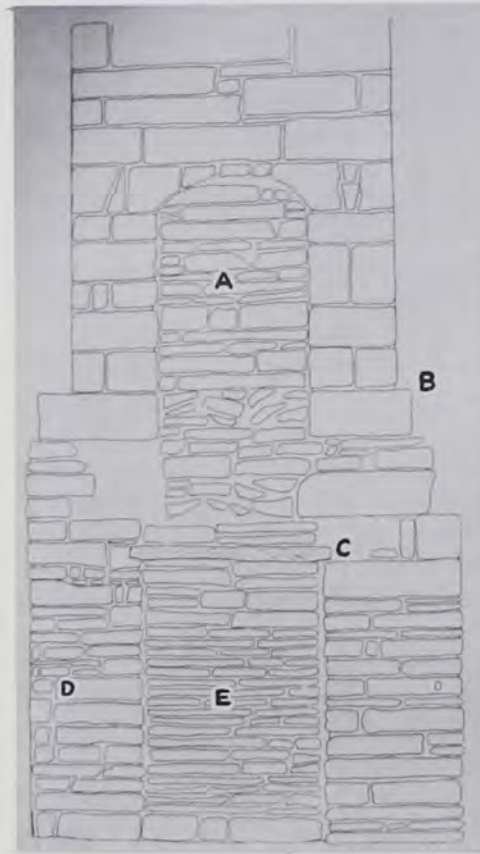


FIG. 7: Sitting room fireplace. A) Fireplace opening, B) Level of main house floor, C) White oak lintel supporting the hearth, D) Pillars supporting the fireplace, E) Open area between the two pillar supports.

since the materials were spread over an area at least 20 feet across with no large concentrations of artifacts and since stones exposed in several excavation units formed a partial outline of a building foundation (Figure 9).

The building was judged to have been 15 x 20 feet and resting on a sill of irregularly sized field sandstone. The foundation lay from 6 to 12 inches below the present surface. Nearly six inches of the overlying soil had been deposited since the tavern had burned about 30 years ago. The tavern had been built on a hillside approximately 1400 feet below the crest, and apparently tilling and erosion of the hill had caused up to 6 inches of soil to be washed into the area around the burned tavern. In all probability, a thin layer of soil had been deposited around the tavern yearly since its construction; but with landscaping and maintenance of the grounds, the annual layer was negligible during the years before the fire. The yearly sediment over a 50 to 75 year period may have helped to raise the original floor of the outbuilding from 12 to 18 inches. That was the depth of the occupational material within the foundation.

As the excavation continued, a second foundation pattern appeared. It was similar to the first foundation in that it was composed of irregularly sized field sandstone. It measured 60 x 60 x 25½ inches on the ex-

terior and 46 x 24½ x 15½ inches on the interior and abutted one corner of the 15 x 20 foot foundation. Within this feature many cut nails and a few pieces of crockery, dishes, and glass were found. Interestingly, all the artifacts were embedded in burned organic material. The stone pattern and burned material first appeared 6 inches below the ground surface and extended from 6 to 27½ inches—its total depth being 21½ inches. The bottom of the pit was about 4 inches below the level of the bottom stones of the assumed main outbuilding foundation.

On the opposite side of the main outbuilding foundation from the small rectangular formation was another stone pattern. At right angles to the main outbuilding sill were two 48-inch rows of parallel irregularly sized field sandstone. Between the two rows, a distance of 105 inches, bituminous coal was found. From the concentration of coal, it was concluded that the area on the leeward side of the main outbuilding had been used for coal storage.

Time did not permit further excavation, and based on the above described features, a positive conclusion as to the use and relationship of the features is difficult. Actually the three foundations may not have been functionally related. Inasmuch as there was no evidence of coal burning associated with any of the area excavated, the coal storage area was probably connected with the heating fireplaces in the tavern. That opinion is supported by the fact that the coal storage area was only a 40-foot walk from an outside kitchen door; the tread of that doorway showed considerable wear. From the kitchen, the coal could easily have been taken to the barroom and the sitting rooms or upstairs to the bedrooms which were directly above the sitting rooms. Whether coal was the primary heating fuel of the tavern throughout the 19th Century is unknown, but the tavern was situated in the heartland of the Pennsylvania bituminous coal country and a limited amount of coal was being mined commercially by 1800. Therefore, the tavern could have always been heated by coal, a fuel considered superior to wood for heating.

Recognizing the function of the one foundation did not, however, help to explain the function and relationship of the other two sills. In view of the accumulation of dinnerware, crockery, and glass fragments, the immediate answer was that the 15 x 20 foot structure was a summer kitchen. But, when it was realized that the corner of that building and the corner of what must have been the cooking fireplace—the 60 x 60 x 15½ inch foundation—only abutted one another instead of the fireplace being part of the kitchen, the likelihood of the 15 x 20 foot structure having been a summer kitchen was lessened. That is, unless there may have been a patio-working area outside the summer kitchen and between the kitchen door and the fireplace. Relying on information about summer kitch-

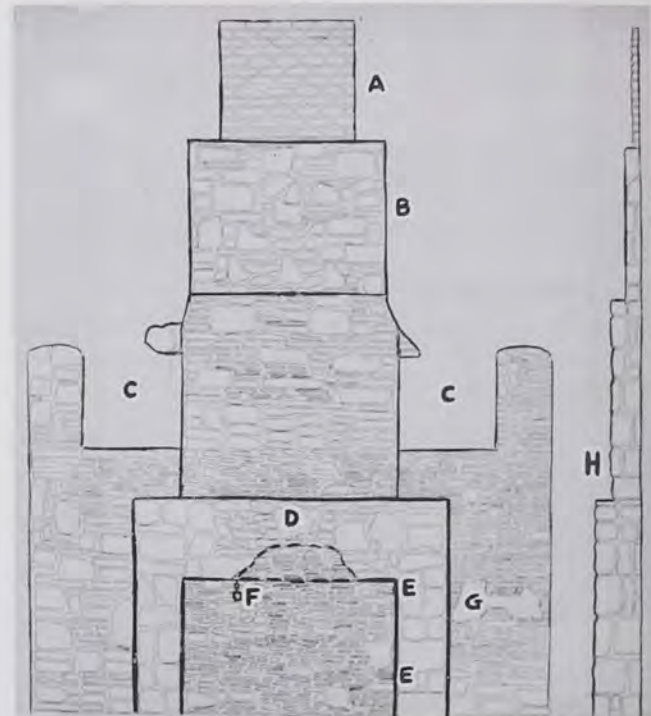


FIG. 8: Kitchen fireplace. A) Brick extension, B) Field and quarried sandstone, C) Loft window openings, D) Modern stove pipe hole, E) Crane books, F) Chain, G) Plaster, H) Profile of fireplace.

ens from other sections of Pennsylvania, such an arrangement would be unique.

Another possibility is that the outbuilding was a large smokehouse that had been torn down thus explaining why no meat hooks or charred wood were found. If this idea is accepted, the rectangular stone pattern might be offered as the foundation of the associated fireplace—the smoke being channeled into the smokehouse. The presence of a large amount of dinnerware, crockery, glass fragments, and cut nails could be accounted for if the building had also been used for storage. The plausibility of the idea that the outbuilding was a smokehouse is supported by Searight McCormick, who was reared by Ewing Searight in the late 1800's. He remembers that a smokehouse existed about 25 feet behind the kitchen.

Another explanation for the main outbuilding is that it was simply a storage shed. In that case the rectangular foundation could have been from some type of outdoor fireplace, possibly a baking oven. One final thought is that all of the stone patterns might have been part of some more complex building—a building which had a coal storage area, a fireplace, and a kitchen area. The late 19th Century photograph of the area taken from about half a mile away does show several structures in the area, one of which appears, from its three different roof levels, to have been about 45 feet

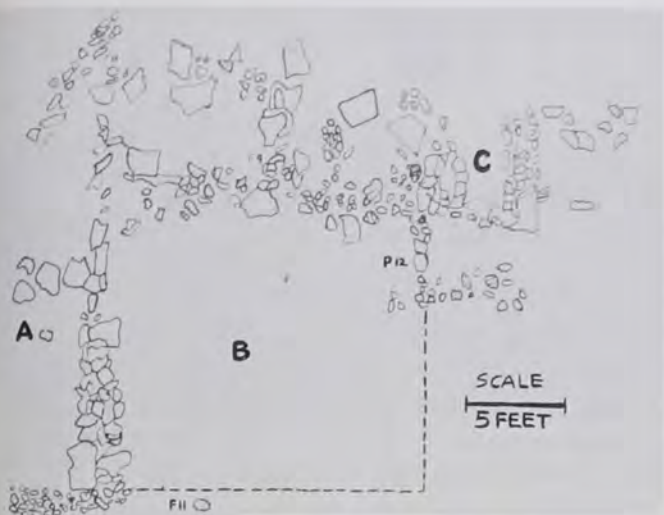


FIG. 9: View of excavated outbuilding area. A) Coal storage area, B) Main outbuilding, C) Small foundation area.

in length. While it appears to have been a shed composed of parts built at three different times, one or more of the parts could have been a portion of an earlier structure having the above described characteristics. Of course, one of its parts could also have originally been the summer kitchen or the smokehouse. Obviously further excavation would need to be done before any of these ideas could be proven or disproven. But, since the area behind the tavern has now been bulldozed to a depth of about three feet, this will never occur. The function and inter-relationships of the associated foundations will forever remain a partial mystery.

ARTIFACTS

All of the materials that have been catalogued and examined relate to the excavation in the outbuilding area. Since the only observed stratigraphy separated the existing topsoil layer from a mixed zone yielding artifacts dating from the second quarter of the 19th Century to the first quarter of the 20th Century, no attempt was made to divide the artifacts as to the specific time period during which they were used. Instead all the artifacts from the mixed zone were initially separated as to their material of composition. They were then divided into broad descriptive categories within each of major divisions unless similar objects were noted as being composed of different materials. If the latter occurred, a separate descriptive category was established.

The following list is offered as a simple preliminary classification of the artifacts. No attempt has been made to divide the materials quantitatively or as to manufacturer or specific pattern. That classification is still ongoing and will be published at a future date.

Pearlware: blue hand-painted, blue and green edge-decorated, plain

White Hard Paste Ware: plain; embossed; banded; blue, green, red, brown, black, and purple floral and geometric transfer-printed; blue and green edge-decorated; spatter-decorated; sprig-decorated; $\frac{3}{4}$ -pattern decorated; earthworm pattern

Mocha Ware: seaweed design

Semi Porcelain: plain white

Porcelain: plain white, miscellaneous floral patterns

Yellow Hard Paste Wares: banded, plain yellow

Redware: interior glazed, interior and exterior glazed

Stoneware: salt glazed, "blue clay," cobalt blue decorated

Window Glass: clear, sea green, and aquamarine

Patriotic Flasks: clear, aquamarine, dark green

Rum Bottles: olive green, amber

Patent Medicine Bottles: clear, aquamarine

Molded Bottle Glass: clear

Pressed Glass: clear

Milk Glass

Kaolin Pipe Stems and Bowls

Buttons: bone, metal

Metal Clothing or Shoe Buckles

Coins

Cut Nails of Various Lengths

Fruit Bits

Domesticated Animal Bones

Hand-made Bricks

Admittedly the above artifact inventory is not definitive, but it does reveal that the tavern was equipped with items known to be common throughout most of the 19th Century. It apparently was a functionally equipped inn, in respect to dinnerware and glassware, which offered few if any of the exotic or ornate items. Nearly all of the recovered wares were either of the mass imported low-cost variety or were of American manufacture. Quite possibly much of the white hard paste ware was manufactured in Ohio. The stoneware and redware were probably made by local potters. Clays for both types of wares were readily available. Clays yielding a nice shade of red were found many places in the tavern vicinity, and "blue clay" for good stoneware was found near New Geneva and Greensboro, Pennsylvania, about 15 miles south of the tavern stand. As for window and bottle glass, the region south of Pittsburgh and along the Monongahela River was noted for its glass factories. Brownsville, about 7 miles away, had several glass houses operating during the second half of the 19th Century.

Whether recovery of household items and domestics would support the hypothesis that 19th Century taverns were functionally supplied remains to be determined. However, based on artifacts excavated at the Searight Tavern, it would appear that the guests were not offered the frivolities of life; instead they were afforded the essentials. But in comparison to life in general in southwestern Pennsylvania throughout most of the 1800's tavern life was probably representative of relatively high fashion.

The "BROWN SUGAR" Game In Western Pennsylvania

By C. FRANCES BERMAN

Children's games play a significant part in folklore-folklife for here oral tradition carries on with assurance, even defiance against those who from time to time want to stabilize a treasured game. "Brown Sugar" is such a game. It fulfills the five qualities of true folklore: it is oral and traditional; it has variants; it is anonymous, and it tends to become formalized.¹

In my immediate neighborhood there were very few children, so any group games had to be played in school during recess. Of all the many games I remember playing here, "Brown Sugar" stands out. This may be because we played it almost constantly. We probably liked it for the same reason we liked horror movies; it excited and scared us without placing us in a real danger. The response is like Caillois' vertigo, one of the four motivating forces in games (the others being mimicry, change, and competition). Vertigo implies a "thrill" of "self-destruction" under controlled conditions.²

Thirteen years ago "Brown Sugar" was played the following way at Boston Elementary School in Boston, Pennsylvania:

Mother: I'm goin' downtown to see Mrs. Brown and I won't be back 'til Saturday night, so don't get into the brown sugar! (She emphasizes to the children by wagging her finger during this speech.)

The mother goes away and the children pretend to eat. The mother comes back and the children hide their hands behind their backs. The mother looks on the floor and sees some of the brown sugar (dirt) that was spilled and asks, "What's that?"

Children: I don't know!

Mother (stoops and sniffs): It smells like brown sugar! (takes a finger, sweeps it along the floor, and pretends to like it) It tastes like brown sugar! It is brown sugar! Let me see your hands!

The children put out their hands, palms up. The mother goes down the row of children and asks each

in turn, "Hot or cold?" slapping their hands with corresponding harshness.

Mother: Go down and wash your hands!

The children go to a spot near the playground fence, where another child, the Ghost, yells, "Boo!" and the children run back to their mother yelling, "Mommy, Mommy, there's a ghost in there!"

The mother replies, "Oh, it's only your father's underwear!" She sends the children "down" to the cellar again. They come running back again a second time with "Mommy, Mommy, There's a ghost down there!" The mother replies, "Oh, it's only your brother's undershirt!" and sends them back to the cellar. The third time the children come running back, the mother says, "Oh, all right, I'll go down with you!" The mother takes two children by the hand and the rest follow after her. They confront the ghost, whom the mother asks, "What are you doin' down here?"

Ghost: Smoking my pipe.

Mother: What for?

Ghost: To make ashes.

Mother: What for?

Ghost: To sharpen my knife.

Mother: What for?

Ghost: To kill you!

The ghost lunges out at everybody and chases them until one person is caught, who is then the next ghost.

It was my personal experience that the game was played this way for the six years I attended Boston Elementary from 1956 to 1962. The game was played again and again until recess was over, both summer and winter, but never at home. Only girls played, it was never played inside, and only in one corner of the playground, which seemed by unspoken agreement to be reserved for playing "Brown Sugar" exclusively.

Returning to Boston Elementary after eight years, the game had noticeably changed. The game was taught to the first graders by their teacher, Mrs. Milligan, as an exclusively inside game and greatly shortened with some elements displaced. Both boys and girls now played, so that the mother at times became a father. The children sit in a circle on the floor in the middle of the room, while the parent stands in the center of the circle. The ghost stands in the corner by a gray

¹Jan Harold Brunvand, *The Study of American Folklore* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1968), p. 4.

²Roger Caillois, *Man, Play, and Games* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961), pp. 23-26.



Boston corner where Brown Sugar was played. Area by fence was the cellar and area by steps was house upstairs.

filing cabinet. The parent tells the children, "I'm goin' downtown to smoke my pipe and I won't be back 'til Saturday night so don't get into my brown sugar!" The children answer in unison, "No, Daddy (or Mommy)!" The parent walks over to the corner of the room by the piano (the corner diagonal from the ghost). The children pretend to eat the sugar from the floor. The parent comes back and the children hide their hands behind their backs. The parent says, "Let me see your hands!" The children say "Yes, Daddy" in unison again and go to the corner where the ghost stands and are scared back to the center of the room. The parent says, "Oh, it's only the clothesline!" and sends the children to wash their hands again. They come running back to the parent again, who says this time, "Oh, I'll go with you!" When the ghost is asked, "What are you doing down here?" he answers, "Sharpening my knife to cut off your heads!" The children and father run as the ghost chases them and the one who is caught is the next ghost.

The third graders no longer played the game, but remembered it vividly and described the same game I had played thirteen years ago, with the exception of the ghost being changed to a wolf and boys and girls playing. They said they had not been taught by Mrs. Milligan, but by their playfellows at school or older brothers and sisters who had also gone to school here. They played at home as well as at school, but inside.

The fourth graders reported that they had been taught by Mrs. Milligan, but had played outside on the playground in the same "Brown Sugar corner" of thirteen years ago, and also at home. They stopped playing after second grade. Their threatening figure had also been a wolf, as the third graders' had been, but the mother went downtown to smoke her pipe (as in the first graders' version). When the mother asked what was on the floor the children replied "Dog dirt," before the mother sniffed and tasted it. The rest of the game was the same as thirteen years ago, including the end dialogue between the mother and the wolf (the pipe,



Boston fourth graders eating Brown Sugar.

ashes, knife, killing sequence), so that the pipe element was in the game twice. One child reported learning the game from his cousins in Port Vue and a girl reported having learned it at St. Denis in McKeesport, a Catholic elementary school which she attended during first grade.

The fifth graders stopped playing after third grade, played at home and school with boys and girls, and were taught by Mr. Milligan in first grade. The game was played outside, but in a different corner since the playground supervisor stood in the former "Brown Sugar corner." The mother or father slapped the children's hands before going downtown to smoke his pipe, as well as before sending the children to the cellar. When the children ran back the first time, they were told that the wolf was only their mother's underwear and the second time their brother's pajamas. The end dialogue between the mother and the wolf was the complete sequence.

The sixth graders played at school and home with girls and boys, and had learned from their playmates. At school, they had played in the "Brown Sugar corner" and just outside. The mother slapped the children's hands only when they were dirty before sending them to wash. The end dialogue between the mother and the wolf was the complete sequence. One child had learned the game from cousins in Port Vue.³

Mrs. Milligan was also my first grade teacher. Although I do not remember, she said she had taught the game to my first grade class, which she taught her first year at Boston. As a child in Frank, Pennsylvania, she had learned it through oral tradition, and now wanted to preserve it.⁴

The first graders at Mount Vernon Elementary School, about two miles from Boston, play the game at home only with neighborhood children. Some chil-

³Boston Elementary School, Boston, McKeesport, Pa., interviews with attending pupils, December 15, 1969.

⁴Boston Elementary School, Boston, McKeesport, Pa., interview with Mrs. Dorothy Milligan, January 28, 1970.



Children hiding hands from mother.



Students back from "Wolf" first time.

dren play inside and in their version the mother goes downtown to smoke her pipe, the children tell her the brown sugar on the floor is dog dirt and she smells and tastes it, slaps their hands and sends them to wash. When she goes down with them, the wolf says he is sharpening his knife to kill them. The first graders who play it outside have the mother going to see Mrs. Brown; have the father's underwear explanation for the ghost; and the complete end sequence, except for the cutting off heads instead of killing before chasing. However, two new elements appear. The mother gives the children the key to the cupboard in which the brown sugar is; and there is a "base" the children and mother can run to, so that if all reach base before the ghost catches anyone, the present ghost must remain the ghost for the next game too.

The second graders also play at home. They tell their mother the sugar on the floor is dog dirt; the mother slaps their hands because they are dirty; the mother explains the ghost as their father's underwear; and the end dialogue sequence concludes, "To cut off your heads!" One child learned the game from a friend in Liberty Borough.

The third graders also play the game at home with boys and girls. The ghost is more popular than the wolf as the threatening figure. The mother simply goes downtown; she gives the children the key; the spilled sugar is called dog dirt by the guilty children; the mother smells and tastes it and slaps the children's hands; the mother explains the ghost as their father's undershirt. When the mother goes down to confront the ghost, she first says, "I've told you to get out of here!" before beginning the usual end dialogue sequence. One child learned the game from a cousin in Port Vue, one from a friend in Buena Vista (another little community a few miles away) and another child from a friend in Glassport, Pennsylvania. The teacher (about thirty years old) vaguely remembered playing the game as a child in Glassport.

The fourth graders all had played the game at home and outside. They no longer played, claiming to have stopped after second grade. They learned mostly from neighborhood children. In one version, the mother goes to town to get more brown sugar. This version also includes the hand hiding, hand slapping, father's underwear explanation for the ghost and usual end dialogue sequence. Two children had learned this version, although with a wolf instead of a ghost, from friends who went to Yough School, another elementary school in the same school district. Another child had learned the same version from friends at his former home in MacArthur, Indiana.

In another version, the mother goes downtown to see Mrs. Brown and doesn't come back 'til Sunday and on her way she drops the key to the cupboard. This version includes the hand hiding and slapping, the dog dirt explanation for the spilled sugar, the father's underwear explanation for the ghost and the usual end dialogue sequence. One girl learned this version from friends at her grandmother's in Miami, Florida.

In another version, the mother goes shopping and leaves the key to the cupboard. She comes back and tastes the spilled sugar. When the children come back the first time, she gives them the father's underwear explanation, but the second time she tells them, "It's only my girdle." In a similar version, the mother goes to see Mrs. Brown, leaves the key, and comes back to smell and taste the spilled sugar. The first time they run back from the cellar the children are told that the ghost is their father's underwear, the second time that it's their mother's bra, and the third time that it's their mother's girdle. She goes down with them the fourth time they come back and the game ends with the usual end dialogue sequence. Four children had learned these two versions, one at St. Denis School in McKeesport, another from a friend who lived in the Greenwood area of McKeesport, another from a friend in New Jersey and another from a friend in Illinois.



Children are sent to cellar again by mother.



"Wolf" in cellar.



Mother with children questions "Wolf".

One child learned the following version from a friend who didn't live in the neighborhood and she had forgotten where the friend did live. In this version, the mother goes to buy more *white* sugar and the ghost is first explained as the mother's bra, then girdle. When the mother confronts the ghost, she asks him, "What are you doin' with that fork?"

Ghost: Gettin' ready to eat something.

Mother: What are you doin' with that spoon?

Ghost: Drinkin' my coffee.

Mother: What are you goin' to do with that knife?

Ghost: Kill you!

Among the fifth graders who played the game outside, the wolf was smoking a cigar, the mother went shopping, and she explained the wolf as their father with a pillow case. One child had learned the game where he used to live in Whiteoak Borough.⁵

Fifth graders at Greenoak Elementary School, about two miles from both Boston and Mount Vernon, played the game outside at home, but had stopped after second or third grade. They reported having been taught by their first grade teacher, Mrs. Klein, now retired. They remembered the mother going to the store, hiding their hands and the usual end dialogue sequence between the mother and the ghost. One boy had learned the same version, but with the wolf, from a friend in Plum Borough.

The fourth graders still played the game, with the mother going to the store and leaving the key, the mother hitting the children's hands according to their response of hot or cold for degree of harshness, the father's underwear explanation, and the usual end dialogue sequence, with the ghost and the wolf being equally popular in this version. One girl had been taught by a nun at St. Denis, one boy from an aunt in New Jersey, one boy by a friend from Port Vue, and one boy from a friend in Bluefield, West Virginia. In another version, the mother goes to see a doctor, the spilled sugar is called dog dirt, and the usual end

dialogue sequence takes place between the mother and the wolf. One child learned this version from a friend in Port Vue, another from friends in Miami, Florida, and another from friends in Crawford Village, McKeesport.

The second graders play the same version as the first game the fourth graders reported, except that the mother sees that the sugar bowl has finger prints before seeing the spilled sugar on the floor.

The first graders played this same version, but without the messy sugar bowl and the main villain as the wolf. One child reported playing a game similar to "Brown Sugar" called "Witch in the Well," with a witch villain and a well where the children wash their hands. He had learned it in Cleveland, Ohio, where he had previously lived.⁶

Five sophomore Grove City College women, out of fifty questioned, had played "Witch in the Well." They are: Debbie Downs from Clarion, Pennsylvania, Sharon Thomas from Greenville, Pennsylvania, Ruth Irwin from Franklin, Pennsylvania, Carol Keppler from Youngstown, Ohio, and Marilou George from Jeanette, Pennsylvania. The former players all remembered the game the same way: the mother goes downtown and the children get into some sticky food (what it was is usually not remembered) and the mother on returning slaps their hands and sends them to the well to wash their hands. The children come back yelling, "There's a witch in the well!" The mother says, "No, there isn't" and sends them to the well again. This is repeated once more and on the third time the mother goes with them and she and the witch go through the pipe to ashes to knife to killing end dialogue. The one caught when the witch chases them is the new witch and the old witch is the new mother. It is played just at home, with boys and girls, and learned from other

⁵Mount Vernon Elementary School, McKeesport, Pa., interviews with attending pupils, December 16, 1969.

⁶Greenoak Elementary School, McKeesport, Pa., interviews with attending pupils, December 17, 1969.



"Wolf" chasing mother and children.

neighborhood children. They stopped playing by fourth or fifth grade.

Jean Brow from Encon Valley, Pennsylvania, played a game exactly the same, except with a spider in the well as the villain. She recalled, however, that she might have changed the villain from a witch to a spider, since she hated spiders and, being the oldest of the children, she was the "boss" of the group.

Four girls played a game called "Ghost in the Cellar." Ruth Damiano from Greensburg, Pennsylvania, played it mostly with girls and some little brothers. The mother tells one child to go to the cellar to get a potato for supper. When the child runs back saying there is a ghost down there, the mother says, "No, there isn't" and sends another child down, repeating this until each child has been sent once. The mother then takes them all down and the ghost jumps out and chases everybody. The one caught is the next ghost. This game was played at home and at school until after eighth grade.

Diane Kowalski from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, remembered playing this game only at school and just with girls at Moore Elementary School in Brentwood, Pennsylvania, until third or fourth grade. The mother would send the children down singly to get something in the cellar and each time a child went down, he and the ghost would go through the pipe-ashes-knife-killing dialogue usually reserved for the end of other versions. When the child came back he was sent to bed for making up stories. When the mother ran out of children, she got them all out of bed and went down with them. She and the ghost then would go through the dialogue sequence again and the ghost would chase everyone, and the one caught was the next ghost.

Carla Fischer from Greensburg, Pennsylvania, played "Ghost in the Cellar" only at home with boys and girls until fourth grade. The children get into something they're not supposed to; the mother checks their hands



"Wolf" is caught!

and sends them to the cellar to wash; the children see a ghost; the mother explains the ghost as their father's underwear and goes to the cellar with them the third time. She and the ghost only go through the knife sharpening and killing elements of the end dialogue sequence. The one caught is the next ghost and the old ghost is the next mother.

Pam Enion from the Whitchall district of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, played the game during school recess under the supervision of her young first and second grade teacher, Miss Summers. The two classes (which were small) always played together with the teacher and always started games with a circle. The teacher would be the mother and walk outside the circle, stopping behind a child, who would then go to the cellar and come back claiming there was a ghost in the cellar. Each child was sent until all had gone once. Then all the children and the mother went down and she and the ghost went through the usual end dialogue sequence. The one caught was the next ghost.

Two girls, V. Kathleen Boldy from North Braddock, Pennsylvania, and Sharon Smith from West Mifflin, Pennsylvania, played "Brown Sugar" the same way it was played at Boston thirteen years ago, but only at home. Judy Larson played it at home and at school (McAnnulty Elementary in Pittsburgh), but ended the game differently. If the wolf caught a child, he put him in prison and the others tried to free the child. All three girls played the game all through elementary school years.⁷

"Brown Sugar," "Witch in the Well," and "Ghost in the Cellar" evidently are variants of a game Alice Gomme includes in her book *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, volume I, first published in 1894. Her following selection from West Cornwall was first published by Miss Courtney in *Folklore Journal*, volume 55:

⁷Grove City College, Grove City, Pa., interviews with selected women, December 8-10, 1969.

One of the party is chosen for the Ghost (if dressed in white so much the better); she hides in a corner; the other children are a mother and daughters. The eldest daughter says:—"Mother, Mother, please give me some bread and butter."

Mother: "Let me (or 'leave me') look at your hands, child. Why they are very dirty."

Eldest Daughter: "I will go to the well and wash them." She goes to the corner, the Ghost peeps up, and she rushes back, crying out—"Mother, Mother, I have seen a Ghost."

Mother: "Nonsense, child, it was only your father's nightshirt I have washed and hung out to dry. Go again." The child goes, and the same thing happens. She returns saying—"Yes! Mother! I have seen a Ghost!"

Mother: "Nonsense, child! We will take a candle, and all go together to search for it." The mother picks up a twig for a candle, and they set off. When they come near the Ghost she appears from her hiding place, the mother and children rush away in different directions, the Ghost chases them until she has caught one, who in turn becomes "Ghost."⁸

"Ghost in the Copper" is another variant found in Gomme's book.

"Ghost in the Copper" was played in London. It was played in the same way as above. Chairs formed the copper, with the ghost crouched down behind. The "Mother" was "washing" at a tub, also formed with two chairs. The eldest daughter was told she could not go to school today; she must stop at home and help hang up the clothes. The other children go to play. The Mother said, "Here, Jane, take this (pretending to give her a garment out of the wash tub) and put it in the copper, and push it down well with the stick." Jane goes to the copper and pretends to take off the lid. When she puts the washed garment in, and pokes down with the stick, the ghost jumps up. She cries out as above, the Mother saying, "Nonsense, child! it's only some of the boiling clothes." The child goes agin, and the game

⁸Alice Bertha Gomme, *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, Vol. I (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1964), p. 149.

"Wolf" chases children as played by Boston first graders. Boy on right is the father.



proceeds as above. It is generally played now as "Ghost."

The game, or a variant, does not appear in Iona and Peter Opie's *The Lore and Language of School Children*, Sara Ethridge Hunt and Ethel Cain's *Games the World Around*, Nina Millen's *Children's Games from Many Lands*, Helen and Larry Eisenburg's *The Omnibus of Fun*, or Evelyne Borst and Elmer D. Mitchell's *Social Games for Recreation*. However, William Newell's *Games and Songs of American Children*, first published in 1883, reports a game called "Ghost in the Cellar" described below:

One of the children represents a ghost, and conceals himself in the cellar. Another takes the part of a mother, who is addressed by one of her numerous family: "Mother, I see a ghost." "It was only your father's coat hanging up." Mother goes down with a match. Ghost appears. Terror and flight. Whoever is caught becomes the ghost for the next turn.

A similar game is played in London, called (we are told) "Ghost in the Copper."

The original of the "ghost" appears in the corresponding German game, where we find in his stead the "evil spirit" who haunts the garden.⁹

Newell does not elaborate on the German variant, and I have not had time to locate a German collection. Obviously, the study of "Brown Sugar" must go on. The playing of it surely will; for as I suggested above, children like to be excited and scared without being placed in real danger.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 149.

¹⁰William Wells Newell, *Games and Songs of American Children* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1963), p. 223.

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BREAD BAKING

In Mifflin County, Pennsylvania:

Commentary for the Documentary Film

In the "Encyclopaedia Cinematographica"*

By MAURICE A. MOOK

GENERAL REMARKS

The film shows Mrs. Bennett Byler making home-made bread in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, May 6, 1965. Mrs. Byler lives on a farm a few miles west of Belleville, Pennsylvania. Belleville is in the center of the Kishacoquillas Valley, the eastern end of which is but a few miles south of the geographical center of the state. The valley is known popularly throughout Central Pennsylvania as "Big Valley," and is practically never referred to by any other name by its own inhabitants. It is one of the richest agricultural areas in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Mrs. Byler (née Hartzler) and her husband have lived in Big Valley all their lives. The valley, consisting of a limestone plain bounded by ridges of the Allegheny Mountains, runs southwest by northeast across the northern reach of Mifflin County. Kishacoquillas Creek, from which the valley received its official name, breaks through the southeastern mountain range at Reedsville, to join the Juniata River at Lewistown. This town was a center of road and river transportation in frontier days, and has been a station on the Pennsylvania Railroad since 1849. Now a city of approximately 15,000 people, with a newspaper and modern hospital, and having served as the county seat since 1789, it has been a principal medium through which the rural residents of Big Valley have received urban economic and educational influences.

POPULATION AND CULTURE OF THE REGION

Mifflin County was originally settled by Scotch-Irish people, but since the turn of the nineteenth century the inhabitants of Big Valley have been principally of Pennsylvania German extraction. Among this group and their neighbors this ethnic element is colloquially referred to as the "Pennsylvania Dutch". They think of themselves as descendants of German-speaking emigrants from Europe who arrived in Pennsylvania

before 1800, with later immigrants to the United States from the same sections of Europe being distinguished as "German Americans". The earliest Pennsylvania Germans came largely from the Rhenish Palatinate and near-neighboring areas. The "Pennsylvania Dutch" dialect, still spoken by many inhabitants of Big Valley, derives from Palatine German.

Both Mrs. Byler and her husband, as well as most of their neighbors in Big Valley, are of Pennsylvania Dutch descent. They are also of Mennonite faith. This is shown by the white head covering or "prayer veil" Mrs. Byler wears in this film. Her costume in general conforms to the tenet of her church that its communicants avoid the fads and fashions of the modern world. Her church is a conservative congregation, as are all the Mennonite churches in this area. These churches were established by families who withdrew from the rigorous requirements of the "Old Order" Amish community, which has been in the Kishacoquillas Valley since the early 1790's.

There are now several Amish and Mennonite congregations in Big Valley. The Amish are among the most conservative sectarians to be found in the United States at the present time. Both Amish and Mennonites share the same basic religious beliefs, but their customs based on these beliefs differ in many ways and in various degrees. In most respects the Amish are more conservative and the Mennonites more liberal in their corresponding beliefs and practices.

In such sectarian societies it is necessary to know the religious beliefs of the people in order to understand the customs they base upon their beliefs. Only two of these need to be mentioned in the present connection. In general the most fundamental emphasis of Amish and Mennonite people is their belief that Christians should not conform to the modern ways of worldly people. This explains much of their culture, notably their plain clothing and their social separation from other groups. All of the Amish and many Mennonites also have a testimony prohibiting photographs, or any other kind of living likeness, of persons of their religious persuasion.

*For the "Encyclopaedia Cinematographica," see the article by Leslie P. Greenhill, "The Encyclopaedia Cinematographica and Folklife Studies," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XIX:3 (Spring 1970), 24-26. Dr. Greenhill is director of the American archive of the Encyclopaedia, at Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania.



Pennsylvania's outdoor bakeovens had their prototypes in those of Central Europe. This photograph shows the annual baking of flat bread in the South Tyrol. Courtesy Dr. Leslie P. Greenhill, Pennsylvania State University.

Both Amish and Mennonites differ among themselves in these beliefs, however. Thus Mrs. Byler was willing to be photographed, whereas her unmarried sister and her mother, both of whom live in Big Valley, would have resisted such a procedure. Indeed, it was necessary to ask several families in Big Valley, before one was found who was willing to be photographed for the sake of pictorially preserving an aspect of everyday life which is rapidly disappearing from even the most conservative rural groups in modern America.

OLD-FASHIONED METHODS OF MAKING BREAD

There are still families to be found in rural Pennsylvania in which bread is made in the old-time kitchen in the old-time manner. There are not many such families, however, and even among them the process has been modified by modern innovations. In fact, cultural change can be observed in process in Mrs. Byler's kitchen. Thus it may be noted that Mrs. Byler has an electric stove, as well as a wood range, in her kitchen. She uses her electric stove for most of her



*Mifflin County Farm
Bakeoven. Courtesy
Maurice A. Mook.*

cooking and baking, which she justifies by arguing that the electric heat is more easily controlled and that it does not make her kitchen so hot in the summer time. She uses the wood stove in the winter because it helps to heat the house. She also now uses compressed dry yeast cakes, rather than old-fashioned home made liquid yeast. She also ordinarily does not employ the boxlike "dough tray" which she uses in this film—indeed, she borrowed this from a more conservative family that lives at the far end of Big Valley. However, she regularly bakes bread for her family at least once a week, and sometimes more frequently, and in cold weather uses her wood range.

Mrs. Byler knows the old-time method of bread-making, although she no longer employs it in the

same way as her grandmother used to. It was essentially the same method everywhere, and has been described by a Mennonite author ([6], p. 2) as it was used by her grandmother in a Mennonite community in rural Virginia two generations ago:

Each Tuesday and Thursday evening Grandmother brought from the cellar or springhouse the can of liquid yeast that she had saved from the preceding bake day. She mixed into this some salt, sugar and fat and added enough warm water to make a gallon crock full of liquid. She then took the lid off the dough tray and at one end sifted a large amount of flour. Her next step was to make a well in the sifted flour and pour in the liquid. She worked the dough with her hands, adding more flour until she had a smooth, round ball of dough that no longer stuck to her fingers. Then she covered this

with a clean cloth, put the lid on the tray, added another log to the fire, and went to bed.

In the morning she was up bright and early. As soon as breakfast had been started, she hurried to the outdoor oven in the back yard and made a fire. While the stones or bricks heated on the inside, she worked "out" the loaves of bread. She usually had twelve to fourteen loaves each baking. When the oven had heated to the correct temperature, she raked all the coals and ashes outside and slipped in the pans of dough.

Less than half a dozen dough trays exist in Big Valley at the present time, and none is today regularly used in breadmaking. They have been removed from rural farm kitchens and are found as keepsakes in a few rural homes; more often, however, they grace the antique collector's urban apartment or "colonially"-furnished living room. There are still a few outdoor bake ovens to be found on Amish farms in Big Valley (see figure). They are used infrequently, and then usually only when the Amish family is host to the entire local Amish congregation, at which times huge quantities of bread loaves and "half-moon pies" are produced for the consumption of those in attendance. The Amish, as well as the Mennonites, are now using commercially manufactured and "store-boughten" yeast cakes. Indeed, bread trucks, which deliver commercial bakery bread, now make their regular rounds from farm to farm in Big Valley.

FILM CONTENTS

The essential steps, employed in home-kitchen bread-making, are accurately shown in the present film. For more specific documentation, however, we offer two authentic old-time Pennsylvania-Dutch white-bread recipes. They are essentially the same, except that one recipe is for twice the number of loaves as the other. It will be noted that Mrs. Byler used no mashed potato in her recipe, and she also used warm water rather than lukewarm scalded milk. However, she did add melted lard to her dough mixture. Old recipes vary from family to family, and each hausfrau has her favorite.

Homemade Bread ([1], p. 13)

1 cup potato yeast (or 1 yeast cake)	2 teaspoons salt
1 cup lukewarm scalded milk	1 tablespoon sugar
(2 cups with yeast cake)	1 tablespoon shortening
1 cup mashed potato	6 to 7 cups sifted flour

Basic White Bread Recipe [(6), p. 3]

4 cups scalded milk or	2 tablespoons sugar
2 cups milk and 2 cups	2 tablespoons salt
water	3 tablespoons shortening
2 cakes compressed yeast	12 cups sifted flour

Dissolve yeast in $\frac{1}{2}$ cup warm water. Add fat, sugar and salt to scalded milk or boiling water. Add softened yeast to milk that has cooled to lukewarm temperature. Add flour gradually, making a dough stiff enough so that it can be easily handled. Knead dough quickly and lightly until it is smooth and elastic. Place in greased bowl,

cover and set in a warm place to rise. Let rise until double in bulk (about 2 hours). Shape into loaves, brush with melted fat and allow to rise again until double in bulk. Bake at 350° — 375° for approximately 1 hour or at 425° for 15 minutes and then reduce to 375° for 30 minutes. When done, bread will shrink from the sides of the pan and should have a hollow sound when tapped. When baked, remove bread from pans. Do not cover while cooling if a crusty bread is desired. Makes 3 large or 4 medium loaves.

Modern dietitians are shocked by the knowledge that Pennsylvania Dutch cookery was, and remains, heavily laden with baked goods and starchy foods. Any Pennsylvania Dutchman will tell you that "bread is the staff of life," and all Dutchmen will agree. But "bread" is here used generically to include a wide variety of rolls, biscuits, muffins, noodles, dumplings, pancakes, waffles, loaf cakes, layer cakes, drop cakes, cupcakes, pies, tarts, and "dunkes," such as cookies, crullers, and doughnuts. There is a playful Pennsylvania Dutch saying that it is "all right to dunk to the first knuckle". All old-timers also agree that "En halwer Leeb Brot iss besser ass gaar ken Brot"—that "a half a loaf (of anything) is better than none". Nostalgic Pennsylvania Dutchmen would also most emphatically agree with their dialect poet (Joseph P. Deibert), who wrote that

Backkarb Leeb, gebacke drauss

Im grosse alde Backoffe,

Mit de siesse Holsesch Gruscht,

Hot alles iwwerdroffe. [1]

It is very difficult to translate Pennsylvania Dutch dialect poetry metrically, but the following is a rather free translation that gives the sense of the stanza:

Basket-loaves which outdoors baked

In the mighty big old stoves,

With crust so sweet, from woodash shaped,

None better than such loaves!

And, one need not be a Pennsylvania Dutchman to agree that, indeed, this is true, for there is simply nothing better than old-fashioned bread made in the old-fashioned way.

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NOTES and DOCUMENTS:

Literature for the Allegheny Frontier:

The Huntingdon Literary Museum And Monthly Miscellany (1810)

By DON YODER

In 1810 there was published in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, a monthly literary magazine entitled *The Huntingdon Literary Museum and Monthly Miscellany**. It was edited by William R. Smith and M[oses] Canan, and printed by John M'Cahan, Printer, Huntingdon.

Each issue included 48 pages, and the price was three dollars per year—"One dollar of which to be paid on the delivery of the first Number; one other on the delivery of the 6th, and the third, at the expiration of the year." In November, we are warned that "as the end of the year is approaching, the Editors of the Museum are induced thus publicly to request those gentlemen who have encouraged the publication to pay the amount of their respective Subscriptions to the agents. 'Bis dat, qui cito dat.' He gives twice who gives quickly. From the very respectable names on their subscription list, the Editors form a confident conclusion, that there will not be a single exception to an immediate general payment." Alas, despite this discreetly worded appeal, the *Literary Museum* expired with the year 1810 itself. Fortunately for bibliographers, No. 12 was issued, so that we have for the *Museum*, Vol. I (1810), Nos. 1-12 complete.

CONTENTS OF THE JOURNAL

What sort of literature was included? The contents naturally chimed in with the literary tastes of the time, which ran to classical poetry, Augustan essays, political and ethnic satires and gothic "thrillers." The opening story is in the latter category. It is entitled "Mistrust;

* Complete sets of this extremely rare periodical are available for study in the Huntingdon Library, the American Antiquarian Society, the Western Reserve Historical Society, and, in Huntingdon itself, in the Juniata College Library. Incomplete sets are found in the Library of Congress and Yale University. I have before me my own partial file of the periodical, including Volume I, No. 6 (June 1810), No. 7 (July 1810), No. 8 (August 1810), No. 9 (September 1810), No. 11 (November 1810), and No. 12 (December 1810). The file was sewn together to make a volume, but unfortunately the title-pages of Nos. 6 and 12 are missing, and a few additional pages of those two issues. This particular file turned up in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and was addressed to John Gundacker, Lancaster, in 1810.

or, Blanche and Osbright. A Feudal Romance from Romantick Tales, by M. G. Lewis." It is a tale of knighthood and sainthood in the Middle Ages, with characters named "Count Rudiger of Frankheim," "Sir

The following Gentlemen are Agents for receiving Subscribers names, and the amount of the subscription :

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Agents for the "Literary Museum," from back cover.

John Fundaeker

3f

Severance

THE

HUNTINGDON LITERARY MUSEUM.

AND

MONTHLY MISCELLANY.

BY

WM. R. SMITH & M. CANAN.

No. 9. SEPTEMBER, 1810. Vol. 1.

CONDITIONS.

1. This work will be published in Monthly numbers, on a fine white paper and with a good Type.
2. Each Number will appear on the first Monday of every Month, and shall contain not less than 48 Octavo Pages, so as to form a handsome Volume at the end of each year—when will be given a General Title Page and Index.
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JOHN M'CAHAN, PRINTER, HUNTINGDON.

The opening page of the "Huntingdon Literary Museum" for September, 1810.

Lennard of Kleeborn," and others like them. The essay material includes a sketch of the "Character of Joseph II," another "On the Evils of Luxury," and "Historical Anecdotes Respecting Coffee." There is some material of generalized scientific interest, such as the "Description of the Copper-Mine at Fahlun, in Sweden."

American prose materials include "Witchcraft of New England" (from Knickerbocker's History); "The Passage of the Potowmack through the Blue Ridge" (from Jefferson's Notes on Virginia); "Braddock's Defeat" (from Weems' Life of Washington); and an appeal for "Internal Improvements," from an Ohio paper. In the satire slot is some Hibernian humor, a tongue-in-cheek description of "The Cunamaragh Club" of ultra-belligerent Irishmen, the rank of whose officers is determined by weight, i. e., by the amount of lead they carry around in their bodies—the sketch conclud-

ing with "Elegiack verses sent to Miss Nanny O'Flanagan, by her constant lover and adorer, Donagh O'Coolagan, Esq., with bullet cut out of his wound, and inclosed therein."

At the end of each issue is a poetry section, most of it "Selected"—meaning borrowed from other periodicals or books—but some of it "Original" and marked "For the Literary Museum." The poets in Nos. 6-12 are J. N. Barker, Charles J. Cox, John L. Thompson and William R. Smith, one of the Editors. Typical are Smith's "Sonnet to Hope" (No. 8) and "Ode to Friendship" (No. 12). Charles J. Cox favors us with "Lines written on a Small Flower Called Violette de Nuit" (No. 7), "Stanzas on Seeing Mira Weeping Near a Withered Rose Tree," and "Stanzas to Mira." "Original Poetry" by John L. Thompson includes "To Lavinia on Observing Her Indifference" (No. 9) and "Lines on the Departure of a Lady" (No. 11). J. N. Barker gives us "Love and the Forester" (No. 6) and a "Song" beginning:

I must be gone; our day is done,
For see where breaks the morning light;
The world's broad day has now begun,
And now begins the lover's night.

In addition to his several effusions on romantic love, Editor Smith published also his "National Song" (No. 7), beginning:

When tyranny's scourge, and oppression's chill blast,
Which cruelty's banner of darkness unfurl'd,
The sun-beams of freedom with clouds overcast;
The genius escap'd from a despotick world.
On wings of the wind,
Left Europe behind,

And flew to our shores an asylum to find.
Unfriended, and wandring, unblest'd, and alone,
Our forefathers welcom'd the maid as their own;
The gloom of despair from her brow chas'd away,
And liberty's day-star, then beam'd a bright ray.

SUBSCRIPTION AGENTS

On the back of each issue is the information about agents, as follows: "The following Gentlemen are Agents for receiving Subscribers names, and the amount of the subscription": M. H. Anthony, Philadelphia, Philadelphia County; Mr. Hamilton, Lancaster, Lancaster County; John Wyeth, Harrisburgh, Dauphin County; I. B. Parker, Esq., Carlisle, Cumberland County; G. K. Harper, Chambersburg, Franklin County; Josiah Espy, Esq., Bedford, Bedford County; James Carson, Esq., Somerset, Somerset County; William Foster, Pittsburgh, Allegheny County; J. C. M'Guire, Esq., Ebensburg, Cambria County; T. Burnside, Esq., Bellefonte, Centre County; Wm. Norris, Esq., Lewis-town, Mifflin County; A. C. Huston, Northumberland, Northumberland County; J. B. Alexander, Esq., Greensburg, Westmoreland County; and S. S. Harrison, Esq., Kittanning, Armstrong County. At the bottom of the page is the added fact that "communications, addressed to the Editors, post paid, will be thankfully received."

LINES

WRITTEN ON LEAVING PHILADELPHIA.

By the same.

ALONE by the Schuylkill a wanderer rovd
 And bright were its flowery banks to his eye,
 But far, very far, were the friends that he lov'd,
 And he gaz'd on its flowery banks with a sigh!

O Nature! though blessed and bright are thy rays,
 O'er the brow of creation enchantingly thrown,
 Yet faint are they all to the lustre, that plays
 In a smile from the heart that is dearly our own!

Nor long did the soul of the stranger remain
 Unblest by the smile he had languish'd to meet;
 Though scarce did he hope it would soothe him again,
 Till the threshold of home had been kist by his feet!

But the lays of his boyhood had stol'n to their ear,
 And they lov'd what they knew of so humble a name,
 And they told him with flattery welcome and dear,
 That they found in his heart something sweeter than
 fame!

Nor did woman—O woman! whose form and whose soul
 Are the spell and the light of each path we pursue;
 Whether sunn'd in the tropicks, or chill'd at the pole,
 If woman be there, there is happiness too!

Nor did she her enamouring magick deny,
 That magick his heart had relinquish'd so long,
 Like eyes he had lov'd was *her* eloquent eye,
 Like them did it soften and weep at his song!

Oh! blest be the tear, and in memory oft
 May its sparkle be shed o'er his wandering dream

*Sentimental poem from the journal —
 "Lines written on leaving Philadelphia."*

THE EDITORS

The editors of this pioneer venture in belles-lettres on the Central Pennsylvania frontier are worthy of mention. The lesser known of them, Moses Canan, was a Huntingdon attorney admitted to the bar January Term 1806. This fact, and the notices of the marriages of Moses Canan to Mary Henderson on September 8, 1807, and to Polly Moore on June 27, 1822, appear in J. Simpson Africa, *History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1883), pages 57-58, 65. Milton Scott Lytle's *History of Hunt-*

ingdon County, in the State of Pennsylvania (Lancaster, 1876) is of no more help: "The name of Moses Canan, Smith's co-editor, does not appear to any of the articles; but he was also a man of literary talents, and may have written some of the prose which is published anonymously" (pages 120-121).

William Rudolph Smith (1787-1868), son of William Moore and Ann (Rudolph) Smith, and grandson of the Reverend William Smith, D.D., Provost of the College of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania, and founder, in 1767, of the town of Huntingdon, has left a considerable literary legacy. He was a lawyer and legislator from Huntingdon and Bedford, was known as "General" Smith from his Brigadier-Generalship in the Militia, and was remembered by the 19th Century county historians as "highly educated, fluent of speech," but "somewhat eccentric." After his business interests collapsed and he was sheriff-saled, Smith left Pennsylvania for Wisconsin Territory, where he obtained a government post and remained the rest of his life. His contributions to Wisconsin history are his most important writing. His *Observations on the Wisconsin Territory* appeared in Philadelphia in 1838; his *History of Wisconsin*, Vols. I and III, was published at Madison, Wisconsin, in 1854; and his *Incidents of a Journey from Pennsylvania to Wisconsin Territory* in 1837 was edited in the 20th Century and published at Chicago in 1927. The latter volume includes an autobiography for the years 1787-1808. According to the Union Catalogue at the University of Pennsylvania, he was the author of a broadside political parody of 1823, "John Andrew Shulze, my Jo, John," on one of the Dutch governors of the early 19th Century.

The printer of the *Literary Museum* was John McCahan (1780-1857), native of Drumnahaigh in Northern Ireland, who arrived in the United States in 1792, was apprenticed as printer at Carlisle in 1795, came to Huntingdon in 1797, where he began *The Huntingdon Gazette and Weekly Advertiser* in 1801.

ITS SAD DEMISE

We conclude our sketch of the *Huntingdon Literary Museum* with excerpts from the Editors' lament, published on the last page of Vol. I No. 12 (December 1810), explaining why in their opinion the magazine failed.

"TO THE PUBLICK"

"When the publication of the Huntingdon Literary Museum was commenced . . . it was considered that, as it was the first periodical work, professing to be the asylum for the varieties of literature, that ever had been published west of the Susquehannah, great would be its encouragement, and many would engage as its contributors. . . . The failure of the expected support from those individuals who profess talent and leisure, plainly testified that the time has not yet arrived when the Western people will be disposed to write . . ."

HUNTING and FOOD-GATHERING:

Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 21

The food supply of any traditional society depends on what is available in the environment, whether gathered or raised agriculturally. Primitive societies gathered much of their food, or hunted it. Our Pennsylvania farmers raised most of their food supply, but supplemented it with wild game, berries and fruits, and roots and herbs that they gathered in field and forest. It is the purpose of this questionnaire to elicit information from persons from any cultural area of Pennsylvania on the hunting and food-gathering habits of their families and communities.

1. *Hunting.* What animals were hunted for food? How was the meat prepared and used? How was the hunting done, singly or in groups? Describe the hunting parties of the 19th Century. Was there a "hunting season" then as now? What types of weapons were used? What was done with the non-edible parts of the animal?

2. *Trapping.* What animals were trapped by farmers in the 19th Century? What sorts of traps were used? Were any of the trapped animals used for food?

3. *Fishing.* What part did fish play in the diet of the Pennsylvania farm families? How much of it was salt fish shipped from the coast, how much of it was local freshwater fish from the rivers and streams of Pennsylvania? Were there any special fish dishes that you remember from your family table?

4. *Gathering of Berries.* What berries grew wild in the vicinity of the Pennsylvania farm? When and how and by whom were they gathered? To what use were they put, i.e., what types of foods did they make?

5. *Gathering of Wild Fruits.* What wild fruits were gathered for food supply? Examples, wild crabapples, wild grapes. How were these and others prepared for table use?

6. *Gathering of Wild Plants.* What wild plants were used as food? Examples, artichokes, mayapples.

What wild greens were gathered in the Spring—dandelion, plantain, poke greens, others? How were they eaten? Why were green plants sought out for food use every Spring? Were wild greens ever used in making any sort of pie?

7. *Gathering of Herbs.* What herbs were gathered wild from field and woodland, for use in cooking? Were herbs ever used to flavor home-made jellies?

8. *Unusual Wild Foods.* What in your opinion were the most unusual of the wild foods, either animal or plant, found in the farmer's environment and used on his table? Do we have modern substitutes for any of these today?

9. *Emergency Foods.* There is great interest in anthropological circles in the foods to which various societies turned in time of famine, food shortage, or dietary emergency. Can you name foods which our Pennsylvania farmers ate only when other foods were scarce, i.e., in times of depression or near-famine, or in very poor families on the fringe of society? Were there any wild foods which the farmer could count upon if all others were in short supply? There is, for example, a Central Pennsylvania saying that "If nothing else can be harvested, there will always be elderberries". Were there other such staple emergency foods?

10. Give any rhymes, songs, or sayings that you recall dealing with hunting or food-gathering. And those of our informants who come from Pennsylvania German backgrounds, please include in your statements the Pennsylvania German dialect names for the foods and plants which you describe.

Send your replies to:

Dr. Don Yoder
College Hall Box 36
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104



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

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

PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE SOCIETY

Box 1053, Lancaster, Pennsylvania 17604

