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# Pennsylvania Folklife Vol. 18, No. 1

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# *Pennsylvania* **FOLKLIFE**

Autumn 1968



The Tanner and His Craft

## Contributors to this Issue

CARTER W. CRAIGIE, Narberth, Pennsylvania, is a native Virginian who is working for his Ph.D. in the Folklore and Folklife Program at the University of Pennsylvania. His present article on tanning and tanners in one of Pennsylvania's three original counties is the second from his pen to appear on our pages, following "The Tinsmith of Kutztown," which appeared in Vol. XVI No. 4 (Summer 1967).

ROBERT D. BETHKE, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is a native of New England and a graduate of Middlebury College in Vermont. He is at present studying for the Ph. D. degree in the Folklore and Folklife Program at the University of Pennsylvania. His article in this issue points up the value of wills for historical data on folk-culture.

MARY ELLEN BROWN LEWIS, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, has just returned from a year of study in the British Isles, to finish her Ph.D. work at the University of Pennsylvania. Her article points up the importance of church records and ministerial journals for folk-cultural studies.

CLARISSA SMITH, Broomall, Pennsylvania, is a journalist and housewife, and Chairman of the Restoration Committee of the Thomas Massey House (1696). Her article in this issue is a progress report on the restoration of one of Pennsylvania's earlier extant Quaker homesteads. For a similar restoration project report dealing with Germanic architectural elements, see Nancy J. McFall, "Preserving York's Architectural Heritage," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XVI No. 3 (Spring 1967), 20-23.

JOHN D. MILNER, Broomall, Pennsylvania, is an architect with offices on Crum Creek Road, Broomall. In addition to his architectural restoration work on the Thomas Massey House, he has been involved with the Caleb Pusey House Restoration at Upland, Chester; has worked with the National Park Service on Independence Square; and at present is architect for the restoration project of Historic Bethlehem.

GEORGE VALENTINE MASSEY, II, Dover, Delaware, is an historian and genealogist with interest in Pennsylvania and Delaware subjects. His article shows the importance of ship list research and emigration history for our knowledge of the Quaker settlements of Southeastern Pennsylv-

vania, which our earlier articles on the continental emigration have shown for the background of the Pennsylvania Germans.

A. P. BODY, of Reading, Pennsylvania, was a 19th Century Berks Countian who in the 1890's gathered medicinal plants which were then still in use in Berks County. His article, listing local German as well as English plant names, will be of interest to linguists as well as to pharmacologists and ethnobotanists.

DR. MILLARD E. GLADFELTER, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is Chancellor of Temple University and director of many educational and service institutions of Pennsylvania. A graduate of Gettysburg College (A. B., 1925), University of Wisconsin (A. M., 1930), and the University of Pennsylvania (Ph. D., 1945), he has been identified with Temple University since 1930, serving as Registrar (1931-1941), Vice President (1941-1959), Provost (1946-1959), President (1959-1967), and Chancellor (1967-1968). His interest in the Pennsylvania German dialect led to the establishment of "*Grundsow Lodch Nummer Drei, Fildelfy*" (Groundhog Lodge No. 3, Philadelphia), which meets yearly at Temple University.

THE HONORABLE HOMER L. KREIDER, LL.D., Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, is President Judge of Dauphin County, with a distinguished legal career since his graduation from Dickinson College and Dickinson School of Law. A native of Lancaster County who grew up in the Lykens Valley of Dauphin County, he is a native speaker of Pennsylvania German and in our symposium comments on his personal reactions to the dialect.

DR. CHARLES D. SPOTTS, Smoketown, Pennsylvania, retired recently after a long career as Professor of Religion and Head of the Department of Religion at Franklin and Marshall College. A native Lancaster Countian, he tells in his article how he learned the Pennsylvania dialect as a boy and what speaking the dialect has meant in his life. Prominent in Eastern Pennsylvanian and United Church of Christ historical activities, Professor Spotts is currently President of Historic Schaefferstown, Inc. a local group of Lebanon and Lancaster Countians engaged in founding a Pennsylvania German open air museum at Schaefferstown.

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- Contributors to this Issue**  
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Woodcut of 16th Century Tanyard, from Hans Sacks, *Eygentliche Beschreibung aller Stände . . . mit kunstreichen Figuren* by Jost Amman (Frankfurt, 1568), Library of Congress. Reprinted, through the courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, from Peter C. Welsh, *Tanning in the United States to 1850: A Brief History* (Washington, D. C., 1964).

# TANNING

## In Chester County, Pennsylvania

### 1711-1850

By CARTER W. CRAIGIE

#### The Role of the Tanner

The tanner's role in the early days of Chester County was immensely important. He lived and worked in a predominantly agricultural area with few large commercial or industrial complexes. Travel, communication, and transportation relied heavily on the horse; community settlements were few and relatively far between; and independent resourcefulness was balanced by strong community ties both spiritually and materially. The area seems to have been fertile and quite suitable to farming, the inhabitants were relatively prosperous and self-sufficient, showing a good deal of interdependence between rural and village population. The farmer needed the craftsman as much as the craftsman depended on the farmer. In such a setting we shall see the close interaction between the farming population and one craftsman, the tanner, who helped keep the community well supplied with the products of his trade.



Author with "Bark Spud" or "Peeling Iron" used in stripping tanbark from trees. Collections of the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Pennsylvania.

A brief account of the history may shed light on the community orientation of the population. The area is south and west of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the largest sphere of influence on the county. Philadelphia was Chester County's major port, and the largest commercial and population center. Here were the largest market areas both for raw materials and for sale of finished products. My study indicates, however, that local markets for such purposes were more the case than not, although the influence of Philadelphia must be reckoned with as far as importation and borrowing of both tanning materials and tanning techniques are concerned.

*The Chester County Handbook of 1938* tells us that Chester County, named after Cheshire, England, was:

one of the three original counties laid out at the first settlement of the province in 1682 by William Penn. . . (It is) considered chiefly an agricultural county . . . rich pasture land makes its dairying outstanding in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. . . .

Chester County contains one city, fifteen boroughs, and 57 townships, including a number of unincorporated villages and towns. Its population generally is classed as unusually intelligent and resourceful, an heritage from ancestors which dates back to the time of William Penn. The solid philosophy of the sect of Friends underlies much of the activity in the county. . . .<sup>1</sup>

We see from this short quotation the complexion of Chester County: early settlement by British subjects, agricultural in nature with good pasture lands, small community centers, and a uniform religious and social outlook. In this environment the tanner played an important role.

As elsewhere in rural settings the tannery was one of the first commercial institutions. E. J. Wilhelm, Jr., tells us that the tannery ranked along side the blacksmith shop and grist mill in the Blue Ridge Mountains:

With the passing of time, two commercial complexes evolved in the hollows. The first developed at the major confluence of tributaries, perhaps three miles upstream from the mouth of a hollow. This complex consisted of a mill, tannery, and a blacksmith shop; often a church, and sometimes a school, stood nearby. The second complex, larger in size and greater in functional flexibility, was located at or near the mouth of the hollow. Here structures included a mill, tannery, blacksmith shop, livery stables, church, school, general store, and post office.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "History of Chester County," *The Chester County Handbook of 1938* (West Chester, 1938), p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> E. J. Wilhelm, Jr., "Folk Settlement in the Blue Ridge Mountains," *Keystone Folklore Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. 3 (Fall 1967), 165-166.



Photograph of Residence and Brandywine Tannery of M. B. Chambers, West Bradford Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania. Note bark sheds at left, ox cart in front of farmhouse, and complex of tannery buildings. The cut of the Brandywine Tannery in Futbey and Cope's "History of Chester County, Pennsylvania" (Philadelphia, 1881) appears to be from another but similar photograph from a slightly different angle, with four-horse wagons instead of the two-wheeled carts shown here. Collections of Chester County Historical Society.

It is not hard to visualize the same sort of settlement in Chester County, and such probably was the case. Though the Blue Ridge is mountainous and Chester County is generally rolling hillside and flat, the needs of each society are similar, both dependent on certain basic industry, of which tanning was an important one.

William J. Murtagh mentions a tannery in his book, *Moravian Architecture and Town Planning*. We see not only the importance of the tannery again, but also its physical setting in relation to the growth of a now large population center, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania:

The significance of Bethlehem as an eighteenth century industrial community of note is attested by the fact that the first building of one of its major industries, i.e., tanning, was erected the same year that the third section of the *Gemeinhaus* was being erected. This structure was placed in the low-lying area of Monocacy Creek, along whose banks Bethlehem's industrial community was to be developed. By placing this first of many structures devoted to industry and crafts near the source of water power, the builders isolated it from the residential community on the hill above and set the pattern for a useful division of their community.<sup>3</sup>

In both these citations we note the important necessity of the tannery and also its location near a stream or river which could supply both power and water itself, a necessary ingredient in the tanning process.

But what of the needs of the local people in the agricultural communities of Chester County? How did the tanner supply their wants? We know that farming was of primary importance; horses and oxen were used to pull the plows in cultivating the fields and leather was needed to manage and control this power. In the day books of Chester County tanners I find these demands satisfied:

Nathon Sharples to a side of harness wt 9lb at 1/8  
 John Palmor to a side of Brdelleather at 7 1/2  
 John Reder to a piece of thong worth 2/9  
 Joh Thatcher to a piece of leather for hoppers /9  
 Dlnnel Green to a set of reins 2/6<sup>4</sup>

The Reverend David Gehman tells of the last days of

<sup>3</sup> William J. Murtagh, *Moravian Architecture and Town Planning: Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and Other Eighteenth-Century American Settlements* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1967), pp. 30-32.

<sup>4</sup> Daybook of John Scholfield and Thomas Marshall, 1787-1789, Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Pennsylvania.

harness making in Bucks County; as we follow the process note also the various uses of leather intended for the farmer:

The harness business required good care, judgment and honesty, to build up a good trade, as quality and safety were of the greatest importance. It required great care in selecting material of all kinds. The leather used was of many kinds, from the hides of steers, calves, pigs and sheep. Sheep skin leather was used for pads, such as required for collars, breaching, linings and where leather was apt to chafe the horses. Sheep leather, being soft and pliable, was also used for making little pads to be stuffed with cotton, pump pads, nose pads, saddle pads and other such like purposes. Pig's leather was used for collars, on account of its durability. Raw hide was used for plaited traces also for hame-straps, belt-lacers and for other parts where strength was required. The main kind of leather used for harness was cow or steer hide; this could be bought from wholesale houses all over the United States, and was sold mostly by travelling agents. Rawhide is made out of untanned cow or steer hides.<sup>5</sup>

The tanner also helped provide for travel and transportation. Leather for riding saddles, reins, and stirrups was made by the tanner. He provided the materials for carts and buggies, including sidings, canopies, seat covers, aprons (the front under section of the buggy), and trunks as well as personal luggage. We see again notations in the day books of the times:

to a side of apron	10/0
to a piece of leather for cart saddle pad	4/0
to a Calf Skin for Binding ye Saddles	5/6
to a pece of Leather for ye carts	4/0
to a Side Saddle Bag	2/5/9
to a pair of Storrops	4/6
to 2 Sides Seet Leather	15/0
to skins for Lineing	9/6
to collar leather worth	22/0
to 4 hide of Coch leather	15/6

A quick look at this list shows how much travel and transportation depended upon the tanner's products in the days before the advent of the automotive industry. We can see how many people might have depended on leather merely for the means of communication if we remember the long distances between farmsteads and between local markets. Leather again provided the means for people to come together and to be part of the community.

Probably one of the biggest contributions of the tanner to the people of his community was to provide leather for

<sup>5</sup>David Gehman, "The Last Days of Harness Making in Bucks County," *A Collection of Papers Read Before the Bucks County Historical Society*, VI (1932), 79.

<sup>6</sup>Scholfield-Marshall Daybook.

shoes and general footwear. Shoes were not made by the tanner himself but he prepared the various materials needed by the shoemaker in making the final product. Different animals' hides, when tanned, were used for different parts of the shoes. Leather from cows and steers was used for the soles of the shoes, as this leather was thicker, longer lasting, and more durable for the heavy use shoes get in contact with rock and road. Sheep skins were used for uppers, the top side of the shoes; this leather was thin and pliable, suitable to the bending of the foot. As hides were usually cut down the middle by the tanner upon receipt for easy handling, we see entries in day books referring to "sides." There were, of course, two sides of finished leather for every hide brought in for tanning. Note the different uses in the following:

to a pece of Soal leather	5/4
to a side of Boot Strap Leather	8/6
to a paire of soles and heel taps	2/6
to pair Vamps	1/6
to a pece of L for Coffen Shoues	2/0
to a Side of Sole wt 11lb at	1/4
to a side of upper wt 6½ at 2/7 & 1/ for Blacking	
to a pair of Boots Leeges price	37/6
Rec'd of Jos Brinton Boy for apron	2/9
for a half a grose of heels	10/0
Received of Nathan Sharplys for Brite tops	4/8
by marken a prid (?) of Galoshers	6/0 <sup>7</sup>

As the leather was sold for such specific purposes the tanner must have used either different hides and skins for the different products, or he must have used different methods in the actual tanning process. There might have been a combination of these factors perhaps, but the records are not clear and the question remains unsolved.

We also see an interdependence among different craftsmen in the community. The by-products of the tanner's trade were sold or exchanged among people in different or related trades. The relationship between the tanner, currier, and shoemaker is one of the obvious process links between the individual craftsmen; the one takes up where the other leaves off, making a complete line from raw materials to finished product.

The tanner also sold various articles to persons in somewhat unrelated work areas. He sold hair to felt makers, hat makers, plasterers and brick makers, and workers who made upholstery. He sold horns and hoofs to glue makers. He sold the fat to soap and candle makers. Size, made from the trimmings, he also sold to the glue maker. Not only did this sort of procedure make for profit for the tanner, but it also meant that there was no waste in his business; nothing was thrown

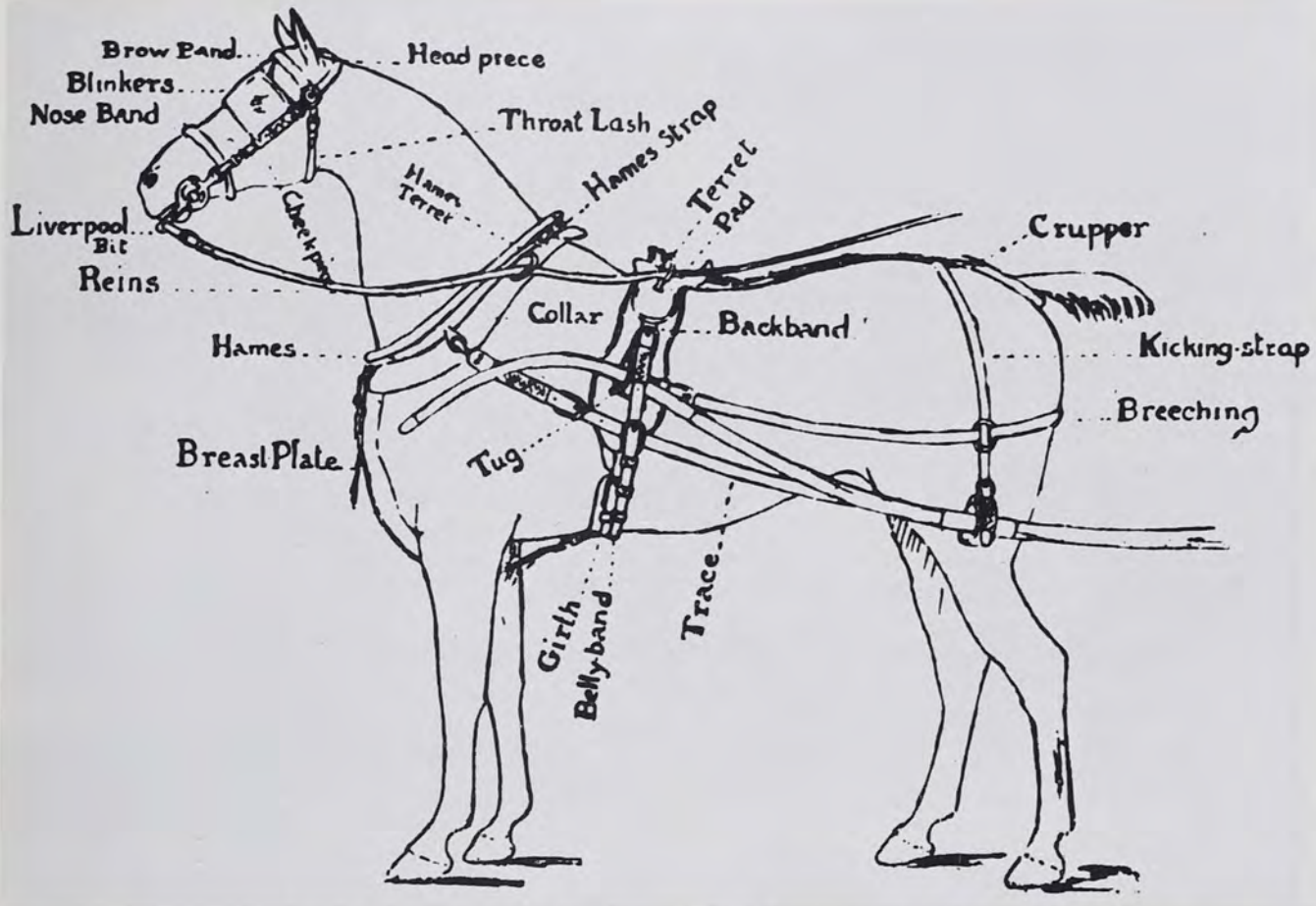
<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

Tanner's Account Book from Chester County notes request of customer (E. Oldham) to have his hides marked "EO". Date: 1762. Collections of Chester County Historical Society.

Handwritten entries from a Tanner's Account Book, dated 1762, showing transactions with customer E. Oldham. The entries are written in cursive and include dates and descriptions of hides brought to the tanner. A large 'X' is drawn over the entries.

11 mo then brought one Cow hide to Tan  
 3 mo By one mares hide To Tan mark thus  
 1762 By 2 f mares hide to Tan mark thus EO  
 9 mo By one bull hide to Tan mark thus EO  
 11 mo 22 By one cow hide to Tan mark thus EO  
 12 mo By one cow hide to Tan mark thus EO  
 The hides Delivered to Tan white





*Single Harness—English Style, courtesy of "The Carriage Journal."  
Harness-makers were among the tanner's most important customers.*

away as each little bit had a usefulness needed by the tanner's fellow workers in the commercial complex of the community. Again the theme of interdependence of people on people, making for a strong community sense. Such is the case in Chester County

What can we learn about the tanner, himself, other than the facts mentioned above proving his desirability to both farmers and fellow villager? David Gehman notes that the "business required good care, judgment and honesty, to build up a good trade, as quality and safety were of the greatest importance."<sup>8</sup> Let us look at the themes of judgment, honesty, quality, and safety. We see from the deed books that a tanner named Jacob Howell and later his son were in the tanning business from 1731 to 1771, a forty year span. This case is not unusual at all and we can be rather sure that the Howells and others like them kept these four themes in mind in order to stay in business for such a period. Adherence to such principles meant that such tradesmen could weather the test of time. We often see businesses which pass from father to son showing in-training apprenticeship in traditional values as well as business technique.

An account book of 1788 demonstrates the various ways of payment, many of which show trust and honesty on both the side of the tanner and also on the part of the buyer. As the tanning process took nearly a year from start to finish, this trust lasted over a long period of time for individual work. Some farmers brought their hides to the tanner who

marked them with initials of the owners to be picked up after the completion of the tanning. In the following clipping from the day book note the initials E O to be placed on the hide<sup>9</sup>

In the light of this procedure of marking hides we can see that the tanner must have had great trust in his payment. His efforts throughout the year were hopefully to be repaid by the original owner. This payment might take a variety of forms:

1. by cash payment
2. by selling other hides and skins to the tanner
3. by "barking" (cutting bark) for the tanner
4. by selling bark
5. by selling (exchanging) bushels of corn
6. by weaving for the tanner
7. by reaping for the tanner in his fields
8. by mending or making clothes for the tanner's family
9. by supplying "good grafted apeltrees" for the work
10. by breaking flax belonging to the tanner<sup>10</sup>

This credit arrangement and interchange of goods shows the good will of the tanner and his customers. Probably the tanner exchanged his leather in like fashion for the products of others. In any case we see the strong community ties, built on mutual trust and honesty. Needless to say, the quality and safety features of the tanned leather were the best advertisement for the tanner, and kept him in a position of respect in the eyes of his friends and neighbors.

<sup>9</sup> Account Book of John Day, 1761-1774, Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Pennsylvania.

<sup>10</sup> Account Book of John Day; also Scholfield-Marshall Daybook.

<sup>8</sup> Gehman, *op. cit.*

**SCHEDULE 5.—Products of Industry in *London Grove Township* in the County of *Chester* State of *Pennsylvania* during the Year ending June 1, 1850, as enumerated by me, *Mejer Sars* Ass't Marshal.**

Name of Corporation, Company, or Individual, producing Articles to the Annual Value of \$500.	Name of Business, Manufacture, or Product.	Capital invested in Real and Personal Estate in the Business.	Raw Material used, including Fuel.			Kind of motive power, machinery, structure, or resource.	Average number of hands employed.		Wages.		Annual Product.			
			Quantities.	Kinds.	Values.		Male.	Female.	Average monthly cost of male labor.	Average monthly cost of female labor.	Quantities.	Kinds.	Values.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
1 <i>Ellis Wilkerson</i>	<i>Tanner</i>	<i>5000</i>	<i>1000 Bark</i>	<i>400</i>	<i>700</i>	<i>Walter</i>	<i>3</i>		<i>64</i>					
			<i>600 Hides</i>	<i>1500</i>							<i>19.00</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>Leather</i>	<i>3674</i>
			<i>600 C. Skins</i>	<i>720</i>									<i>600 C. Skins</i>	<i>1100</i>
			<i>4 B. H. C.</i>	<i>76</i>										
			<i>500 lbs Sulfur</i>	<i>30</i>		<i>bricks</i>								
4 <i>Francis Wilkerson</i>	<i>Sawmill</i>	<i>350</i>	<i>400 Logs</i>	<i>500</i>	<i>700</i>	<i>Walter</i>	<i>1</i>		<i>18</i>			<i>Lumber</i>	<i>795</i>	
			<i>1 Saw</i>									<i>Slabs</i>	<i>28</i>	
			<i>1000 Shingles</i>											
			<i>1000 Boards</i>											
6 <i>Thomas Reynolds</i>	<i>Whip</i>	<i>400</i>	<i>Lumber</i>	<i>210</i>	<i>Hand</i>	<i>1</i>		<i>18</i>			<i>Wigwags</i>			
			<i>6000 Shingles</i>	<i>48</i>								<i>Cards</i>	<i>485</i>	
8 <i>Francis French</i>	<i>Leather</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>500 lbs Hide</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>Hand</i>	<i>2</i>		<i>36</i>			<i>100 P. Hides</i>	<i>400</i>		
			<i>20 P. Hides</i>	<i>50</i>								<i>500 P. Hides</i>	<i>535</i>	
			<i>65 Skins</i>	<i>45</i>										
			<i>Miscellaneous</i>	<i>20</i>										
10 <i>William Street</i>	<i>Wholesaler</i>	<i>500</i>	<i>2500</i>	<i>Wholesale</i>	<i>500</i>	<i>Walter</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>10</i>			<i>1000</i>	<i>1000</i>		

U. S. Census of Chester County for 1850 lists occupations of residents. Note Ellis P. Wilkerson, Tanner, heading this particular page. Chester County Historical Society.

**The Preparation of Bark Tannin**

The production of leather includes two almost distinct processes, 1) preparing the tannin, and 2) immersing the hides in this tannin to turn them into pieces of leather. The whole procedure took one year from raw hide to tanned leather. The use of bark to provide tannin was a traditional technique, well-known both in England and France; this knowledge was carried into the New World by the colonial settlers. As American records show the implements so similar to those used in the Old Country I find it doubtful that the American Indian had any influence on Chester County tanners at all. I found one reference to the Indian technique which might have been used in the very early days or by lone frontiersmen:

The Indian would kill a deer with a stone axe. With a knife of stone, or bone, he would take off the hide, and clean it. Then he would wash it in a stream, to clean it and next he would put it in the ground, until its hair cells softened, and he would push off the hair with a sharp piece of stone, or wood. After he cleaned the skin on both sides thoroughly, he would rub it with some dust of a rotten stump of a tree. There was tannin in this dust, and it would tan the skin. Then he would take some fat, perhaps fat from the deer whose flesh he had made into venison, and he would rub the skin with fat until it became soft and supple and also waterproof.<sup>11</sup>

The procuring of bark from trees for tannin is called "barking." We often see notations of barking in the day

<sup>11</sup>Fred A. Gannon, *An Historical Sketch of American Leather Making* (Salem, Massachusetts, 1961), p. 8.

books of the time. Generally the barking season was short, occurring between the months of May and June. At this time of the year the rising sap made the bark easier to peel; the best time was in the early morning and late afternoon:

The weather during the short season is vital and is anxiously watched by those engaged in the work. The bark runs best or is easiest to remove during open mild weather. Cold winds, rains, frost, and a dry soil have an adverse effect.<sup>12</sup>

Most of the dates beside the notations in day books and account books testify to this spring season for barking. Note the dates for both barking and for the times when bark was purchased by the tanner:

- 5mo 30 Ely Fen Barked 1 day  
John Arment Bark'd 1 day  
Jeremiah Wever Bark'd 1 day
- 6mo 9 By 3 Cord and a half of Spanish Oak Bark of Joseph Morrison and by Bark Leef for 8 Cord & a half
- 6mo 11 By 2 Cords & 1/2 of the Soners Bark at worth 25/0
- 6mo 14 By a Cord and half and 1/8 of Bark of Gideon Gilpon worth 25/0 one quarter of a Cord Black Oak the rest Whit oak
- 7mo 9 By 1/8 of a Cord of Bark some Spanish oak But it was Damedged sposed to be as good as Black Oak of John Peace<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup>J. Didsbury, "Oak and Hemlock Bark for Tanning," *The Chronicle of Early American Industries*, Vol. XVI, No. 4 (December 1963), p. 46.

<sup>13</sup>Scholfield-Marshall Daybook.

Wanted a Few hundred Cords  
 Black oak Bark  
 for which the Highest price  
 will be given  
 E. Pugh  
 Unionville N.C. 4th Mo. 20th 1847

E. Pugh of Unionville advertises for "a Few hundred Cords Black Oak Bark for which the Highest price will be given," 4th Mo. 20th, 1847. Copy for newspaper advertisement or handbill, Chester County Historical Society.



Bark Spuds or Peeling Irons from Collections of the Chester County Historical Society.

We note the short interval between the barking and the selling of this material to the tanner. We see also that the tanner hired workers to do barking for him as well as to buy it from others in the business; we are led to think that the tanner must have owned some stands of trees himself if he hired men to peel it for him. Also notice that the different kinds of bark were written down, leading one to think that specific kinds of bark had different qualities, and were used perhaps to produce different types of leather. We do see a preference for Spanish oak bark. This bark "was regarded as the most suitable tanning material for the best grades of heavy leather."<sup>14</sup>

Hemlock and chestnut bark was also used by tanners as well as oak. The following quotation sheds light on the different properties:

Tanners seldom used just one material. They used various blends depending on the tanner's temperament as to what he considered the proper proportions among these three. Different proportions would give different results in the finished product. Blending several would give better results than if a single one was used. For instance, if the hide was tanned entirely with chestnut, the leather would be very hard, and would crack easily. Oak would be the most satisfactory if only one had to be used. The leather would be too soft if just hemlock were used.<sup>15</sup>

The barkers used a variety of tools in order to strip and peel off the bark. These included "bark spuds," or "peeling irons." These tools were about thirty inches long, furnished with sharp metal tips with wooden shafts inserted. The rounded edge of the spud was inserted or hammered with a mallet into the bark, and the long handle allowed for leverage to pull the bark away from the tree. Generally a horizontal cut was made a few feet from the base of the tree all the way around the trunk; another similar cut was made at a space of four feet. The barker then made a vertical cut with his spud the distance between the two horizontal cuts; he could then strip or peel with a wedging motion the complete cylindrical section away from the tree. These sections he then piled on top of each other until he had a considerable pile to haul away. The next step was the drying of the bark.

The long strips were laid on top of each other to the thickness of about eight inches in order to be dried by ex-

<sup>14</sup> Didsbury, *op. cit.*, p. 47

<sup>15</sup> Minor J. Cooper, "Bark Spuds," *The Chronicle of Early American Industries*, Vol. XVI, No. 2 (June 1963), p. 18.

# Public SALE.

Will be sold at Public Sale,

**On 7th Day, the 16th of 11th Month,**

On the premises, the following property, viz: **26 Acres** of first rate land, situate in East Marlborough township, Chester county, Pa. adjoining lands of Pusey Pennoek, Abner Pusey, Jesse Pusey and others. The improvements are a stone

## DWELLING HOUSE

**18** by **30** feet, with **2** rooms on the first and **3** on the 2d floor, a stone kitchen **16** feet square, all well finished; a well of water and a pump therein near the door; a double floored barn, **28** by **32** feet, with convenient stabling under, a well of water with a pump therein, in the yard. Also a

## TANNERY,

Bark house **25** by **40** feet, a bate house adjoining, **10** feet square, with **6** bates therein; a pool with a fountain pump of excellent water running therein, **2** lime vats, **12** lay away vats, **4** handlers, **1** large lutch, a currier's shop, **15** by **22** feet, and drying room above. Stone spring house, corn crib and work shop.

The Land is divided into convenient lots, well fenced, a young Apple Orchard. Also, a reasonable proportion of timber; the natural quality of the land is amongst the best in the County, and is in a very productive state. Also, will be sold at the same time the following

## Personal Property,

viz: **One** good family Horse, **2** fat Hogs, **4** good Shoats, **1** new spike Harrow, corn Harrow, an excellent Plow, new plow Gears, ox Yoke, **2** Saddles and Bridle, Hoes, new Sleigh, cutting Box, Scythes and hangings, ox Chains, broad Axes, Forks and Rakes, Corn and Oats by the bushel, hay by the ton, **W**heat and Oats Straw, wheat in the ground; a lot of Multicaulis, chesnut logs suitable for rails, poplar boards, Wood by the cord, large copper Kettle, Cupboards,

## Bark Mill,

**2** curiers' tables, (stone) **2** do. (wood) Stove and Steelyards, together with sundry articles not mentioned.

Sale to begin at **12** o'clock (noon) on said day. Conditions at sale, by

**David Walton,**

Assignee of Reuben Pusey.

**10th Mo. 30th, 1839.**

PRINTED AT THE OFFICE OF THE AMERICAN STAR, WEST CHESTER.

Broadside Sale-Bill announcing Sale of David Walton Tannery, Marlborough Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania. Note Quaker style of dating—10th Mo. 30th, 1839. Collections of Chester County Historical Society.

posure to the sun and air. Some barkers used "horses," made of a long pole set in the forks of two sharpened stakes; others stacked their wares in small pyramids. When the bark was dry enough, it "will have curled and will crackle crisply upon being broken. Well seasoned bark has a creamy color on the fleshy side."<sup>16</sup> The bark was then transported to the tannery.

The following quotation from "My Childhood Games," by George L. Moore, gives the impression made on himself and his playmates as they watched a bark wagon pass by on the way to the tannery:

Then in those day[s] there were still *Rinna Waga* or bark hauling wagons to be seen taking tree bark from the Blue Mountains to the tanneries. These wagons were loaded lots heigher (*sic*) then any four horse load of hay and were drawn by four or six head of horses with one man driving the team sitting on the saddle horse and a second man operating the brake; even the empty wagons on their way back to the mountains were something so unusual that we stopped playing to watch them pass with their high pen like rack about four feet deep[,] with their rack rails running up and down or verticle and their front and rear high supports being lots heigher then any hay ladders then some of them the new ones were painted a bright blue or bright red that added to their attraction. In loading the bark the smaller pieces were put in the rack while the long pieces were laid and stacked crosswise on top of the rack as high or a little high[er] then the front and rear supports.<sup>17</sup>

At the tannery the bark was placed in a "tanbark mill." Early mills were powered by horse or oxen and later mills were turned by water power. The idea was to crush the strips of bark into a fine powder to the size of coarse sawdust. This ground bark could then be shoveled into the tan pits along with the skins and then covered with water. The bark would mix with the water to produce the tanning fluid. It was necessary to have a large supply on hand before the tanner could begin his main work. Sale notices tell us that the tanbark mill was included in the property of the tanner, and we can assume run by him and his employees. The following excerpts from newspaper advertisements always mention the tanbark mill:

<sup>16</sup> Didsbury, *op. cit.*, article continued in Vol. XVII, No. 1 (March 1964), p. 11.

<sup>17</sup> George L. Moore, "My Childhood Games," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XIII, No. 4 (July 1964), 45-46.

*Village Record*, March 11, 1818:

A TAN-YARD AND FARM TO RENT

. . . in Brandywine township, Chester County. . . There is also on the premises a complete Tan-Yard, with a Bark Mill which goes by water, and every convenience for carrying on the business extensively . . .

*Norristown Herald And Weekly Advertiser*, June 10, 1829:

To Be Sold, At Private Sale, A valuable Farm and Tan-Yard, Situate partly in Schuylkill township, Chester County . . . The Tan-yard is new and in excellent state of repair, with all the conveniences for carrying on an extensive business, the bark house is a large new building, capable of holding two hundred cords . . .

Sale poster of David Walton, Assignee of Reuben Pusey, October 30, 1839 (Original in Chester County Historical Society)

Public SALE. will be sold at Public Sale, on 7th Day, the 16th of 11th Month, on the premises, the following property, viz: 26 Acres of firstrate land, situate in East Marlborough township, Chester County . . . a stone DWELLING HOUSE . . . Also a TANNERY, Bark House 25 by 40 feet, a bate house adjoining, 16 feet square, with 2 bates therein; a pool with a fountain pump of excellent water running therein, 2 lime vats, 12 lay away vats, 4 handlers, 1 large letch, a currier's shop 15 by 22 feet, and drying room above . . . BARK MILL, 2 curriers' tables (stone), 2 do. (wood) Stove and Steelyards, together with sundry articles not mentioned . . .

Although these advertisements mention both bark mills and bark houses, we can not be sure if the mill itself was under cover or out in the open. Our illustrations of bark mills seem to imply that the earliest mills were free-standing structures which were placed in the tan yard.

One of our pictures shows a bark mill stone, one of two owned by the Pennsylvania Farm Museum at Landis Valley, Pennsylvania. This stone is 47 inches across on the wide edge, and 41 inches on the smaller side. The center hole is 9½ inches wide. The other stone is not bevelled, is 36 inches across and has a 7 inch center hole. The stone pictured here with the bevelled edge was probably used in the fashion pictured with "a sweep to which was attached a horse (or oxen) that marched around in a circle and thus crushed the bark."<sup>18</sup> Notice the two types of incisions on the stone face; the intention was to shred the bark and not to pulverise it, so keeping the tannin qualities in the ground bark.

<sup>18</sup> Jared van Wagenen, "The Old-Time Tanner," *The Chronicle of Early American Industries*, Vol. III, No. 19, p. 164.



*Bark Mill-Stone used in Bark Mill to prepare bark for tannery use. Note the two types of incision on the stone face; the intention was to shred the bark rather than pulverize it, thus retaining the tannin qualities in the shredded bark. For position of stone in bark mill, see plate on page 10. Collections of the Chester County Historical Society.*

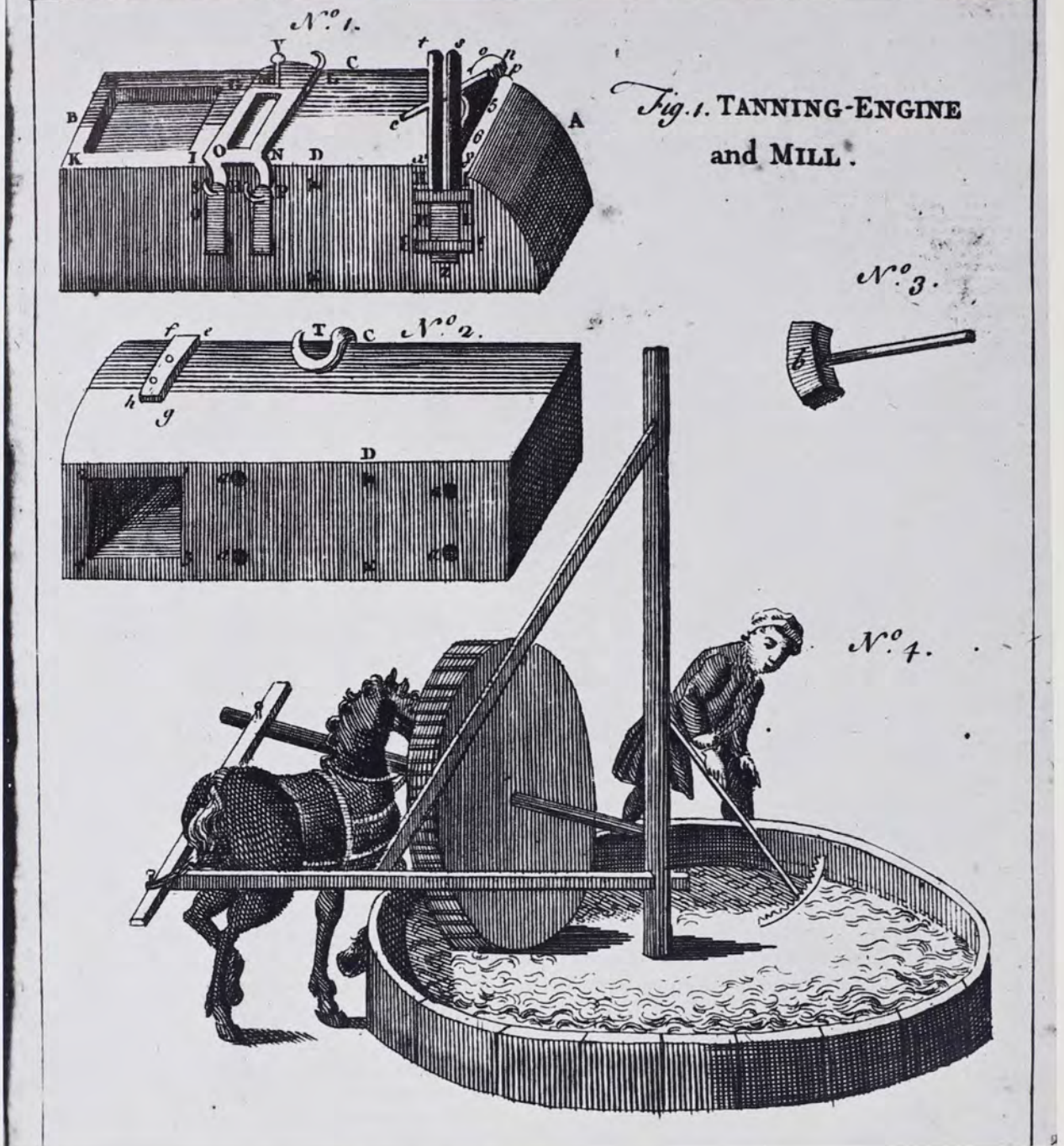


Plate from the London "New and Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences" showing operation of Bark Mill (No. 4). The volume in which this plate appeared was printed in 1764.

### The Tanning Process

The tanning operation is made up of four basic steps, all done by hand, using simple and available materials, stretching over a period of between twelve and eighteen months. The steps consist of the following:

preliminary washing, which took about 30 hours to clean the skins; second, the longer processing to loosen the hair, soaking and scraping the skin, lasting a year (in cases where the hide or skin was unusually thick); third, the tanning by immersing the dehaired hides in a bath of oak bark; and, finally, the drying and finishing of them to perfect the quality and appearance of the leather.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Peter C. Welsh, *Tanning in the United States to 1850, A Brief History* (Washington, D. C., 1964), pp 18-19.

We shall follow these steps in more detail, discussing the various pieces of equipment employed in the long process. We might say here at the start that the whole business was none too pleasant or savory for both the tanner and for his neighbors. Various writings from the period mention the smell arising from the putrefaction of the flesh which adhered to the skins; perhaps because of this factor we come close to the reason that there is nostalgia for the blacksmith and miller today and almost none for the tanner, though his was a basic industry. As shall be noted later, the tanner often had vats or pits filled with lime water or tan water which were sunk in the ground, the edges of which were barely above ground level. One author mentions the following:

**ENCYCLOPÆDIA;**  
OR, A  
**DICTIONARY**  
OF  
**ARTS, SCIENCES,**  
AND  
**MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE;**  
Constructed on a PLAN,  
BY WHICH  
THE DIFFERENT SCIENCES AND ARTS  
Are digested into the Form of distinct  
**TREATISES OR SYSTEMS,**  
COMPREHENDING  
THE HISTORY, THEORY, and PRACTICE, of each,  
According to the Latest Discoveries and Improvements;  
AND FULL EXPLANATIONS GIVEN OF THE  
**VARIOUS DETACHED PARTS OF KNOWLEDGE,**

WHETHER RELATING TO  
NATURAL and ARTIFICIAL Objects, or to Matters ECCLESIASTICAL,  
CIVIL, MILITARY, COMMERCIAL, &c.  
Including ELUCIDATIONS of the most important Topics relative to RELIGION, MORALS, MANNERS,  
and the OECONOMY of LIFE.  
TOGETHER WITH  
A DESCRIPTION of all the Countries, Cities, principal Mountains, Seas, Rivers, &c.  
throughout the WORLD;  
A General HISTORY, Ancient and Modern, of the different Empires, Kingdoms, and States;  
AND  
An Account of the LIVES of the most Eminent Persons in every Nation,  
from the earliest ages down to the present times.

Compiled from the writings of the best authors in several languages; the most approved Dictionaries, as well of general science as of its particular branches; the Transactions, Journals, and Memoirs, of various Learned Societies, the MS. Lectures of Eminent Professors on different sciences; and a variety of Original Materials, furnished by an Extensive Correspondence.

THE FIRST AMERICAN EDITION, IN EIGHTEEN VOLUMES, GREATLY IMPROVED.

ILLUSTRATED WITH FIVE HUNDRED AND FORTY-TWO COPPERPLATES.

VOL. XVIII. STR—ZYM

INDUCTI DICANT, ET AMANT MEMINERIT PRIVI.

PHILADELPHIA:  
PRINTED BY THOMAS DOBSON, AT THE STONE-HOUSE, N° 41, SOUTH SECOND-STREET.  
M.DCC.CCVIII.

[Copy-Right secured according to law.]

A NEW AND COMPLETE  
**DICTIONARY**  
OF  
**ARTS and SCIENCES,**

COMPREHENDING ALL

**The Branches of Useful Knowledge,**

WITH

ACCURATE DESCRIPTIONS as well of the various MACHINES, INSTRUMENTS, TOOLS, FIGURES, and SCHEMES necessary for illustrating them,

AS OF

The Classes, Kinds, Preparations, and Uses of NATURAL PRODUCTIONS, whether ANIMALS, VEGETABLES, MINERALS, FOSSILS, or FLUIDS;

Together with

The KINGDOMS, PROVINCES, CITIES, TOWNS, and other Remarkable Places throughout the WORLD.

Illustrated with above Three Hundred COPPER-PLATES, curiously engraved by Mr. JEFFERYS, Geographer to his Royal Highness the Prince of WALES.

The Whole extracted from the Best AUTHORS in all Languages,

By a SOCIETY of GENTLEMEN.

————— *Huc undique Genæ*  
*Congeriunt* ————— VIRG.

VOL. IV.

LONDON:  
Printed for W. OWEN, at Homer's Head, in Fleet-street.  
MDCCLV.

*Early Encyclopedias include valuable descriptions of the tanning process.*

I have been told that life was one long nightmare for the mothers of tanners' children because of a haunting fear that they would fall in a vat and drown—a dreadful and in no way unlikely accident.<sup>20</sup>

Therefore we can imagine that a tannery was not a pleasant place either to work in or to visit during leisure hours.

One would think that the work of the tanner was heaviest during the late fall and early winter seasons when the farmers did most of their slaughtering to procure meat to last them through the winter. In the day books of the time, I have noticed a great deal of hide and skin buying during November and December; but hides seem to have been sold to the tanner throughout the year. Therefore the seasonal nature of the work in Chester County seems of small importance. No doubt the tanner would have preferred working with fresh or "green" skins, as they would not have become hard and stiff with the passage of time between slaughter and sale. The harder the skin, the longer it took to soften it before the actual basic work could be done. A possibility exists, of course, that people in the county did not adhere to one specific time for slaughtering their livestock, and individual hides were brought to the tanner immediately after slaughter throughout the whole year. This possibility is undocumented, unfortunately.

We do know, however, that hides were sold by weight, requiring the tanner to possess a pair of "steelyards" or set of hanging scales equipped with a hook in order properly to assess the weight. (Note sale of leather by weight in day

<sup>20</sup> Van Wagenen, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

book entries listed previously in this article). We also find steelyards mentioned in the inventory of George Downing, tanner, listed along with a "Patent beam," the value of both coming to \$8.00.<sup>21</sup>

Due to the weight and size of steer and cow hides the tanner cut these straight down the back, thus forming two "sides." This term is used throughout the whole process, the heavier sides also being called "butts" or "backs." The sheep and calf skins were not cut in such a fashion, and except for the trimming kept their original shape; these are referred to as "skins" or "kips."

If the original owner wanted to have his own leather returned to him, the tanner cut his initials into the surface with a sharp knife and wooden mallet. This operation seems rather infrequent, but references have been found to support this practice. The next step before washing was to cut off the worthless parts of the hide: lower legs, "skirt," and ragged head. The skirt refers to the border area near the original cut done by the animal skinner. After this the hides and skins could be thoroughly washed.

After washing and soaking for a few days to get rid of dirt and other impurities, the tanner made a preliminary scraping to remove any excess fats or flesh. If the wool was to be kept on the skin, a process called "sweating" was employed. In this process skins would be piled on top of

<sup>21</sup> "Inventory of the Real & Personal Estate of George A. Downing of East Caln Township[,] Chester County, with the valuation annexed," manuscript in the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Pennsylvania.

*Inventory of the Real & Personal Estate of George A. Downing  
of East-Calm Township Chester County, with the valuation annexed.*

Inventory of the Estate of George A. Downing, Tanner, of East Calm Township, Chester County. The tannery was located at Downingtown. Note references to the types of bark used, the kinds of hides processed, and the list of currying equipment. Date: 1845. Collections of the Chester County Historical Society.

Lot of land in Downing-Town containing about 12 Acres, whereon is erected dwelling House, Tannery, Mill House, Stable, and out buildings, Subject to an annual legal income of Lane Downing, Mother of the said G. A. Downing.	\$	
	3500	00
Wood lot containing 10 Acres adjoining Lands of A. Dowlin.	300	—
Horse \$50. Riding Chair and Harness \$75	125	—
Spanish Oak Bark \$63.75. Black Oak Bark \$94	157	75
24 slaughter Hides & 2 Horn Hides, partly tanned	72	50
500 Russian Calf Skins Ditto	150	—
56 Calf, Sheep, and Hog Skins	24	50
11 Slaughtered Hides in hair	37	50
Marble currying Table and stand	40	—
2 Sigaum-uta currying Beams	5	—
8 Currying Knives \$8. 2 wheel Barrows \$4	12	—
Patent beam, and steel yards	8	—
Tim Canister & Bel \$7. currying Tools, & Spoons \$7.50	14	50
Tanyard Tools \$4. Hair \$2.50	6	50
2 Cows \$37 4 Pigs \$10	42	—
Wheat \$17. Hay \$10. Indian Corn \$2.50	29	50
Saddle & Bridle \$6. Beef and Pork \$33	39	—
Potatoes and Apples \$6. Candles, & dry Apples \$6.50	12	50
Cart & Gun \$12. Plow Harrow and single tree \$6.25	24	25
Carried over	4600	50

each other in a smoke house and the heat allowed to permeate the pile. A slight putrefaction occurred which the neighbors must have abhorred; in any case the wool was saved, and the skins were ready for immersion in the tan pits.

In most cases it was desirable to remove the wool and hair, and this process was long and tedious. The hides were placed in either rectangular or round pits and covered with lime water. These pits were about four feet deep, sided with either timber or stone, and left uncovered with narrow passageways in between. The arrangement seems to have been in threes, with increasingly stronger solutions of lime water from the first pit or vat to the third.

The hides intended to be scoured are first put into the weakest of these pits, wherein they are allowed to remain until the hair readily yields to the touch. If this liquor be not sufficiently active, they are removed

to the next in gradation. The time they are soaked is longer or shorter in proportion to the strength of the lime, the temperature of the air, and the nature of the hides.<sup>22</sup>

As you can imagine, the hides become waterlogged and extremely heavy. Long-handled tongs were used to lift and move the hides from one vat to the next; the reason for the narrow passageways becomes quite evident—the shortest possible distance between one vat and the next allowed the tanner to slip the hides more easily back and forth.

The European woodcut on our cover shows a workman busy at the next step in the process, dehairing the hides. This man is called a "beamsman," and the job called "beaming." He is using a two-handled scraper called the "un-hairing knife," or merely the "scraper." He places the

<sup>22</sup> Welsh, *op. cit.*, p. 78.



hide on a wooden "beam," a heavy piece of lignum-vitae with a convex rounded top. With the hair side up the beamsman scrapes in a downward motion, the scraper pulling the hair out at the roots. "This work was exhausting, and in the course of a day one man normally beamed only a dozen hides."<sup>23</sup>

The immersion in the lime seems to have had a detrimental effect on the leather causing it to become brittle. An effort was made to cleanse the skins thoroughly of this lime content in vats called "bates," the name coming from the mixture or solution in the vats.

The hides, after being scraped clean of hair, were transferred to another vat where they were soaked in a solution known as "bate," which is nothing more than a mixture of hen-dung and water. I do not pretend to understand the efficacy of this strange broth, but it was the recognized formula among old tanners and the universality of its use attests its efficiency.<sup>24</sup>

As to whether this mixture was used in Chester County I can not supply ready evidence in the day books. I do not see any reference at all to the procurement of the hen-dung; I do see, however, the mention of bates and "letches" (used for the same purpose) on one bill of sale.

The hides were finally ready to be put in the tan pits. These seem to be exactly similar in size to the lime pits, and follow the same sort of gradation of intensity of solutions. The tan pit is prepared by first shoveling some crushed tan bark on the bottom and then covering it with a hide. More bark, a hide, more bark, another hide, and so forth were put into the pit until it was filled. Water was added covering the whole works and the hides were left to soak. The longer the hides were left in this solution the better; at some point the hides were transferred to another pit when the qualities of the first were deemed exhausted. The hides on the lowest layers had to be switched with those on the upper layers so that a uniform reaction would take place. Often hides would be taken out of the mixture for several

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>24</sup> Van Wagenen, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

days and allowed to become partially dry; they were then re-immersed in the tanning solution. This step required anywhere from three to six months and represents tiresome but careful manipulation on the part of the tanner and his employees.

The final step was to take the sides of leather to the loft for airing and drying. They were hung over a series of poles until nearly dry, being moved from time to time to prevent the leather from becoming too stiff. When completely dry, the tanner had his beamsman go over the leather with another two-handled instrument similar to the dehairing knife.

This was called "boarding," or "graining," the object being to give a granular appearance and to increase suppleness and flexibility. It was then "sized" with a mixture of two or more of the following substances: beeswax, pitch, linseed oil, tallow, soap, glue, and logwood extract, applied with a brush or sponge, and rubbed in with a glass slicker, and afterwards "waxed" with a brush dipped in oil and lampblack, on the flesh side, till thoroughly black.<sup>25</sup>

In the day books of Chester County tanners I find several references to oil, tallow and lampblack; I do not find any reference to any of the other materials mentioned above. This does not mean to imply that these tanners did not use such equipment; further research may prove such items were in use in the county.

And so we have the complete production of leather from start to finish. We have seen that tanning was a basic industry to the residents of the county, and have investigated the details of the process. The techniques were traditional and long resistant to the inroads of increased technology. Little machinery was used, most of the products stemming from hand labor. Progress finally took its toll, and after 1850 many tanners were forced out of their business. We do note that in 1884 one such tannery was still going strong and still using bark for its supply of tannin.

<sup>25</sup> William B. Sprague, "The Tanner and the Currier," *The Chronicle of Early American Industries*, Vol. XI, No. 3 (October 1958), p. 3.

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Broadside Sale Bill: Public Sale of Dwelling House, Tannery, and Bark Mill of Caleb Matlack, 1832.

Photograph of the Residence and Tannery of M. B. Chambers, West Bradford Township, Chester County.

Various Clippings, Recipes, Newspaper Articles, Bills, Advertisements, Census Reports, Tax Lists, and Maps related to tanners and tanning in Chester County.

# Tanners In Chester County, Pennsylvania

The following list gives in alphabetical order the names, locations, and dates of Chester County tanners. I have taken these names from the lists compiled by Margaret Berwind Shiffer who had previously gone through all the early deeds in the Chester County Courthouse up to 1850. There may have been many more tanners than the ones in this list; I have added a few names from tax lists and census reports.

Although these lists pinpoint accurate dates, it must be remembered that they refer to the date of the deed alone. It is hard to ascertain *how long* a tannery remained in action and service to the community. Where I have indi-

cated a passage of time, I am merely noting the first and last mention of deeds taken out by the tanner in question.

Where several listings mention the same name of a tanner, I have tried to show that perhaps one man ran two or more tanneries in different townships. There is the possibility, of course, that these are different people entirely and so I have included all the references. There is also the chance that these tanners are related to one another, each running a separate business.

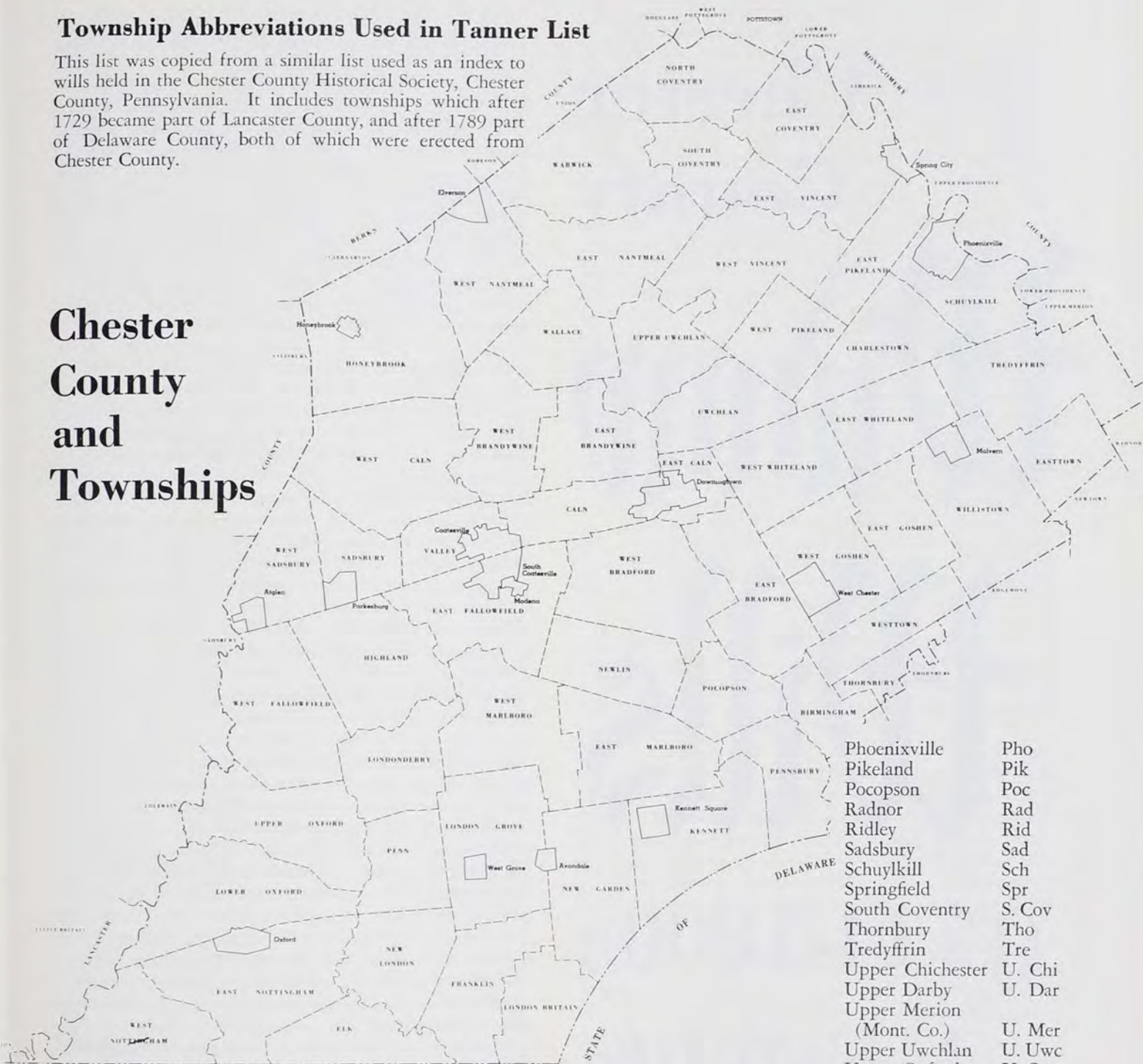
My special thanks go to Miss Dorothy Lapp of the Chester County Historical Society, without whose help and encouragement, this study would not have come into being.

Acker, Anthony	Cha	1802-1824	Hicks, William	Wil	1810	Rhoads, John	Vin	1809
Ailes, William	Dar	1766	Hoopes, David	N. Gar	1784-1787	Richmond, John	Sad	1815-1818
Anderson, Julius	W. Che	1812-1813	Hoopes, Jesse	Gos	1776-1799	Richmond, Joseph	Sad	1813-1819
Armstrong, John	L. Ox	1834	Hoopes, Joseph	E. Cal	1829	Richmond, Thomas	Sad	1814
Baugh, Daniel	Tre	1796-1827	Hoopes, Thomas	Gos	1763	Righter, Washington	Hon	1821
Baugh, John	Uwc	1827	Hoosaker, Philip	Cov	1802	Robinson, John	Nan	1766
Buchannon, John	W. Cal	1794	Howell, Jacob	Ches	1731-1736	Robinson, William	Cha	1783
Buchanon, John	Hon	1808-1827	Howell, Jacob	N. Gar	1754-1771	Rossetter, Stephen	Cov	1814
Buckwalter, Jacob	Cha	1784-1794	Howell, Jacob, Jr.	Ches	1744-1754	Schantz, Peter	Cov	1807-1810
Boyd, John	W. Fal	1791-1804	Howell, James	N. Gar	1759	Sharp, Samuel	Lon G.	1756-1792
Brown, Messer	E. Not	1798	Humphrey, John	Cha	1772-1790	Sharp, Joseph	Sad	1810
Chamberlain, Joshua	Sad	1810	Hunter, James	Whi	1763-1764	Sheass, Philip	Hav	1784
Chambers, Caleb E.	W. Brad	1849	Jacobs, Isaac	E. Cal	1771	Shuman, Jacob	Pik	1804
Coates, Israel	E. Cal	1813	Jacobs, Isaac	W. Whi	1774-1814	Sider, Addam	Rad	1767
Cowan, John	Sad	1848	Jacobs, Isaac	Uwc	1813	Smedley, John	Wil	1812
Creswell, Robert	Ox	1767(late)	John, David	Pik	1800	Smith, Isaac	Bran	1803
Criswell, James	Ox	1789	Johnson, Jacob	Cha	1792	Smith, John	Gos	1813
Crouse, Henry	W. Nan	1815	Jones, Benjamin	Hon	1799-1822	Smith, John H.	Gos	1813
Dance, Josiah	Lond	1819	Jones, Benjamin	W. Nan	1785	Smith, John H.	Bran	1816
Darlington, John	W. Cal	1772	Jones, Samuel	Hon	1822-1831	Smith, Joshua, Jr.	W. Brad	1800
Davis, David	E. Nan	1838	Keehmle, Jacob	W. Gos	1826	Springer, Levi	L. Ox	1845
Davis, Lewis	Hav	1764	Keehmle, Joseph	W. Gos	1826	Stalker, Thomas	E. Cal	1749-1792
Denny, David	Uwc	1792-1797	Keehmle, Joseph	W. Brad	1828(late)	Starr, William	N. Prov	1766
Denny, David	W. Nan	1794	King, George	Wil	1813	Starret, John	Nan	1763
Denny, William	Ches	1801	Knight, William	W. Not	1773	Steigler, Isaac	W. Cal	1802
Denny, William	Uwc	1802	Lamborn, Thomas	Lon G.	1780	Stonaker, John	Bran	1813
Deweese, William	Cha	1824	Lamborn, Thomas	N. Gar	1780-1783	Stonker, John	Bran	1813
Downing, George S.	E. Cal	1826	Lewis, Joseph H.	Uwc	1839	Strawbridge, Thomas	Lond	1764
Downing, Richard T.	E. Cal	1832-1833	Lewis, William	Eas	1799	Strode, Richard	E. Brad	1775-1782
Eastburn, Thomas	Lon G.	1803	Linn, George	Bran	1802	Strode, Richard	New	1790-1794
Eckhoff, David	New	1775-1785	Macky, Robert	E. Not	1758	Strode, Richard	W. Brad	1777-1785
Eckhoff, Michael	New	1769	Mackey, Robert	Lon G.	1794	Sturges, Joseph	Pik	1800-1814
Eckhoff, William	New	1785	Malin, George	E. Whi	1814-1831	Suin, George	Bran	1801
Elliott, James	Uwc	1820-1822	Malin, Joseph	E. Whi	1795	Swayne, Benjamin	E. Mar	1815
Evans, Cadwalader	Edg	1753-1767	Marple, Benjamin	Hon	1810	Swayne, Benjamin, Jr.	Lon G.	1817-1838
Evans, Randal	Tre	1831	Marshall, Thomas	Con	1784	Swayne, Caleb	E. Mar	1784-1817
Evans, Thomas	Edg	1784	Marsh, Henry	Sad	1828	Swayne, Enoch	W. Brad	1828-1842
Eves, Amos F.	L. Ox	1845	Mary, Jacob	Cha	1783	Swayne, Huston	E. Mar	1817
Eves, James	L. Ox	1844	Massey, George	W. Whi	1791-1816	Swayne, Samuel	Tre	1834
Eves, William D.	N. Lon	1834-1844	Massey, George	Gos	1792	Swayne, William	E. Mar	1785-1809
Eyre, Isaac	Bet	1764	Matthews, Jacob	W. Nan	1787	Temple, Thomas B.	Sad	1847
Eyre, Isaac	Ches	1776	McClure, Jean	W. Nan	1828	Thomas, Jacob	Cov	1790
Eyre, Robert	U. Chi	1768	McLaughlin, Robert	New	1813	Umsted, Emas	Bran	1832
Fleming, Henry	E. Cal	1806	Meredith, Isaac	Ken	1828	Umsted, John	W. Cal	1807-1810
Freed, Abraham	Cov	1808	Meredith, James	Ken	1828-1830	Umsted, John	Bran	1810-1812
Freid, John	Cov	1801	Monaghan, John J.	W. Fal	1831	Umsted, Philip	Bran	1832
Garrett, Aaron	Wil	1813	Moore, Jesse	Tre	1830	Vancourt, Daniel	E. Mar	1754
Garrett, Gideon	Uwc	1790-1797	Newlin, Daniel	Tho	1761	Varley, Philip	Cov	1791
Garrett, Jonah	Ches	1793	Nyce, John	E. Nan	1783	Walker, James	N. Gar	1821-1824
Garrett, Josiah	Gos	1796	Nyce, John	W. Cal	1810-1815	Way, Joseph	W. Cal	1836
Garrett, Samuel	Wil	1765-1809	Nyce, William	E. Nan	1829	Wayne, Isaac	Eas	1766
Garrett, Thomas	Manor of Stirling	1711	Ortliip, Andrew	Lond	1798-1830	Webb, Benjamin	Lon G.	1810
Garrett, Thomas	Wil	1813-1821	Packer, Job	Ken	1788-1798	Webb, James	Lon G.	1792-1807
Garrett, Thomas	Bran	1833	Parke, Arthur	Fal	1766	Webster, Thomas	E. Cal	1832-1833
Gest, Daniel	Tho	1758	Park, Joseph	Sad	1778	Weidner, George	Vin	1816
Getchel, Samuel	New	1795	Parry, Rowland	Hav	1755	Weidner, George	E. Nan	1840
Green, Caleb	E. Bran	1845-1846	Pearson, John	Dar	1775-1785	Wherry, William	Ches	1809
Guest, Daniel	E. Brad	1770-1773	Pearson, Thomas	Dar	1761-1775(late)	Wherry, William	E. Not	1823
Harry, Aubrey	Rad	1758	Pedrick, Thomas	Ches	1770-1771	Wilkinson, Joseph	N. Lon	1814-1818
Hawley, Simon	Uwc	1839-1840	Peirce, Cyrus	Sad	1810	Wilkinson, Thomas	N. Lon	1807
Hawley, Robert	Uwc	1791	Pennock, John	Lon G.	1814-1828	Williams, John	Cov	1828
Hawley, Robert	W. Brad	1801	Pennock, John	W. Marl	1808-1812	Williamson, Augustin	W. Cal	1826-1828
Heasterthe, Daniel	Cov	1775	Penrose, Benjamin	Rad	1785	Wilson, Abner	N. Gar	1814-1848
Henderson, James	W. Nan	1813	Perry, James	Bir	1816	Wilson, Robert	E. Fal	1818-1826
Hewes, Jacob	L. Chi	1779-1786	Pyle, John	Bir	1779	Wood, Thomas	W. Fal	1836
Hewes, John	Chi	1754	Reece, Henry, Sr.	Lond	1804-1817	Woodward, James	W. Brad	1767
Hewes, John	L. Chi	1757	Reese, Henry	Penn	1833	Worrall, Joseph Lewis	Tre	1850
Hibberd, Caleb	Wil	1784	Rhoads, James	Marp	1755-1772	Worrall, Peter	Marp	1799
Hibberd, William	Wil	1804				Young, Robert, Jr.	E. Fal	1810

## Township Abbreviations Used in Tanner List

This list was copied from a similar list used as an index to wills held in the Chester County Historical Society, Chester County, Pennsylvania. It includes townships which after 1729 became part of Lancaster County, and after 1789 part of Delaware County, both of which were erected from Chester County.

# Chester County and Townships



Phoenixville	Pho
Pikeland	Pik
Pocopson	Poc
Radnor	Rad
Ridley	Rid
Sadsbury	Sad
Schuylkill	Sch
Springfield	Spr
South Coventry	S. Cov
Thornbury	Tho
Tredyffrin	Tre
Upper Chichester	U. Chi
Upper Darby	U. Dar
Upper Merion	U. Mer
(Mont. Co.)	
Upper Uwchlan	U. Uwc
Upper Oxford	U. Ox
Upper Providence	U. Pro
Uwchlan	Uwc
Vincent	Vin
Warwick	War
West Bradford	W. Brad
West Brandywine	W. Bran
West Caln	W. Cal
West Chester	W. Che
West Fallowfield	W. Fal
West Goshen	W. Gos
West	
Marlborough	W. Mar
West Nantmeal	W. Nan
West Nottingham	W. Not
West Pikeland	W. Pik
West Vincent	W. Vin
Westtown	Wes
Whiteland	Whi
Willistown	Wil

Aston	Ast	East Caln	E. Cal	Londonderry	Lon (Lond)
Bensalem	Ben	East Coventry	E. Cov	Lower Chichester	L. Chi
Bethel	Bet	East Fallowfield	E. Fal	Lower Oxford	L. Ox
Birmingham	Bir	East Goshen	E. Gos	Marlborough	Mar
Bradford	Brad	East Marlborough	E. Mar	Marple	Marp
Brandywine	Bran	East Nantmeal	E. Nan	Merion	
Caln	Cal	East Nottingham	E. Not	(Mont. Co.)	Mer
Charleston	Cha	East Pikeland	E. Pik	Middletown	Mid
Chester (City)	Che	East Vincent	E. Vin	Nantmeal	Nan
Chester (Twn.)	Ches	East Whiteland	E. Whi	New Garden	N. Gar
Chichester	Chi	Easttown	Eas	New London	N. Lon
Concord	Con	Edgmont	Edg	Newlin	New
Conestoga	Cone	Fallowfield	Fal	Newtown	Newt
Colerain	Col	Goshen	Gos	North Coventry	N. Cov
Coventry	Cov	Haverford	Hav	Nottingham	Not
Darby	Dar	Honey Brook	Hon	Oxford	Ox
Donegal	Don	Kennett	Ken	Penn	Penn
East Bradford	E. Brad	London Britain	Lon B.	Pennsbury	Pen
East Brandywine	E. Bran	London Grove	Lon G.	Pequea	Peq

# Chester County Widow Wills (1714-1800): A Folklife Source

By ROBERT D. BETHKE

The last will and testament is an important historical source for folk-cultural research. "The thought of death produced an authentic, unadulterated copy of life in the period from which that record sprang."<sup>1</sup> Eighteenth-century Pennsylvania wills, for example, reveal such aspects of colonial life as immigration and settlement patterns within the province; religious affiliations and educational practices; specialized provisions for the male and female members of the family; property rights and livestock ownership; monetary values and systems of exchange; attitudes toward indentured servitude, slavery, and apprenticeship; dress and personal possessions; furniture, household goods, and other moveable property; and language and reading matter. Despite the richness of the material from the point of view of folklife studies, however, surveys of this source are few in number and limited in coverage. I am aware of only three publications of this nature, all of which deal with early Pennsylvania wills, and two of which are limited to Pennsylvania German documents.<sup>2</sup> The third study considers the frontier wills of Allegheny County.<sup>3</sup> As Russell Wieder Gilbert urged in the conclusion of his monograph written in 1950, there is a need for analysis of comparable wills left by groups other than the Pennsylvania Germans.<sup>4</sup> This observation is as true today as it was nearly twenty years ago. The present study is an effort to supply the kind of information which will hopefully make comparative analysis of early Pennsylvania wills a feasible undertaking.

The research has entailed examining wills left by widows in Chester County, Pennsylvania, during the 18th Century. The wills are recorded in Will Books A (1714) through J (1800) in the Office of the Register of Wills, Chester County Courthouse, West Chester, Pennsylvania. My approach to the project has been to excerpt those aspects of the documents which I found to be both of particular historical interest and of value for folk-cultural scholarship. Every effort has been made to present the material accurately; interpretation which might distort the data has been avoided where and whenever possible. Spelling, punctuation, and grammatical inconsistencies found in the wills have been retained in the quoted extractions exactly as they appear in the public documents. Indeed, were it not for difficulties in organization and illustration, the most desirable approach would be to cite the wills in their entirety. No doubt forthcoming advances in photocopying techniques will defray the expense involved at the present in such a methodology.

Chester County wills reflect the large-scale immigration of Welsh, English, and Scotch-Irish Quakers to the southeastern part of the province. It has been estimated that between 1,500 and 2,000 Irish Friends came to southeastern Pennsylvania between 1682 and 1750,<sup>5</sup> sixty-five percent of whom presented their certificates of removal in Chester County (at that time including what is now Delaware County).<sup>6</sup> The majority of these early Quaker settlers were farmers from the Irish districts of Ulster and Leinster. Arriving in the colonies, they sought farmland away from

<sup>1</sup> Russell Wieder Gilbert, "Pennsylvania German Wills," *The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, Vol. XV (1950), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Gilbert, *op. cit.*; and Synnove Haugom, "Religious and Educational References in Lancaster County Wills," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XV, No. 1 (Autumn, 1965), pp. 20-23.

<sup>3</sup> Ella Chalfant, *A Goodly Heritage: Earliest Wills on an American Frontier* (Pittsburgh, 1955).

<sup>4</sup> Gilbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-107.

<sup>5</sup> Albert Cook Myers, *Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania, 1682-1750, With Their Early History in Ireland* (Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, 1902), p. 82.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.

the towns.<sup>7</sup> Emigration from the British Isles, whether for religious or other reasons, was a perilous and costly venture; the voyage was often marked by outbreaks of disease, mistreatment, and natural mishaps. It was not uncommon for shipboard passengers to draw up a will which could be endorsed by the power of attorney if death should occur before reaching the colonies. The will of Mary Jackson, written in 1729, begins:

I Mary Jackson widdow & relict of Thos. Jackson lately Deced. in Marlborough in the province of Pennsylvania in America but now I am at sea aboard the *Sizargh* of Whitehaven Jeremiah Cowman Master bound for Philadelphia, I now being Indisposed in Body but of sound and perfect mind and memory, but considering ye uncertainty of this Life, do make and Declare this to be my Last will and Testament....<sup>8</sup>

A letter dated 1725 and written by another Scotch-Irish Quaker to Friends who remained in Ireland records a similar passage aboard the *Sizargh*.<sup>9</sup> On May 21, 1724, Thomas Parke and his family departed from Dublin and after a rough voyage of three months arrived in Delaware Bay. Parke proceeded to purchase 500 acres of land located in the Great Valley of Chester County, and after settling his family, sent off a letter in hopes of encouraging other Quakers to make the trip. In the course of the letter he was careful to specify that land was £10-£100 a hundred acres, according to its fertility and location. He also noted that "feather beds are very dear here and not to be had for money,"<sup>10</sup> and that "a Saddle that will cost 18 or 20 Shill[ing]s in Ireland will cost here 50 Shill[ing]s or 3 pounds & not so good neither...."<sup>11</sup> The fact that feather beds and saddles were among the most expensive family possessions in the province suggests why they were items of priority in 18th Century bequests.

Not all Quaker emigrants, however, could afford the £10 expenditure which was necessary to secure passage aboard ship. Albert Cook Myers notes in *Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania, 1682-1750* that it was a frequent occurrence for poor settlers to sell themselves into temporary servitude, "usually for a term of four years, in order to defray the cost of their transportation to Pennsylvania."<sup>12</sup> It was not uncommon for wealthier Quakers already in the colonies to purchase the bond, provide for the transportation, and allow the debt to be worked off in service to their household and estate. At the end of the term of service, the bond was accordingly absolved and the individual often received a small allowance, a new set of clothing, and in some cases, a set of tools. In cases where a widow held a bond and she drew up her will before the terms of agreement were satisfied, she could transfer it to the holding of another relative. This procedure explains the provision in the 1738 will of Elizabeth Clayton, a widow living in Chichester:

And it is likewise my Will that my Servant Woman Dinah shall be free at my Decease. And her Daughter Mally shall likewise be free on Condition that the said Dinah or her said Husband pay or Cause to be paid unto my Executor...the Just Sum of Tenn pounds lawfull money of this Government and that in twelve months after my decease and upon nonpayment at the time aforesaid, then she shall serve my Executor...or his Assigns untill she

arrive to the age of Twenty eight years and no longer and then be free.<sup>13</sup>

Another widow bequeathed to her daughter and son-in-law "the sum of Fifteen Pounds being due to me upon Bond."<sup>14</sup>

In some widow wills, wealthy Quakers referred to Negro slaves in their service. In a will of 1739, Ruth Hoskins of Chester wrote: "I also Devise unto my said Son-in-law a Molatto boy called Jemme and to his heirs and Assigns for ever," and to a grandson she gave a "Negro Woman named Maria and her Child named Cesar to hold to him his Heirs and Assigns for ever."<sup>15</sup> In general, however the practice of slaveholding was limited among the Friends for both ideological and monetary reasons. After the Revolutionary War period, slavery was practically nonexistent in the Quaker religious community. A will dated 1760 reflects the changing attitude toward the institution even among the wealthiest members of the Society of Friends. Having bequeathed £200 to the Friends School in Philadelphia in the first part of her will, Grace Lloyd of Chester writes:

And it is my mind and will and I do hereby order that my Negro Andrew be hired in the Country to a Master that will do well by him or that he continue with [R. P.] if he will keep him till he attain the age of thirty years and then to beset free and fully at Liberty and I do give the said Andrew a new Scythe and Falling ax also my will and mind is that my Negro woman Pegg be set free and fully at Liberty at the Expiration of the time, and if she behave well then I give her New Course Linnen for a bed and bolster and a pair of Blankets.<sup>16</sup>

"But," she added, "if the said Negroes or either of them prove Wicked and troublesome then it is my mind and will that they or such of them as shall so prove wicked and troublesome be sold by my Executors."<sup>17</sup>

Wealth such as that enjoyed by Grace Lloyd was unusual; the majority of Chester County widow wills reflect the small incomes commensurate with rural farm life in the 18th Century. Monetary bequests usually ranged from a few shillings to twenty pounds. A gift of £10 to each beneficiary appears to have been a standardized allotment, providing that the testator could afford it. "The possessions of most women in the early days were so scanty that we find them eager to pass on the little they have to children and grandchildren...The daughters usually inherited household goods or clothes—the sons got the real estate or money."<sup>18</sup> Money was always the rightful inheritance of a widow's son, since the law held that it belonged to the next male in line after the widow's husband.<sup>19</sup>

When a man died, he customarily willed the title to his farm and moveable property to his eldest son. In addition, the son received the large family Bible containing personal records and the family name. Similarly, the same procedure was usually followed by a widow drawing up her will in cases where her husband had not made such provisions earlier. "The most common dwelling arrangement for the widow was to give her a room with a stove and detailed rights in the old homestead and on the family farm now owned or supervised by the eldest son. In turn, the son acquired the obligation of providing for his mother and of paying her gradually for the home."<sup>20</sup> Among the

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.

<sup>8</sup> Will Book A, pp. 311-312 (1729).

<sup>9</sup> Myers, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>13</sup> Will Book B, p. 28 (1738).

<sup>14</sup> Will Book B, p. 112 (1742).

<sup>15</sup> Will Book B, p. 43 (1739).

<sup>16</sup> Will Book D, pp. 211-212 (1760).

<sup>17</sup> Will Book D, p. 212 (1760).

<sup>18</sup> Chalfant, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-144.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>20</sup> Gilbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

special provisions which the widow received were a yearly allowance, a good supply of firewood, cattle and a good riding horse, her husband's featherbed, and an adequate wardrobe. The latter three items were among the most highly valued from a practical point of view; a Quaker woman without them could not have made the trips to the Meeting House which were such an essential part of her spiritual and social life in the colonies.

Ella Chalfant points out in her book on early wills in western Pennsylvania that "according to common law . . . a married woman's identity merged with that of her husband, and so she could not bequeath real estate or dispose of her chattels or even her own clothes without the consent of her husband. Realizing, then, how unusual it was to get or hold property, and guided by their husband's wills, women worded their bequests carefully and outlined definitely the disposition of their possessions."<sup>21</sup> Since everything that was rightfully the widow's and not stipulated to go to a particular person when she drew up her will was distributed equally among descendants, it is not surprising that women, in particular, took great care in specifying their bequests.

Drawing up the last will and testament in the 18th Century was more than a purely practical concern; in many respects it was a religious duty connected with the final stage of the "rites of passage". For many individuals, the provisions in their will for a proper Christian burial, the discharging of debts, and the transfer of worldly possessions were as much a proper preparation of the soul for the transition to the afterlife as a purely familial responsibility. John Marshall Geste remarks in his handbook, *Practical Suggestions for Drawing Wills and the Settlement of Estates in Pennsylvania*, that it was in the early days a duty of the clergy to obtain a generous bequest in the will for religious or charitable uses, and that:

If you will borrow an Episcopal Prayer Book and turn to the Order for the Visitation of the Sick, you will see that it is made the duty of the ghostly visitor to admonish the sick person to make his will, and to declare his debts, what he oweth and what is owing to him, for the better discharging of his conscience and the quietness of his Executors.<sup>22</sup>

While it may or may not have been an actual "duty" of the leaders among the Quakers to obtain such bequests for the Society and to advise in the preparation of the will, there is little doubt that these were pious and practical concerns which received much attention. Indeed, piety and practicality characterized the life of a Quaker, and most of the wills left by them reflect the dual considerations. Bequests to children, for example, often provided for their religious education, on the one hand, and their apprenticeship, on the other. Margaret Todhunter of West Town wrote in her will of 1723 that: "I will that my said son John Todhunter be handsomly brought up & kept at school (*sic*) at the charges of my said [son] Stephen Beaks, & that my said son John be put Apprentice at the age of fifteen to Learn such a Trade as my Executors shall think fitt."<sup>23</sup> Another widow bequeathed to a grandson "two books entitled 'Knowledge and Practice of Things Necessary to Salvation,' the other 'Sermons by Edward Waple D.D.'"<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Chalfant, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-138.

<sup>22</sup> John Marshall Geste, *Practical Suggestions for Drawing Wills and the Settlement of Estates in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1909), pp. 29-30.

<sup>23</sup> Will Book A, p. 156 (1723).

<sup>24</sup> Will Book F, p. 206 (1775).

Indeed, the religious spirit which pervaded Chester County life throughout the 18th Century is found everywhere in the form and contents of the wills. Most of the wills which I investigated were drawn up according to the legal precedents found in such locally-available sources as *Walker's Book of Forms*.<sup>25</sup> In all cases, the wills commence with the widow's name, residence, and statement of physical and mental condition. The exact wording of this introduction varied greatly within the form itself, in many cases reflecting differences in legal guidelines, individual personality and style, and degrees of piety. Synnove Haughom points out in her study of Pennsylvania German wills that the beginning "In the Name of God, Amen" might be used by any testator and sometimes the formal opening was dispensed with altogether;<sup>26</sup> the latter is most frequently the case in Quaker wills, perhaps a reflection of the overall simplicity which they strove for in their lives and religious practices.\* The will of Quaker widow Elizabeth Newlin begins:

Whereas I Elizabeth Newlin of Concord . . . widow being well stricken in years but of sound mind and memory praise be Given to God therefore and considering ye uncertainty of time here and that all flesh must yield unto Death Do make and ordain this my last will and testam[en]t.<sup>27</sup>

Another will, dated 1729, begins: "To All People unto whome these presents may come be it known that I Am Ann Marshall late from Ireland, but now of the Township of Neugarden . . . widow . . ." <sup>28</sup> Hannah Evans introduced her will in the following way:

I Hannah Evans of the Township of Goshen . . . widow being Ancient in Years but through the Goodness and mercy of God who hath been my Supporter from my Youth to my Old Age Blessed be his Name I am of sound Disposing mind and memory.<sup>29</sup>

A rather rhetorical beginning written in 1768 goes: "I Mary Pennell of the Burrough of Chester . . . Widow . . . and not knowing how soon the Lord may put a period to my life in this world . . ." <sup>30</sup> A variation written during the Revolutionary period is quite formal: "To whom it may concern, be it known that I Martha Hobson . . . widdow . . . of New Garden . . ." <sup>31</sup> Mary Wiley's will of 1792 reveals a change in the status of the province: "I Mary Wiley of London Grove township . . . State of Pennsylvania . . ." <sup>32</sup>

The commencement of the will was usually followed by the bequest of one's soul into the hands of God and a request for a decent and Christian burial. The first provision in Elizabeth Yearsley's will of 1728 was: "First Bequeathing my soul into ye hands of Almighty God and my body to be Decently buried at ye Discretion of my Exe[cuto]r."<sup>33</sup> Ten years later, Elizabeth Clayton worded it

\*Quakers, with their scruples against taking oaths, based on the gospel command to let one's yea be yea (Matthew 5:34-37), would naturally object to the oath-like phrase, "In the name of God, amen."—EDITOR.

<sup>25</sup> *Walker's Book of Forms; or Precedents in Conveyancing, and Practice and the Different Courts and Public Offices: Adapted to the Recent acts of Assembly. By a member of the Philadelphia Bar* (Philadelphia, 1841). It is likely that earlier editions of this work, in addition to similar guides, were available either at public offices, parishes, or schools in the province.

<sup>26</sup> Haughom, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

<sup>27</sup> Will Book A, p. 48 (1714).

<sup>28</sup> Will Book A, p. 314 (1729).

<sup>29</sup> Will Book B, p. 112 (1742).

<sup>30</sup> Will Book E, p. 98 (1768).

<sup>31</sup> Will Book F, pp. 158-159 (1775).

<sup>32</sup> Will Book I, p. 32 (1792).

<sup>33</sup> Will Book A, p. 271 (1728).

thusly: "I Recommend my Soul to him that gave it, my Body to the Earth to be decently buried."<sup>34</sup> It is possible that a proper burial of the body was thought to be necessary before the departed soul could rest peacefully, which if true might explain in part the particular concern for funeral procedures in the wills. I have yet to find verification for this hypothesis, however, outside of the wills themselves.

Quaker widows often specified the Meeting House cemetery in which they wished to be interred. In 1714, for example, Elizabeth Newlin said in the first part of her will that "my will is that my body be buried in the Meeting House yard in Concord in such Decent and Christian manner as my Executor hereafter named shall see most meet and Convenient . . ."<sup>35</sup> Ann Marshall stipulated that her body be "Decently buried at Friends Buriall place at Newgarden."<sup>36</sup> In another historical source I learned that the funeral expenses listed in the account of this Irish Quaker's estate were: "A Coffin £1; Sider at ye funerall 10 s; ye Grave Diging, 3s. 6d."<sup>37</sup> This brief reference is of particular interest since it suggests the former custom in early America of providing refreshments for the guests at a funeral, a practice which was brought to the colonies by the English, Welsh, and others. The information also gives some idea of the comparatively low cost of dying in 18th Century Pennsylvania.

Two other interesting provisions for burial found among these widow wills are worth mention. Quaker Hannah Evans of Goshen wrote the following in her will of 1742: "I also order that my Fine Sheet which I brought with me from Merion being Linnen of my Making be fer my Winding Sheet."<sup>38</sup> This is obviously a reference to the way in which she wished her body to be wrapped prior to being placed in the coffin, and it calls to mind the popular broadside of the time, "The Irish Rake." Sarah Mac-Williams was likewise specific as to how she wanted her burial to be handled: "My will is that my body be decently buried in my Husband's grave next my will is that there be a head or tomb stone put to our grave also my funeral expenses and Just debts to be paid the stone to be such as my Executors think best."<sup>39</sup>

Next in order in the customary format of the will came the terms regarding the detailed personal and household possessions left to each beneficiary. I have previously mentioned that widows took particular care in drawing up this portion of the document. This observation is especially true in cases where the widow left items to one or more daughters. The typical concern of women for personal belongings, furniture, and everyday household items makes a study of widow wills particularly rewarding as an indication of dress and daily life in the early American home. Mention of some form of woolen clothing, for example, is made in nearly all of the documents of this sort. Bequests of beaver hats, hoods, bonnets, cloaks, gowns, gloves, and shoes provide the folklife scholar with firsthand data about Quaker dress which is free from the inaccuracies of popular misconceptions and a neglect to consider periodical changes through time. In fact, the variety and change in Quaker dress through the 18th Century as indicated in these wills deserves separate study; the few illustrations to follow hardly do justice to the topic. Amelia

Mott Gummere has written in her informative work, *The Quaker. A Study in Costume*, that "nonconformity has nowhere expressed itself more fully than in Quaker dress."<sup>40</sup> She adds elsewhere in her study that "no costume was more important for the Quaker women of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than that designed for use on horseback. This was even more the case in the colonies than in England."<sup>41</sup>

In 1716, Sarah Bushell of Concord began the terms of her will with a bequest of clothing: "I Give and Bequeath unto Margaret Chivers the wife of James Chivers of Concord one Brown mixed color serge Gown and a blew Gray serge petticoat I gave and Bequeath unto my Two friends all the Remaining part of my wearing apparell both woolin and Linnen . . . to be equally divided . . . share and share alike."<sup>42</sup> Phebe Blunston bequeathed to her cousin "my best black silk hood" and "one muslin hood." She left another friend, among other things, "one searge gown, my saddle bridle . . . one worsted druggett suit & rideing apron."<sup>43</sup> In 1748, two years later, Quaker widow Elizabeth Freeman willed to her daughter: "one half of the crop now in the ground to her own proper use & behoof & further I give unto her one gown red & blue colour & quilt of the same & my new bonnet and six caps." A sister received "my big brass kettle and my biggest iron pott and one walnut and blue coloured gown," the latter perhaps so described because of the common usage of natural dyes. She further willed to a friend "one spotted faced cow call'd blossom & one great cloak & a book tituled 'the history of the Quakers' by Wm Sewel," and to another woman "my best black hood."<sup>44</sup>

Twenty years later, Mary Collins of Goshen bequeathed to her mother "my long camblet cloak & my white Beaver Hat;" two sisters received "all my wearing apparel Except my large silver shoe Buckles my Riding whip silver Lockett Sleeve Buttons & Best Barcelona Handkerchief which I give to my said Son."<sup>45</sup> Catherine Thomas likewise willed clothing to her son-in-law's family, including "my Beaver Hat and velved Hood my great cloak."<sup>46</sup> In 1782, Susanna Davis left to her daughter "a Short white Ribb'd Cloak a pair of Stays and white Beaver hat a Double Stamp'd Gown red and yellow Quilt one Plat Bonnet." Another daughter received "my Red and Yellow gown and Second Best Quilt."<sup>47</sup> Many of these wills suggest the great popularity of the flat beaver (felt) hat, which had a very broad brim and crown of about two inches in height, and which was widely worn as part of the Quaker's riding apparel.<sup>48</sup> The transition to plain dress among Quaker women in the latter half of the 18th Century is suggested in the 1792 will of Mary Wiley of London Grove township. She left her daughter, for example, "one Saten Cloak and one Crape Gown, and one black apron, and one pair of velvet shoos, and one pair of black cuffs;" a granddaughter was willed "one Chince gown."<sup>49</sup>

A wide variety of furniture and household items was willed along with clothing by the Quaker widows. The frequency of walnut and poplar furniture and pewter kitchen utensils among the bequests gives some idea as to the

<sup>34</sup> Amelia Mott Gummere, *The Quaker. A Study in Costume* (Philadelphia, 1901), p. 123.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155.

<sup>36</sup> Will Book A, pp. 62-63 (1716).

<sup>37</sup> Will Book C, pp. 169-170 (1746).

<sup>38</sup> Will Book C, p. 112 (1748).

<sup>39</sup> Will Book E, p. 53 (1768).

<sup>40</sup> Will Book F, p. 237 (1775).

<sup>41</sup> Will Book G, pp. 27-28 (1782).

<sup>42</sup> Gummere, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

<sup>43</sup> Will Book I, p. 32 (1792).

<sup>34</sup> Will Book B, p. 28 (1738).

<sup>35</sup> Will Book A, p. 48 (1714).

<sup>36</sup> Will Book A, p. 314 (1729).

<sup>37</sup> Myers, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

<sup>38</sup> Will Book B, p. 112 (1742).

<sup>39</sup> Will Book D, p. 509 (1765).

standard craftmaking materials in early Pennsylvania. The daughters in a family were usually willed the big and little spinning wheels which were such an essential part of home-life in the 18th Century. Elizabeth Webster of East Marlborough, for instance, bequeathed to one daughter "a Doughtruff and Big wheel and Boxiron (*sic*) and heators and a Bedpan," and to another daughter "a warming pan and a walnut table and a chest and a long Cloke." Her granddaughter received "my best bead and furnetur and a puter beason and six plates and the middlemost Iron pot and a Little wheele."<sup>50</sup> A granddaughter of another widow received an "old Cow a Chalf Bed one pair of old Sheets two Blankets Shag Rugg the Little Iron Pot & frying Pan and the Pine Chest and the Low oake Bedsteds."<sup>51</sup>

Mary Pennell of Chester bequeathed to her daughter: "my Chest of Drawrs my Feather Bed with a Case to it . . . one white Diaper counterpane two Copper Kettles my Calimanco Gown . . . two blew Chairs and my Camblet Riding Hood and my Patesway Hood."<sup>52</sup> Hannah Seal began her will in 1746 with a bequest to her daughter: "I Give and Devise unto my Daughter Rachell Seal my Largest Brass Kettle and Bible and the Book of Martors & all that Linen Yarn that is to make a lot of Curtains and five pewter platters with the one half of my wearing apparell Both Woollon & Linnon, but if Rachell Dyes in this Sickness then to her Sister Hannah." Hannah was to receive "my Largest Iron pott with that sett of Curtains that is about the bed that I Layeth on," and her son was willed the "largest pair of fire Shovells and tongs and Cloaths press Standing in the far Room."<sup>53</sup>

Deborah Parks of East Bradford bequeathed to her granddaughter "one Iron Spit . . . Chafing Dish . . . Coffee Mill and Sadle,"<sup>54</sup> Martha Hobson left her granddaughter "the sum of Twenty Pounds, with all my Household goods (Except the Bed I lye on & furniture belonging thereto, & big Bible). I also give her one of my cows of her choice." And to her grandson she willed: "my Big Bible & Weavers Loom."<sup>55</sup>

Two of the most fascinating widow wills from the point of view of summarizing the kinds of things bequeathed during the 18th Century are also unique with respect to interesting spellings. The terms of Mary Collins' will read:

Item. I give unto my Dauthar Sarah Wallan my brass cattle and worming pan a rad and whit plat my horse and side sadle and pillaw.

One of the granddaughters of this widow received: one putar dish one putar bason four putar plats three putar porngars one putr quart one putar chamber pot and my chast of drors and two pillars and the two bast pillar cases and two pair linnen sheets and a blu and whit ciuer lid a tabe cloth and three napkins half a duson of putar spoons and half a doson tranchars two rush bottam chairs and a lukiing glass two galon bottls two quart bottals two point bottls one blaw and whit plat and a little stone cup.

Another of her granddaughters was willed: a fathar bad and bolstar and bad stids and rug and a good blanket and curtains and all blonging to tham two pairs of sheets one of them cottan and linnan and three napkins one box iron and heatars one little iron pot a big whieel and a little whieel and a dressing box and two pillar cases.

<sup>50</sup> Will Book D, p. 577 (1766).

<sup>51</sup> Will Book G, pp. 27-28 (1782).

<sup>52</sup> Will Book E, pp. 98-99 (1768).

<sup>53</sup> Will Book B, p. 208 (1746).

<sup>54</sup> Will Book I, p. 156 (1783).

<sup>55</sup> Will Book F, pp. 158-159 (1775).

And a grandson was bequeathed: one pine chast and the Saven pounds that Thomas Wallan owas to me apon bond.<sup>56</sup>

Anne Thomas' will of 1748 was equally specific as to which items went to which descendant. She left to one of her daughters:

the beed and fornetur therunto belonging which I use to lie oppon and two blankts of ye pees that is now at the weevers and the biggest three putter dishes. And the medle Iorn poot one black cow with a whit star on the forhed one pid heffer of three year old and all my right of the child and the sum of two pounds of current lawful money a year for teen years if she chance not to marrey duerring heir natral luife.

A son received "my ridden mear" and a grandson acquired "one brinded cow and three year old heffer when hee comes to the eage of fifteen years old." The widow left to her two other sons "all my track of land or plantishan ewekly to be devided betwen them bouth only [one of them] is to have tow eakers of the choasen medo."<sup>57</sup>

Concluding his work *Pennsylvania German Wills*, Russell Wieder Gilbert remarked that "these wills are pages of unadorned simplicity";<sup>58</sup> the observation equally applies to the 18th Century wills of Chester County widows. Yet will study provides folklife scholarship with more than an historical record *per se*; the last will and testament also discloses how early colonists subjectively as well as objectively felt about the things which they bequeathed. Hence, the study of early wills adds a personal dimension to straight historical documentation. In this sense, early wills provide the folklife scholar with a readily available source of information like that which may be gleaned from more scarce documents such as the personal diary and journal. It remains to be seen whether or not the former source will receive the attention which it deserves. "The wills illustrate comparative values: for the early settlers, personal property and possessions had greater intrinsic worth than money. Nevertheless, these legal documents hold within their pages grants of currency, changes in the cost of living, and variations in the price of articles."<sup>59</sup> Recognizing these factors, I found it a rather fitting conclusion to my research to discover that, in 1800, widow Elizabeth Welsh willed to her grandson: "one Silver Dollar."<sup>60</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Will Book C, pp. 12-13 (1742).

<sup>57</sup> Will Book C, p. 63 (1748).

<sup>58</sup> Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>60</sup> Will Book J, p. 451 (1800).

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# FOLK ELEMENTS In Scotch-Irish Presbyterian COMMUNITIES

By MARY ELLEN BROWN LEWIS

The material in the body of this report is largely to be found in the diaries of two men: John McMillan and John Cuthbertson. John McMillan, the son of an Irish immigrant from County Antrim, was born November 11, 1752, in Faggs Manor, Pennsylvania. He was educated at the classical schools of John Blair and Robert Smith. Later he graduated from Princeton. Before his birth, his parents, who had lost one child, promised to dedicate another child, should they be blessed with one, to God. McMillan served as minister in New Castle, Donegal, and Redstone Presbyteries. He was one of the founders and was first moderator of the latter. A ministerial school held in his home became Washington and Jefferson College. He died November 16, 1833.

John Cuthbertson was the first Reformed Presbyterian minister in America. Landing in 1751, he began caring for Covenanters primarily in Pennsylvania, riding on horseback to the outlying areas. For twenty-two years he served isolated Scotch-Irish Presbyterian groups as a missionary. Cuthbertson became permanent minister at Middle Octorara in 1774. By 1783 he was connected with the newly created Associate Reformed Church. Prior to his death in 1791, he was minister at Lower Chanceford, Pennsylvania.

The Records of the Session, New Londonderry Congregation, Faggs Manor, Pennsylvania, referred to in this report, were begun during the ministry of Samuel Blair, first minister to the church. Blair was an important figure in the Great Awakening.

The term "folk" denotes a social group connected by a common tradition and a peculiar feeling of communion the basis of which is a common historical background.<sup>1</sup> According to this definition the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in Pennsylvania were a folk group. They were a homogeneous group bound together by their religion, brought from the old country, Scotland or Ireland, which enabled them to adapt more easily to the new environment. The church controlled their lives. The Session of the Presbyterian Church, especially in isolated districts, served not only as governing body for the church but also as governing body for the community. The Session had supreme authority controlling and censoring actions which violated Christian principles, which were *the* way of life.

Membership in the church family was taken seriously; persons were examined carefully on matters of doctrine before they were allowed to join. Testimonials of past behavior were often necessary. Once a church member, a person's behavior was subject to criticism and punishment by the Session.

<sup>1</sup> Åke Hultkrantz, ed., *General Ethnological Concepts* (Copenhagen, 1960), p. 128.

Rode 6 mi. to David Dimwiddys held session concerning Sam Moor's wife.<sup>2</sup>

Rebuked George McGous for fornica'n 11 y. ago.<sup>3</sup>

... held session concerning Cland[estine] marr[riage].<sup>4</sup>

John and Rachel for fornication.<sup>5</sup>

Held session concerning R. S.<sup>6</sup>

Held session 10 hours, rectifying disorders, removing differences.<sup>7</sup>

At night kept session three hours. Tried three elders. Rebuked and admonished.<sup>8</sup>

Rebuked T. Girvan and Ag. Swan for fourna.<sup>9</sup>

The session at Faggs Manor heard Mark Jack, an indentured servant, complain against Allen Simson. Ester McCloskey was charged with immorality. Mary Stringer was condemned for using sinful expressions; John Smith, shoemaker, for offensive words and actions; John Robinson for unbecoming speech. The Session heard evidence of Thomas Dobbins versus Hanse Kirkpatrick, member of the Session, in which the latter was accused of breach of bargain. Thomas Gibson and Mary Weldon planned to marry; William reported to the Session that Mary had already promised to marry him. The Session settled the case. William Kenny found Robert Turner's cattle eating in his (Kenny's) field on Sunday. He turned Turner's cattle back into Turner's field where they also spoiled their owner's crops. Kenny was chastised for his un-Christian attitude. The Session settled a quarrel between David Allen and William Armstrong which occurred when "raising" John Tarbet's house.<sup>10</sup>

Excessive drinking among church members of the community brought forth the following pronouncement from the Session:

Jan.ry 5th, 1741/2

We the Church Session, the Minister & Elders of this Congregation of New Londonderry having lately, to our grief, had to deal wt some persons on account of their being guilty of ye great and scandalous sin of excess in strong Drink, and finding it has been generally at publick Vendues they were guilty of this evil, we look upon it our duty, in this publick manner, to testify against the corrupt practice of giving & drinking spirituuous Liquor on such occasions; inasmuch as ye shameful & unmanly, as well as unChristian and unGodly sin of Drunkenness, more or less, is generally the consequence

<sup>2</sup> John Cuthbertson, Unpublished Diarv. August 24, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, May 24, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, May 9, p. 166.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, April 8, 1786, p. 169.

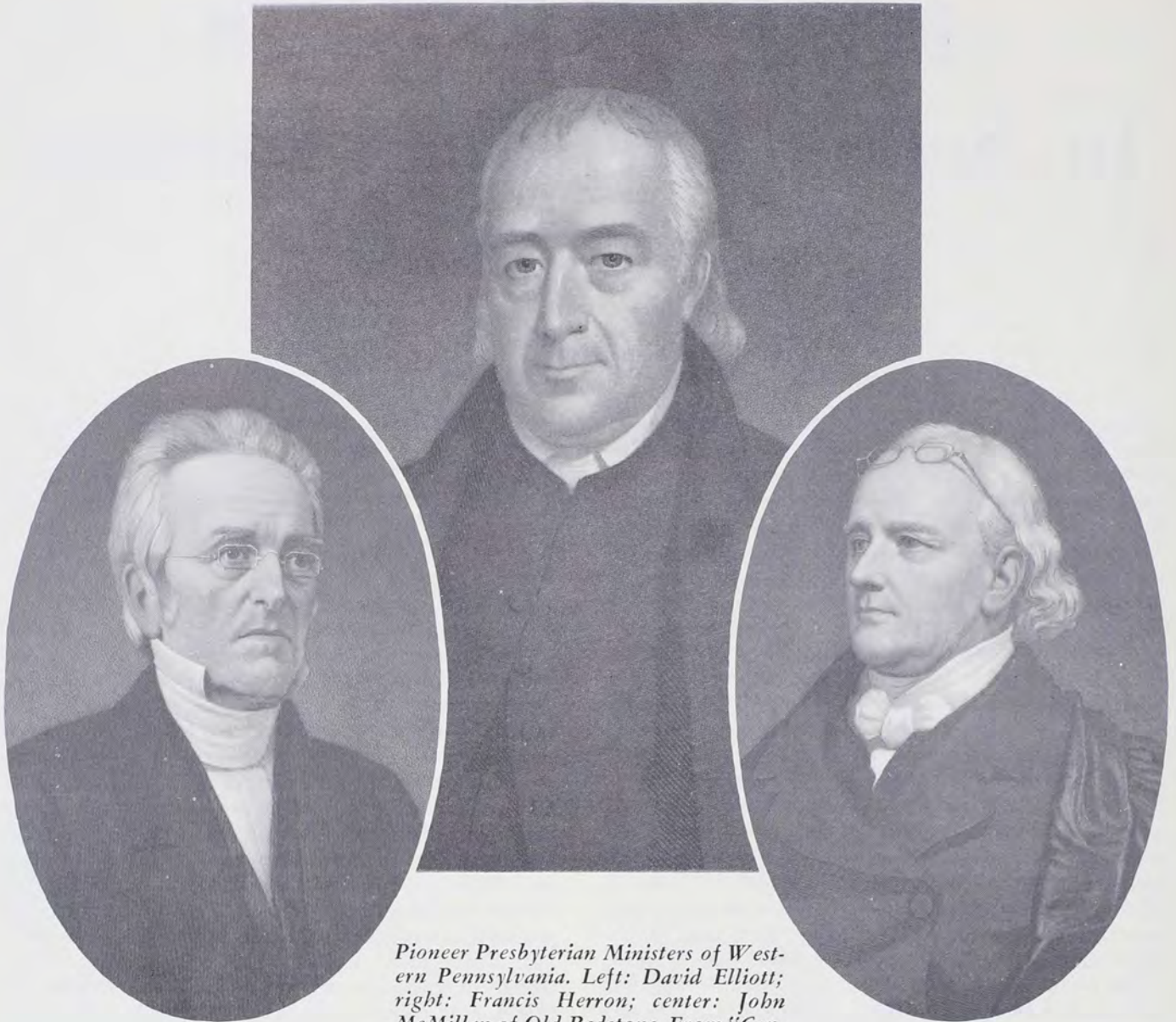
<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, May 11, p. 21.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, September 13, p. 24.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, August 19, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, October 26, p. 58.

<sup>10</sup> Records of Session, New Londonderry Congregation, Faggs Manor, Pennsylvania, MS. 1740-1793, pp. 6, 100 *et passim*.



*Pioneer Presbyterian Ministers of Western Pennsylvania. Left: David Elliott; right: Francis Herron; center: John McMillan of Old Redstone. From "Centenary Memorial of the Planting and Growth of Presbyterianism in Western Pennsylvania and Parts Adjacent" (Pittsburgh, 1876).*

of it; so that it is likely to corrupt & Debauch the Land, and make bad men much worse, to ye great endangering of ye everlasting perdition of souls, the profanation of God's Holy Name, a wounding of his church. Moreover, we think yt they who so liberally provide plentifully bestow Drink on those Occasions, and they that have ye distribution of it and so forwardly hold it to, & even press it on their pleasing Bidders, are not only accessory to others Drunkenness, but are also guilty of gross fraud and injustice, elevating men beyond ye sober solid exercise of their Reason, that so they may get ye better prices for their Goods, and get advantage to themselves from the others incapacity & folly. Two things relating to this Matter we wou'd heartily recommend to our Brethren of this Congregation for whom we are bound to have a peculiar care, first, that when any of you may see cause to make publick sales, you wou'd not comply wt this pernicious custom of giving Intoxicating Drink, but look upon it as an unjust & sinful method for advancing your own gain. Secondly, that when you have Occasion to

be at Vendues you wou'd give no countenance to this practice, but let their Drink alone to such as will take no Admonition contrary to their own Lusts, who care not yt all real Religion were banish'd out of the World: and, by thus distinguishing yourselves shew Yt you are against whatsoever tends to the promoting of vice & Irreligion in ye Land, and drawing down ye Divine Judgment upon it, and we hope that in these things you will submit your selves unto us who are call'd of God to rule over you, to admonish you and watch for your souls as it is meet in the Lord.

Furthermore, we think it convenient to give this general Notice, that all such under our care and Inspection as shall be found guilty for ye time to come of being so publickly Intoxicated, and sensibly disorder'd by strong Drink shall, before they be admitted to ye distinguishing privileges of the visible church, make publick confession of their sin, and profession of their grief & sorrow for it before God, as Evidence of ye Truth of their Humiliation, as a greater Bond and Restraint upon them afterwards, as a fuller satis-

faction to ye church concerning their after-admission, and that all Israel may hear & fear and do no more so wickedly.

N:B: This Act for the more effectual suppressing of drunkenness was p[e]r order read in ye open congregation.<sup>11</sup>

William McKenny was brought before the Session for two acts of intemperance; one he admitted, the other he denied. He was found guilty of both acts of intemperance. He was either to publicly confess his sin or be excluded from the church. Finally, he publicly admitted his sin.<sup>12</sup> Three members of the Session saw Francis Maibane intoxicated. Either he must admit or be expelled. Eventually, he acknowledged his sin.<sup>13</sup> When John Shiels and William McFerren were accused of being intoxicated, they confessed.<sup>14</sup>

One John Love recorded in the minutes of the Session the following:

As the use of spirituous liquor at funerals is unnecessary & as the custom is liable to be abused & ye abuse of it has been observed & lamented by many. I the subscriber having viewed the use of any spirituous liquor on such occasions as unnecessary & oftentimes attended with bad consequences have long disapproved of the practice & being now in a weak & low condition & not without apprehensions that my dissolution may be nigh, to testify my disapprobation of such an unnecessary, improper & frequently hurtful practice I do prohibit any eating & the use of any kind of liquor at my funeral & require that this be punctually observed by my surviving relations, & because a noncompliance wt the custom is thot by many a disrespect shown to the memory of ye deceased I have ordered that this my probation be read publically to those who may attend my funeral, that it may be known that the common custom of serving ye people as it is called is omitted by orders & also to show my dislike to such an improper an[d] hurtful practice.

Jno. Love

Read accordingly by Jn E. Finley & observed.<sup>15</sup>

However, drinking itself was not thought a sin; even ministers indulged. Cuthbertson mentions buying and selling whiskey in his diary.

Sold my whiskey to H. Rockey 3 gallons.<sup>16</sup>  
...paid qt. w(hiskey).<sup>17</sup>

Two ministers, one of whom was John McMillan, were traveling and stopped for refreshments. While the other man was saying a long blessing, McMillan drank both of their glasses of liquor. To his companion McMillan said, "My brother, you must watch as well as pray."<sup>18</sup> Although McMillan and his friend saw nothing wrong with drinking, they thought it would be improper for them to attend a "Husking frolic."<sup>19</sup>

Two references to witchcraft appear in the Records of Donegal Presbytery. The Session heard the accusation that a person was a witch. Necessary evidence was not forthcoming; it hardly seemed possible for a person to be two places at once.

...we se no Ground at all, from anything brot before us, to conclude Agness Taylor or any of her family, guilty of it.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7-13.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>16</sup> John Cuthbertson, Unpublished Diary, February 15, p. 143.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, February 7, p. 143.

<sup>18</sup> John McMillan, Biographical Manuscript, p. 129.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 230.

<sup>20</sup> Records of Donegal Presbytery, Vol. II, pp. 78, 79.

On ship coming over to America, a woman, having been suspected of witchcraft, was tested by being required to say the Lord's Prayer.<sup>21</sup>

Within the community the church Session ruled, particularly in the absence of civil authority. Often permanent ministers were not available; in that case, the Session was even more powerful—often they in turn were judged severely when the itinerant minister appeared.

Places of worship in these new communities were varied. Regular church buildings seem to have been built rather late.

Dr. McMillan preached his 1st sermon within the bounds of Pigeon Creek in 1775, the meeting being in open air, as there were no buildings.<sup>22</sup>

No church or house of worship was erected in the country until 1790. Even in winter the meetings were held in open air. A place was selected which partially sheltered the congregation from the weather, where a log pulpit was erected and logs furnished the audience with seats.<sup>23</sup>

Rode 6 miles to and from tent...<sup>24</sup>

Rode 2 miles 2 and from tent...<sup>25</sup>

Rode 4 miles—in a barn preached...<sup>26</sup>

Sabbath. Rode 2 miles to and from the tent.<sup>27</sup>

Sabbath. Rode 7 miles to and from Tent.<sup>28</sup>

Sabbath. Rode 3 miles to the Tent.<sup>29</sup>

Thursday being ye day appointed by ye congress to be observed as a fast throughout ye colonies, I rode about 7 miles & preached to a large congregation in the woods nigh to Bufers Creek.<sup>30</sup>

At Chartiers the first place of worship was John McDowell's house on Chartiers' Creek.<sup>31</sup>

The singing of hymns and the use of organs produced some controversy.

...indeed when stoves were 1st introduced, there was as much opposition to them as to the use of hymns and organs.<sup>32</sup>

John Cuthbertson mentions singing only of Psalms: 24, 103, 2, 118. These Psalms are often noted in connection with communion. To take communion a token, which seems to have indicated good behavior, had to be presented.

The Record of the Session, New Londonderry, include a list of births and deaths. A sample of the latter is the following:

Mrs. Frances Blair relict of Sam. died Feb. 7th aged 72.

Was under religious impressions at ye age of 14 w[hi]c[h] continued to ye end.<sup>33</sup>

Appended to the end of John Cuthbertson's diary are sixteen folk remedies. Cuthbertson, though educated, seems to have used these cures. All through his diary, he mentions his sicknesses which are numerous and frequent. He took spoonfuls of "ypacaceana" [ipecacuana] if he was feeling unwell.<sup>34</sup>

*Ague: to cure*

Take a large spoonful of flour brimstone in a gill of mountain wine the moment the fit seizeth. If this cure not, repeat, with fit.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 74.

<sup>22</sup> John McMillan, Biographical Manuscript, p. 222.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155.

<sup>24</sup> John Cuthbertson, Unpublished Diary, September 22, p. 24.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, July 26, p. 9.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, June 12, p. 22.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, September 1, p. 2.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, September 8, p. 2.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, August 11, p. 1.

<sup>30</sup> John McMillan, Biographical Manuscript, p. 224.

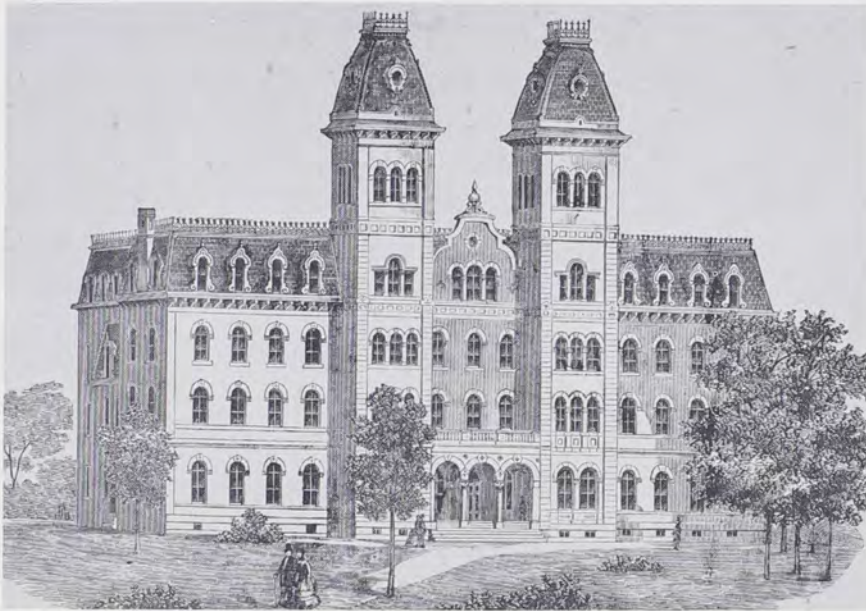
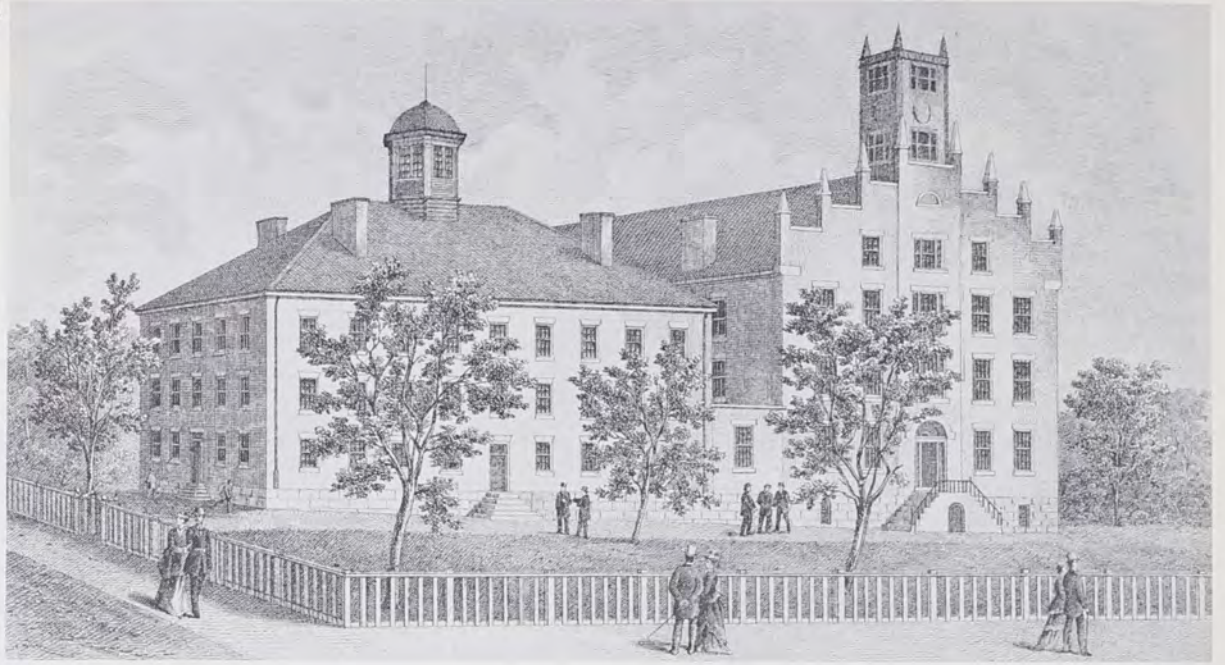
<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 214.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 220.

<sup>33</sup> Records of Session, New Londonderry Congregation, Faggs Manor, Pennsylvania, MS, 1740-1793, p. 131.

<sup>34</sup> John Cuthbertson, Unpublished Diary, August 7, 14, p. 29.

A



*Presbyterian Educational Institutions were famous in early America. Frontier ministers opened academies which often grew into permanent colleges.*

- A:) Canonsburg Academy*
- B:) Washington and Jefferson College, Canonsburg*
- C:) Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh*

B



C

*Violent pains in the bones:*

to remove, take prickly ash-bark, a handful steep in rum. Drink  $\frac{1}{2}$  gill morning, rub with it. etc.

*Poyson to cure—*

boil rue in sweet milk; or wanting rue, take soft soap. Cholick, warm water, drink freely and vomit. Cure P. E.\*

*Memorandum—To cure Headache.*

Take a handful of featherfew and egg—fry in a pan and lay upon the hinder part of the—P. E.

*To cure tooth-ache*

take a quart vinegar and red hot bottom thickbottle, put into etc. Hold mouthful till cold, spit out, repeat the whole. It makes worse 2 days. P.E.

*Ague, to cure, before the cold fit—*

bathe the legs in hot water—take 9 or 10 grains camphire (camphor) in teaspoonful of sugar. Drink warm water sweetened, 1 pint afterwards—from 2 Clark.

*Worms, to Kill—*

take a spoonful Allum, another of Link powder; grind fine, mix, divide into 3 parts; sweeten, give every morning, P. E.

Take a handful May-apple; wash, boil in a quart water, down  $\frac{1}{2}$  pint. Give half spoonful to boy or girl from 8 to 12 years old, a spoonful to an old person. P. E.

May 19, 1766. before Price's door by Deer—in Charlemount from Matt. Bolton, son to Hugh Sovereigh Med. following, viz: Lapis, Sairminerus, 3 ounces; vitriol album-Emp. Diapalma—12, first powder well and mixt; if the can. be open, apply a little of the powder, laying over it a patch of black silk; If all shut, scarify gently, supply Emp.—when the med[icine] operates, give patient a dose of Pulverious or Nerou. Dulcis. but adding new powder; was with some cleansing—.

*To cure the Spleen.*

Take of Assa Foetida 3 drahms; Castile soap, 3 half drahms; of opium half a drachm. Beat together with the bulk of a pea of honey or molasses. Form into 90 pills, like peas. Take 3 of them in a sup of warm gruel at bedtime. Drink tea of thyme or motherwort, or of bayberries. Warm instantly after it. Keep them in a bladder in the cellar. 1769. from Dr. Clark.

*Ringworm: to cure.*

Take gun-powder, brimstone, green copperas; pound fine, mix in hog'slard and rub the place therewith P.E.

To lay swelling, blood, etc. by blows, bruises, take moss of mapple, pound fry in hog's lard.

*An experienced cure for Cou-ais—*

1. White Oak, misselto, pulled in January.
2. Wood century, of each a small handful.
3. A live, dry, land toad; and 4th., a small bone about 1 inch and  $\frac{1}{2}$  long, to be found below the ear of a slain hog—of the last also a small handful. Prepare all the ingredients (as above) to be put into a hot oven and dried—then totally beat into a powder. Thus to be used; take so much of the above powder as will lie on a penny, and put into a spoonful of woman's milk, who has brought forth or suckles a female (if the patient is male, and visa versa). Three mornings before the change of the moon and fully(y-) and as many mornings after each.

----- this valued at 20 guineas.

*To cure Hives in children*

Take a red—, cut in two, take out the—in each

side, stuff with saffron, tie up and roast. Then squeeze out the juice, give to the child, etc.

*To dry up a running in man or horse:*

take the yoke of an egg, mix up with salt and lay upon the sore. P. E.—For a fresh cut, corruption, take fresh butter, well-link, ripple-grass, and heal all. Pound, boil and—P. E.

Lap Scar 3 ounces and Vitriol Abum 1 ounce.

*The famous American Receipt for the Rheumatism*

Take of garlic two cloves, of gum ammoniac, one drachm; blend them by bruising together. Make them into two or three bolus' with fair water and swallow one at night and the other in the morning. Drink strong sassafras tea while using these. It banishes also contractions of the joints. 100 pounds been given for this.<sup>35</sup>

Two cures for horses are mentioned. As Cuthbertson depended on a horse for transportation, these cures were undoubtedly essential.

*To cure Horse-back*

very sore take a small handful garlic powder, handful bay salt, a large cut of inner loag. Soak in a quart of rain or rum water. Wash once or twice a day. Burn rye and lay on to heal.<sup>36</sup>

horse bad of the gripes, took a half pint of reim, pepper, put castor oil—sweet milk and soot good, hickory ashes and—<sup>37</sup>

Folk elements found among Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in Pennsylvania are numerous: witchcraft, folk cures, husking frolics, not to mention the folk character of these isolated groups—homogeneous, bound by a common past, based on one of the primary institutions, the church.

Franz Boaz, noted anthropologist, shows in *Kwakiutl Culture as Reflected in Mythology* how folklore can tell much about the culture of which it is a part. Mythology can be used to reconstruct a culture. For centuries, persons have said that literature "mirrors the culture." So, too, do documents of the 18th Century contribute to knowledge of folk culture in that century. If not completely providing material for reconstructing the culture or if not completely mirroring the life, these diaries and records give an insight into the life of their time.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 181-182.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 182.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, March, p. 13.

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\*"P. E.", often found in folk and popular medical manuscripts, is an abbreviation for "probatum est," meaning that the writer has tested the efficacy of the remedy.—EDITOR.

*Thomas Massey  
House silhouettes  
the past.*



*The Thomas Massey House (north side) as it appears today.*

# The Thomas Massey House

By CLARISSA SMITH and JOHN D. MILNER

We proudly present the Thomas Massey House.

Silhouetted against the skies of four centuries this old Pennsylvania farmhouse is a memorial to all the earliest settlers of Marple Township, Delaware County, Pennsylvania.

Thomas Massey's brick house was built in 1696 as an addition to an earlier log house, and was enlarged in the 18th and 19th Centuries. It remained in the possession of his descendants until 1925. In 1963 the house and one acre of Massey's original 300-acre "plantation" was purchased by a Massey descendant, Lawrence M. C. Smith of Germantown, and given to Marple Township for restoration.

The Thomas Massey House is located at Lawrence and Springhouse Roads, Broomall, Marple Township, Delaware County, Pennsylvania.

Marple Commissioners appointed a six-member committee in 1964 to administer the restoration and to raise additional funds to supplement the yearly Township appropriation. The project is now in its fifth year and has aroused interest not only locally but nationally and internationally.

Charles E. Peterson, AIA, distinguished Philadelphia architect and professor of the Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture—one of two universities in the United States to offer a course in restoration architecture—has called the Massey House "the best restoration I have seen."

The Thomas Massey House, with sections dating about 1696, 1730 and 1840, is a remarkably well preserved ex-

ample of rural Pennsylvania domestic architecture. Encompassing three centuries of construction techniques, the house can serve well to provide a backdrop for the interpretation of country life in the various periods of Pennsylvania history. It will be invaluable in providing an added dimension for the study of history in the local schools. It should be of specific interest to all who are concerned with the preservation and study of our historic background.

The house will eventually be restored according to its three periods and the earlier two sections will be furnished authentically to recapture the atmosphere of country life in the 17th and 18th Centuries. The latest section will be adapted for a small meeting room and a museum of local history for the Marple-Newtown Historical Society.

## *From Marple, Cheshire, To Marple, Pennsylvania*

Thomas Massey probably was born in Nantwich, Cheshire, England, about 1663. Sailing from Liverpool on the ketch *Endeavour*, Thomas arrived in America 7th month 29, 1683, with the earliest group of settlers to come to Marple Township.



*The Thomas Massey House (south side) as it was in 1928.*

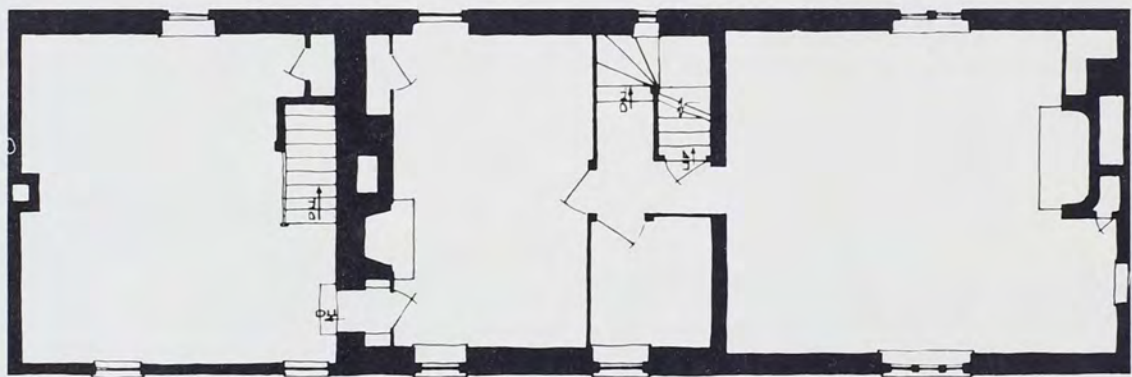
Photograph of Massey House, May, 1928, by Mort Irving of the Philadelphia Inquirer staff.



*Off comes the plasterboard on wall of 1696 brick section of Thomas Massey House, with Clarissa Smith (co-author) wielding the crowbar.*



*Massey House as it appeared in 1963 when deeded to Marple Township for restoration.*

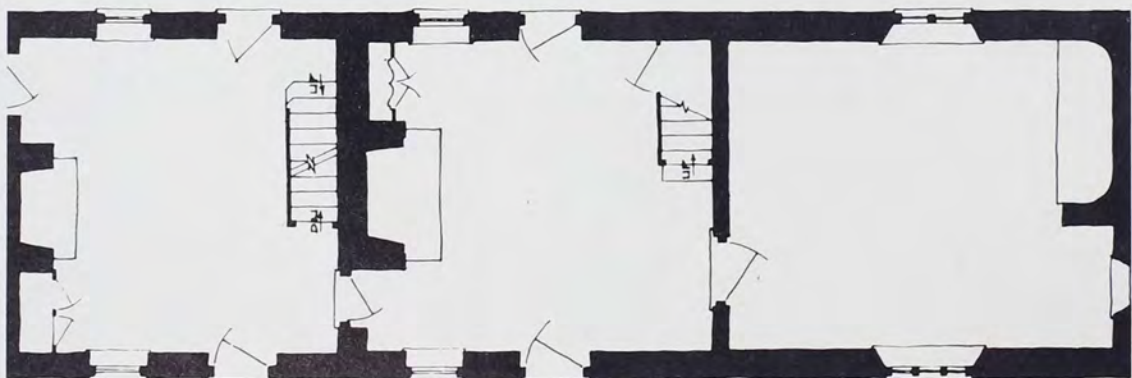


c.1860

c.1750

c.1696

SECOND FLOOR PLAN



c.1860

c.1750

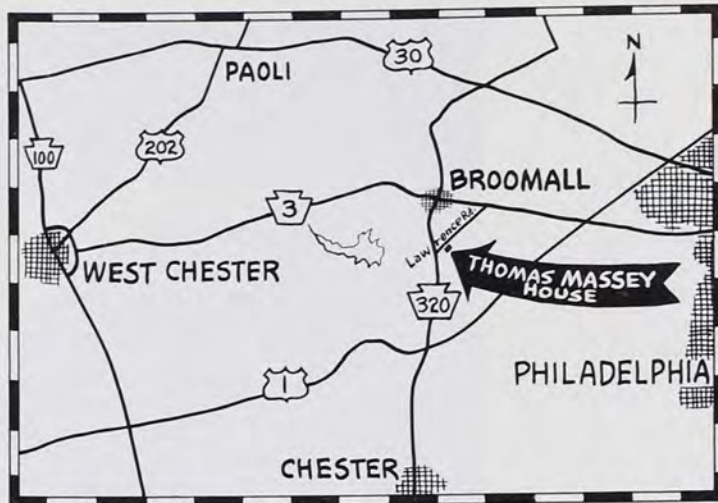
c.1696

*Floor plans of the Thomas Massey House made by restoration architect, John D. Milner.*





Gable end (east side) of Thomas Massey House in 1963. Brick section was built in 1696; two later stone additions 1730, 1840-1860. Note pattering in brick, found in early English houses of the Delaware Valley.



Location of the Thomas Massey House, Marple Township, Delaware County, Pennsylvania.

Massey, born September 13, 1697, married Ann Lewis; Hannah Massey, born August 7, 1699, married George Maris; Thomas Massey, Jr., born January 11, 1701, married Sarah Taylor; Phebe Massey, born April 20, 1705; and Mary, born February 12, 1707/8, married first Musgrove, second Edward Fell.

In 1696 the young couple, with two small children, bought land and built themselves a house in Marple Township, as countless other young couples with small children have done since then.

The indenture for the property is on file at Chester County Court House in the Register of Deeds Office, West Chester, Pennsylvania (Book A, Part 2, page 180).

INDENTURE: JAMES STANFIELD, GRANTOR

Grantor: James Stanfield

Grantee: Thomas Massey

This indenture made the 8th day of September Anno Do., 1696., between James Stanfield of the Township and County of Philadelphia, merchant, and Thomas Massey of the County of Chester yoeman . . . 61 pounds of lawful Current Silver Money of Pennsylvania to him in hand paid. . . .

All that tract or parcel of land situate in the Township of Marple and in sd County of Chester beginning northeast by east 385 perches to a white oak by Darby Creek from thence by the several courses of the same 145 perches to a marked tree from thence by the line of Marked Trees dividing it from the land of Thomas Hope 190 perches southwest and by west 190 perches more upon the same courses dividing him from the land of Henry Haines to the road and by the said Road north and by west 145 perches to a post in the line of John Howell being the sd place of beginning containing 300 acres of land which is a part of a tract of land containing 500 acres granted by patent of confirmation being date the 7 day of 1st mo. 1684 recorded in the rolls office the 31st day of the 8th mo. 1694 to Ebenezer Langford and since sold and conveyed by Edward Hemlock of West Jersey merchant attorney for the said Ebenezer Langford of the Island of Antigua Merchant unto the said James Stanfield.

Together with all Houses, Buildings, orchards, gardens, fences, improvements, appertences whatsoever thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining and all the Estate right title term interest claim and demand whatever of the said James Stanfield of and in to the same and all Deeds Charters Evidence and writings

In exchange for his passage he had agreed to become an indentured servant of Francis Stanfield for a term of years. Stanfield had purchased 250 acres in William Penn's Province of Pennsylvania March 3, 1681, before coming to America. Six hundred acres were surveyed October 26, 1683, and patented to him on October 13, 1685.

Stanfield was a man of some substance to be able to purchase such an extensive "plantation" and to bring his family and eight servants across the sea.

We know that Stanfield was living in Marple in Cheshire when his daughter Grace was born in 1673 and undoubtedly he had a hand in naming Marple USA after his old home town. Grace's birth certificate is on file.

An entry on the books of the *Endeavour* reads: "Fran: Stanfield & Graas his wife late of Garton in Cheshire, husbandman; in ditto ship; children: jam: [James], mary, Sarah, Eliz: Gras & Hanna Stanfield. Servants Dan Brown, Thos: Marsey [Massey], Isa: Brookesby, Rob Sidbotham, John Smith, Robert Bryan, Wm. Redway, Tho: Sidbotham" (Elizabeth Bennett Durand and Edward Dana Durand, *Bennett Family History* [Philadelphia, 1963], p. 136).

*A Young Family*

On November 7, 1692, Thomas Massey was married to Phebe Taylor, daughter of Robert and Mary Hayes Taylor, who had been a 13-year-old girl when she came with her mother and other children on the *Endeavour* in 1683.

They had seven children: *Esther Massey*, born October 30, 1693, married Lawrence Pearson; *Mordecai Massey*, born August 9, 1695, married Rebecca Rhoads; *James*

*In the cellar of the Thomas Massey House, stone barrel vaults are six feet high and twelve feet long, underneath the 1696 brick section of the house and not supporting it. They open from the cellar of the 1730 section, which may have been the cellar for the log house which the 1730 section replaced. Archeological work has not been carried very far here.*



Concerning the Same and the Reversions rents Issues and profits whereof to have and to hold the said 300 acres of land and premises with the appertenances to him the said Thomas Massey his heirs and assigns to the use and behoof of the said Thomas Massey his heirs and assigns forever and under the proportionable part of rent from henceforth Yearly to become due to the Chief Lord of the said land and premises hereby granted and the same James Stanfield doth covenant promise grant for himself and his heirs that they the said land and premises hereby granted unto him the said Thomas Massey and his heirs against him the said James Stanfield and his heirs as also against the said Henry Hemlock and Ebenezer Langford and their heirs and all others claiming by from or under them or any of them or any of their heirs or by their or any of their means privily consent and procurement Shall and will warrent and forever defend by these presence and that the Sd James Stanfield hath not done acted nor suffered any matter of thing whatsoever whereby the said Granted premises or any part thereof is or can or Shall or may be by any means lawfully impeached changed or incumbered by any manner of ways or means whatsoever and hath made and Constituted Jonathan Hayes to be his attorney to appear at the County Court at Chester and there declare acknowledge and deliver these presents to the said Thomas Massey or his certain attorney according to the Law.

In witness thereof the said parties first above named to these present Indentures their hands and seals Interchangeably have put the day and year first above written. Sealed and delivered in the presents of Josiah Taylor and John Hope Acknowledged in open Court and certified under the Clerk's hand and seal this Eight Day of December Anno Do. '96.

John Childe Clark of the County of Chester

#### *Thomas Massey's Will*

Thomas Massey died September 18, 1707/8. His will, recorded at City Hall, Philadelphia, 111A, with a copy at Chester County Historical Society, gave his eldest son, Mordecai, "my house and plantation with all my land lying in Marple Township—to him and his heirs and assigns forever; and that he enter upon it when he comes too twenty years of age, and in Consideration thereof he Pay too my too sons James and Thomas the sum of one hundred Pounds at those times after named; further that my wife have the Plantation toward the bringing up of the children until the time, above expressed; if she remain a widow, but if she be Married again that the Plantation be got by booth my Executors hereinafter named . . . Further my will is that if my wife Remain a widow that she have the lower room in the brick house During her natural life and that of my son Mordecai keep her a cow and hors . . . .

"I give and bequeath too my too sons James Massey and Thomas Massey all my Land in Willistown . . . four hundred and . . . according to their heirs and ddesignes forever . . . and that my son Mordecai pay his brother James for Pound when he is nineteen years of age."

Thomas Massey's Inventory was recorded at, City Hall, Philadelphia, in Will Book 111A and 111B, and a photostatic copy is in the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Pennsylvania. The Thomas Massey House Restoration also has a photostatic copy. The document is headed: "AN INVENTORY of the Estate Goods Rights & Credits of Thomas Massey of Marple in the County of Chester Deceased as it was showed us ye appraisors hereafter named upon ye Twenty Sixth Day of the Month Called January 1708/9 by Phebe Massey & Henry Lewis Executors of his last will & testomony which Bears Date the Twenty-

fourth day of ye first month called March Anno Dom. 1707/8."

Phebe Massey, with a family of seven small children to raise, was married in 1710 to Bartholomew Coppock, Jr., a neighbor living on the "Great Road of Marple" (now Sproul Road, Route 320). He was a widower whose first wife, Rebecca Minshall, had died 5th month 30, 1708, less than a month after the birth of their second child Moses. Their daughter Margaret was two years old (born 4th month 21, 1706) when her mother died. Bartholomew and Phebe Coppock had three children: *Rebecca*, born 5/14/1711, married Daniel Sharples; *Esther*, born 10/12/1714, married Seth Pancoast; and *Martha*, born 11/2/1716/17. The Coppock house stood until last year on property of the Philadelphia Archdiocese, part of the cemetery of SS Peter and Paul. When it was torn down some of the bricks from its walls, almost as old as the Massey House, were rescued and used in the restoration of the Massey House.



*Original floor joist in 1696 section of Thomas Massey House, showing peg holes and built-up dirt marking joint between the floor boards.*

#### *Massey Descendants*

Mordecai Massey, eldest son of Thomas and Phebe Massey, on April 22, 1731, married Rebecca Rhoads and about that time built the first stone addition to the Massey House, replacing the earlier log house.

Mordecai and Rebecca had one daughter, Hannah, to whom he willed his plantation in Marple when he died in 1748. An inventory of his possessions includes many of the items which appeared in his father's inventory. Mordecai's will and inventory are recorded at the Register of Wills Office in the Chester County Court House, West Chester, Pennsylvania, and the Thomas Massey Restoration has a photostatic copy of the two documents.

In 1751, Hannah Massey married Henry Lawrence, whose father owned several mills, including a saw mill, on Darby Creek in Haverford Township. The saw mill is still in operation on Old West Chester Pike, just across Darby Creek from Marple Township. They had nine children—Mordecai, Joseph, Samuel, Massey, Henry, Rebecca, Clement, Joshua, and Hannah.

Henry Lawrence's will of 1802 bequeathed his Marple property to his wife Hannah and daughter Rebecca. His inventory is extensive and repeats some of the things found in the earlier inventories. His will and inventory are filed at the Register of Wills Office of Delaware County, Media, Pennsylvania, since Chester County had been divided in 1789. The Massey House Restoration has a photostatic copy of these, also.

Rebecca Lawrence and Abraham Lewis were married in 1806. Their daughter, Mary, was married in 1829 to Dr. George Smith, State Legislator, County Judge, and historian of Delaware County.

The Marple Farm remained in the Smith family until 1925 when it was sold for development. After several later transfers and subdivisions, the house and one acre were acquired by Marple Township.



*On clean-up Saturday, Rolland Smith (left), John Milner, Clarissa Smith and Robert Bates (by wheelbarrow) are assisted by boys of Marple - Newtown Senior High School Interact Club putting debris from the Thomas Massey House into a township truck.*



*Lower room of 1730 section as it is today.*

*Interior of cupboard painted vermilion to match original color. First floor 1730 section, Thomas Massey House.*



#### *An Adventure in Discovery*

The first great discovery was to find a descendant of Thomas Massey willing and able to purchase the Massey House to save it from demolition. It had been used by the developer of Lawrence Park as a storehouse for millwork, and a place to spray-paint door and window frames. With Lawrence Park completed he had no further use for the old building.

Lawrence M. C. Smith, a great-grandson of Dr. George Smith, presented the deed to the Massey House to the Commissioners of Marple Township, for restoration within

a period of ten years, at ceremonies at the first Thomas Massey Day, Sunday, May 2, 1965.

It was a great satisfaction to find that all the spray paint, hanging in stalagmites from the ceilings and covering the walls in downstairs rooms could be peeled off with the plasterboard that had been applied in the 1940's when the house was "modernized".

Sarah Brock, a descendant of the builder through James Massey, discovered an Indian stone artifact, too large for an arrowhead, lying on the ground near the house on an early visit. It was later identified as a stone knife dating from 1500 to 2000 B. C. by the State Archeologist, who said it came from a certain quarry in Franklin County, Pennsylvania.

Clarissa Smith's discovery was made with a flashlight in the dark and boarded-up house shortly after it was acquired by Marple Township. Pulling at a loose piece of plasterboard in the middle room upstairs, she discovered that the beautiful poplar paneling under it had not been removed when the house was modernized but was merely covered over with plasterboard, nailed to the 1730 paneling.

Another thrill was discovering that there is a Marple in Cheshire, England, and that Francis Stanfield came from there. A letter written to the Mayor of Chester was referred to the Marple Antiquarian Society and we found out how Marple USA got its name.

Raymond Calvert made the discovery, after he had been appointed a member of the Restoration Committee, that Thomas and Phebe Massey were ancestors of his on one branch of his Family Tree compiled long before.

John Milner, our young restoration architect, and Norman Kulp, our craftsman-carpenter, were very fortunate dis-



*Lower room of 1730 section as it was in 1963.*

coveries. We could never have accomplished as much as we have without John's careful "sleuthing" and Norman's patient and knowledgeable handiwork.

John Milner made the most discoveries in "asking the house" to disclose its secrets. Exploring the attic during the first phase of the work, he found that the roof of the brick 1696 section of the house had originally had a much steeper slope but had been altered during the 19th Century to match the adjacent 1730 roof. He found also that the original rafters had been shortened during the alteration and re-used to support the new roof. They were still sound after more than two and a half centuries.

To preserve the ancient timbers, new pieces were spliced onto the ends and the roof was raised to its original slope. Hand-split wood shingles on all three roofs, restored cornices and chimneys transformed a nondescript house into an authentic restoration.

John Milner's investigations confirmed the tradition that Thomas Massey's brick house was an addition to an existing log house. There is no stairway for vertical circulation in this part of the house and no outside door. On the second floor a doorway had been broken through from Mordecai's stone house to the brick house. The original door opening between the brick house and the log house was found, bricked up and covered with plaster containing animal hair as binder, as used in Mordecai's house, instead of plaster made mostly of mud with hay for binder, which was found on each side of the opening.

#### *More Discoveries*

Perhaps John Milner's greatest moment was the day he found the original 1696 black walnut casement window frames beneath the framework of the more recent double hung windows in the brick house.

Although the horizontal and vertical members which had divided the frames into smaller units had been removed, the



*John D. Milner, restoration architect and co-author, points out herringbone brick fire-back and wood-framed niche in fireplace of Thomas Massey's 1696 brick house.*

outer frames had remained in place. A shallow groove in the outside face of the frame indicated that they had contained panels of leaded glass. Wrought nail holes in the groove showed that the panes had been rectangular, measuring four by six inches.

Archeological excavation in the areas near the windows outside the house and in the dirt under the floor of the oldest room unearthed a number of fragments of original lead came and a quantity of early window glass, which,

when pieced together, produced panes measuring exactly four by six inches. On the basis of this conclusive evidence, the casement window frames were restored to their original appearance. To date, two of the small windows in the gable end of the house have been fitted out with hand-made leaded glass, and the leaded glass for the large windows in the second floor room has been promised by the Marple-Newtown Historical Society.

*Mordecai's House Restored*

Mordecai's house, the first and second floor rooms of the 1730 section, were restored during 1966 and 1967. The magnificent poplar paneling in the second floor bedroom had remained unpainted and unstained for over 250 years until the 1940's when it was covered with plasterboard. The mellow tone of the wood, which must have come from Henry Lawrence's father's sawmill on Darby Creek, glows from the paneling, the woodwork and the original floor boards in contrast to the white plastered walls.

The first floor room had been used during the 1940's as a workshop for spray painting woodwork being installed

in the Lawrence Park development. The many layers of paint were removed from the walls, ceilings and stairs. The modern floor was replaced with one of random width oak boards on hand-aded joists. The missing fireplace paneling was replaced, the plaster patched, window glass installed, and the entire room repainted in what were determined to be the original 18th Century colors.

Color sectional analysis of the paint layering revealed a color combination of warm tan woodwork, dark brown chair rails and red cupboard interior. The warm tan was a common 18th Century color and was used in the Supreme Court Room of Independence Hall. Handmade wrought iron hardware matching the original was installed. Mordecai Massey could easily have recognized his home.

A black painted baseboard was continued around the room with black paint over the bottoms of the doors and paneling. The restoration of the 1730 stairway provided one of the most exciting finds. While scraping away a very thin later coat of plaster on the walls of the winding stairs John Milner discovered that a unique design had been painted on the plaster beneath with black paint imitating a baseboard. This was unquestionably a personal touch and was probably painted by Mordecai Massey himself.

*Abundant Discoveries Beneath The Ground*

Archeological investigation in and around the Massey House under the direction of J. Frank Sterling has yielded many interesting and important artifacts.

The first floor of the 1696 brick section was constructed over two large stone cellar vaults. The space between the floor and the top of the vaults was filled in with rubbish and building debris on several occasions during floor alterations. Excavation in this area provided much information of importance to the architectural restoration.

Three original floor joists, with their holes for floor pegs and lines of dust marking the cracks between the

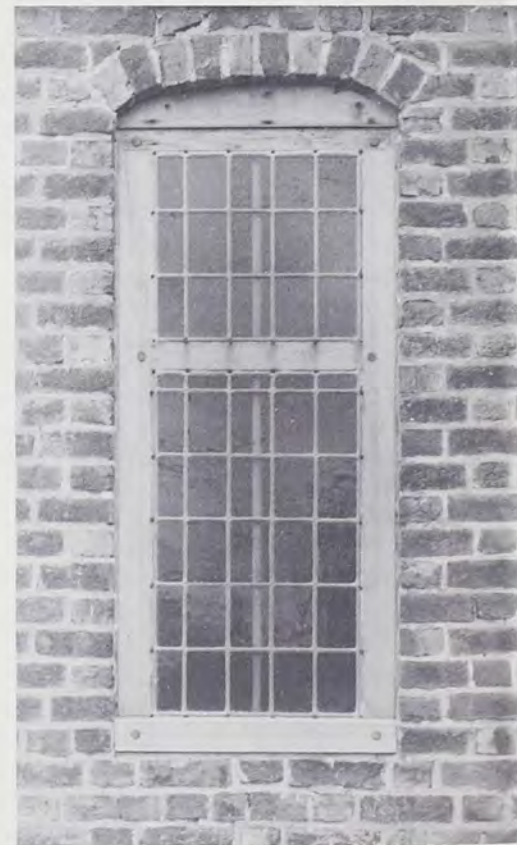


*Original 1696 casement window frame (north side) showing nail holes and restored center members. Arrows indicate glass size, 4" x 6".*

*Windowsill detail of restored leaded glass window.*



*Restored small leaded glass window of 1696 section of Thomas Massey House.*





*Stairway in 1730 section as it appears today.*



*Original poplar paneled wall in bedroom of 1730 section, 1968.*



*Unique original decorative design painted in 1730 stairway by Mordecai Massey.*

floor boards were still in place. A piece of oak flooring and several of the floor pegs were found. Many fragments of earthenware, porcelain, glass, china, clay pipes and miscellaneous household items were discovered and will provide valuable information to interpret the daily lives of the residents. Several coins were found, including an 1807 Spanish Real Piece, an 1807 English Penny and an 1812 English Penny. Scissors, a quilting thimble, a broken ring, buckles and buttons remind us of the women of the house.

#### *Landscaping: A Voluntary Effort*

Two period gardens have been developed at the Thomas Massey House.

Phebe Massey's Herb Garden, patterned after early 18th Century gardens, is at one corner of the property, inside a rail fence given by Robert V. Massey of Haverford, a direct descendant of Thomas and Phebe Massey. It won a top award at the Pennsylvania Federation of Garden Clubs, District I, at its meeting in 1967. With its bronze armillary

sundial and old brick paths, it is the handiwork of Mrs. J. Donald Sproul and the Gardeners of Newtown Square Woman's Club. This garden also won a 1966 award from the Federation.

The Henry and Hannah Massey Lawrence Colonial Garden, 1750-1800, developed by Mrs. Norman Cusworth of Newtown Square and the Garden Club of Drexel Hill, received the Federation Laurel award and the Sears Award in 1967 and 1968.

The Marple-Newtown Historical Society last year presented some thirty spruce trees, rhododendrons, azaleas and laurels, planted along the rear property line. Individuals also have given holly, dogwood and other trees and shrubs. Further landscaping will be done as restoration progresses.

#### *Open House Sundays*

Open House Sundays from 2 to 5 p.m. at the Massey House will continue from May 5 through September 1, and later if interest and the weather are favorable. There is no charge but visitors are encouraged to become members of the Thomas Massey House Restoration.

A special Thomas Massey Day Open House on May 26 brought a hundred visitors, including nine descendants.

School children and other groups are taken through the house by appointment.

The annual membership drive will supplement the appropriation given to the Thomas Massey House Restoration by Marple Township. Gifts and memberships are tax exempt and should be sent to the Marple Township Building, Sproul and Springfield Roads, Broomall, Pennsylvania 19008.

#### *Restoration Committee*

Members of the Restoration Committee for 1968 are: Mrs. Rolland H. Smith, chairman; Raymond Calvert, secretary; Mrs. Otto Lee, treasurer; Mrs. Walter Lucas; Robert Bates; and Henry Forsythe. John Milner is restoration architect and J. Frank Sterling is archeological consultant. Mrs. Lynmar Brock is Massey Family advisor.

# Passengers on the Ketch “ENDEAVOUR”

By GEORGE VALENTINE MASSEY II

It was mid-summer when longshoremen finished loading freight on the ketch *Endeavour* for Pennsylvania in 1683. At the Liverpool dock friends and relatives gathered for a final farewell. Yet some hearts were lightened by the thought of loved ones leaving threats of filthy jails and bloodthirsty informers behind.

Plans for this migration were laid after Penn acquired his Province, but it required time for preparations to settle in a new country. Now, nearly two years later, Penn himself had sailed on the well-known *Welcome*. These twenty-three Quaker families from Cheshire and their servants, some eighty-seven passengers in all, were ready to embark.

### *Penn Writes Thomas Janney*

In a letter to Thomas Janney (1633-1696), a minister in this group, dated at London 6th month (August) 21, 1681, Penn had told of his difficulty and expense to obtain a charter, and quoted the price of Pennsylvania land.

First he acknowledged Janney's letter and ". . . tender love [of which] I am sensible of and consoled with . . ." He continued, ". . . as to my country it is ye effect of much patience & faith as well as cost & charges; for in no outward thing have I known a greater exercise & my minde more inwardly resigned, to feele ye L[or]ds hand to bring it to pass . . . & so it came to me their as great opposition of envious gr[ea]t men . . ." <sup>1</sup>

### *Let People Talk*

His faith was firm that the Lord would prosper his country, though "many whose eyes & minds are two much abroad may imagin & talk, but thats little to me. I shall not I think go till next spring; but a ship goes soon next month" and those desiring land in the best places, laid out with the first, must deal before the commissioner leaves. So advise any there in Cheshire who desire land to write and he, Penn, would have the deeds prepared by Thomas Rudyards.

### *The Time To Buy Land*

The price of 5,000 acres was 100 pounds, or one could buy a "quarter" share for 20—"mine eye is to a blessed government & to a vertuous ingenious & industrious society," Penn added, "so as people may live well & have more time to serve ye L[or]d, then in this crowded land."<sup>2</sup>

Some Cheshire Friends took advantage of this offer and were "first purchasers". Among these was Robert Taylor (ca. 1633-1695), of Little Leigh, who bought 1,000 acres in 1682 and came that year to prepare a home for his wife and children who would follow on the *Endeavour*. (Robert Taylor was an ancestor of Bayard Taylor, an editor of the *New York Tribune*, a poet and novelist. He was Chargé d'Affaires at St. Petersburg, Russia, and U. S. minister to Germany. Richard M. Nixon, former United States Vice-President, is another descendant.)

<sup>1</sup> *Pennsylvania Magazine*; XXXII, 501.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 501, 502.

With Robert Taylor was his seventeen-year-old servant, Daniel Williamson (1665-1727), who would found another well-known family. The Williamsons lived at Stretton, in Cheshire, where Daniel's sister Mary married John Howell in 1680. They too were passengers, with Mary Smith, Daniel Williamson's future wife.<sup>3</sup> Robert Taylor's eldest daughter Rachel and his second son Josuah came with their father, leaving Isaac, Phebe, Thomas, Mary, Jonathan, Martha and John to follow with their mother on the *Endeavour*.

### *An Important Wedding*

In April, 1683, a wedding took place at the house of Thomas Janney, of Pownell-fee, that would make an impression on the future cultural history of both England and America. On April 18, Thomas Pearson, mason, and Margaret, the daughter of Robert and Ellen Smith, all of Pownell-fee, took each other in marriage. They, too, were *Endeavour* passengers, and in time would become the maternal grandparents of Benjamin West who painted historical scenes and personages, was called "the father of American painting," and became the founder and head of the Royal Academy of Painters in England under King George III.<sup>4</sup>

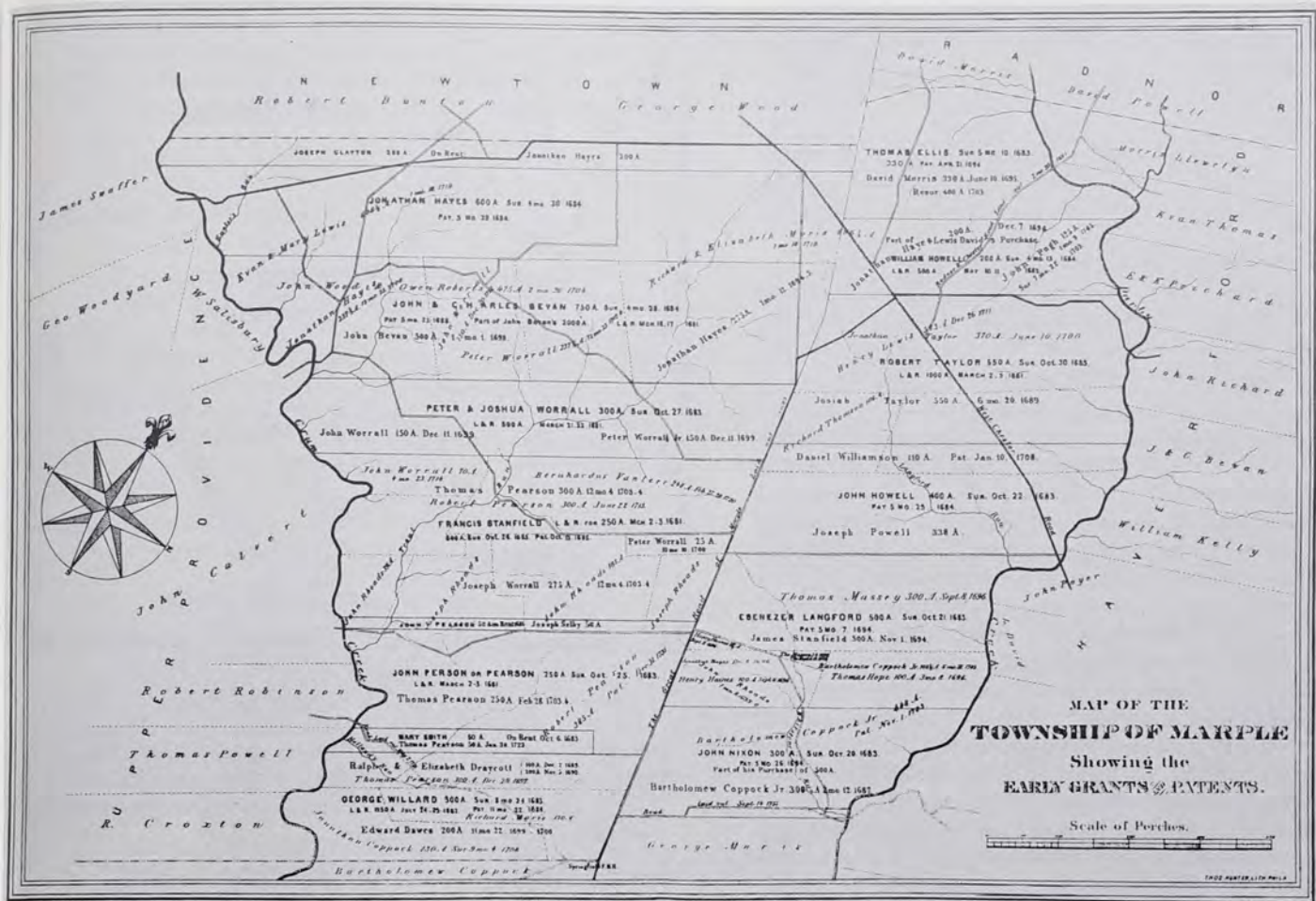
<sup>3</sup> Alfred Rudolph Justice, *Descendants of Robert Taylor . . .* (Philadelphia, 1925), pp. 4-7, 12-14, 53; Gilbert Cope, *Genealogy of the Smedley Family . . .* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1901), pp. 59-61 (Daniel Williamson), 390, 391.

<sup>4</sup> Cope, *Smedley Family*, pp. 391, 59.



*Drawing of a ketch similar to the "Endeavour".*





Map of Colonial Land Grants, Marple Township, Delaware County, Pennsylvania. Note Thomas Massey 1696 grant, lower right quarter.

### Thomas Janney of Pownall-fee

Thomas Janney, the minister, was a friend of George Fox and William Penn.<sup>5</sup> He bore witness, and shared fines and imprisonment, with thousands of fellow Friends, many of whom died in prison from the cold, and from cruel physical abuse. They were kicked, beaten, stoned and cudgelled, and once George Fox's face was bashed bloody with a Bible by a parish clerk.<sup>6</sup> In one English jail pots of excrement from thieves and murderers were showered down on Quaker prisoners' heads. Three Friends in America were hanged for their fight for liberty of conscience.

Thomas Janney wrote the preface to a book by Alexander Lawrence in 1677, and purchased some Pennsylvania land before sailing on the *Endeavour*.<sup>7</sup> Our first purchasers among the passengers were probably John Clous (Clous), from Gosworth in Cheshire; Joseph Milner, blacksmith, of Pownall-fee, and possibly John Pierson (listed Peirce), the brother of Thomas, from the same place. Henry Maddock, who sent two servants on the *Endeavour*, had bought 1,500 acres jointly with James Kennerly to be laid out in Pennsylvania.

### The Endeavour Sails From England

Weighing anchor at Liverpool sometime after July 11, when the last taxable shipment was loaded by Henry Tharpe (personal belongings were not taxed), the *Endeavour* arrived in Delaware River 7th month (September) 29, 1683.<sup>8</sup> The

<sup>5</sup>Miles White, Jr., *Quaker Janneys of Cheshire And Their Progenitors* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1904).

sea-weary passengers were cheered by the bright beauty of reddening trees in the great forests, and the scent of giant pines from the shore.

One can see the happy faces as they recognized friends and relatives in the new land. As the news spread, Robert Taylor and Daniel Williamson hastened from Springfield to bring Robert's family home. He may have made room for John Howell, his wife Mary and daughter Hannah, from Budworth in Cheshire, until their house was built.

Francis Rosell, from "Maxfield", Cheshire, milliner (haberdasher), may have settled in town, while Thomas Janney, John Clous and Richard Hough took their families to Bucks County.

Thomas Janney brought over two indentured servants; John Clous brought three; Richard Hough transported four; and Francis Stanfield, who purchased land in Marple Township, had eight servants. Some of the servants were to serve from two to five years to pay for their passage, and at the end of that time were to get 50 acres of land; others got three pounds five shillings a year besides the land.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup>*Journal of George Fox*, ed. John L. Nickalls (Cambridge University Press, 1952).

<sup>7</sup>Miles White, Jr., "Thomas Janney, Provincial Councillor," *Pennsylvania Magazine*, XXVII, 212, 213, 214, 215; *Pennsylvania Archives*, I Series, I, 39, 44, 45.

<sup>8</sup>"Register of Arrivals 1682-1686," MS, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. This indicates the *Endeavour's* arrival 22-7-1683. See also Marion Balderston, "Pennsylvania's 1683 Ships And Some of Their Passengers," *The Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine*, XXIV: 2 (1965), pp. 81-84, "The *Endeavour* of Liverpool."

<sup>9</sup>*Pennsylvania Magazine*, IX, 223, 226, 227; XVIII, 20, 21.

### *The Houghs of Macclesfield*

Richard Hough's land fronted the Delaware River, one tract about two miles below the site of Yardley, and another next to the Proprietor's manor of Highlands. Hough was prominent in provincial affairs, and like Thomas Janney served on Penn's Council. The Township of Makefield was supposedly named for Macclesfield Hundred, in Cheshire, where both Richard Hough and Thomas Janney had lived.<sup>10</sup>

Joseph Milner, from Pownall-fee, settled on land near Hough and married Pleasant Pawlin, daughter of Henry Pawlin, an early Pennsylvania settler. After his death she married Francis Haige at Falls Meeting, 11th month 8th, 1700, when William Penn was present.<sup>11</sup>

### *Quaker Janneys*

Thomas Janney and his wife Margaret were related by blood or marriage to most of the leading Quaker families. James Harrison, a brother-in-law, became Penn's steward at Pennsbury and was named by Penn guardian of his son Springett. Phinias Pemberton, founder of that eminent family, had married Margaret Janney's niece.

Thomas Janney returned to England where he died in 1696 and was buried with his parents at Mobberley, Cheshire. He left a creditable progeny, three of the name are listed in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, and there was Johns Hopkins, the philanthropic humanitarian, whose mother was a Janney. He founded the great hospital and university bearing his name. There are the Philadelphia bankers of Janney Battles & E. W. Clark, Inc., and, in the sporting world, the well-known jockey Stuart Symington Janney of Glyndon, Maryland.<sup>12</sup>

### *Ancient Cheshire Place Names*

Thomas Pearson, with his wife Margaret, and her sister Mary Smith, settled in Marple Township next to Francis and James Stanfield. Tradition tells that at Thomas Pearson's suggestion Penn renamed the town of Upland and called it Chester after his home town.

It is not farfetched to speculate that Francis Stanfield, who was living in Marple, Cheshire, in 1673 when his daughter Grace was born, could have suggested this name for his township in Pennsylvania. He served in the Assembly in 1685, and died in 1692, leaving an only son, James, a Philadelphia shipping merchant. Although James married, he survived his wife and died without issue, so the name disappeared. He left his estate to his sisters, and of these, Deborah married Richard Woodward, Jr., and Grace first married Francis Chadds for whose family Chadd's Ford is named.<sup>13</sup>

Francis Stanfield was well off, if one may judge by the number of persons he transported. There were eight servants, including Robert and Thomas Sidbotham, a Marple, Cheshire, name; and Thomas Marsey (Massey). Directly under this group, in the list of *Endeavour* passengers, are four men from Nantwich, two joiners, a shoemaker, and a glover. Nantwich is the traditional birthplace of Thomas

<sup>10</sup> Oliver Hough, "Richard Hough, Provincial Councillor," *Pennsylvania Magazine*, XVIII, 20-34.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, XVIII, 21; XXIV, 98.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVII, 218, 227, 230; also White, *Quaker Janneys*, p. 37.

<sup>13</sup> Transcripts of English Friends Records, Historical Society of Pennsylvania: Quarterly Meetings of Cheshire and Staffordshire, Marriages, Births and Burials, p. 200 (Grace Stanfield, b. 1673, 9mo. 23 at Marple, Cheshire. Parents, Francis and Grace, of "Martill," Cheshire Monthly Meeting.) George Smith, *History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania* . . . (Philadelphia, 1862), pp. 504 (sketch of Francis Stanfield), 452 (sketch of Francis Chadds).



*The Masseys came from Cheshire in the Midlands as part of the 17th Century Quaker migration to Penn's Colony. Many of Thomas Massey's neighbors also were Cheshire men, and others came from the adjoining English counties of Derby, Lancashire, York, and Stafford. Darby, Pennsylvania, and Upper Darby, are both named for Derby in England.*

Massey, and east of this town and hundred is Willaston Township, a name mentioned in the Domesday survey in 1086 (Wilavestune). In the time of King Edward the Confessor, Ulviet, a Saxon freeholder, was lord of the manor of Willaston. This name, too, was evidently brought here by Cheshire men.<sup>14</sup>

One Cheshire Quaker convicted as a recusant for not attending divine service at his parish church, and whose estate was seized circa 1670, was Thomas Brassey of Williston. In Chester County, Pennsylvania, a Thomas Brassey (d. 1690) purchased 1,500 acres in "Willes Town" from William Penn. Four hundred acres of this tract were later bought by Thomas Massey.<sup>15</sup>

### *Thomas Massey, The Emigrant*

The career and background of twenty-year-old Thomas Massey has not been traced back beyond his arrival in Pennsylvania. That he was born about 1663 is ascertained from his age at death in the Friends records, and a family tradition tells that he came from Nantwich, which could mean that town or hundred in Cheshire. *The History of the Town and Parish of Nantwich*, written by James Hall (1883) is replete with Massey references, and the parish church carries entries of the name back to the 16th Century. Here is recorded the baptism of Thomas Massey, son of

<sup>14</sup> *Pennsylvania Magazine*, VIII, 331; also James Hall, *A History of the Town and Parish of Nantwich or Wich-Malbank, in the County of Chester* (Nantwich, 1883), p. 413.

<sup>15</sup> Hall, *History of Nantwich*, p. 397 (Thomas Brassey's estate seized); Chester County, Pennsylvania, Deeds, R-2, 341 (5 mo. 12, 1763, Thomas Massey of Willis Town, Chester County, yeoman, and Sarah, his wife, to their son, Isaac Massey, of same place, saddler, 121 acres of a tract of 1500 acres, part of 5000 acres granted to Thomas Brassey, in Willis Town, 417 acres of which was purchased by Thomas Massey in 1699 who by will in 1707 left it to sons James and Thomas, the latter party to this deed).

Thomas Massey, on Oct. 1, 1665. The name combination, however, is too usual in the area to identify him with the emigrant without more research.

A Cheshire couplet goes: "As many Leighs as fleas, Massies as asses, Crews as crows, and Davenportes as dogs' Tails."

The Cheshire countryside is filled with onetime Massey seats, though many of the old houses have gone. But Moss House, once owned by the Masseys of Audlem and Denfield, is standing in Nantwich Hundred.

This family, whose younger sons came to Nantwich in business, stems from John Massey, the illegitimate son of Sir Goeffrey Massey (d. 1457), of Tatton, who settled these estates on him. At Tatton, no longer owned by the Masseys, is one of the great deer parks left in England. This Massey family, it is claimed, is a younger branch from the feudal barons of Dunham-Massey. At Dunham, one can still see the trace of the double moat of their forgotten castle.

A prophecy foretold that these Masseys would die out in the eighth generation, which they did in the eldest male line, and an old ballad tells how the last of the family was struck dead by lightning when passing a clump of trees known as the "Seven Sisters".<sup>16</sup>

Thomas Massey must himself have been converted to Quakerism, and possibly secured his own employment with Francis Stanfield to come to Pennsylvania. That he had some schooling is evident from his well-formed signature, and the fact that he was apprenticed to a husbandman may indicate a rural, rather than urban up-bringing.

#### *Peace-Loving Quakers*

Thomas Massey's career, after arrival in the colony, can be partially reconstructed. His first court appearance, as a witness, in Chester County, 7th month, 1685, was at the trial of John Hurst for beating and abusing his master Francis Stanfield. Nothing was proved, and Hurst was discharged. In the same court Hurst then charged James Stanfield, his master's son, of abuse and of drawing a knife on him. Thomas Massey, and other witnesses, declared that "Stanfield did draw a whittle and made a Passe at Hurst." Upon examination, and their "submission each to the other," and promising the court to live peaceably and quietly, they were discharged.

He served as juror in 1692, in 1693 was Road Supervisor, and in 1694 was Constable of Marple. On March 13, 1693/4, Thomas Massey was a witness in a case over a stray horse that came down to Daniel Williamson's. "He was the first," he said, "that brought this horse Downe out of the woods and As he Brought this with other horses he looked to see If he could see any mark, and that when he came to the Indian ffields he did see this horse Did Stumble and bring in a sweett Did see that he was marked with F. S. and that the horse had a little cut of one of his Ears but it was not to be seene but one mite ffeele it plaine."

Thomas Massey (Marcy) had asked Daniel Williamson if he could tell what mark the horse had, and later when Williamson went to Darby with one of his own, this horse did follow, Williamson said, "and as he Rid home againe he Did see this horse sweett and then he could see the two letters F. S. . . ."

<sup>16</sup> Cope, *Smedley Family*, p. 187 (sketch of Thomas Massey); George Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester* . . . 2d ed. (London, 1882), I, 439, 565; III, 466, 501; Hall, *History of Nantwich*, pp. 134, 502; J. H. Ingram, *Companion Into Cheshire* (London, ©1948), pp. 8, 29, 33, 70 (couplet on Massie), 71, 102 (Moss Hall), 128, 129 (Dunham Massey and the Seven Sisters), 137 (Tatton Park).

Before this Thomas Massey had been called to testify when Thomas Hope was charged with being the father of Mary Martin's expected child. In court Mary denied this, and when it was found she was not pregnant, Hope was cleared by proclamation, "he paying the charges." Poor Mary Martin fared worse. She was fined 5 shillings for her lying, and had to pay the court charges. Hope later married Elizabeth, a daughter of Francis Stanfield, and they were neighbors of the Masseys.<sup>17</sup>

In 1692 Thomas Massey was thirty-one, and had evidently finished his indenture and had saved some money. His thoughts now turned to marriage. The girl he chose was not a stranger; Phebe Taylor at thirteen had crossed with her mother on the *Endeavour*. After the proper announcement in the Meetings and visits by appointed Friends usual among the Quakers, he and Phebe Taylor (1670-1749/50), Robert Taylor's daughter, were married 9th month (November) 7, 1692.<sup>18</sup>

It is not known where they first lived unless Thomas leased James Stanfield's 300-acre plantation in Marple Township that he bought four years later for 61 pounds.<sup>19</sup> Here he built the substantial brick house now owned by Marple Township.

The brick house quite evidently was built as an addition to an earlier log house. Thomas Massey's neighbor, Thomas Pearson, mason, certainly could have built, or supervised the construction of the walls while John Maddock, joiner, another Nantwich man and *Endeavour* passenger, may have helped with the studding.

It is not strange that Thomas Massey's eldest daughter, Esther, married Thomas Pearson's son Lawrence. Lawrence's sister, Sarah, was married to John West, and later became better known as the mother of Benjamin West, the painter. John West appears in his son's painting, "William Penn's Treaty with the Indians," the old gentleman in Quaker garb, leaning on a cane.

Another Massey neighbor was Daniel Williamson, evidently a relative of Phebe (Taylor) Massey whose father he had accompanied to Pennsylvania. Daniel and his wife Mary (Smith) Williamson had an interesting son, John, who in later life was a minister among Friends. In youth he was reprimanded by the Meeting for unseemly behavior: for dressing a man and pretending him dead "to affright the People," and at Chester Fair he raced a horse!<sup>20</sup>

#### *The Best Bed to Entertain Her Friends*

Inadvertently his wife Sarah (1694-1789), George Smedley's daughter, made an amusing bequest when she willed her best bed to her daughter Margaret Brinton "the better to Enable her to Entertain her friends."

Nevertheless Margaret's great-grandson Daniel Brinton (1814-1878) became a bishop of the Mormon Church and had a post-office named for him in Utah. Another Williamson descendant, Dr. Walter Williamson (1810-1870) was co-founder of the Homoeopathic Medical College in Philadelphia.<sup>21</sup>

The Massey House stands as a constant reminder of these pioneer ancestors and their way of life.

<sup>17</sup> *Record of the Court of Chester County, Pennsylvania, 1681-1697* (Philadelphia, 1910), pp. 60, 92, 265, 283, 302, 311, 314, 336, 337, 359, 373, 401, 404.

<sup>18</sup> Justice, *Descendants of Robert Taylor*, p. 23.

<sup>19</sup> Chester County, Pennsylvania, Deeds, A-1, 180 (September 8, 1696, James Stanfield of Philadelphia, merchant, to Thomas Massey of Chester County, yeoman, for £61 sells 300 acres in Marple, Chester County, adjoining Thomas Hope, Henry Haines, and John Howell. It was part of 500 acres granted to Ebenezer Langford, merchant, of the Island of Antigua, 1 mo. 7, 1694).

<sup>20</sup> Cope, *Smedley Family*, p. 61.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 355.

# THE MEDICAL PLANTS

By A. P. BODY

[J. W. Early, Lutheran minister and historian of Berks County, like most local historians, kept scrapbooks of newspaper clippings. In *Scrapbook Number 2*, page 73, there appears the following article on plants used in Berks County for medicinal purposes. Since the material was reported by A. P. Body, of Reading, we have ascribed the article to him, even though written by a reporter's pen. The clipping is from a Reading newspaper, probably the *Reading Eagle*, and in a section of the scrapbook where the clippings come from 1903 and 1904. The bilingual list is of great interest to linguists as well as botanists, because it gives the German name of the plants along with the English. While most of the German names are standard German, others, like *Buwa Leis*, are dialect. The Early Scrapbooks are part of the Editor's Collection of Pennsylvania.—EDITOR.]

## Many Medical Plants found in Berks County

A. P. Body, Who Has Been Gathering Wild Teas, Roots and Barks 15 Years, is Cultivating 93 Different Kinds of Wild Plants in His Yard.

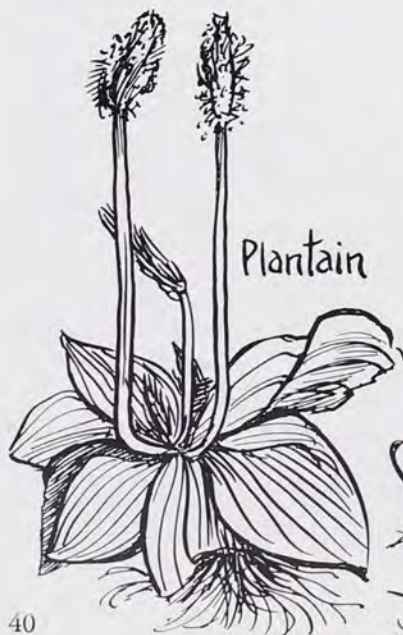
A. P. Body, 414 Chestnut Street, has given a great deal of attention to botany for many years and endeavored to ascertain the medicinal qualities of the various plants growing in Berks County, as well as of roots and barks. During the past 15 years he has spent considerable of his time in roaming over mountains and through valleys in gathering these and preparing them for medicinal use in healing or mitigating various diseases. He has under cultivation in his yard 93 different kinds of wild plants so as to watch them in a pharmaceutical view from their earliest state of development and follow them through all their stages of progress until they attain maturity.

Mr. Body says that when he first started out to gather wild teas he was surprised to find many different varieties and over 200 kinds of wild flowers and ferns growing in the woods and fields of Berks County. Among these are some of the most beautiful orchids.

## This is the List

He prepared the following list (giving the English and German names) of plants growing in the county and says that more than two thirds are wild:

English	German
Stick Wort	(Anhangskern).
American Sarsaparilla	(Sarsaparille Wurzel).
Angelica Root	(Angelika Wurzel).
Ground Ivy	(Grund Wurzel).
Adam and Eve Root	(Adam und Eva Wurzel).
Balmoney	(Schlangengesicht).
Barberry	(Barberitzen).
Cancer Root	(Warfdropfen).
Balm	(Melissenblaetter).
Bayberry	(Lorbeere).
Deadly Night Shade	(Tollkirsche).
Beth Root	(Kurzblaettriges Dreiblatt).
Bittersweet	(Bittersuess).
Black Alder	(Rodbeen).
Blacksnake Root	(Schwarze Schlangenwurzel).
Black Root	(Schwarzwurzel).
Culver's Root	(Hoher Ehrenpreis).
Baneberry	(Brachbeere).
Toad Flax	(Hundsakraut).
Blackhaw	(Haublaetter).
Black Walnut	(Schwarze Walnuss).
Black Willow	(Schwarzweide).
Blackberry	(Brombeere).
Blueberry	(Weisen Raaben).
Blue Flag	(Blaue Blume).
Bloodroot	(Blutwurzel).
Bonesett	(Durchwachs).
Bugle Weed	(Sond Adornwurzel).
Burdock	(Klettenwurzel).
Butternut	(Oelnuss).
Celandim	(Schoellkraut).
Calamus	(Kalmus).
Wild Carrot	(Wilde Gelbruebe).
Catnip	(Katzenminze).
Touch-Me-Not	(Krachnuss).
Canada Fleabane	(Filleswans).
Chickweed	(Hinkeldarm).
Comfrey	Schwarzwurzel).
Milkweed	(Milchkraut).
Cow Parsnip	(Kabrueben).
Dandelion	(Loewenzahn).
Devil's Bit	(Teufelsbiszwurzel).
Dewberry	(Kraeftliche Brombeere).
Fox Glove	(Fingerhutkraut).
Mountain Mint	(Bergthee).
Dog Foot Lilly	(Labnwurtz).
Dog Wood Flower	(Hundsblume).
Elder	(Holunder).
Elecampane	(Alantwurzel).
Blasted Rye	(Mutterkorn).



Plantain



Ground Ivy



Bittersweet



Dandelion

# OF BERKS COUNTY

Colt's Tail (*Butterwurzel*).  
 Live Weed (*Brennenskraut*).  
 Five Finger (*Fuenffingerkraut*).  
 Wild Garlic (*Wilder Knoblauch*).  
 Yellow Gentian (*Gelbwurzel*).  
 Alum Root (*Kranichschnabel*).  
 Ginseng (*China Wurzel*).  
 Golden Seal (*Goldwurzel*).  
 Golden Thread (*Gelbe Wort*).  
 Hoarhound (*Andorn*).  
 Hollyhock (*Habnenkamm*).  
 Hops (*Hopfen*).  
 Horsemint (*Gaenlskraut*).  
 Hyssop (*Ysopkraut*).  
 Indian Physic (*Indische Wurzel*).  
 Indian Turnip (*Awnins Zweivel*).  
 Indian Hemp (*Indischer Hanf*).  
 Jerusalem Oak (*Wochakraut*).  
 Wild Jessemine (*Wackskraut*).  
 Lady Slipper (*Frauenschuh*).  
 Lady Moccasin (*Frauenschuh*).  
 Larkspur (*Rittersporn*).  
 Laurel (*Lorbeer*).  
 Life Root (*Lebenskraut*).  
 Red Lobelia (*Feuer Rode Blatt*).  
 Lung Wort (*Lungenkraut*).  
 Treewort (*Pulsenblaetter*).  
 Maidenhair Fern (*Maedchenhaar*).  
 Wild Marygold (*Ringelblume*).  
 May Apple (*Maiapfel*).  
 Mullein (*Wollkraut*).  
 Motherwort (*Mutterkraut*).  
 Marshmallow (*Kaesepappelblaetter*).  
 Mouse Ear (*Mausohrenblatt*).  
 Wild Oswego Tea (*Wildes Maukerkraut*).  
 Parsley (*Petersilie*).  
 Pennyroyal (*Grotte Balsam*).  
 Plantain Leaves (*Seiobre Blaetter*).  
 Pepper Grass (*Falscher Meerrettig*).  
 Wild Parsnips (*Wilde Pastinaken*).  
 Peppermint (*Pfefferminze*).  
 Pleuricy Root (*Stechwurzel*).  
 Poke Root (*Taubenbeere*).  
 Wild Poppy (*Wilder Mohn*).  
 Prickly Ash (*Prugle Asben*).  
 Queen of the Meadow (*Inging Wurzel*).  
 Hog Weed (*Saukraut*).  
 Rice (*Zahmer Randa*).  
 Rose Willow (*Rothweide*).  
 Ras[p]berry (*Himbeere*).  
 Rattlesnake Weed (*Rasselschlangen Blaetter*).  
 Rattlesnake Root (*Rasselschlangen Wurzel*).  
 Saffron (*Safran*).  
 Sage (*Salbei*).  
 St. John's Wort (*Jobanniskraut*).

Sassafrass (*Sassafras*).  
 Sheep Sorrel (*Sauerampfer*).  
 Sorrel Wood (*Hasenklee*).  
 Sknee Cap (*Weedig Hund Grass*).  
 Smart Weed (*Bitterknoeterich*).  
 Solomon Seal (*Koenig Siegel*).  
 Stricktight (*Buwa Leis*).  
 Spearmint (*Krauseminze*).  
 Spice Wood (*Pfefferholz*).  
 Spikenard (*Wilder Ligvespaul*).  
 Stramonium (*Stechapfel*).  
 Shinleaf (*Schinbein Blaetter*).  
 Sweet Fern (*Holsfarren*).  
 Sweet Cicely (*Suesswurzel*).  
 Wild Strawberry (*Wildwelschkorn*).  
 Sumack (*Shumeg*).  
 High Sumack (*Giftiger Shumeg*).  
 Summer Savory (*Suneblum*).  
 Wild Sunflower (*Wilder Ribefart*).  
 Thyme (*Quendel*).  
 Turkey Corn (*Wildwelschkorn*).  
 Twin Leaf (*Zweiblatt*).  
 Thistle (*Distel*).  
 Toothwort (*Zabnwurzel*).  
 American Hellebore (*Wilder Ysop*).  
 Violet (*Foglefuss*).  
 Virginia Snake Root (*Schlangenwurzel*).  
 White Balsam (*Magen Balsam*).  
 White Snake Root (*Weisse Schlangenwurzel*).  
 Whortleberry (*Heidelbeere*).  
 Wild Cherry (*Wildkirsche*).  
 Wild Ginger (*Haselwurzel*).  
 Wintergreen (*Runder Wintergruen*).  
 Witch Hazel (*Labmer Wermut*).  
 Yarrow (*Schafgarbe*).  
 Yellow Dock (*Halber Gaul*).  
 Moon Seed (*Gruenes Rundblatt*).

Mr. Body says that he has found about 70 more varieties of plants but they are not so frequently used as the above for medicinal purposes, and he has therefore not enumerated them.



Foxglove



Thistle



Wild Ginger



Pepper  
Grass

Lady Slipper

# NOTES and DOCUMENTS

Edited by DON YODER

[I]

## THE SECT CALLED TUNKARDS [1859]

[Among the Pennsylvania German "plain sects," the Brethren (Dunkards) have always attracted attention in the outside world because of their archaic complex of religious custom including the Love Feast, the Holy Kiss, Feet Washing, etc. Nineteenth Century newspapers contain many valuable accounts of visits of outsiders to Dunkard love-feasts. We add this one to those we published in earlier issues of our periodical. It appeared in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, August 16, 1859.—EDITOR.]

### THE SECT CALLED TUNKARDS.

A correspondent of *The Alexandria Gazette* sends that paper an interesting letter from Hardy County, Va., describing a visit to a meeting of a religious sect known as "Tunkards." He made the excursion from Orkney Spring, and says:

"There is much along the road to attract the stranger. See what a beautiful group of sugar-maples there are on our right (maple-sugar is one of the staples of this end of the country), and yonder, in our front, look at the mountaineer and his family wending their way to the meeting—the father, mother, and five children, with their only horse, make up the group. The mother and two youngest little ones make a good load for Dobbin, while the father and older chaps walk in front, all going Indian file, a very necessary way of traveling where the paths are so narrow and rough. Well, at the foot of the hill, yonder, surrounded by a clump of trees, do you not see the meeting-house?—a very unpretending sort of a building—and just beyond, the Little Mountain River rushes wildly along its winding way. But, says one, why call this Lost River? Well, I'll tell you. Do you see that high bluff away down the valley yonder—well, near there the river rushes into a mountain cave, and is *lost* to your view, and the next thing you know about it is that it rushes out Capon River, and thus the names Capon for one and Lost for the other. Now, we will hitch our horses and walk into the meeting-house. Don't be disappointed, my city friends, (you who are used to cushions and carpets and spring-back pews,) at the primitive appearance of the interior. But take a seat on one of these plain pine benches, and for once in your lives let your spinal column support your body for at least two hours' sitting. And now, before service begins, let us dot down the appearance of things. Do you see that long pine table on the right, and another on the left, surrounded with benches? And now see those benches fast filling up with long-bearded men on the one side and white-caped women on the other.

"Why, how very close the women sit to each other. Ah! I see why it is; they don't any of them wear hoops. There is no pulpit or stand; on the extreme end of the table on the men's side, and next the women's table, sits the patriarch of the group, with his long, flowing beard, and long, straight hair combed carefully back behind his ears, and the bridge of his nose mounted with a pair of heavy brass spectacles, who reminds one of what would, according to our imaginings, represent old Abraham the father of the faithful (if we could leave the specks out). Thus arranged around their two tables, with outsiders filling the benches, the services

began, consisting of singing, reading the Scriptures, and prayer—all of which was conducted very much like any other mode, in the simplest manner. Then came the sermon, and we suppose because there were strangers present, our preacher thought it important to give us an idea of some of their very peculiar views, and particularly did he dwell on the Holy Kiss, Feet Washing, &c. After he had finished he challenged contradiction, and called upon his brethren to bear their testimony to the truth he had uttered, which some of them did by exclaiming, 'true, all true;' and after prayer and singing, we were dismissed. These Tunkards are a singular people, and very clannish withal. That is, they help one another temporarily. If a very poor man joins them they make it a point to all unite in bettering his condition. Once a year they have a feast, and thus you find attached to every meeting-house a kitchen for cooking purposes, and then these long tables we spoke about come in play. They first feast all the 'outside barbarians,' then the tables are re-arranged, and all along in rows you see dishes filled with lamb soup, and when the order is given those who sit at the tables begin, two, three, or four, dipping from one dish with a spoon, and thence to the mouth. Then comes one with a large jug of wine, and pours out a cupful and hands it to the first one at the table, and he to the next, while the person with the jug walks behind to replenish when required. Then they all turn round with their backs to the table, and bare their feet for washing. Then comes one with an apron tied about him, and begins to wash and wipe, and when he is tired, another from the bench takes his place, and so they go around among all the barefooted ones, the women doing the same as the men. There are other peculiarities we could mention, but space will not permit."

[II]

### JACOB GRAEFF'S REMINISCENCES OF READING

[A Philadelphian named Jacob Graeff in 1896 published some reminiscences of life in the town of Reading in the 1820's. They add considerably to our picture of Pennsylvania German town life in the early 19th Century. We include two of Graeff's sketches here, the first of which appeared in the *Reading Eagle*, October 11, 1896; the second, November 8, 1896. We reprint them from clippings in *Scrapbook Number 2*, page 31, in the *John W. Early Collection*.—EDITOR.]

[IIA]

#### READING 70 YEARS AGO

*Reminiscences of the Early Days on the Canal—  
When Cigars Were Cheap*

Jacob Graeff, 327 North 3d, Phila., in continuation of his series of articles on early Reading, writes to the *Eagle* as follows:

Seventy years ago travel between Phila. and Reading was decidedly slow. The only means of conveyance between the 2 cities was by Coleman's 4-horse stage coaches. These coaches, 2 in number, made the journey every day, including Sunday, and 12 hours were required for the trip when the roads were in good order. A stage left each end of the route at 4 a. m. There were numerous stopping places, where fresh horses were kept in readiness, and they usually

reached their destination about 4 p. m. On Sunday afternoons a crowd of boys was always to be seen in the stable yard at 6th and Cherry, awaiting the arrival of the stage, all anxious for the opportunity of riding the horses to Lotz's dam. If there were more boys than horses, 2 were allowed on each horse. The horses were ridden into the Schuylkill above the dam and occasionally got into deep water, when they were obliged to swim. In such cases the unfortunate riders had their clothing pretty well soaked, but that was of small consequence in comparison with the ride between the stable and the dam. They were very careful, however, to dry their clothing before leaving the stable yard. Travel, since those days, has been reduced about 8 to 1, with a possibility of being reduced 16 to 1 in the next 70 years.

At that time the Schuylkill canal ran through the lower end of the town. Such boats as expected to arrive on Saturday night or early Sunday morning would lay by near Penn st. During the watermelon season they always came provided with a supply of melons, which they unloaded near the tow path. Boys of all ages were always on hand with the pennies which they had been able to save during the week. Two of them usually clubbed together in the purchase of a melon, which could be had for from 6 to 10 cents, as they were mostly of small size, and this luscious purchase was soon disposed of.

I do not know in what year the Union canal, on the west side of the Schuylkill, was completed, but in 1828, a lottery, known as the Union canal lottery, was conducted in Reading, the object probably being to raise funds for the completion of the canal. One of the agents was Philip Zieber, on Penn st., below 9th. My great-uncle, Jacob Eisenbise, used to take me there to select tickets for him. His drawings were mostly blanks. If he did occasionally draw a small sum, there was such a heavy percentage to be taken off that he was always "out of pocket." A carpet weaver named Goodman, who purchased tickets for several years, always selected the same numbers and at last, it was understood, he drew a large prize.

Prior to 1828 there was but one cigar factory of any account in Reading. It was carried on by a man named Young, on 5th st., above Franklin. The factory was in the rear of a dwelling and was afterwards owned and occupied by Charles Young as a wood-turning shop. A large number of men and boys were employed. Most of the cigars were of a low grade and sold wholesale at 15 cents a hundred, or retail 4 for a cent. There were a few Spanish at 1 for a cent and half Spanish 2 for a cent. About 1828 there was quite a stir among cigar smokers, caused by the appearance of a new cigar called the "Mahlon," which was made at a large factory in Phila. The "Mahlon" cigar was made of superior tobacco and sold 4 for a cent, which speedily brought down the price of Reading cigars to 5 for a cent. As labor was cheap and there was no government tax on cigars or tobacco, they could easily be sold at this low rate.

[IIB]

#### REMINISCENCES OF READING 70 YEARS AGO

*Jacob Graeff's Recollections of the Times When Only Penn and a Few Neighboring Streets Were Built Up*

In continuation of his interesting series of articles on "Early Reading," Jacob Graeff, 327 North 3d street, Phila., who lived in this city when a boy, writes as follows to the Eagle:

Improvements in Reading 70 years ago were made very slowly, only one or two houses being built annually. While many bricks were made, most of them were sent to other towns in canal boats. All brick yards were located south of Chestnut street and below 7th, except one, owned by Adam Deem, which was at the corner of 7th and Chestnut. The bricks made were of poor quality, as there was no first-class clay found in the vicinity. Penn street at that time was always called the "Grosse Strass" and if the other streets had been given names they were never used, there being no necessity for them, as everybody knew where everybody else lived. Reading ended at Bingaman street, the south side of which consisted of meadows and farm lands, with the exception of a few houses at the lower end. What are now Chestnut and Franklin streets contained only a few houses above 8th, but were a little more closely built below. Walnut street, on the north side, was altogether farms and rail fences. A few houses were on the south side. Washington between 5th and 7th contained on the north side only the Lutheran and Reformed churches and on the south side the 2 1-story school houses. There were a few buildings below 5th and a few scattering ones above 7th. 4th, 5th and 6th were more closely built up. Penn street was fairly well built up its entire length. Above 6th there were a number of 1½-story buildings and above 8th there were still a few log houses.

George Drenkel, in your issue of Oct. 20, speaks of Anderson's distillery, on Neversink road, at the foot of 8th st. This distillery was originally owned by a man named Gilson, who built the hotel on the north side of Penn below 5th, at that time known as the "Farmers' hotel." I, too, used to haul slop from the distillery in my uncle's cart for the use of his own pigs and those of his neighbors. I also hauled whiskey barrels from Anderson's cellar to the distillery.

I was intimately acquainted with Jacob Drenkel, who was probably a brother of George Drenkel. We were schoolmates at Master Roland's Parochial school for 2 terms. On the first and second days of the first term we each received a penny. On the first day of the next term we were each treated to a thrashing for too free use of our tongues. From his early youth Jacob Drenkel was well known in Reading for his fine playing on the fife and for years before the war no military company thought they could parade without his services.

At the time the distillery was in operation there were 3 breweries in Reading. Even at that early day there was a Lauer's brewery, where beer was sold at retail at all times. Another was Augustus Nagle's, on Chestnut below 10th. At this place beer was sold at retail on Sundays and on week-day afternoons during summer. There were no chairs or tables and customers had to drink their beer standing on a brick floor, which was always kept wet for the sake of coolness.

Beer was known as "strong beer." Lager beer was not known in this county at that time. There was another brewery on the north side of Penn below 5th, known as "High's brewery," situated at some distance back of the street. No beer was sold here at retail, and it was the only brewery at which brewer's yeast was sold, one morning in each week. No housekeeper thought she could make fine cakes without brewer's yeast, and just before Christmas a large lively crowd gathered at the brewery several hours before day. As the quantity of yeast was limited and only 2 cents' worth allowed one person, the strongest half of the crowd secured the prize and the other half went without.

# Symposium on the PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH DIALECT

By MILLARD E. GLADFELTER, HOMER L. KREIDER, and CHARLES D. SPOTTS

[The Pennsylvania Dutch or Pennsylvania German dialect has had an important effect on the culture of Southeastern Pennsylvania and other areas where it was spoken. Not only did it leave permanent deposits in the English spoken in the dialect areas, producing several noticeable "Dutch-English" accents and many "Dutchified" expressions and vocabulary elements, as can be readily documented in Hans Kurath's *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States* (University of Michigan Press, 1949). The dialect itself, existing in patterns of trilingualism in the 19th Century (Dialect, High German, plus English) and bilingualism in the 20th Century (Dialect, plus Eng-

lish) has brought advantages as well as adjustment problems to the dialect speaker. The three essays in our symposium deal with the influence the dialect has had in the lives of three distinguished contemporary Pennsylvanians two of them educators and the third the president judge of the courts of the county in which the state capital is located. These contributions will be interesting to compare with our first contribution on the subject, the article entitled "What the Pennsylvania Dutch Dialect has Meant in My Life," by Professor Henry Snyder Gehman, Ph.D., of Princeton Theological Seminary, which appeared in *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XVII:4 (Summer 1968), 8-11.—EDITOR.]

## The Pennsylvania Dutch Dialect In a Teacher's Life

By DR. MILLARD E. GLADFELTER

For me, the dialect was a second language. English was spoken in the home even though each of my parents came from dialect-speaking families. Central and southern York County was on the outer edge of the German settlement in south central Pennsylvania. This required a knowledge of two languages for many Pennsylvania Germans who had business and social relations with the Scotch-Irish, English and Welsh neighbors.

For those who moved about in the community, the learning of either English or Dutch was not difficult. In trade at the village store, the city produce market to which many took butter, eggs, meat, and vegetables, in the church and school English prevailed. Even though many children first learned the dialect in the home, English was required when they entered school. In 1918 when I began teaching a one-room, rural school in York County, I had many beginners who knew no English. There were no charts, books or lesson plans in the world of their language and experience and most certainly, teachers were without preparation for teaching a new language to six-year olds. I shudder to think of the year wasted for such children and the inability of the teacher to use such situations for doing what in these latter years we call research and experimentation. But after a year, they began to speak English and although they didn't realize it, were more accomplished as bilinguals than those who spoke only English.

In today's world, not much can be said for dialects. If social progress is measured in terms of economics, comfort, and conformity, then a dialect is a hindrance to interchange of ideas and trade. Each generation of youth develops words which have special meanings to them and as with the "hippies" of today, become dialectic. But where dialect is the total language of a social group, communication with

outsiders becomes more difficult and in social intercourse, its users tend to withdraw from the society at large. For them there is a feeling of security within the group but a constant alertness for chicanery and short-changing by the foreigner. This frequently works both ways. The following story is told on this point:

Many years ago, city junkmen came through the countryside to buy any old scrap iron, rags and bones that farmers had accumulated. They were welcome visitors who found in the countryside hospitable families for night lodging on their long journeys. One of them always enjoyed stopping with the Messerschmidts who were plain people, plainly garbed. He and Jake Messerschmidt one day admired each others' horses. On the next visit, an even exchange was agreed upon. After the junkman drove away, Jake's troubled conscience said, "Well, I guess it was allright I didn't tell him the horse has water on the knee and when we get a rainy day he'll go lame. He didn't ask me." The junkman went along in the faith that the farmer's broad-rimmed hat, beard, and hook-and-eye jacket were symbols of honesty and had given him a good and honest trade. Some months later during a rainy season Jake, standing beside the barn, saw his city friend and the limping horse come up the road. Jake spoke first, "Well, I guess you came to bring back my horse." The junkman looked at the farmer's dress, plain suit and large black hat and said, "No, I just came to borrow your suit until I can sell him."

Unless one lives and works within a community that is fully insulated from its neighbors by a dialect, he cannot possibly assess all the nuances of language that build up group security and protection. The language permits an interplay of words and builds meanings in them that are without cognates. Over a period of time, word use in a par-



ticular community brings meanings not common to others. For example, the same words have connotations that go beyond their original meanings in York and Berks Counties. Time and social customs even bring on words that corrupt the dialect if that is possible. In York County, "verduzt" came to mean much the same as "verbutzt." The principal dialect meaning of "verduzt" is to be exhausted or completely washed up. But when used in the other context, it introduces a humorous note to what could be a sad experience, particularly if one is "verbutzt" by the sheriff. Dialect changes, therefore, with environmental changes. Most of the new words are accented English equivalents such as phone, automobile, electricity. The vocabulary of the mother tongue coins its own words for such inventions and discoveries but dialects are insulated and, therefore, the influence of the English that surrounds becomes dominant.

For a rural folk, the dialect was a means for establishing a sense of security and pride in heritage. As long as there was an arena for its use, one did not feel the insecurity that arises when you can't communicate and are considered an "auslander."

There is a story of the English-speaking family that moved into a Pennsylvania-Dutch neighborhood. Although they were respected, the neighbors tried to avoid them because of language difficulties. The Dutch spoke English with difficulty and the English spoke no Dutch. One evening after a hard day's work in the fields, Jake Werner was bringing his horses to the barn when his wife Minnie called to him, "Hurry up, Jake, do your barn work, then come for dinner, because those new neighbors, the Joneses, are coming over this evening." Jake was tired and in no mood for difficult conversation. To himself he said, "*Bei Gott, mir schaffe hadt die ganze dawg und note ainglish schuetze die ganze ovet.*" (By God, one works hard all day and then he has to talk English all evening.)

For me, probably three chief values have been derived from a knowledge of the dialect and an association with a dialect-speaking community. The first is an appreciation of the customs and folklore it describes and protects. Until the time of the automobile and a growing mobility of population, it was possible to keep alive the folklore and superstitions that remoteness and isolation foster. The planting of crops by the signs of the moon—"unnergehnte und ufgehnte," predicting winter weather by the coat of hair on animals, refusing to brush sweepings from the house after sunset in fear that death would come to the family, throwing the unlucky egg backward over the left shoulder, were customs and superstitions protected by insularism. It was faith alone that cured me from the "obnemma" after the little old illiterate lady mumbled a few words as she threw an eggshell and string into the wood ashes of the stove. The art of pow-wowling still persists and if I knew its ritual even now I have some ailments for which it might be useful.

Folklore, too, has its roots in a particular environment. Celebrations of seasons and holidays have particular twists for ethnic groups. Ascension Day is no longer observed whereas Labor Day was considered a holiday for city folks and not for the farmer. Bellsnicker Night and the Rattle Band for newlyweds have disappeared or assumed more sophisticated names. The games that children played in school were generations old. With the disappearance of the dialect and the consolidation of schools, we no longer hear "here comes three Dukes ariding" or play "clap-in clap-out."

The second value is derived from one's association with a culture within a culture. Some years ago, I listened to a

discussion among distinguished professors on a graduate council on the usefulness of the requirement that a candidate for the doctorate should pass examinations in two foreign languages. To be sure, it is a requirement inherited from earlier times when our scholarly output was limited, translation and abstracts unavailable, and much important research was conducted in Europe. But it is otherwise now and most scholars have real difficulty defending the requirement. A Professor of Chemistry, however, made a defense that seemed rational. Said he, "An educated man is one who knows more than one culture. He should be introduced at least to a second. Language is the best-known vehicle for that introduction." Frequently, dialect-speaking people represent a culture within a culture. They seek to conform to the basic requirements for citizenship, trade and commerce, and living standards demanded by the basic culture while at the same time, they hold and nurture their dialectic ways of speech, folklore, superstition, and social gatherings. One thinks, therefore, of Allentown, Lancaster, Reading and York as cities of Pennsylvania but beyond that as possessors of a culture broader and richer than that found in their monolithic counterparts.

To those who lived in these communities, the architecture of houses and barns has special meanings. The summer house, the butcher house, the forebay of the barn, the third floor half window of the house, the half moon on the door of the little house beyond the woodpile, these are indigenous to the culture. The food that's eaten and now loudly acclaimed, attitudes toward labor and thrift, and respect for elders constitute a pattern for living that is reformed when dialect and insularism disappear. There are then singular customs of eating, working, reading, living, and worshiping that enable one who has shared them to know better this culture within a culture.

The third value lies in a fuller appreciation of one's heritage. Regard for and interest in ancestral culture gives breadth to one's life. This does not imply an over infatuation with genealogy. I've been interested in and visited Switzerland because in 1741 my European ancestor decided to migrate from there to a new world. The history of his time and its associations with my time are of more importance because we shared in them. On a visit to Glattfelden, Switzerland, I found few of our name in the burial plot and only one Glattfelder living with whom we could visit. He and the burgomaster conversed in Swiss dialect all through lunch. I didn't understand a word of the conversation. Our dialect must have become corrupt if that is possible. Nevertheless, that Canton, the route of travel, the vicissitudes of the society over two centuries ago provided a broader base line for my understanding of one ethnic group, its heritage and its contribution to the bounty of this land.

It is unlikely that anyone would recommend the study of a dialect as an introduction to a mother tongue. A dialect is a corrupt language without syntax and orthography. If known, however, it can speed up the learning of the mother tongue from which most words are derivatives and to which they hold similarities in use. It is really low German and, therefore, older than high German. Nevertheless, one must be especially careful to recognize the limitations in its uses.

One of my most respected college professors was Karl Josef Grimm, Professor of German. Too frequently, I'd rely upon my knowledge of the dialect when giving translations of Faust or Schiller. One day he halted me abruptly, looked over his glasses, and shouted, "*Ach, Glottfelder, hoch deutsch, nicht platt deutsch.*"

# The Pennsylvania Dialect and What It Has Meant To Me

By THE HONORABLE HOMER L. KREIDER

I am pleased to be invited to comment on the Pennsylvania German dialect in so far as it has affected me personally. My parents, Dr. John H. and Alice Lentz Kreider, were of Swiss-German stock. My father was born at Groy's Mill near Jonestown and my mother at Fredericksburg, Lebanon County. Each spoke the dialect fluently, as did their parents.

During the early years of his professional life my father was a country doctor in the typical Pennsylvania German community of Reinholds, Lancaster County, 11 miles west of Reading. Later we lived at Lykens and Millersburg in the "Upper End" of Dauphin County.

It was in Lykens that I entered first grade school. In 1905 it was a booming coal-mining town inhabited chiefly by people of Welsh, Irish, English, Scotch, Polish, and Pennsylvania German descent. Some of the latter had intermarried with descendants of French Huguenots. Though no doubt I had a "Dutch" accent, it certainly was not a great handicap at school. It may have made some of us a bit backward but that feeling soon wore off because the children and their parents were very friendly, as they are today.

I do not believe the dialect has made any marked contribution to the "superstitious" tendencies in the Pennsylvania German culture. True, many of our people believed in "hexerei" and "pow-wow," but many non-German speaking people are also superstitious. Witness the absence of a 13th floor in most hotels, the disinclination to walk under a ladder, the belief that we will have bad luck if a black cat crosses our path and that Friday the 13th is an unlucky day.

While I was growing up in Lykens and Millersburg the Pennsylvania German dialect played an important role in the life of our family. Quite a few of my father's patients were Pennsylvania German farmers who lived in the Lykens Valley, a rich agricultural area which extends 16 miles eastward from Millersburg on the Susquehanna River to Lykens, and six miles from Berry's Mountain on the south to the Northumberland County line. Here are located the substantial Pennsylvania German speaking towns of Elizabethtown, Berrysburg, and Gratz.

As a boy I learned the dialect through hearing it spoken in our home by relatives and other visitors; at the Elizabethtown United Brethren Camp Meeting, which my parents and my sister and I attended regularly, and during visits we made to Lebanon County. My grandparents on both sides of the family could talk Pennsylvania German better than English.

The dialect was a self-taught proposition for me. It just came naturally under the circumstances, and its use was not related to High German or English, except that when we did not know a word in the dialect we would use the English equivalent. Those who knew better simply smiled indulgently and we went right ahead with the conversation.

I think the dialect is an excellent vehicle for Pennsylvania German humor. Its pithy expressions and down-to-earth illustrations frequently make the point with hilarious and sometimes devastating effect.

On various occasions my limited ability to speak Pennsylvania German stood me in good stead. While traveling in Europe a few years ago, Mrs. Kreider and I joined a group of Pennsylvania lawyers and judges in a tour which

included Germany and Italy. As we left Belgium and arrived at the German border west of Aachen, a group of young German soldiers leaned out of the windows of their barracks and smiled and waved to us as we stood around waiting for customs inspection. Our group waved back and finally selected me as their spokesman. I cannot speak High German but my Pennsylvania German (Lebanon, Lancaster and Dauphin County variety) was understood and enthusiastically responded to—much to the amusement of my "fellow travelers".

While in Cologne, Judge Robert E. Woodside—formerly of our court and later of the Superior Court—and I decided to take a quick sightseeing tour of the city. Our taxi driver could not speak English, but I was able to make ourselves understood by use of the dialect. Our conversation included a discussion of President Kennedy's visit to Cologne (which evoked high praise from the driver) and also the jurisdiction of the local courts.

One evening the judge and I strolled through the beautiful park at Mannheim. As we were admiring illuminated fountains I said "Guten Abend" to a bystander. He responded and we learned that his family name was Hermann and that he had a brother in Chicago. When I told him we had a Judge Herman on our court in Dauphin County, he was much pleased, and we talked at some length. The next day



Temple University  
Groundhog Lotch  
Nummer Drei  
Fildelfy, Pa.

Yairlich Fersommling Un Fesht

Temple University, under Dr. Gladfelder, "chartered" the third "Groundhog Lodge" in the State. This is its 1968 program cover.



*The "Groundhog Lodge" is a native Pennsylvania institution founded to preserve the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect at all-dialect annual meetings, where dialect humor thrives. There are at present thirteen such lodges in the Dutch Country.*

I used our dialect with a fair measure of success in ordering lunch at Heidelberg. Thereafter we made a rest stop at a small hotel in the quaint town of Rottweil in Southern Germany. By this time our group was enlarged by lawyers from Berks County who could speak the dialect well. We soon got acquainted with the proprietor, his family and the

## What the Pennsylvania German Dialect Has Meant To a Non-Pennsylvania German

By DR. CHARLES D. SPOTTS

In spite of the fact that my paternal family name was originally Spatz (German for sparrow), and that my ancestors emigrated from Europe during the first half of the 18th Century, at least five of the generations preceding mine lived in Salisbury Township, Lancaster County, populated largely by descendants of Scotch-Irish, Welsh, and English settlers. My maternal ancestor, Robert Galt, from Ireland, settled there in 1709. How and why the Spotts family happened to move into Salisbury Township I have not been able to discover.

I was born in the village of Cambridge. What could be more English? The Pennsylvania German dialect was completely unknown in this village at the time. My father had eight brothers and two sisters, all with large families, who lived in Salisbury Township. None of these people ever had any contact with the dialect. My paternal grand-

patrons, and wound up singing "Schnitzelbank" and other German songs with much gusto.

I shall never forget our parting. After we boarded the bus and it had turned around to head for the Swiss border, we looked back and there stood the portly proprietor, his matronly wife, their children and the patrons all waving a warm farewell.

One of the most amusing incidents in my use of the Pennsylvania German dialect was in Montecatini, Italy, about 25 miles from Florence. This is perhaps the most famous health resort in the country, something like Baden-Baden in Germany. We were lodged there because there were no accommodations available in Florence. Mrs. Kreider, an avid lover of art, wanted as much time as possible to visit the galleries in Florence, and determined to leave Montecatini early in the morning before the rest of our party set forth. She and I went to the bus terminal the night before to inquire about the hour of departure, etc. I cannot speak Italian and, to my amazement, the ticket agent could not speak English. We waved our arms at each other but the sign language failed us. Meanwhile, a group of passengers was forming behind me and I detected some evidence of impatience. Finally an older employee came to the window and after taking one look at me began to talk in German. I recognized some key words and immediately answered him in Pennsylvania German. Lo and behold, it worked! I talked and waved at him and he at me, we both smiled and thoroughly enjoyed it. But not so the superintendent who suddenly appeared behind the window and rather curtly terminated the conversation by saying to me (in English), "Now you have had enough, you must make room for the other people who have been waiting while you two have been talking."

Mrs. Kreider got her ticket that evening and left bright and early the next morning, well ahead of our group. Thus she was able to extend by several hours the allotted time for visiting the art galleries in the Pitti Palace.

I value the Pennsylvania German dialect today more than ever. I use it whenever I can. I find people are delighted to hear it spoken, even if they do not understand it fully. It represents a rich heritage, handed down to us by a sturdy ancestry. Let us preserve it for our children and future generations. They will appreciate it.

father was a Civil War veteran, who was at Appomattox when General Lee surrendered. He never had any association with Pennsylvania German people.

who lived in Salisbury Township. None of these people ever had any contact with the dialect. My paternal grandfather was a Civil War veteran, who was at Appomattox when General Lee surrendered.

My father was a blacksmith. When I was three years old we moved, across the Welsh mountains, into Dutch Country, to the village of Bowmansville, Brecknock Township. Most of the customers who came to my father's blacksmith shop spoke the dialect; at the village store, the barber shop, the postoffice, it was spoken. The lady who sold us milk couldn't speak any English. Every other Sunday, German (mostly the dialect) was preached in the Union Lutheran and Reformed Church. At school nearly all of my

schoolmates spoke the dialect, at least during recess. Although I was not born a Pennsylvania German, and the dialect was never spoken in our home, I was reared in a Pennsylvania German community, "*wo die leit war as deitsch as sauergraut*". In this setting I quickly learned to understand the dialect but I have never mastered the ability to speak it fluently, even though I can think in terms of the dialect.

More than a half century ago I began my teaching career in a one-room eight grade rural public school in Brecknock Township. Nearly all of my pupils came from Pennsylvania German Mennonite homes. This meant that most of the first-graders could not speak English. In this situation my knowledge of the dialect became immensely helpful. Teachers who did not know the dialect found that such conditions created a major problem.

There was certainly a recognizable difference between the folkways and customs of the English village of Cambridge, where I was born, and the Pennsylvania German village of Bowmansville where I spent my childhood and early youth. Our relatives in the Cambridge area soon accused my brother, sister and me of being Dutch! Apparently we soon picked up a Pennsylvania German accent. As I remember, at first, I was disturbed by this reaction of my 'English' cousins and aunts and uncles. However, as I grew older, I concluded, rather selfishly, as I look back, that they were the ones who were being cheated. They knew only English. I was bi-lingual, having access, at least, to a dialect, as well as my mother tongue. I also was proud of our Mennonite neighbors who were tri-lingual—speaking Pennsylvania German in their homes, English in my father's blacksmith shop, and understanding the High German of their hymns and their Bible. I believe that there were times when I concluded that my Pennsylvania German neighbors represented a cultural achievement slightly above that of my English relatives in Salisbury Township. Certainly, I was thoroughly convinced that much funnier stories could be told in the dialect, that Pennsylvania German descriptions were much more picturesque than English could possibly be. There was no English word at least that I knew, which could describe a hot, humid, sultry day, as vividly as the Pennsylvania German word "*schmutterich*". What single English word can describe an untidy, slovenly woman as vividly as the dialect term a "*schlump*"! What language can better describe a clumsy adolescent than the Pennsylvania German word "*dappich*"!

The Pennsylvania German community in which I grew up did accept a number of superstitions which were not accepted by my English relatives in Salisbury Township. As a small child I was told that cemeteries were frequently inhabited by spooks or ghosts. As a result I avoided going near cemeteries, especially at night. Someone must have told me that spooks were more active after dark and I believed it. When I told my English cousins about spooks they laughed at me.

I was also told that I was never to go beyond the chancel railing of our church sanctuary, that only the clergyman was permitted to enter this sacred area. When I asked "why?" I was told that something might happen to me. During preparation for a Christmas program I was sent upstairs for something. To my amazement, I discovered that a group of men had erected a platform over the chancel railing and were placing two large cedar trees on the platform. I concluded at once that if they could do this I was going to walk beyond the chancel railing sometime. Several weeks after Christmas the opportunity came. Cautiously,

but deliberately, I opened the swinging gate and entered. Nothing happened. I knew that I had been told something that was not true. The chancel, for me, was no longer forbidden!

I remember when one of my baby brothers became very ill, the local physician reported that he couldn't do anything more. While visiting us one of our neighbors suggested to my father that there was a woman out in the country that was "good with such cases". Being willing to try anything my father brought this woman to our house. She was a pow-wow "doctor". She went into the room where my baby brother lay; she drew the shades; she took a small book from her handbag, which I am now certain was a copy of John George Hohman's *The Long Lost Friend*; she made several signs of the cross, and mumbled a number of incantations. My father paid her. My baby brother died within several days. Very few people learned that a pow-wow "doctor" had been in our home. I am quite sure that if my English cousins had heard about this incident they would have accused my father of being crazy.

During the past quarter of a century we have lived in East Lampeter Township. Many of our neighbors are Old Order Amish farmers. When I visit them we frequently converse in the dialect. Their version of the Pennsylvania German dialect contains many more English words than did the dialect used by our Mennonite neighbors in Brecknock Township. They are also more familiar with High German. The Amish father reads Luther's German Bible to his children almost every evening. All their hymns are sung in High German; High German is also taught in their parochial schools. This means that the Old Order Amish children have much more exposure to High German than do Mennonite children, and are, therefore, more truly tri-lingual. My limited use of the dialect has enhanced the meaningfulness of relations with our Amish neighbors, for which I am grateful.

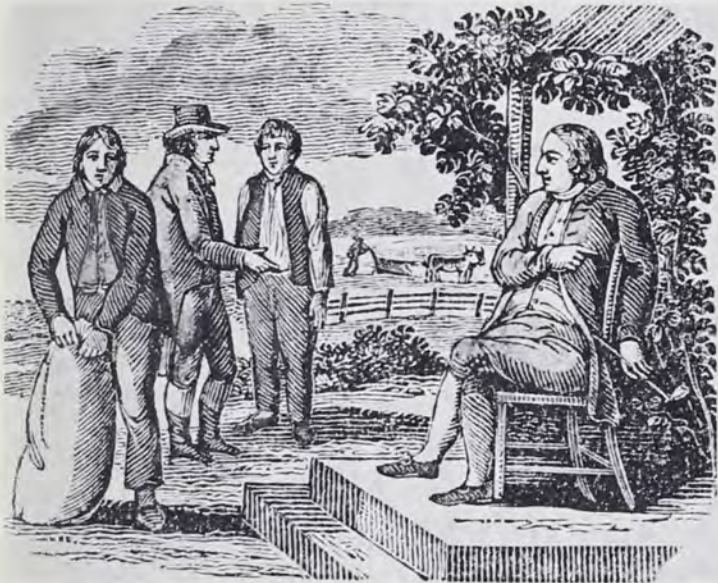
On my three visits to Germany I have found the dialect to have practical value. My conversational skill in High German is quite limited. On many occasions I could make myself understood by using the dialect. I remember specifically a bus driver who took us on a tour, during 1956, to East Berlin. Fifteen American students were with me, none of whom could speak German. By using the dialect I could carry on sufficient conversation to keep the students informed about the "sights" that we were visiting. Even in Switzerland I could use the dialect effectively with those Swiss persons who spoke German.

There were, of course, occasions when my limited command of the dialect was not very helpful. Six of us were in a restaurant in Munich. At the end of a good meal I called the waitress, who couldn't understand any English, and attempted to ask her to please bring us our checks. I couldn't remember the German word for a bill or a check. I kept repeating to her "*Bitte! gibt uns die. . . 'bille'*". At first her face showed no response. Finally, her face lit up. We waited. In about ten minutes she came down the steps carrying a large tray on which were six huge glasses of beer. The manager overheard my protest, began to laugh, and finally suggested that I learn the German word '*rechnung*'. Here was one occasion where my knowledge of the Pennsylvania German dialect failed me completely. I remembered that there was a German word *Billet*; but I did not know that in German a '*bill*' is a pick-axe for sharpening millstones. The waitress might have brought us several pick-axes. My Amish neighbors would have understood what I wanted, but it didn't work in Munich.

# FARM DRESS:

## Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 9

Dress, like cookery, is one of the most basic elements of everyday life. Although most American folklorists have neglected it, historians and ethnologists have studied it, but so far studies of American costume history have not matched the excellence of European studies. We wish by means of this questionnaire, to elicit basic materials about the dress of Pennsylvania's farming population in the 19th and 20th Centuries.



*American Farmers (1822), from W. R. Lynch's "The World Described" (New York and Baltimore, 1822).*

1. In the dress of the Pennsylvania farmer, there were at least three identifiable stages since the Civil War. The basic 19th Century farm dress, for summer, was work trousers plus white shirt and usually a broad-brimmed straw hat. Sometimes a work-vest was worn over the shirt. Sometime after the Civil War the patented "overalls" came into fashion, of blue denim and other colors and materials. (In recent years, with the urbanization of rural life, farmers have begun to dress like factory workers or mechanics, in green or gray work-pants and matching shirts and engineers' boots.) We especially desire materials on the change from the 19th Century work costume to overalls. Will our readers who have memories of this change send us their reminiscences of them? Will readers also be specific in describing the article of men's work dress called a "wammus"?

2. In the work costume of the farm women of the 19th and 20th Centuries, the sunbonnet was the principal dis-

tinutive feature. Will our readers describe the use and the construction of the sunbonnet for us? If you have patterns, would you please share them with us? Be specific on what types of sunbonnets were made, and please write us the Dutch as well as the English names which you remember for each type. (An example, the "slat bonnet" or "Bap-padeckelhut" which had cardboard strips to stiffen the brim.)

3. How did the Sunday or church dress of the Pennsylvania farmer and his wife differ from their work dress? The women wore bonnets to church—how did the "Sunday bonnet" differ from the everyday work bonnet? Did women in your grandmother's day wear aprons to church, and if so, what was their purpose? What aspects of winter dress were different from summer church dress (shawls, hoods)?

4. How important were shoes and boots as part of work dress in the 19th Century? Did members of your family ever work barefooted in the garden or in the fields, as one sees occasionally even today in Appalachia and among the Amish? Is there any truth to the common tradition that some Pennsylvanians used to carry their shoes to church?

5. What were the characteristics of children's dress as you remember it from the late 19th or early 20th Centuries? How did clothing for babies then differ from baby clothing today? What do you know of the custom of dressing small boys in skirts until they reached a certain age? How often did children get new shoes, new clothes? What was a "freedom suit"?

6. In the making of clothing for the farm home, what do you remember of the home production of clothing? When, for instance, did the art of spinning die out in your family? We are especially interested in receiving reminiscences from our older readers who remember their grandmothers, mothers, or elder aunts still spinning during the winter. If this is the case, do you have memories of flax-spinning, or was only wool-spinning involved, for knitting stockings and other woolen garments? Do you recall hearing of the custom of traveling shoemakers, as well as traveling tailors and seamstresses, who boarded around with the farmers, making shoes, boots, and clothing for the whole family as needed?

7. Please include any anecdotes, humorous or otherwise, which you recall as referring to matters of dress. For instance, there is a famous Pennsylvania Dutch song, "Schpinn, schpinn, meinei liewi Dochter," in which a Dutch mother attempts to get her lazy daughter to spin, offering her all sorts of inducements, including pretty clothes. She is finally successful when she offers to get daughter a man.

Send your replies to:

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For The Folk Festival Brochure Write To:  
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The purpose of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, a non-profit corporation, is three-fold: collecting the lore of the Dutch Country and Pennsylvania; studying and archiving it; and making it available to the public both in this country and abroad.

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