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THE LUTHERAN SCHOOLMASTER, YORK, 1805, BY LEWIS MILLER

Cover picture: Lewis Miller collection, Historical Society of York County. In this drawing Lewis Miller (1796-1882), Pennsylvania's foremost folk artist, gives his impressions of a singing session in the Lutheran parochial school of Christ Church, York, in 1805, of which his father was teacher.

Pennsylvania **FOLKLIFE**



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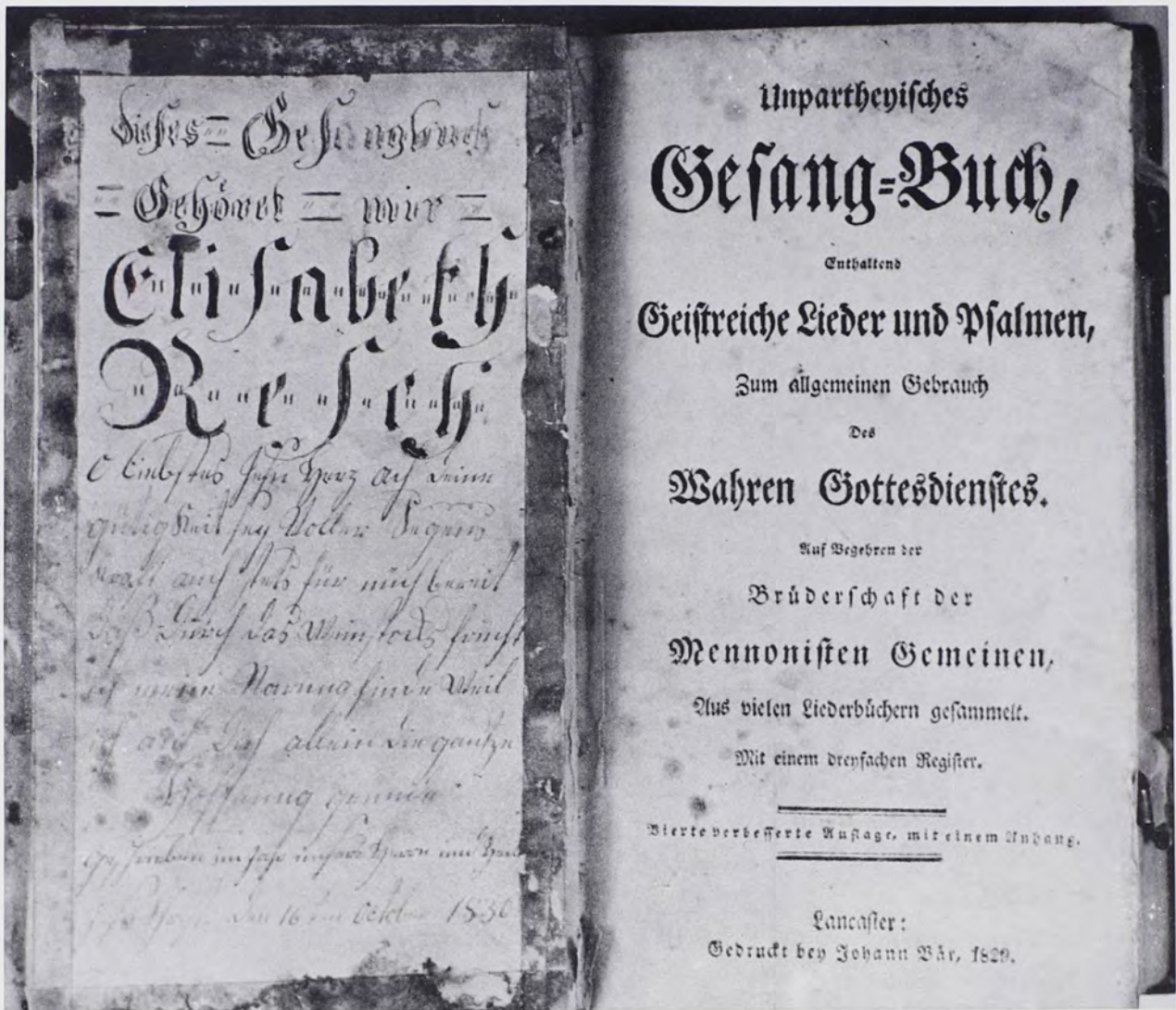
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Elisabeth Resch's song book, printed in 1829 and inscribed by her on October 16, 1830. This is a Mennonite hymnal.

Book plate used as a horizontal end-piece rather than as the usual vertical frontispiece. The book is Johann Bär's Mennonite hymnal, 1820 edition.

Photography by
Karas of Hartsdale



Buckwheat Music

By EARL F. ROBACKER

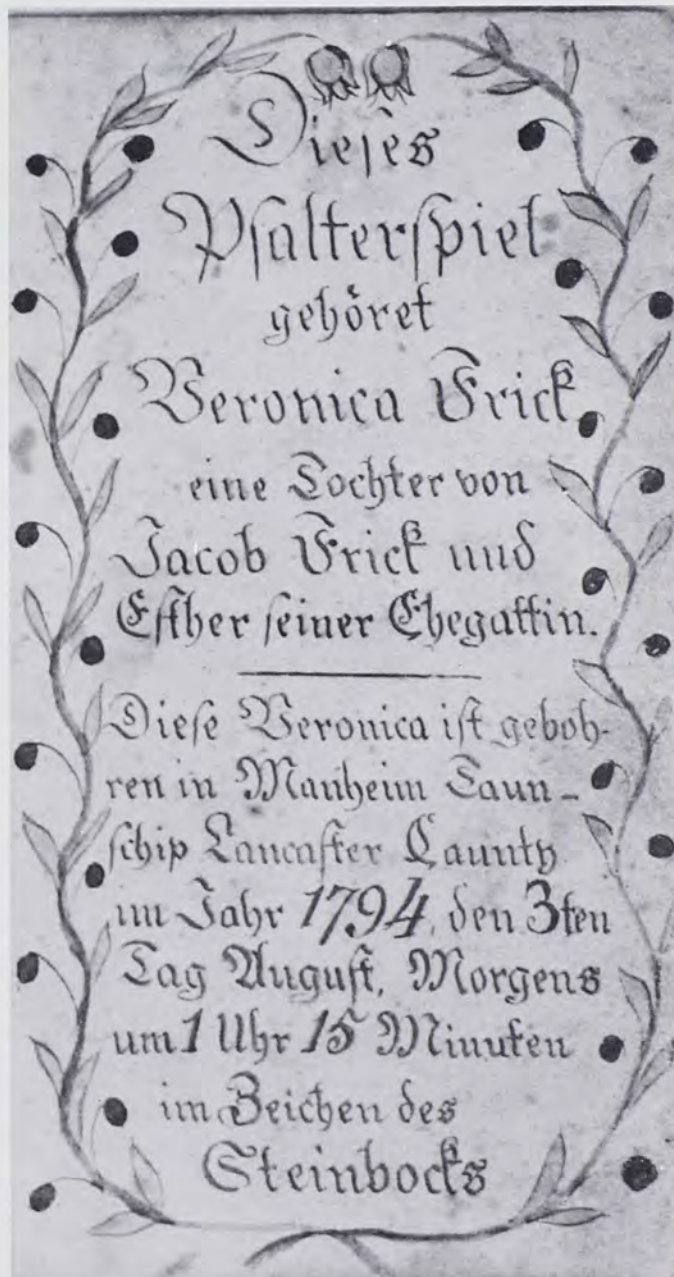
Musical notation has undergone an evolution as marked, in its specialized field, as the evolution from candlestick to electric light or pottery pie plate to aluminum foil. However, so far as the antiques collector is concerned, there are only a very few sharp-and-flat studded trails to the past—and these comparatively straight—as compared with the maze of paths open to the collector of candlesticks or pottery.

A limited analogy may be drawn between the designs in musical notation and the intricacies of professionally designed type faces—limited because of the small number of variations in music-print and the almost infinite ramifications of type families. Today's newspaper readers accept, almost without noticing them, the clean, sharp, legible ups and downs of sanserif type, and the equally functional and only slightly more ornate shapes of type families in the Modern group. ("Modern," as any printer would tell us, is something of a misnomer, since Bodoni, for instance, one of the most popular faces in the Modern group, goes back to the late 18th and early 19th Centuries.) These, same readers, however, immediately become aware of the clutter and pseudo-art in the type faces used during the Victorian era, notably about the time of the Civil War, even though the intricacies of the world of type design may remain a mystery to them.

The collector of musical manuscripts finds fewer variations or developments over the years than does the collector of print—assuming always that we are discussing printed music and not hand-written scores. There is almost as much variety in hand-drawn notation as there is in the handwriting of individuals, with the range of possibilities infinitely greater than the mere difference between cursive writing and print.

Neither type faces nor the vagaries of musical notation constitute a recognized category for the collector of Pennsylvania Dutch antiques, however; both would come as close to being universal—at least in the western world—as any collectible well could. At the same time there is a distinctive, albeit little known side pocket or territory in music which is peculiarly Pennsylvania Dutch and which at this writing seems to be comparatively unexplored. This is the territory of the shape-note songbook which had its heyday just about a century ago.

To see how the shape-note hymnal or singing-school book came into being, let us go back a bit further into history and take a look at its predecessor—a typical Mennonite songbook or hymnal. We might consider, for example, the *Gesang-Buch* published by John Baer (Johann Bär) in Lancaster in 1829. On page 24 of this leather-bound volume, to take a representative portion, we find the Sixty-third Psalm set to music. Only a single staff is used, and no key signature is indicated—in this selection or in any selection in the volume. Since the final phrase ends in G, one concludes that the key signature is G-major. What one is to assume when a phrase ends in F or B is less clear, however, especially since some of the selections are no more tuneful when sung in any one key than in any other.



Veronica Frick's book plate is somewhat unusual, though not unique, in that it includes the data which would ordinarily go on a birth certificate.

All articles shown are from the Robacker Collection

No tempo is indicated; there are as many notes in the measure as there are syllables in the verse set to music. Only two kinds of values of notes are used—whole and half. The esthetic effect of the printed notation is one of chaste severity, but with one exception: The initial capital of the hymn is decoratively set just to the left and outside of the first staff. The first line appears as "O Gott, du bist mein Gott allein" (Oh, God, thou art my God alone) and the "O" before "Gott" stands outside the staff. Other words are printed below the notes. Most significant of all, however, is the shape of the notes: hollow squares turned on edge so that each note looks like a diamond, with the stem going up or down from the point of the diamond, on half notes. As is the case with present-day music, the B line of the staff is the dividing point between notes with ascenders and those with descenders.

Hymnals which used these angular little notes were not peculiar to the Mennonites; they were found in various denominations, some much earlier and some later than 1829. Just when the term "buckwheat notes" came to be used as a somewhat unflattering secular term we do not know, but anyone who is familiar with this kind of notation and also with the sharply pointed little kernels of buckwheat will acknowledge that the designation is particularly apt.

From books like these the true shape-note songbooks seem to have sprung—the books used at the far-flung singing schools of the 1840's, '50's, and '60's. In a shape-note book, each note of the scale—do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, and ti—has a different shape, the idea being that the person learn-

ing to sing could master a selection more easily by learning what "fa," for instance, looked like, than by its position on the staff alone.

Shape-note books are not necessarily collectible as antiques; while they are unfamiliar to most Northerners, they are still used in some places in the South, presumably with a degree of success or they would have been abandoned long since.* They take on different qualities of desirability when they can be identified historically with congregations or churches or printers or sections of the Dutch Country. It should perhaps be pointed out that they are unusable today in the way that hymnals or songbooks are used for congregational singing. Baer's Mennonite hymnal had one staff only; the shape-note books have four for four-part singing—but an accompanist, if any (there was, of course, only a tuning fork in days gone by), has to improvise throughout, using as a melody the notes of the third of the four staves. From the very beginning, there were those who complained that all the tunes sounded alike and all sounded bad—and it is not at all difficult to see why the shape-note books were dropped once such rollicking melodies as "Bringing in the Sheaves" or "When the Roll Is Called Up Yonder" came in with the Sunday Schools in the 19th Century.

Each book presumably had some peculiar quality to

* For the history of this Southern musical tradition, see George Pullen Jackson, *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands: The Story of the Fasola Folk, Their Songs, Singings, and "Buckwheat Notes"* (Hatboro, Pennsylvania: Folklore Associates, 1964), with Introduction by Don Yoder.



Competently drawn and colored title-page from a 24-page book of tunes done entirely by hand. The pages are six inches wide but only three inches deep.



Title page of Maria Yoder's hand-done song book. The notation and the calligraphy are of masterly execution.

recommend it. Some were enormously popular. The title page of *The Christian Minstrel*, published in Philadelphia by S. C. Collins in 1846, contains a notation that this was the 170th edition of the work, which includes psalm tunes, anthems, and chants for "churches, singing-schools, and societies." The book is entirely in English and appears to have been non-denominational. Key signatures are supplied for all the selections—not in the conventional way, but as "Key of A," "Key of B-flat," etc., in fine print at the left of the staves.

Another volume, *The Timbrel of Zion*, appearing in Philadelphia in 1857, was compiled and published by T. K. Collins, Jr. This, too, is in English, but like *The Christian Minstrel* was widely used in the Dutch Country. The volumes, we are told, were especially suited to bilingual congregations in such peripheral Pennsylvania Dutch areas as Monroe County and parts of Wayne and Pike, where all-German books were less liked.

The Harmonist, published in New York by Lane and Tippett in 1845, was designed for use in the Methodist Church. It contains "anthems, pieces, and sentences," according to the title page—the "sentences" obviously being what we should call chants. There is unintentional humor in the preface, in instruction to the user of the book: "The tenor should be sung by the highest voices of men, and the base by the lowest"! *The Harmonist* is especially attractive in layout; it lacks the cluttered quality of many shape-note

books. An interesting idiosyncrasy of this volume is the inexplicably long stems of the "sol" notes. The key signatures are conventionally indicated.

Two especially interesting volumes are J. G. Schmauk's *Deutsche Harmonie*, published in Philadelphia in 1847 by Mentz and Rovoudt, and *The Pennsylvania Choral Harmonie*, compiled by Thomas R. Weber and published by E. D. Leisenring and Co. of Allentown, in 1869. The *Deutsche Harmonie* is entirely in German and is completely in the genre of singing-school books—but the notes are the oval-shaped ones familiar to us today.

The *Choral Harmonie*, in many ways the most fascinating of all shape-note books, is in German and English—a beautiful print job with the exception of the title page, which is a conglomeration of the printer's fanciest fonts, in Roman and italic, in a lush blossoming of the Victorian tradition. Yet even here there is a most unusual circumstance—a line of subtitle set in what looks like Fraktur, a type face so rare in America that it seems not to have been reported. The words set in this "Mother of Fraktur" type are "*Die vornehmsten Kirchen-Melodien*" ("outstanding church melodies"), and the design of each letter is broken or fractured horizontally. The upper halves of the letters are elaborately shaded; the lower portions are solid, but are enlivened by delicate scrollwork in three upper-case letters D, K, and M.

Also in parallel German and English is a much-used

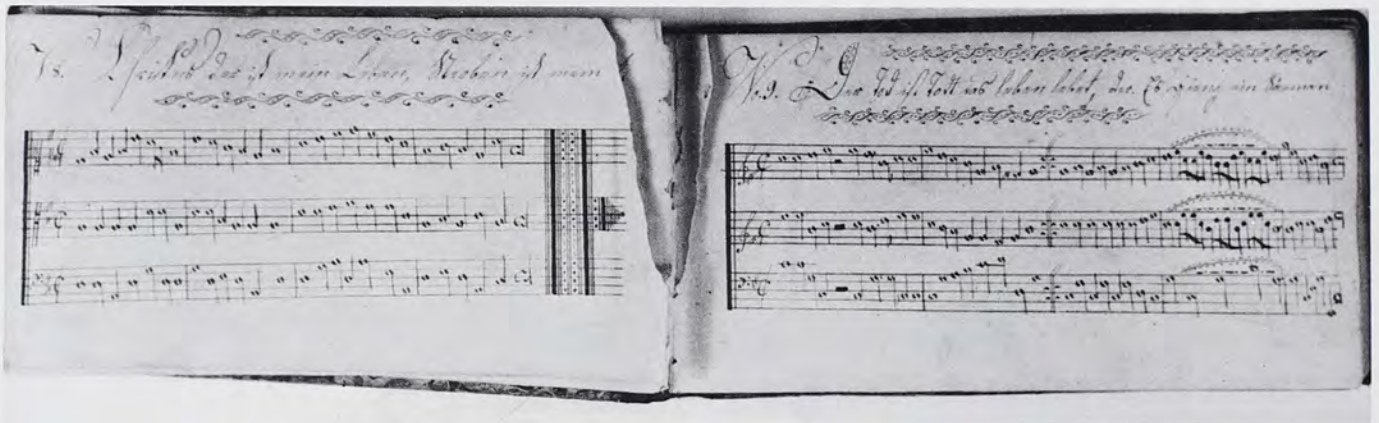


Hand-written shape-notes—unusual in the little six-inch manuscript books, most of which antedated the shape-note school of thought.

volume called *The Franklin Harmony*, compiled by John Rothbaust and published in Chambersburg in 1830. A “different” quality in this lovely early volume is the fact that all the musical staves are carried clear across the page, whether or not they are needed for the notes. The result is an oddly unfinished-looking right-hand portion of the page. Another peculiarity is that in many selections the sharps and flats in the key signature are spaced, not conventionally, but one directly *under* another. Crowding is avoided in the key of E-major, for instance, by having an

over-sized F-sharp at the top and the C-sharp, G-sharp, and D-sharp in much smaller size, vertically below! There are other irregularities, too, such as a treble clef in 3/4 tempo with the matching bass clef in 3/2, and—confusion upon confusion—a treble clef in 2/4 with a bass in 3/4 time. The tones of fa and la are spelled “faw” and “law” in the introductory portion of the volume.

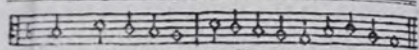
As one comes upon these books nowadays, he is likely to find the names of as many as half a dozen different apparent owners, along with dates indicating a total of perhaps



Pre-shape-note notation in a manuscript book with some highly individual touches.



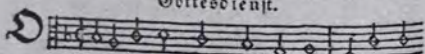
Facing pages in Maria Yoder's song book—the most accomplished work of its kind known to the writer.



schirm auß allerzeit für übel und allen gefahren.
 2. Wie lang denkt ihr auf euch mord wider die leut an allen ort? Ich wil euch gro-
 rechen allen. Daß ihr, wie ein wand die alt. Wie eine basen und mauir bald, Werdet zu doden widerfallen.
 3. Ihr aller fleiß wird drauf gerandt, Wann Gott zu he-
 den pflegt jemand, Daß sie ihn wiederum unterdrücken; Auf
 klagen steht ir ganzer mutz, Ihr hertz nur flucht und arges
 thut, Ob sie wohl ihre wort
 schen schmücken.
 4. Nun aber, o du meine
 seel, Auf Gott allein dein hof-
 fen stell, Und ihn zu hülf und
 rath gebrauche; Er ist mein
 fels, mein schirm und schutz,
 Auf den ich mich verlass und
 stutz, Daß ich nicht erwan-
 want noch strache.
 5. Gott ist mein heil, Gott
 ist mein ehr, Mein fels und
 der mich stärket sehr, Derhal-
 ben wil ich ihm vertrauen,
 Zeter sein hertz vor ihm aus-
 schüt, Und offenbar ihm sein
 gemüth, Auf ihn sollen wir
 kühlich bauen.
 6. Mit menschen aber groß
 und klein, Ist es nichts, dann
 lügen allein, Wenn man die
 wahrheit recht will sagen;
 Dana sie so leicht sind und
 gering, Daß sie gegen dem
 leidlichen ding In der waag
 lauter nichts ausschlagen.
 7. Verlaßt euch nicht so ob-
 ne schein Auf unrecht, frech,
 raubern, Noch auf ande-
 ren eitle sachen: Wann euch
 schon zuschneit geld und gut,
 So hängt daran nicht hertz
 und mutz, Es kan euch nicht
 glücklich machen.
 8. Gott hat einmal gesagt
 ein wort, Das ich zum an-
 dermal gehört, Daß er groß
 sey von macht und stark;
 Du zahlst, Herr, der gut und
 fromm, Daß jeder seinen lobn
 bekom, Nach seinem leben,
 thun und werke.

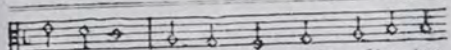
Der 63 Psalm.

Herzliches Verlangen nach dem wahren Gottesdienst.



Gott, du bist mein Gott allein, Zu dir schrey
 ich, wann ich aufwache, Mein seel, die dein verlang-

The immediate forerunner of the printed shape-note book might be hard to identify, but Mennonite hymnals of this kind may well have provided inspiration.



die schwache, für dirz wool mocht verschmachtet
 seyn. Mein fleisch nach dir, Herr, trägt verlangen,
 Und ist vor dirz ganz schwach und matt, In di-
 ften eden ort und stadt, Da man kein wasser kann erlangen.
 2. Die unsach ist, daß ich zu seyn erken, Noch unter
 wiedum, Die macht und ehr deiner flügel schatten.
 3. Mein hertz sich allzeit an dich hält, Und läßt sich auch
 von dir nicht reissen, Dem arm mir hilf pflegt zu beweisen,
 Sollt mich verfolgen alle welt, Darum die wider auch
 nun kriegen, Mich zu ver-
 ligen mit gewalt, Die werden
 untergeben bald, Und tief un-
 ter der erden liegen.
 4. Auf meinem bett ich mit
 gedacht An dich gedent in
 meinem sinne: Wann ich zu
 wachen früh beginne, Wird
 noch an dich von mir gedacht,
 Dann du mir oft wohl hast
 gerathen, Mir hilf erzigt und
 alle treu, Drum ich mich auch
 zu seyn erken, Noch unter
 deiner flügel schatten.
 5. Mein hertz sich allzeit an dich hält, Und läßt sich auch
 von dir nicht reissen, Dem arm mir hilf pflegt zu beweisen,
 Sollt mich verfolgen alle welt, Darum die wider auch
 nun kriegen, Mich zu ver-
 ligen mit gewalt, Die werden
 untergeben bald, Und tief un-
 ter der erden liegen.
 6. Dem feind sie alle werden
 preis, Und durch das schwert
 in feld untkommen, Und des
 begräbnis ebr kenommen, Den
 sächsen werden eine speis,
 Der könig aber in dem Her-
 ren Ob diesem sieg wird frö-
 lich seyn, Sich werden rüh-
 men allgemein, Welche bey
 Gottes namen schworen.
 7. Dann den'n, die aller
 falscheit voll, Umgeben nur
 mit lauter lügen, Damit sie
 sich doch selbst betrügen, Das
 mauil gestopfet werden sollt.

Deutsche Harmonie,
 ober
 Mehrstimmige Gesänge
 für
 Deutsche Singschulen und Kirchen.

Von J. G. Schmauk,

ehemaliger Organist, Gesanglehrer und Lehrer an der Französischen Akademie der deutsch-lutherischen St. Michaelis und Ions Gemeinde in Philadelphia.

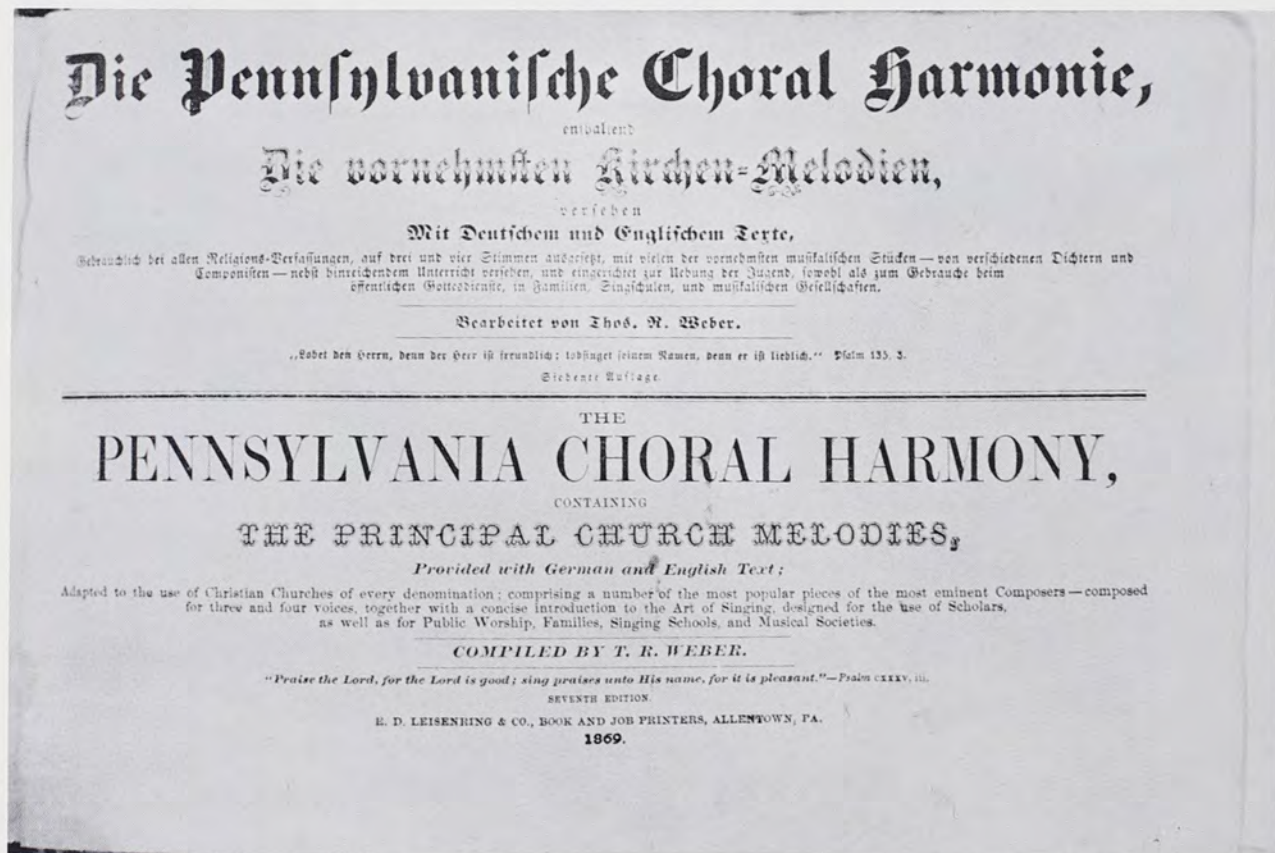
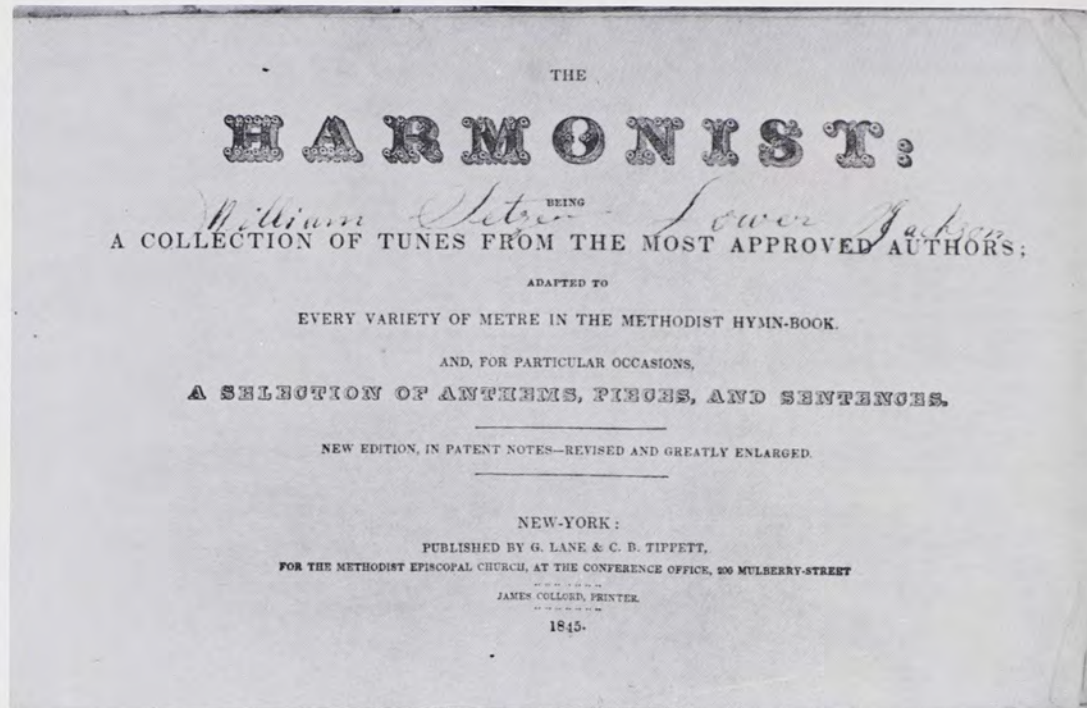
The "blue strawberry" shape-note hymnal popular with early Lutheran congregations. (The cover, not the strawberries in the fancy border, is blue.)

twenty to fifty years' use. While a book may actually have belonged to a succession of owners, it is possible that in some cases it remained in the possession of the singing school or of the church all the while, and was lent to an individual while he was learning or while he was a member of the church choir. School textbooks were purchased for children by their parents and remained in use until they

were worn out, almost without exception. The same practice was apparently not followed universally in the ownership of singing-school books.

Buckwheat-note songbooks may be mere curiosities today, but it is obvious from their number and variety that they played an important part at one time in teaching America how to sing in church.

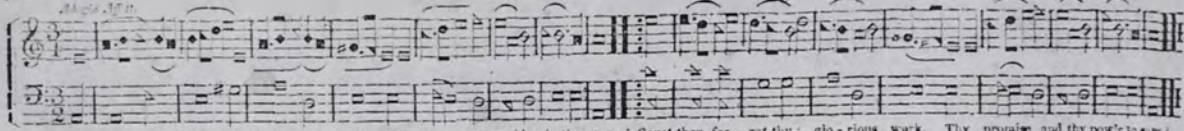
Title-page of an early hymnal used in Methodist churches. This particular volume, first belonging to William Setzer of Lower Jackson Township, Monroe County, passed from one generation of the same family to another for many years.



German and English side by side, from the title-page right through the book. Note the Fraktura type in the line beginning “Die vornehmsten. . . .”

KINGSBRIDGE L. M.

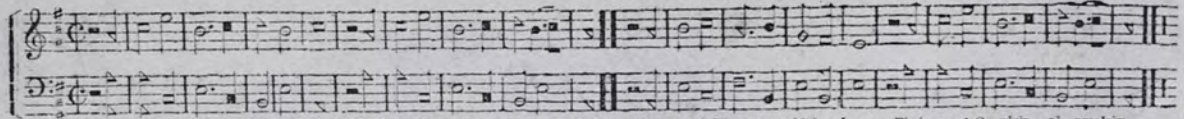
Dr. RIPP'S COL.



Shall man, O God of light and life, For ever mould'ring in the grave? Canst thou forget thy glo-ri-ous work, Thy praise and thy pow'r to sing:
Durch Adams Fall und Mis'se ist, Du er cheimal ver-schuldet bist, Ist auf mich kommen Sünd und Tod, Sollt nicht die über-blafter Stolz.

GERMAN HYMN. L. M.

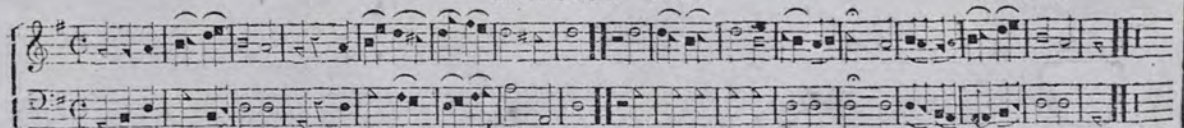
PLEYEL



The spacious firmament on high, With all the blue ethereal sky, And spangled heav'n, a shining frame, Their great O-rig-in-al proclaim.
Der Menschen Zu, der Kugel Welt; Dem Glanz der hoch ge-acht.

INVITATION. L. M.

T. JARMAN

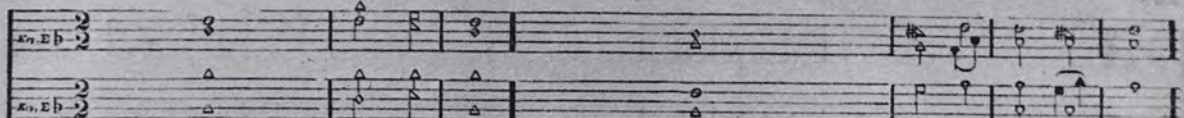


Come hither, all ye weary souls, Ye hea-ry la-den sin-ners come I'll give you rest from all your toils, And raise you to my heav'nly home.
Ein Herz, das Gottes Stimme hört, Ihr folgt, und sich vom Dä-ßen kehrt; Ein gläubig Herz, von Lieb' erfüllt; Dies ist es mas in Christo gut.

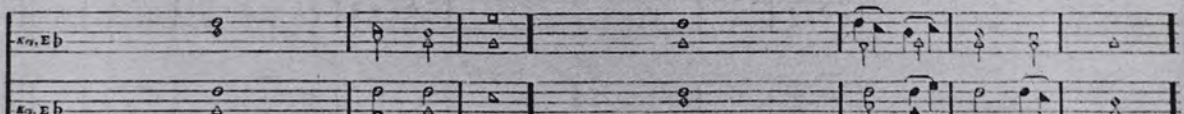
A page from the Franklin Harmony of 1830. One wonders about the contradictory tempos in "Kingsbridge" but may actually approve the vertical arrangement of sharps in Pleyel's Hymn, here called "German Hymn."

TE DEUM LAUDAMUS,

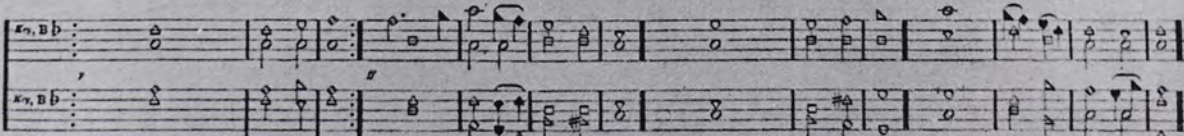
JOHN ROBINSON. 107



1. We praise thee, O God; we acknowledge thee to be the Lord. All the earth doth worship thee, the Fa-ther ev-er-lasting.
2. To thee, Cherubim and Seraphim, do cry a-loud-ly, do-
3. Thou art the King of Glory, O - - - - - O - - - - - Christ. Thou art the ever-lasting Son - - - - - of the Fa-
4. When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, Judga-ment, We therefore pray thee, help thy servants, whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood.
5. O Lord, save thy people, and bless thine inheritance, O Lord, to keep us this day without sin.



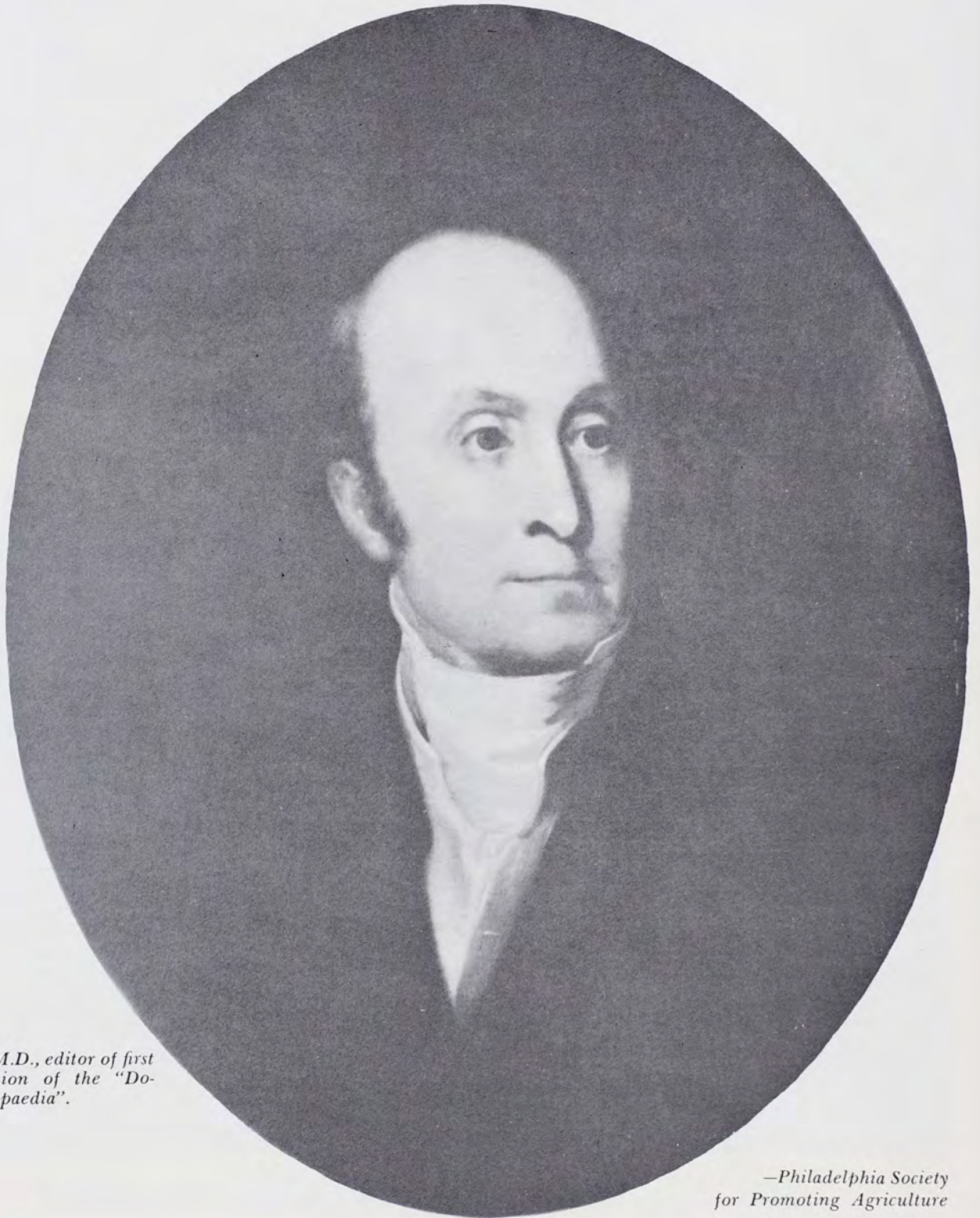
6. To thee all Angels cry a-loud; the Heavens, and all the Powers there-in.
7. Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sab-bath, liv-ing man, thou didst humble thyself to be born of a vir-gin.
8. Thou satest at the right hand of God, in the glory; And we worship thy name, ev-er-
9. Make them to be numbered with thy saints, in thee. O Lord, in thee have I trusted; let me nev-er be con-found-
10. Day by day we magnify thee. O Lord, in thee have I trusted; let me nev-er be con-found-
11. O Lord, let thy mercy be upon us, as our trust is in thee. O Lord, in thee have I trusted; let me nev-er be con-found-



12. The glorious company of the Apostles praise thee.
13. The goodly fellowship of the Prophets praise thee.
14. The noble army of Martyrs praise thee.
15. O Church, The holy Church, throughout all the world, doth ac-knowledge thee: The Father of an infinite ma-jes-ty; Thee ador-able, true, and on-ly Son; Also the Holy Ghost, the Com-fort-er.

A page from the Christian Minstrel. Shape-notes appear even more eccentric in chords than they do singly, but the eccentricity may well lie in our lack of familiarity with them.

The “DOMESTIC ENCYCLOPAEDIA”

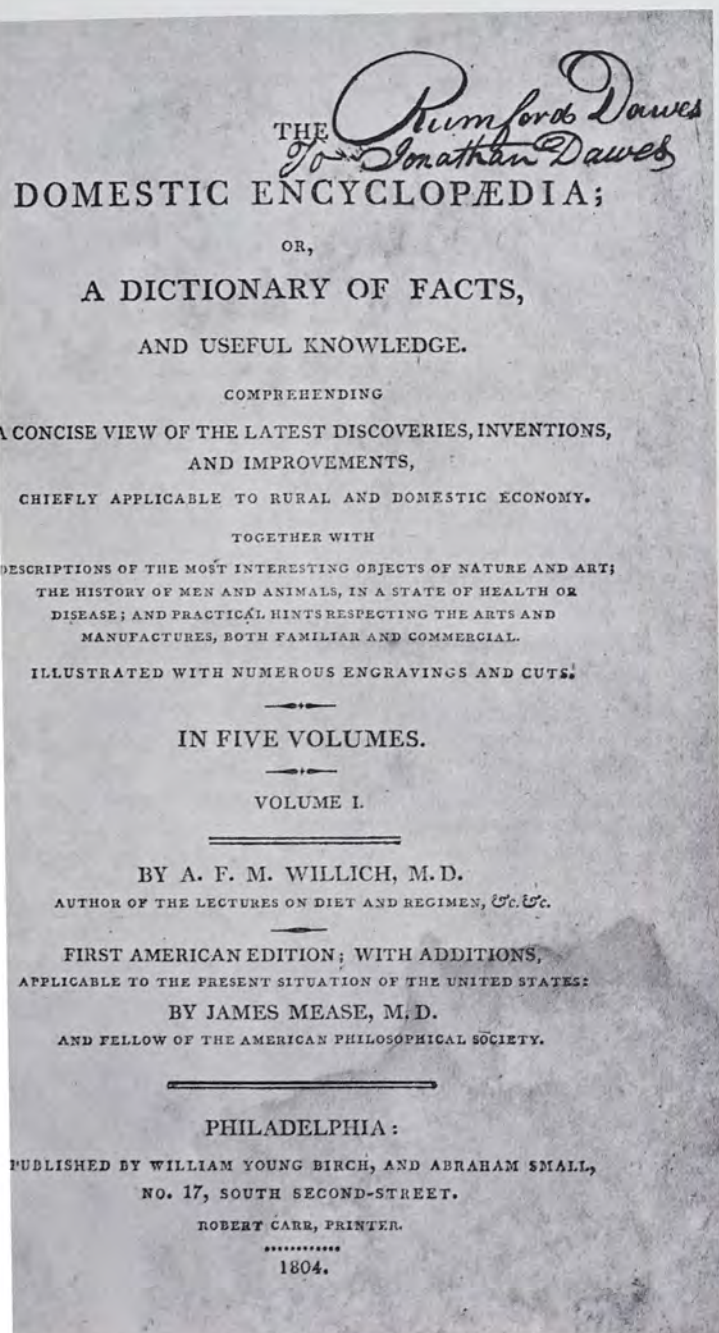


*James Mease, M.D., editor of first
American edition of the “Do-
mestic Encyclopaedia”.*

*—Philadelphia Society
for Promoting Agriculture*

of 1803-1804

By DON YODER



Title page of the "Domestic Encyclopaedia", published in Philadelphia in 1804.

INTRODUCTION

Among the many indispensable printed sources for American folklife studies are the encyclopedias published in the early republic in those enthusiastic days when young America, taking its first scholarly look at itself, was eager for knowledge from all over the world. As yet relatively untouched by social historians, historical lexicographers, and folklife scholars, these works provide valuable dated documentation on American English, traditional and progressive agriculture, urban and rural living conditions, cookery, health, climate.¹

In 1803 and 1804 the Philadelphia firm of Birch and Small brought out a five-volume work entitled *The Domestic Encyclopaedia; Or, A Dictionary of Facts, And Useful Knowledge. Comprehending A Concise View of the Latest Discoveries, Inventions, and Improvements, Chiefly Applicable to Rural and Domestic Economy*. The author was A. F. M. Willich, M.D., with American additions by James Mease, M.D., of the American Philosophical Society.²

The bulk of the work is of course by Willich, and is from his *Domestic Encyclopaedia* issued in London in 1802. Of the two authors, Willich was a German physician and scholar living in England in the late 18th and early 19th Centuries. He was of the German family of Willich which had produced so many Protestant ministers and scholars, as listed in Jöcher's *Gelehrten-Lexikon* and the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. His full name, according to American library card catalogues, was Anthony Florian Madinger Willich, but his dates and biography, after a long search through available British and German biographical lexika, are still in doubt, despite the fact that he wrote, or translated, several widely read volumes on the subjects of philosophy, medicine, diet, and physical education and edited a medical journal which was published in London and reprinted in a German edition. Several of his books ran to three and four editions, and at least one of them, his *Lectures on Diet and Regimen* (London, 1799) was translated into French, German, and Dutch.³

James Mease (1771-1846), American editor of the *Domestic Encyclopaedia*, is well documented. The basic information about him is given in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, XII, 486. A native Philadelphian, physician, scientist, and author, he was a well-known figure in Philadelphia literary and scientific circles, an important cog in the American Philosophical Society, and famous for many books, among them his *Picture of Philadelphia* (1811), the *Geological Account of the United States* (1807), a periodical

¹ The work was not used in the *Dictionary of American English* or the *Dictionary of Americanisms*. It was used by S. W. Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life 1640-1840* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1950), to the extent of one footnote reference.

² Copies of the 4-volume London edition are available in the Library Company of Philadelphia; of the 5-volume Philadelphia edition of 1803-1804, in the University of Pennsylvania Library, the Library Company, the American Philosophical Society, Girard College, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the Athenaeum; of the 3-volume Philadelphia edition of 1821, Smith Collection of the University of Pennsylvania, American Philosophical Society, Library Company, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the Free Library.

³ According to a German Dictionary of Medical Writers, Willich was a physician attached to the Saxon Embassy in London, was born in Germany, and practiced first at Paddington. Adolph Carl Peter Callisen, *Medicinisches Schriftsteller-Lexicon*, XXI (Copenhagen, 1835), 212-214, with bibliography items 1297-1302. In his Supplement, XXXIII (Altona, 1845), 306, Callisen adds that Willich had died by 1809, and cites the *Göttinger Anzeiger*, 1809, St. 176, S. 1755, which I have not had a chance to check. My thanks here to Dr. Myrtle Cline for checking the Willich items in the early years of *The Medical and Physical Journal*, 1799 ff., in the College of Physicians Library, Philadelphia.

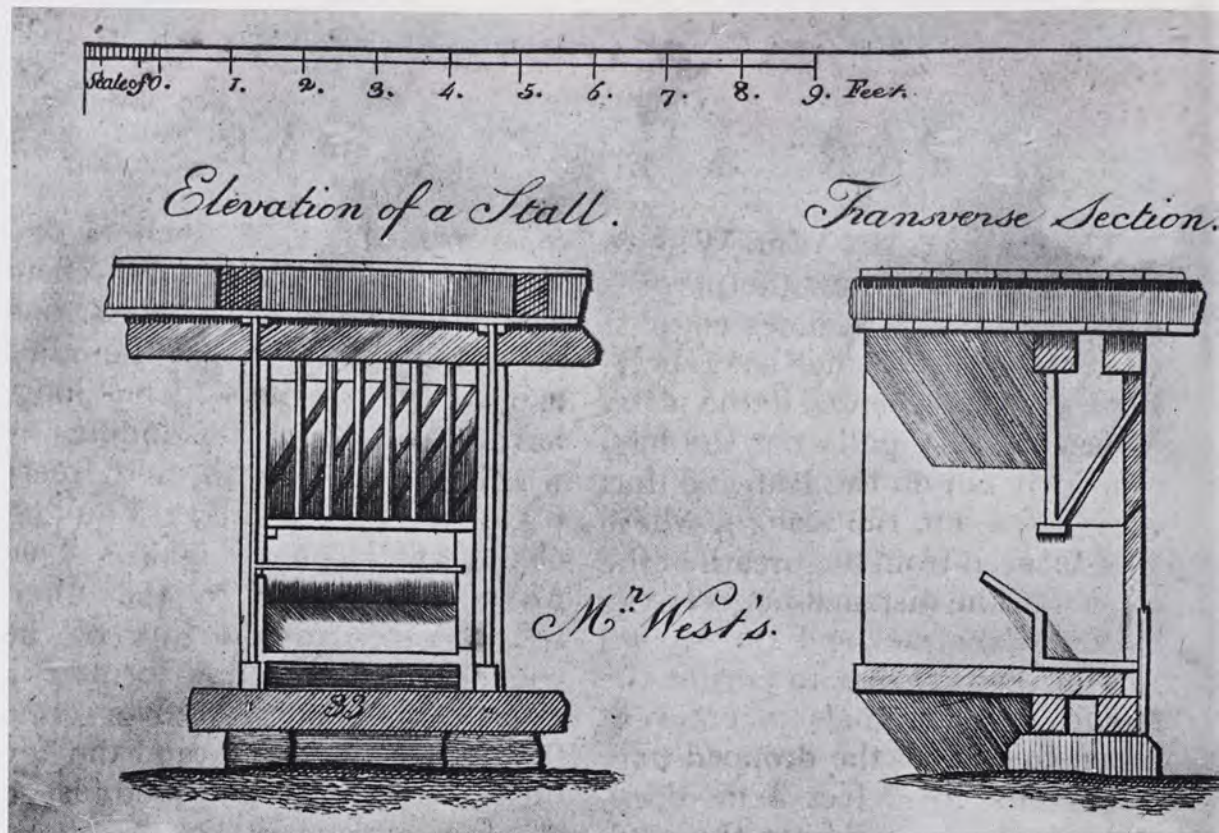


Illustration of stall designed by Mr. Wm. West.

known as the *Archives of Useful Knowledge* (1811–1812), and a wide series of pamphlets and brochures on agriculture, penal reform, economics, and navigation. He wrote so much, in fact, and so solidly, that one wonders when he found time to practice medicine.⁴

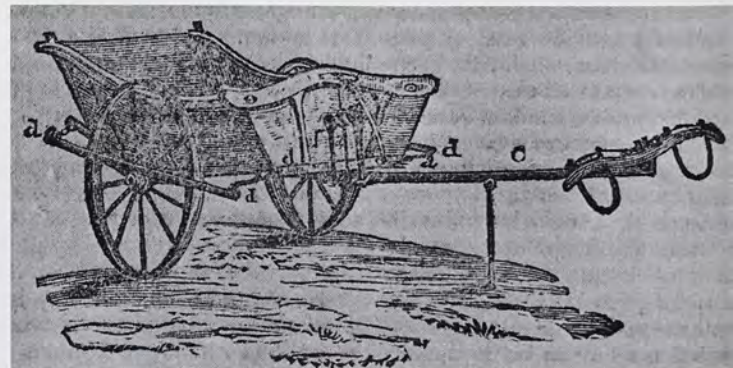
The Editor's Preface, by Dr. Mease, gives the rationale of the American edition. All specifically British references, "from which the people of this country could derive no practical or useful information," have been omitted, "and other matter substituted, which it is hoped will be found nearly connected with the interests, or domestic comforts of the citizens of the United States." A principal object on the part of the American editor has been "to direct the attention of the reader to the native resources of our country, whether they refer to medicine, the arts, or to the general purposes of life; that by employing them we may become less dependant on foreign nations" (I, ix).

The second American edition of the encyclopedia (Phila-

⁴ Mease is deserving of a full-length dissertational biography in the style of and with the depth of Frederick Tolles' biography of Mease's contemporary, George Logan. In addition to *DAB*, see *The Farmers' Cabinet*, X (June, 1846), 357, and XI (August, 1846), 17. Collections of his letters are available in the Society for the Promoting of Agriculture, the Gratz Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the American Philosophical Society. For new materials on his place in Philadelphia's Unitarian elite, see Elizabeth M. Geffen, *Philadelphia Unitarianism 1796–1861* (Philadelphia, 1961). For a collection of rare biographical materials, excerpts from letters, etc., see Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, *A Collection of Letters, Addresses, Works, Portraits, etc., of Members of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, Typewritten from Originals in the Possession of the Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Library Company of Philadelphia, Together with Short Biographies*, Collected by John M. Okie, Vol. II, available in the society's collection, Rare Book Room, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania.

delphia, 1821), edited by Thomas Cooper, M.D.,⁵ is more radical in its deletion of Willich's (and presumably Mease's) medical information. "I would most willingly have struck out of Dr. WILLICH's book," writes Cooper, "every article on medicine and disease, as affording no knowledge to the educated physician, and only calculated to make common readers quacks." However, he contented himself with the correction of manifest errors. "I have also struck out," he

⁵ Thomas Cooper (1759–1839), a native of England who came to America with Joseph Priestley in 1794, settling near him at Northumberland. Cooper served in Pennsylvania politics until 1811, when he became professor of chemistry at Dickinson College, moving in 1815 to the University of Pennsylvania, and in 1820 to South Carolina College, of which he later became president. His M.D. was honorary. For biography see *DAB*, IV, 414–416.



Perspective view of a "Dragcart" designed to be drawn by two strong oxen with an ingenious method of regulating the center of gravity of the load.

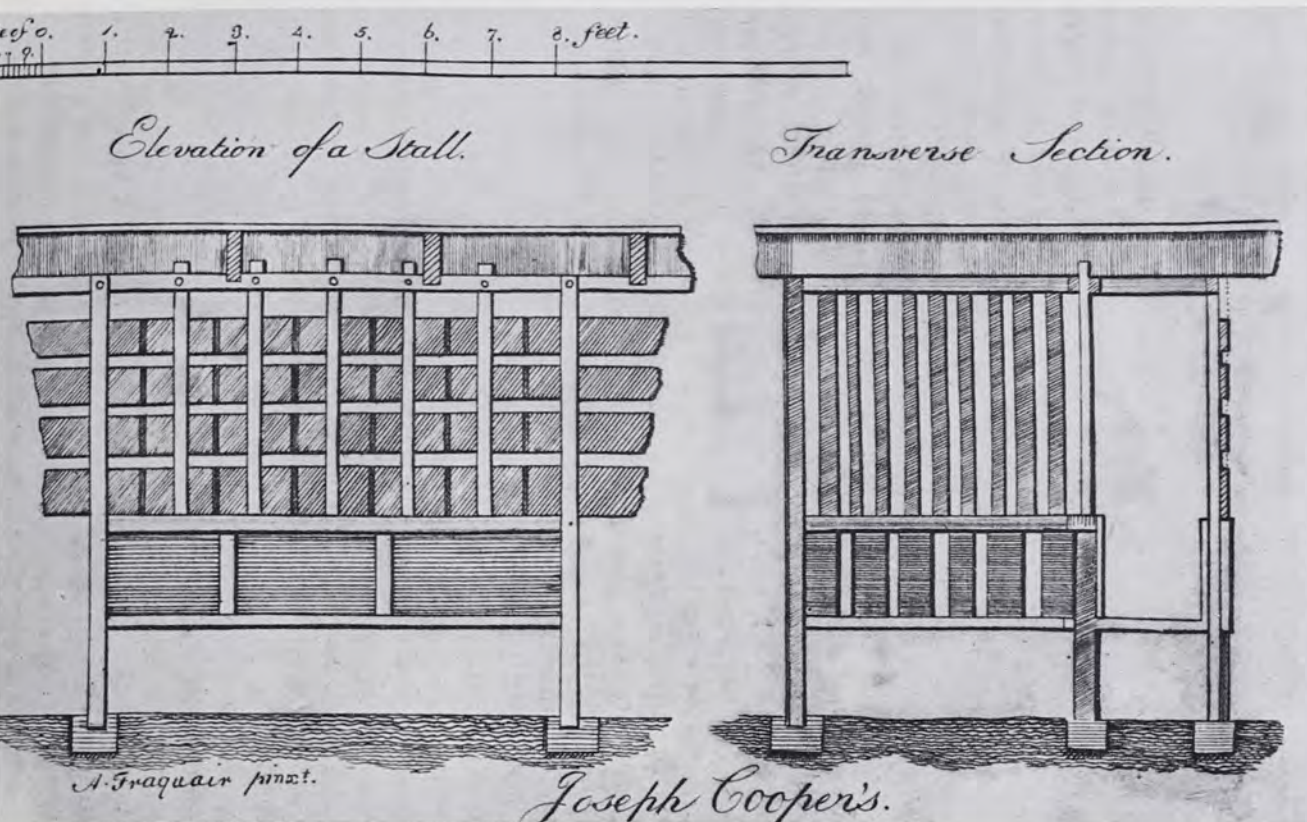


Illustration of stall designed by Mr. Joseph Cooper.

continues, "the botanical account and description of many vegetables, that appear to me little better than weeds to be extirpated wherever we find them." To the work Dr. Cooper added treatises on Veterinary Medicine, Domestic Medicine, and Cookery. These appear as appendices to Vol. III. Copies are available in the Edgar Fahs Smith Library, University of Pennsylvania.

In our quotations we shall of course use the Willich-Mease or first American edition of the encyclopedia, 1803–1804. Our quotations refer to volume and page, and unless specifically attributed to Willich, are from the pen of Dr. Mease.

But before moving on to our detailed analysis of the value of the encyclopedia for folklife studies, may we—following a long and time-honored precedent in the discussion of encyclopedias and dictionaries—cite our own favorite quotations from the work. For the book is still a delight to read, after a century and a half, especially in its more general articles. These few examples, typical of much of the writing, have about them the classical ring of the 18th Century Enlightenment.

Man: "the chief of the animated world, is distinguished from all living creatures by his superior faculties . . ." He is "nature's masterpiece"—"as, conformably to Sacred History, he is the last work that proceeded from the hands of the Creator" (Willich, IV, 15).

Animal Magnetism: "How is it possible to believe such absurdities, even though apparently corroborated by the testimonies of titled and untitled fanatics?" (Willich, IV, 8).

Mutton: "denotes the flesh of sheep, after they have been deprived of life" (Willich, IV, 132).

Novel: "a fictitious history, written with a view to exhibit the emotions of the human heart; the happiness and misery

of private life; the effects of indulging the passions, and especially that of LOVE" (Willich, IV, 147).

The American editor also occasionally waxed witty in his comments, as for instance on the *buffalo*: "Some successful attempts have been made in the Western Country to domesticate this very powerful animal." ". . . it is surprising that they are not upon every farm on the Mississippi and Ohio." He suggested that they be taken young and broken to the yoke—they would be twice as strong as oxen. Finally he suggests crossing them with the common cow—"an experiment worthy of the numerous enterprising characters residing in that extensive country" (I, 427).

THE AMERICAN'S WORLD

One gets the impression from reading the encyclopedia that the American's world was both more restricted and yet in some ways of wider prospect than the present-day American's. English ties were much closer—the fact that the encyclopedia is basically British, with reference to British conditions, flora, fauna, agricultural methods and technology, with American notes added by Mease, shows that. Also, America seemed much closer to the West Indies in 1803–1804 than it does today. One remembers the constant trade with the West Indies, and the cultural interchange between these two sets of British colonies. Manifold references to West Indian plants and their possibilities for the United States appear in Mease's additions. In addition the world trade of the Atlantic ports, including Philadelphia, brought America almost closer psychologically to China, India, and the East Indies than is the case today. In the article on *Paper*, for example, Willich "recommends to the numerous Americans who visit India, to bring over a quantity of the seed" of the paut or jute plant, which would thrive in the South-

ern states, and in the "newly acquired territory of Louisiana" (IV, 227). In the article on *Ginseng*, which is exported "in order to procure the luxuries of CHINA," we learn that from the ginseng trade "great wealth has been acquired by some early adventurers from Philadelphia" (III, 157).

Some anti-immigrant feeling is evident in Mease's article on Redemptioners, of which "large importations" are received annually by the United States. "For many years, the Germans were preferred, on account of their economical habits, sobriety, and laborious disposition. But many serious disappointments have lately taken place, in consequence of the importations of some cargoes composed of the refuse inhabitants of Hamburg, Amsterdam and Rotterdam, who robbed their masters, and eloped shortly after they were taken home. Similar disappointments may be avoided in general, by inquiring the place of residence of the individuals it may be wished to purchase; and by chusing only those who come from the country, unless well recommended. The importation of the worthless vagabonds of the commercial cities of Germany, and the Batavian republic, may become a serious evil in the United States, and should be immediately attended to." The consuls should screen the emigrants more thoroughly (IV, 376).

CLIMATE

Much information can be gleaned on the American climate, especially that of Pennsylvania: "The climate of Pennsylvania, east of the Alleghany mountains, has unquestionably become much milder in the course of the last forty years. To account for this fact is perhaps a difficult task" (II, 143-144). From the article on *Gooseberry*: "Gooseberries do not succeed well near Philadelphia, owing probably to the great heat of our summers . . ." (III, 174). At least that has not changed radically in the past century and a half.

PLANTS AND HERBS

Among Mease's most valuable additions are his sections on American varieties of plants. He uses the Bartrams and other American botanists, and cites letters from gentleman farmers in the middle states, and occasionally a letter from Dr. Muhlenberg, the botanist and Lutheran pastor of Lancaster. His information was quite up to date for 1803-1804.

In addition to describing the domestic medicinal and culinary uses of the plants, Mease's notes also afford scholars with dated evidence for the use of certain popular plant-names. In other words, his notes are valuable for the study of American English at the time.

In describing plants, Willich had treated them "under their trivial names, referring to the Botanical names; and as whim, or false judgment give rise to the former, which are not only various in different countries, but in different parts of the same country, it was thought better in all the additional articles to give the *Latin* name first, referring to the numerous trivial ones. If this plan were generally adopted, an universal language might soon take place, and much confusion and embarrassment be avoided" (I, ix-x).

Chironia Angularis, common American Centaury: In Pennsylvania it is constantly called centaury; and is deservedly esteemed a highly medicinal, and very agreeable simple bitter. It is used with great success, in relaxations of the stomach, loss of appetite, and general debility" (II, 123).

Catnip, or *Nep*: "A watery infusion of the leaves and stalks of this plant, is a common and successful domestic remedy in Pennsylvania, for promoting perspiration, when the body is affected by flying pains after exposure to cold" (II, 31).

Toad Flax: "This detestable weed, which is known in Pennsylvania by the name of *Ransted*, is said by our botan-

ists not to be a native of the United States." "It is highly injurious to our grass lands, and is now said to have passed the mountains. It is extremely difficult to eradicate" (III, 42).

Galega, *Virginian goats'-rue*, or *Cat-gut*, is used as medicine versus worms (III, 134).

Gallium Tinctorium—A native American plant plentiful in woods and swamps and river banks "in the middle and back parts of Pennsylvania." The Indians used it to dye their porcupine quills (III, 135-136).

Under *Balsam* or *Balm of Gilead*, Mease gives the reader the only note of anti-semitic feeling that I discovered in the entire work: "A contemptible Jew mountebank, by name SOLOMON, resident at Liverpool, who has purchased the title of M.D. from Aberdeen, has puffed off a medicine which he calls '*Balm of Gilead*,' as a universal restorer of exhausted constitutions, and has continued to dupe thousands by his disgusting pretensions, and by the abominable publications which bear his name. To the honour of the American name, such creatures would starve in the United States. Some of this medicine, is however, occasionally offered for sale among us . . ." (III, 155).

Madder: "Madder thrives in the state of Pennsylvania, and doubtless will thrive in every part of the Union. It is an accommodating plant, being a native of Persia, and yet flowering in the moist cold climate of the Batavian Republic." He cites its importance in Dutch exports to Europe and America (IV, 3).

Saw-Wort, or *Serratula*: "*Serratulus Spicata*, is a native plant of the United States, and a very useful diuretic; it is called *lobelia*, by the people of the western counties of this state" (IV, 447).

Sweet Flag: "The 'Sweet flag' of England is universally known in Pennsylvania, by its proper name *Calamus* . . ." (I, x).

Valisneria: "a singular aquatic plant, common on the Rhone, and in the river Delaware. In the U. States it is called channel weed" (V, 222-223).

Under "*Vegetable Kingdom*" appears a long section on the methods used by Mr. Cooper, of Philadelphia, in collecting seeds (V, 251 ff.).

The article "*Vine*" includes lengthy notes by Mease on American conditions and recommendations (V, 288 ff.). The bull-grape is called "fox-grape" from Pennsylvania to Florida. Again he speaks of "our fox-grape of Pennsylvania" (V, 290). He lists Pennsylvanian experimenters with viticulture (V, 292).

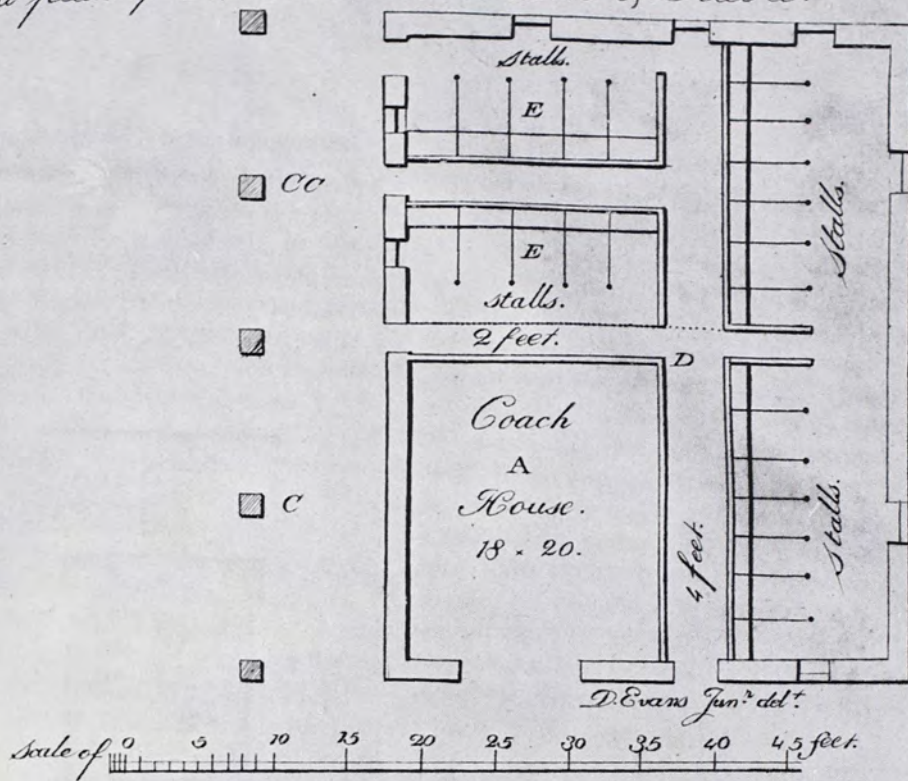
TREES

Mease is especially informative on varieties of American apples. Under *Fruit-trees*, he tells us that "fruit has been hitherto little attended to in the state of Pennsylvania," despite the several fine kinds of apples we have. His tone suggests that he hopes his book will encourage farmers to plant orchards and develop the fruit trade (III, 108 ff.).

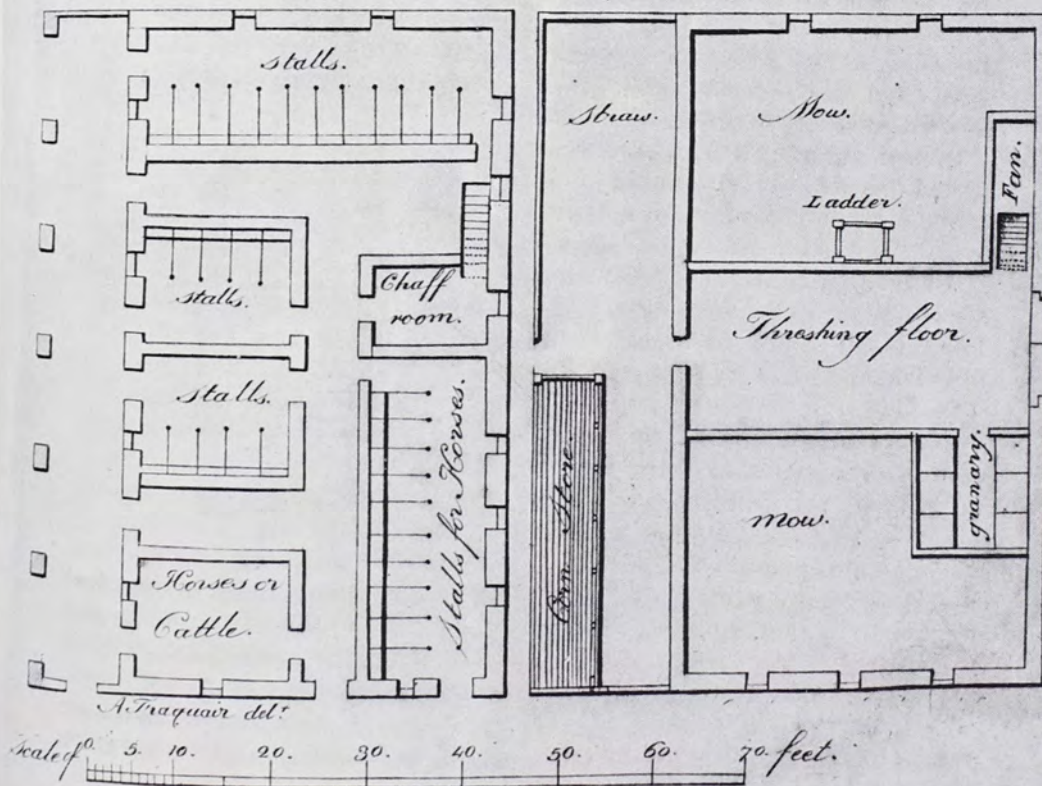
Among the names of apples that he cites are: *Woolman's Harvest*, *Sheep's Snout*, *Newton Pippin* (from Dutch *Pop-pynje*, a small sharp apple from Long Island, although "there are two varieties raised at Newton in Chester County"), *American Nonpareil* or *Doctor Apple*, *Redling*, *Sweet and Sour*, *Priestley*, *Van de Vere*, *Spice Apple*, *Rambo*, *Wine-Sop*, *Cart-House*, and *Collett*. For most of these and others he gives information on their earliest propagation and their migrations between Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware (III, 109 ff.).

On the condition of the orchards of Philadelphia and up-state counties, Mease reports that pruning is neglected, and

Ground plan of M^r Peterson's Barn & Stable.



Plan of M^r J. Miller's Barn & Stable.



Plans of a very convenient barn, coach-house and stable under one roof built on Mount Prospect, Bristol road; and a substantial barn and stables in Chester County, Pennsylvania. The diagram of the Miller barn is the earliest known architectural plan of a two-story "Pennsylvania" or "Swiss" barn.

he suggests that the trees be manured either with "rotten stable dung, or the blood of all slaughtered animals, which is too commonly thrown away; or the black water from the manure heap, which is *shamefully* permitted to go to waste" (I, 100). He advises decortication of old trees to rejuvenate them: "The summer solstice was the period for performing the operation" (I, 99).

Bay-Tree, or Laurus: "Professor KALM, in his travels through America, informs us, that the bark of the species called *Sassafras* is used by the women of Pennsylvania, for dyeing worsted of a permanent and beautiful orange colour, which is not affected by the rays of the sun."⁶ *Sassafras* wood is good for fence-posts, and of course the root is put into beer, brandy, and water (Willich, I, 211-212).

Fraxinus Pennsylvani[c]a—or *Pennsylvania sharp-keyed ash*—"much used by wheelwrights and carriage makers, for shafts, rimmers, wheels, axles, &c. not being apt to split"—also white ash is used for these (I, 135).

Chestnut: "The tree may be propagated by planting the nuts with the burrs, in the spring. The best nuts for planting, are such as are brought from Portugal and Spain, or a fine large kind which are sometimes seen in the Philadelphia markets." Planting them in the burrs is suggested by a gentleman in New Jersey, as protecting the seeds against field mice (II, 112). Mease gives a long discussion of the *horse chestnut* or *buck-eye*, whose roots were useful in washing woolens and cottons, as being less injurious to the colors than soap. Also the kernels are used, in paste form with flour, as fish-bait; and starch is made from the nuts (II, 114-115).

Maple-Tree: The *Acer Rubrum* or *Scarlet Maple*: "There is a variety of this with yellowish flowers and seeds, which is the most common kind in Pennsylvania. The wood is much admired for cabinet work, the grain being curiously waved and curled, which when polished or varnished, is highly ornamental" (IV, 39). The wood of the *Sugar Maple* (*Acer Sacharinum*) "is esteemed for making saddle-trees, and other mechanical purposes" (IV, 39).

Under "*sugar*," Mease gives directions for manufacturing maple-sugar, published in a pamphlet by a patriotic society in Philadelphia in 1790 (V, 67-73). This article is particularly good on the vocabulary of sugar-making equipment, yokes, etc.

Peach-Tree: Mease adds material from New Jersey and from Mr. Thomas Coulter of Bedford County, Pennsylvania, who has successfully cultivated peach trees in Pennsylvania

⁶ Pehr Kalm (1716-1779), Swedish naturalist and professor at the University of Abo, Finland, visited America in 1750 and left us one of the most valuable 18th Century travel accounts of Pennsylvania in his *Resa till Norra Amerika* (Stockholm, 1753). Mease probably used the English translation by John Reinhold Forster, *Travels into North America*, which appeared in three volumes at Warrington and London, 1770-1771. The materials on *Laurus Sassafras*, Linn., cited here, are from Volume I, 146-148; additional materials appear in I, 340-343. For Kalm's scientific significance, see Martti Kerkkonen, *Peter Kalm's North American Journey: Its Ideological Background and Results* (Helsinki, 1959). Pennsylvania's state flower, the mountain laurel (*Kalmia latifolia*) is named for this distinguished colonial visitor.

⁷ Thomas Coulter appears to have been important in local politics in Bedford County. He was named as a Trustee by the General Assembly in 1771 to erect a courthouse and prison at Bedford, was in 1776 a member of the convention which drew up the state constitution, was justice of the peace, 1773-1791, and Sheriff of Bedford County, 1779. He lived in Cumberland Valley Township, where he was assessed in 1772 with 400 acres, 25 improved, a Negro slave, 2 horses and 2 cows. From the Waterman-Watkins *History of Bedford, Somerset and Fulton Counties, Pennsylvania* (Chicago, 1884), pp. 69, 91, 196, 202, 217, 221; and U. J. Jones, *History of the Early Settlement of Juniata Valley* (Philadelphia, 1856), p. 292. Information furnished by Floyd G. Hoenstine, local historian and genealogist of Bedford and Blair Counties, Hollidaysburg, Pennsylvania.

and Delaware for 45 years (IV, 244-246).⁷

Pine-Tree: Mease adds materials on American varieties, including the New England white pine, which Dr. Belknap calls the "prince of the American forest" (IV, 275).⁸

FARMING

Mease, with his optimistic confidence in young America's future, admonishes his readers wherever possible to develop American agriculture. "It has been justly observed, that in America, in particular, agriculture is the foundation of productive industry, and the bulwark of moral habits." In his praise of the American farmer, he refers to "that independent spirit, that honest demeanor, that unsuspecting frankness, and that unaffected patriotism which distinguish the sons of agriculture. How worthy then of consideration is this noble art! How laudable the efforts of those who detect its errors, or introduce improvements! How particularly commendable are those Americans who labour and make experiments for the instruction of their fellow-citizens!" (I, 20).

Wherever possible he suggests improvements, often the result of experimental farming in the Middle States, and often he gives us information on traditional farming patterns of Pennsylvania. He refers to the excellence of the agriculture of Lancaster County.

Ashes: "Leached ashes are much used, in some parts of the United States, as a manure. Great quantities are annually taken from the city of Philadelphia to Long Island, for the purpose. They cost here 40 cents per one horse cart-load, and commonly bring one dollar 50 cents, when delivered" (I, 138).

Bean: "The field beans make an excel[l]ent fallow crop, and are now much used in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, for that purpose" (I, 216).

Cradle: "CRADLE, a frame joined to a scythe, useful in harvesting, by the help of which, three times the quantity of grain may be cut down in a given time that [than] can be with a sickle, and laid tolerably even for binding in bundles" (II, 270-271). Under *Scythe, or Sithe*, Mease adds: "A representation of the Silesian scythe and cradle, is given by Dr. WILlich; it has a straight handle and four teeth, parallel to the blade. The American tool it is well known, has five teeth; and the handle is somewhat crooked, which tends greatly to diminish the labour in using it, and keeps the grain upon the long teeth, until the reaper throws it off. The heads of the grain are all laid one way. The teeth are made of ash; that wood being tough, and yet yielding gently to pressure" (IV, 459).⁹

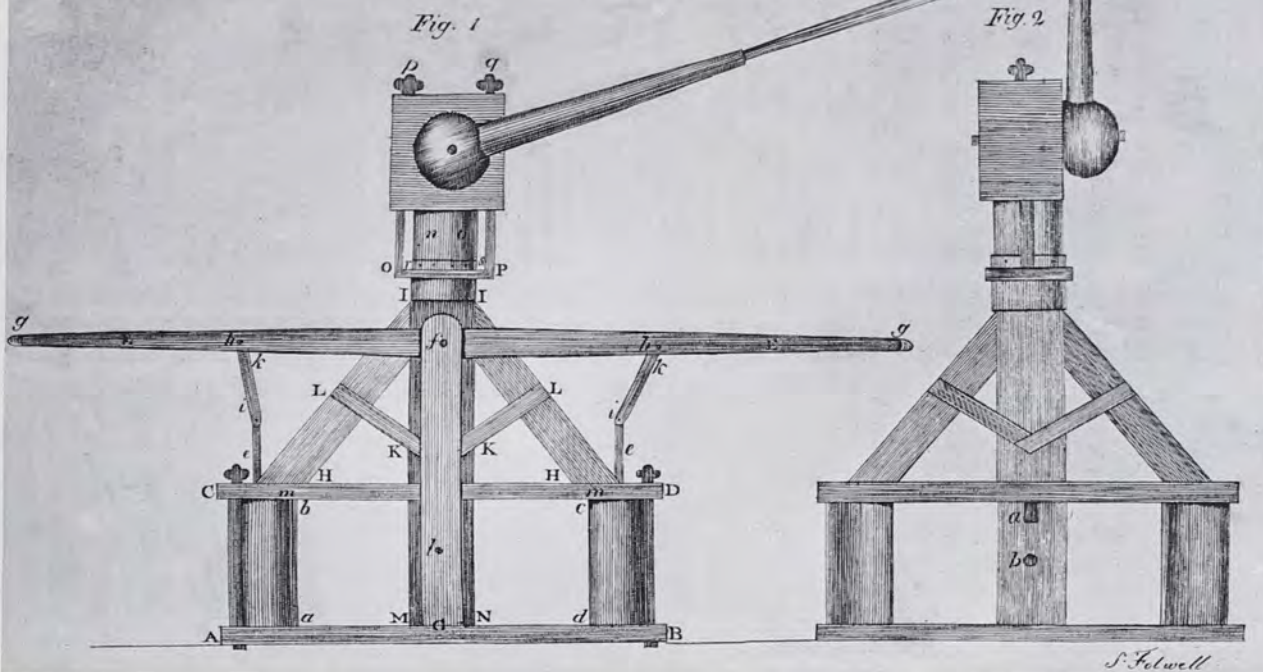
Fence: "The daily growing scarcity of wood in the United States, renders the inclosure of a farm, very expensive. It beho[oves] the farmer, therefore, to adopt every means to preserve his fences." He mentions the custom of charring the post at the ground end, to preserve it from rotting. Cedar rails for fences come from Delaware and New Jersey (II, 495). Mease also urges "an immediate attention to the planting of hedges," although "the business is very little understood in the United States, particularly in Pennsylvania . . ." (III, 275).¹⁰

⁸ Jeremy Belknap (1744-1798), Congregationalist clergyman and early New England historian and biographer; see *DAB*, II, 147.

⁹ For the cradle in Pennsylvania, see S. W. Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life 1640-1840* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1950), p. 98. We highly urge basic research on this important rural tool. Will persons gathering material on this subject please notify the Editor.

¹⁰ For hedging versus fencing, see *Memoirs of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture*, I (Philadelphia, 1815), John Taylor, "On Live Fences," 102-108, 1807; Vol. II (1811), "On Live Hedges," 24-27, 1809, also Appendix; Vol. III (1814), on hedging and ditching, 1812. Joseph C. Martindale's *A History of the Townships of Byberry and Moreland, in Philadelphia, Pa.* (Phila-

American Fire Engine.



Engraving of wooden fire engine invented about 1794.

Grass: "The Rev. and learned Dr. HENRY MUHLENBERG of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, has paid more attention to the natural history of the grasses of the United States, than any other person . . ." "The *Tall-Meadow* oats [*Avena elatior*] was imported many years ago by Dr. M. and is now spreading fast through the state of Pennsylvania" (III, 193, 196–197).

Compost: "The great value of Compost-manure is now beginning to be well understood by the farmers in Pennsylvania, particularly those near the city of Philadelphia, by whom greater crops are unquestionably produced than in almost any other part of the state, Lancaster county excepted" (II, 191).

Gypsum, or Plaster-Stone: Mease gives detailed information on Pennsylvanian experimentation with this soil-enricher, telling the "history of the introduction of this inestimable article into the state of Pennsylvania," about 38 years since, by Mr. Guyger, a native of "Koshehopen, Bucks County," who had removed to Germany and sent a keg of ground gypsum to Mr. Jacob Barge, Philadelphia innkeeper, who tested it" (III, 233–244).¹¹

delphia, n.d.), dealing with the earliest period of settlement, says there were no fences, but simply division ditches [Holland Dutch fashion?] between tracts; some of these were still visible in 1847 when he began his historical research (pp. 32–33). Again, he writes, "Fencing, however, was not universal at that time, and some preferred to dig ditches and plant privet (*Ligustrum vulgare*) hedges, in order to inclose their farms. These hedges answered the purpose very well, and presented an effectual barrier against the encroachments of cattle and wild beasts. They gave the farms a pleasing appearance, particularly when in blossom; and when the berries were ripe they afforded food for multitudes of wild pigeons, thousands of which were killed by the settlers. It is said these hedges, from some unknown cause, all died a few years previous to the Revolution, and have never been in general use since" (p. 49).

¹¹ Dr. Harvey S. Bassler, donor of the Unger-Bassler Collection at Franklin and Marshall College, was at the time of his death in 1950 working on the history of gypsum in America.

Mease also gives information on *crop rotation*: "At present, we can only be expected to speak of the rotation of crops in Pennsylvania, east of the Alleghany mountain, and even here, no uniform system has been yet approved of." He appends the crop-schedule of Dr. Muhlenberg of Lancaster, also of Mr. Bordley of Philadelphia (II, 279 ff.).¹² *Red Clover* Mease calls "an essential article in the rotation of crops in Pennsylvania, and the immense riches which the whole state has acquired during the last twenty years, may, in part, justly be ascribed to this grass aided by the almost magical fertilizing power of gypsum. . . ." Of the two kinds of red clover sown in Pennsylvania, "one is particularly distinguished by the name of Dutch clover . . ." (II, 150–152).

Irrigation: "The advantages of irrigation are well understood by the farmers of Pennsylvania, and carefully practised by all who have water at command. Contrivances are in some instances also made for this invaluable purpose, which are highly ingenious, and deserve to be generally followed. The one by Mr. WITMER, on the Lancaster road, near Conastogoe creek, shall be particularly described under the article WATER" (III, 394). For irrigated meadows, see also IV, 237.

Under "Water" he refers the reader to "Irrigation" for the contrivance invented by Mr. David Witmer, 9 miles East

¹² John Beale Bordley (1727–1804), was a native of Annapolis who became a famous early American experimental farmer in Maryland and Pennsylvania, and one of the founders of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture (1785). His *Essays and Notes on Husbandry and Rural Affairs* (1791), was published in enlarged edition in 1801. For biographical setting, see *DAB*, II 460–461; also Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, *A Collection of Letters, Addresses, Works, Portraits, etc., of Members of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, Type-written from Originals in the Possession of the Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Library Company of Philadelphia, Together with Short Biographies*, Collected by John M. Okie, Vol. VI.

of Lancaster, described here (V, 357).¹³

Rural technology in America had already produced several noted experiments in farm machinery, such as the *mowing-machine* produced in Chester County by Moses Coates, the Quaker inventor and founder of Coatesville. "Mr. MOSES COAT[E]S, whose ingenious contrivance to pare apples, was described under the article FRUIT, has lately invented a mowing-machine, which promises to be of extensive utility to farmers. It is drawn by two horses, and takes a swarth four feet nine inches wide, as fast as the horses walk . . ." "The irregularity in the surface of most grass fields, prevents the general application of the machine to the cutting of grass, but where this difficulty does not occur, and the ground is clear of stones, it answers fully. The editor has been favoured by the inventor, with a general description of this *labour-saving machine*, but deems it unnecessary to give it, as persons wishing to possess one must apply to the inventor, to whom letters may be addressed, at DOWNING'S-TOWN, Pennsylvania" (IV, 117).¹⁴

Mease is particularly valuable on the elusive farm machine known as the *fan* or *fanning-mill*, about which so little seems to have been written. Under "*Winnow or Winnowing-machine*" (V, 420 ff.), he tells us that "winnowing machines, or fans, as they are called, were first introduced into Philadelphia by ADAM ECHARD, forty or fifty years since, from a Holland model."¹⁵ This model was later patented in England and he refers the reader to Bayley's *Plans of Machines* for the model. "Excellent fans," he tells us in closing, "are constructed in Philadelphia" (V, 421).

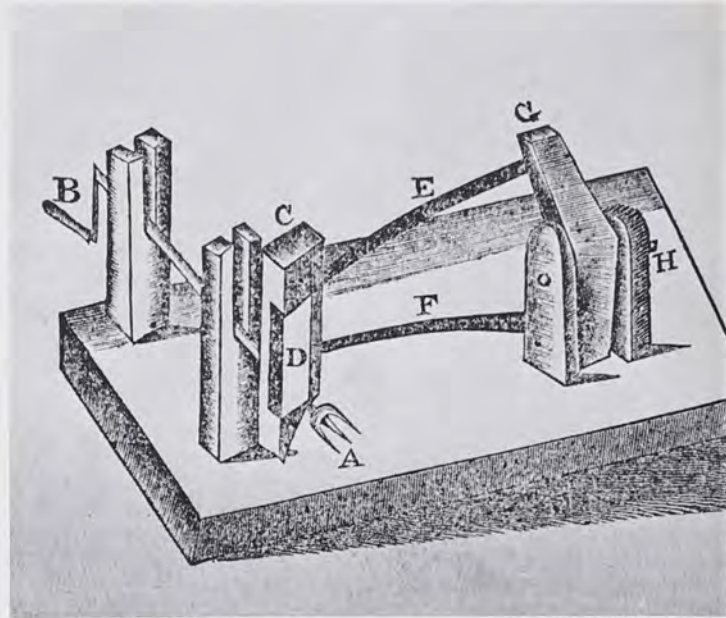
Under "*wheat*," Mease gives Pennsylvania notes (V, 383 ff.) and describes several methods of threshing: (1) flailing, (2) treading-with horses, "a common practice in Maryland and Virginia," and (3) by threshing mills (V, 387). He refers to "treading floors" (V, 387) and describes an American threshing-mill (V, 389).

Under "*Straw cutter*," or "*chaff cutter*" (V, 60-62), Dr. Mease refers the reader to the straw-cutter invented by Moses Coat[e]s of Downingtown. It is simple and cheap, and "it is now in general use," he reports, "in the counties of Chester, Lancaster and York" (V, 61). "The knife is concave next the straw, to throw the edge against it, and it is furnished with a

¹³ For irrigated meadows, see Robert C. Bucher, "Meadow Irrigation in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (Fall, 1960), 24-32; Fletcher, I, 165-167; also *Memoirs of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture*, V (1826), Samuel Hains, "On the Importance of Irrigation," 268-275, read 1825, stating that watered meadows are highly valued by the Germans and their descendants in this state.

¹⁴ Moses Coates (1745-1816), son of Samuel and Elizabeth Mendenhall Coates, was a native of Chester County, Pennsylvania. The county historians wrote of him that he "possessed considerable inventive genius, and towards the close of the last century he contrived and constructed a curious apple-paring machine, which was at once simple, convenient, and highly useful in domestic economy. With some slight modifications the instrument is still in popular use. He also invented a self-settling saw-mill, which attracted much notice at the time, but of its practical importance at the present day we are unable to speak. He likewise claimed the invention of a horse-rake, among other ingenious implements. That instrument, however, was greatly improved and brought nearly to perfection in the intellectual community of Kennet Square and vicinity, where agricultural machinery of various kinds is produced on an extensive scale; but as the inventors and machinists are yet living and flourishing, their memoirs must await the historic efforts of some future county Plutarch." The village of Coatesville was named for him but became a town in his son's lifetime. J. Smith Futhey and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 501.

¹⁵ The fanning mill (windmill, fan) is another bit of early farm technology that deserves full historical attention. We urge it as a dissertation topic for the new Institutes of Agricultural History at the University of Tübingen in Germany and the University of California at Davis, California.



A machine for paring apples, invented by Moses Coates of Chester County. Apple is fixed on fork A, and is turned by handle B while springs E and F turn knife D in a semicircle over the apple.

board above the straw, and treadle to press the straw tight, and a rake to push it forward in the same manner as the old Dutch straw boxes" (V, 61).¹⁶

On *milling*, we learn from Mease that "mills for grinding grain, and for sawing timber, have been much improved within a few years past in the United States." The principal improver of grain mills, of course, was Oliver Evans, whose *Miller's and Mill-Wright's Guide* (Philadelphia, 1795) is cited (IV, 65 ff.). "Many mills in the state of Pennsylvania, and Delaware, have been constructed upon the plan of Mr. EVANS; but they are in fullest operation at the extensive mills of Messrs. ELLICOTS, near Baltimore . . ." (IV, 87). He uses such terms as "the waggoner's bag" (IV, 86), and urges floating corn-mills, as found on the Danube in Hungary, for the United States (IV, 87).

As a scientist, Mease was interested in standardizing terminology, weights and measures, etc. He has several references to the barrel, the bushel, and other standards in Pennsylvania. "The Pennsylvania barrel of flour contains 196 pounds" (I, 195). "Some standard ought to be fixed for the bushel in Philadelphia. A friend lately found that the quantity of grain measured in three stamped half bushels, differed in weight to the amount of two pounds" (I, 451).

On *farm animals* Mease is especially good. On the constant early American controversy on the comparative superiority of ox and horse, he does not take sides: "it is absolutely impossible, to give either animal the entire preference over

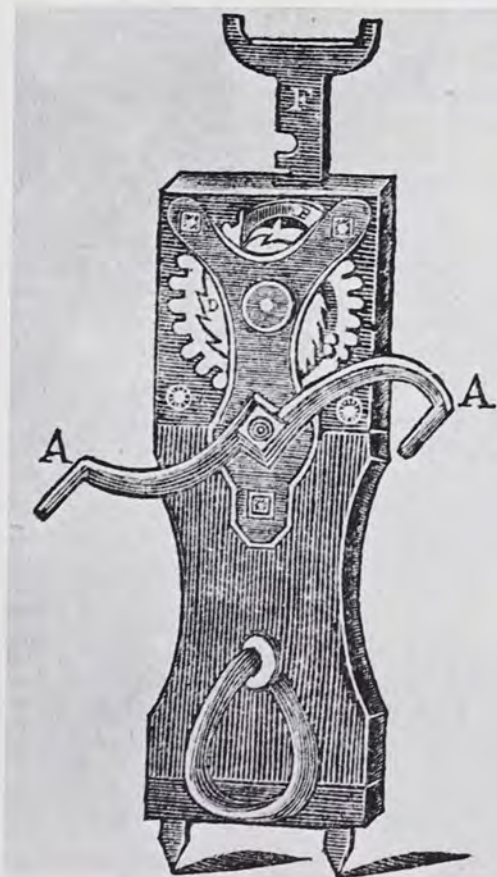
¹⁶ The straw box (cutting box) is often mentioned in 18th Century Pennsylvania inventories. The cut straw was used also in the straw tick (chaff bag) which was common equipment on Pennsylvania bedsteads before the arrival of the mattress in the 19th Century. Much more research needs to be done on these topics.

the other, for every kind of business on a farm" (IV, 210).¹⁷ "The absurd mode generally followed of yoking oxen, is one cause of their slow pace: and yet farmers without reflecting upon the awkwardness of the position in which oxen draw, when their heads and necks are unnaturally pressed far below the line of their backs, continue to use the yoke because their *fathers* did, thus loosing full one half the beasts' power." He urges the use of collars instead (IV, 211). He quotes Bordley as saying that "he saw a waggon in Pennsylvania, drawn by two bulls and two oxen, bridled and geered in harness and collars; and in Maryland, he saw a woman going to a race with her chest of cakes, and sitting in a truck drawn by a bull bridled and guided by herself . . ." (IV, 211).

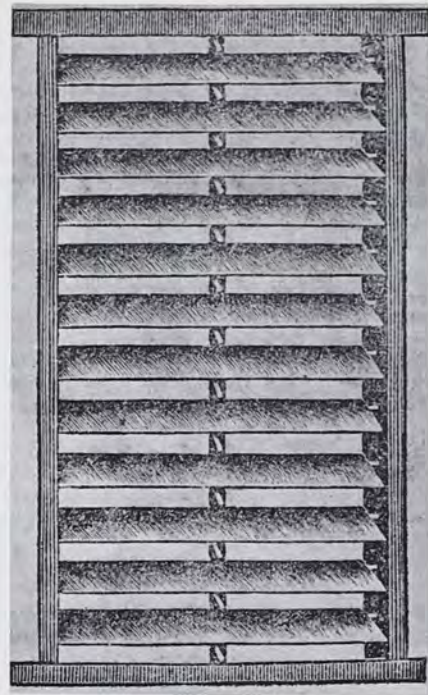
On the long section on "Cattle," Mease distinguishes between "black cattle" and "small cattle,"¹⁸ a distinction which seems to have disappeared, and gives much information on local methods of raising cattle, with reference to stall feeding (II, 46). While "almost every English book on farming extols the great benefit derived from feeding cattle during winter on turnips," Mease feels this is unsuitable to the United States (II, 32). Also, "The economical Flemish and German

¹⁷ The ox versus horse controversy raged in the farm periodicals (*New England Farmer*, *Genesee Farmer*, etc.) in the first half of the 19th Century. In general the Pennsylvania Dutch farmer used horses, while the ox was found in English areas (New England, Quaker Pennsylvania, etc.).

¹⁸ According to the *New English Dictionary*, "black cattle" are oxen, bulls, and cows, i.e., beef cattle, probably at first applied to the black breeds of Scotland and Wales (II, Pt. I, 190); "small cattle" are cattle below the size of oxen, as calves or sheep (IX, Pt. I, 258).



Cut of a machine for raising large weights invented in 1794. This jack was an improvement over those in common use since it had a click and ratchet which prevented it from running back in case the weight should at any time overcome the power.



"Louffer" (louver), an upright post having a number of projecting pieces of wood, of small diameter, for the purpose of lifting the slats of windows, of work-shops, barns, and stables.

practice of boiling the potatoes, corn, &c. is not followed" (II, 47), although he does mention that a Quaker farmer, "Mr. TIMOTHY KIRK of York-Town, Penn.[.] fed one pig with boiled potatoes and Indian corn, (mayz) and another with the same articles unboiled," and proved by the experiment that the pig that ate boiled food gained more weight. For Kirk's economical boiler, see the article on "Water" (III, 300).¹⁹

On Pennsylvania cows, Mease writes: "The editor has heard, that in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, there is a breed of cows, remarkable for the great abundance of milk they afford: and he has been assured, they yield from twenty to thirty quarts per day." The owners, however, are "noted for a regular system of full feeding winter and summer" (II, 263-264). He also mentions that "an observing English officer, Col. P.[.] remarked, two years since, the breed of cows near Lancaster, which have a fine small head, smooth and delicate hair, full eye, round rib, and straight back; and said that the breed would be an acquisition to England, if introduced there" (II, 264).

According to Mease, the Pennsylvania Dutch farmers had superior methods of raising cows. "In the management of milk cows, it is essential that they be kept at all times in high health and good condition. If they are allowed to fall in flesh during winter, an abundant supply of milk need

¹⁹ In George R. Prowell's *History of York County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago, 1907), I, 763, we read that in December, 1800, Timothy Kirk, a noted Quaker, invented a corn sheller and advertised in the newspapers "that one person could shell a bushel of corn in a minute." He was the son of Caleb Kirk, who introduced clover and timothy grasses into York County in 1793. The *York Recorder* of August 3, 1811, contains the obituary of Timothy Kirk, "an inventor of useful inventions," who died July 26, 1811, in Harford County, Maryland. For Caleb Kirk of York County (the family came from Bradford Meeting, Chester County, to Warrington Monthly Meeting in 1770), see *Memoirs of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture*, I (Philadelphia, 1815), 265 ff.; also IV (1818). We are indebted to Alice E. Starner, Associate Director, The Historical Society of York County, for the material on Timothy Kirk. For their importance in agricultural history, biographical articles should be written on both Caleb and Timothy Kirk.

not be expected by bringing them into high condition in summer. So well convinced of this are the Germans, who attend Philadelphia market with milk, that they regularly feed their cows at midnight with short feed, during the winter" (II, 262). Again, "warm stables are equally necessary. The Germans in Lancaster county, find it economical to have warm stables; as beasts will not eat so much when kept warm, as when shivering with cold" (II, 262-263).

The *drowing of cattle* is referred to in an interesting account of the spread of a cattle disease by a carrier herd. "A disease which originally appeared in a drove from North Carolina, in the autumn of 1796, spread devastation throughout the country among the cattle as it passed. The editor first heard of it near Columbia, on the Susquehanna, where the drove remained *one night* in a ploughed field. The stock of a farm were seized in a few days afterwards, and many perished. At the same time the beasts in the drove appeared *perfectly well*. The disease was traced down to Derby, 8 miles S.W. of Philadelphia, where great havoc was occasioned by it." He uses the term "drove cattle" in his account (II, 51).²⁰

TRANSPORTATION

Mease is good on farm transportation, although much of his space is taken up urging the advantages of the cart over the wagon.

"A predilection has long prevailed in England and America, in favour of large teams and waggons," the object seeming to be "to try how an immense load of goods can be carried in one carriage. . . ." "The very great weight of our Western country waggons is well known." "The rough roads beyond the mountains may probably prevent the adoption of the plan of one-horse carts, but why could not each horse draw his own cart, from the farms of Lancaster county?" (II, 13-14). "The halter of one horse might be tied to the cart which goes before it," so that one driver could drive. "The expense of turnpike may be increased by the carts, but would not the increased freight more than make up?" (II, 13-14).²¹

For bridges, see the description of Judge Findley's *chain bridge* erected across Jacob's Creek, at the expense of Fayette and Westmoreland Counties (I, 405).

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

On *house architecture* Mease gives many interesting details, based on his experience with Philadelphia houses. "At present the walls of most houses built in Philadelphia are much too thin, as they seldom exceed nine inches, and derive the chief part of their support from the adjoining houses. It is not unusual to perceive day-light thro' the walls of the garret of a house, a circumstance which must necessarily render these apartments uncomfortable at all seasons. . . ." (III, 336).

On roofing, cedar or cypress *shingles* are generally employed in the United States (III, 337), in New York *tiles*, and now *slate* (III, 337), for Philadelphia shingling (III, 338).

In South Carolina and Georgia houses are built of "tabby" (III, 339).

²⁰ For a fuller account of this case, see *Memoirs of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture*, III, Introduction, xxxix; also "Account of a Contagious disease propagated by a drove of Southern Cattle in perfect health," V, 280, read before the society September 20, 1825.

²¹ Research on American cart and wagon patterns has only recently begun. For what is known on the Conestoga Wagon thus far, see George Shumway, Edward Durell, and Howard C. Frey, *Conestoga Wagon 1750-1850* (York, Pennsylvania, 1964). For the English background, see J. Geraint Jenkins, *The English Farm Wagon: Origins and Structure* (Reading, England, 1961), a study sponsored and published by the Museum of English Rural Life, University of Reading.

The encyclopedia includes materials on *ice-houses* (III, 340),²² and *milk-houses* or *dairy-houses* (II, 313-314; IV, 80-84).²³ "If the milk-house be situated near a large town, where ice could be vended during the summer, Dr. ANDERSON is of the opinion, it would be very beneficial to the owner, to erect an ice-house contiguous to this dairy. . . ." (Willich, IV, 82). Mease adds the plan of a Chester County milk-house (IV, 83-84).

Mease uses the term "*party-walls*" for the walls between houses (I, 429).

He advises against *wooden houses* in cities, and expresses his distaste for the "finical puerile taste" found in wooden ornaments to Philadelphia houses (I, 434-435). Indeed, he says, "batchelors only, ought to build of wood. . ." (I, 435).

He gives much material on *brick*. "Fire bricks are made in Philadelphia of certain proportions of clay from the banks of the Delaware, a few miles below Bordenton, and the sand found near the lower bridge on the Schuylkill" (I, 398). He advises their use not only in furnaces but for lining the backs and sides of fire-places (I, 398); see also *Fire-Places*.

"The wells of pumps are in general only *steined*, that is, lined with dry bricks. Two disadvantages arise from this practice. The first, is the bad qualities which, it appears, are communicated to the water by the bricks; the second, is the inability of these bricks to prevent the filthy contents of drains and privies from soaking through the ground into the wells, to which cause may be fairly attributed the bad taste of the water in many pumps in Philadelphia, which were formerly proverbial for their excellence. Every privy and well ought to be lined with the valuable cement of *Capt. Hunn*" (I, 402).

Under "*well*," Dr. Mease suggests a plan which would be "highly useful in the limestone counties of Pennsylvania, particularly in Northampton, and the dry lands of Cumberland, where the inhabitants have been obliged to dig from 90 to 150 feet deep for water" (V, 373).²⁴

PENNSYLVANIA BARN

On rural architecture, Mease is superb on barns, as he gives the earliest known floor-plans of the two-level Pennsylvania barns which have had such impact on early American agriculture, not only in Pennsylvania, but in the adjoining portions of Western Maryland and Virginia, the Midwest, and Ontario. Mease declares that "the barns in Pennsylvania are certainly superior to any in the world. This assertion is made with reference to those which are represented in books of agriculture. Our barns are in general, models of neatness, durability and convenience. In Lancaster county especially, they form one of the most prominent and attracting objects, which arrest the attention, and force an expression of admiration from the passing stranger" (II, 483).²⁵

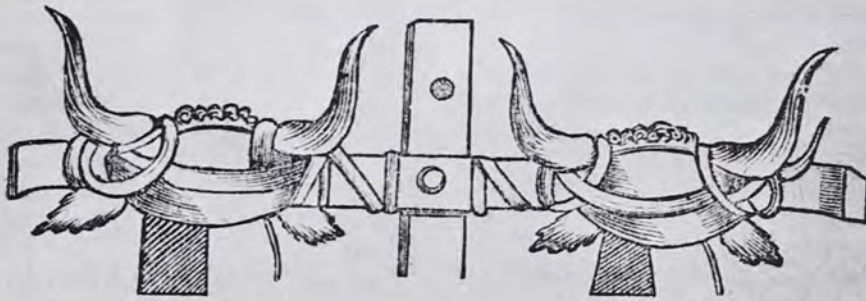
He gives a long description of the Pennsylvania barn, usually built at a hill, with the lower story for cattle, and the upper story for sheaves of grain "to be here threshed." Loaded carts and wagons can be driven in on this second

²² On ice-houses in rural Pennsylvania, see Amos Long, Jr., "The Ice-House in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XIV No. 4 (Summer 1965).

²³ For the springhouse or dairy in early Pennsylvania, see Amos Long, Jr., "Springs and Springhouses," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XI No. 1 (Spring 1960), 40-43.

²⁴ The terms "Dryland" and "Drylands" were used geographically in Pennsylvania; cf. Northampton County, which included from 1736 to 1770 the proprietary Manor of Fermor, or Drylands.

²⁵ For the Pennsylvania barn, see Alfred L. Shoemaker, editor, *The Pennsylvania Barn* (Kutztown, Pennsylvania, 1959).



To afford a more complete idea of the manner, in which the French oxen are fastened to the bow, we have added an accurate *front-view* of the upper part of the animals' heads; as such method, in the opinion of Lord SOMERVILLE, is the best preparatory step towards introducing that practised in Portugal.



A mode of working oxen practised in France and using a long leather strap which is wrapped around the yoke; thence around the lower part of the horns; and is again fastened to the yoke. Two oxen thus harnessed, being able to draw with great ease three tons in weight.

floor, although again he advises one-horse carts in place of the "tedious heavy loaded waggons" (II, 483-484).

He even furnishes us with some of our first dated evidence on the transfer of the two-level barn from the German-speaking upstate culture to the nearer-Philadelphia, English culture: "The first barn built in the northern townships of Philadelphia county, upon the very excellent German plan, was by EDWARD DUFFIELD, Esq. in the year 1789, and since that period his model has been copied by many in the neighbourhood" (II, 484).²⁶ He describes the Duffield barn, and adds a cut of its door-irons. The barn measured 61 by 37 feet.

In his description of Mr. D. Peterson's barn, he uses the term "*bridge*" for the ramp built up from the ground to the threshing floor, in barns not built on the side of a hill (II, 485).²⁷ John Miller's barn in the Valley, Chester County, is also described: "The whole barn is plastered, and there are Venetian blinds to all the windows" (II, 487). Elsewhere

²⁶ Edward Duffield (1730-1805) of Philadelphia and Moreland, was a famous experimental farmer and noted clockmaker whose scientific interests were rewarded with election to membership in the American Philosophical Society (Joseph C. Martindale, *A History of the Townships of Byberry and Moreland, in Philadelphia, Pa.* [Philadelphia, n.d.], pp. 303-307). Martindale gives valuable information on the transfer of the Swiss barn pattern to the English areas. In speaking of several barns built in the 1780's and 1790's (including Edward Duffield's in Moreland, dated 1789), he writes, "These were the first barns with stabling underneath and a bridge to get to the floor and mows. They are generally known as 'cellar barns,' and have been the fashion ever since" (p. 196).

²⁷ The terms "barn bridge" and "barn hill" would seem to be traditional terms in Pennsylvania. Barn bridge is the more general term, "barn hill" I have heard in Lancaster County. The Folklife Society wishes information on these terms, neither of which appears in the *Dictionary of American English* or the *Dictionary of Americanisms*.

he gives information on "*louffers*" (louvers) which he prefers to loopholes or windows, for ventilation of barns (II, 484).

Despite the large barns, farmers used scattered *hay stacks*. "In the American practice, hay and fodder are stacked in the fields; and the cattle are fed round the stacks and fodder-houses . . ." a practice which Mease thought disadvantageous (II, 488). And again, "Many farmers feed in their yards in racks . . ." (II, 489). Nowhere, unless these are veiled references to the practice, does he mention the once common practice in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, of the "*barrack*" or *hay barrack*.²⁸

LIVING CONDITIONS

From Mease's notes we derive many clear pictures of what city life must have been like in Philadelphia at the beginning of the 19th Century.

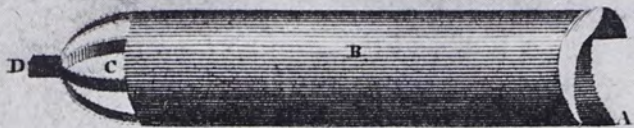
We have already mentioned the general complaint about the bad taste of the water, a complaint which has also been made in the 20th Century. In his article on "*Mortar*" he is of the opinion that to make the best mortar, one should use river or rain-water rather than pump-water, which is impregnated, generally over Philadelphia, with carbonic acid (IV, 107).

Houses were often cold because of thin walls, but the ingenious Dr. Franklin had invented the *Franklin Stove*, and the equally ingenious American expatriate Count Rumford had made his improvements to the fireplace. While Willich recommends Franklin over Rumford, Mease adds, ". . . as we have had a full experience of both, in this country, the general decision of Americans in favour of the latter is ac-

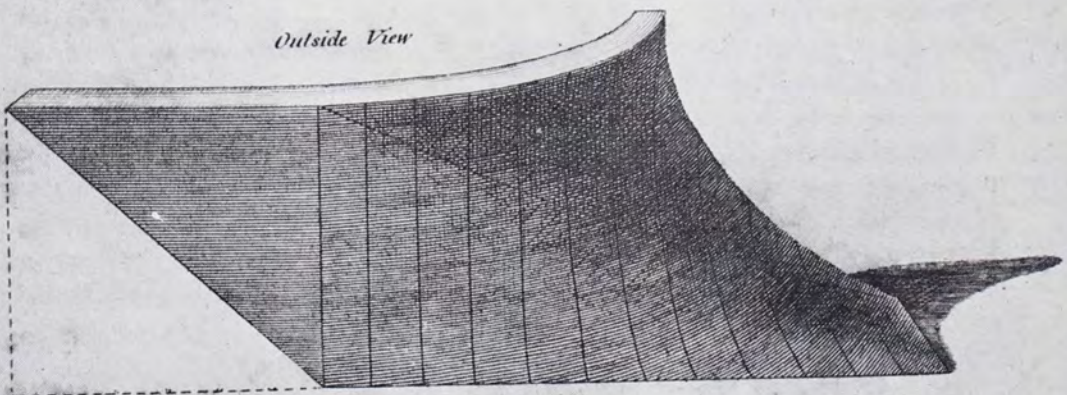
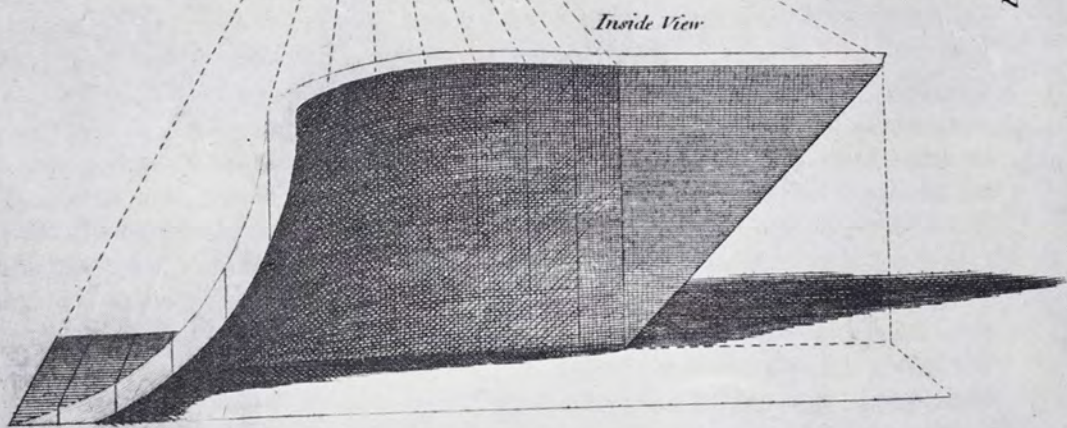
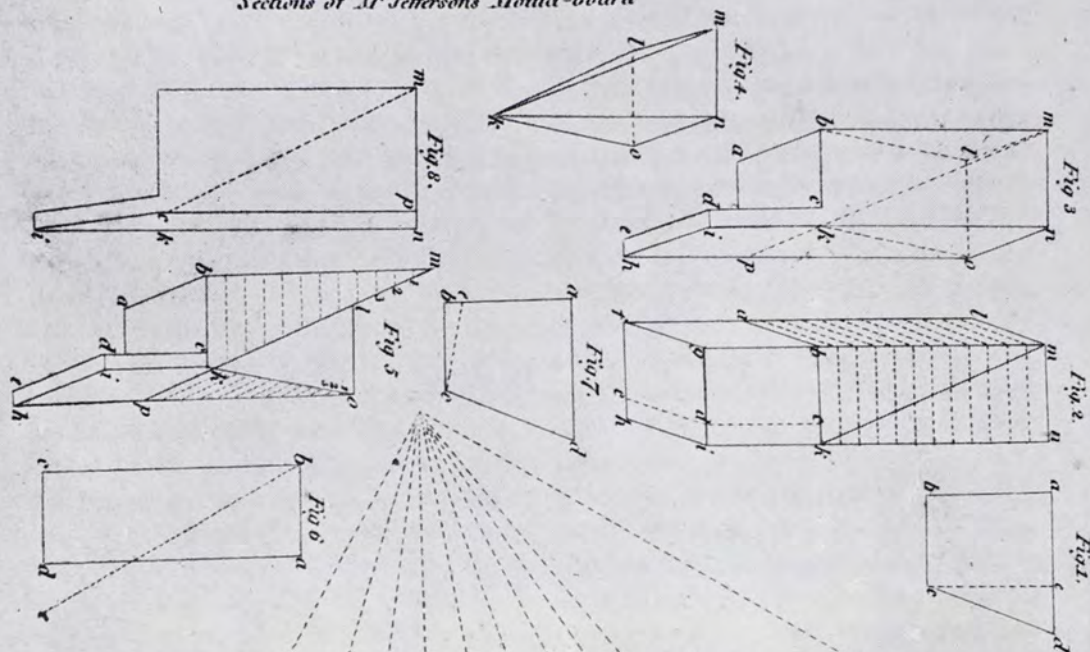
²⁸ For the hay barrack, see Alfred L. Shoemaker, "Barracks," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. IX, No. 2 (Spring, 1958), 2-11.

Mr Eccleston's Peat Borer

Fig. 4.



Sections of Mr Jefferson's Mould-board



Barratt del.

London.

Views of mould board invented by Thomas Jefferson. This device was affixed to a plow and was a continuation of the wing of the ploughshare. It could be made by the coarsest workman by a process so exact that its form never varied a single hair's breadth.

ceded to by the editor" (III, 11). However, Mease criticizes the American open fire-place in that those in common use "are much too large . . .", the reason being, "in order to give a passage to the chimney-sweeper" (III, 12). He also speaks of the experiments with fireplace improvement made by C. W. and Raphael Peale (III, 27).

Coal may soon be the answer to America's heating problem: "In the western counties of Pennsylvania, on the banks of the Schuylkill, and in Virginia, there are immense beds. . . ." "A few years ago, a body of coal was discovered in the county of Northampton, Pennsylvania, upon the river Lehigh, of a bright black shining appearance. It gives an intense heat, emits very little smoke, but requires a strong blast to inflame it. This mine will one day certainly prove a source of infinite convenience to Philadelphia: for it requires but little foresight to be able to assert, that at the rate we go on in wasting wood, it will be, in a few years, out of the power of the majority of the people to use it for common fuel" (II, 161).

Chimneys that were "lined with mortar, in which salt has been mixed, it is said, will not retain soot. This was a discovery of a countryman in New-Jersey" (II, 121).

On *lighting*, see the article on "*Mica*": "This broad colourless mica, is found in large quantities in New-Hampshire, and has been used in this city for lanterns, for which it answers very well. For magazine or ship lanterns it is peculiarly valuable, as no danger will attend the falling of a candle against the side" (IV, 73).

On sleeping conditions, Mease loses no opportunity to inveigh against the unhealthfulness of the common *feather-bed* (IV, 509), and states that "in cold weather the head should be defended at night by a thick cap of cotton or flannel lined with muslin . . ." (III, 268). "A mattress filled with horse-hair is preferable to a feather-bed . . ." and Mease suggests also "the long moss of the live oak of Georgia," which is "generally used for common mattresses." Also leaves, and "maize," by which he means the husks of corn. Small closets and concealed beds were bad for the health, and he also inveighs against bed-curtains (I, 222-224).

In dealing with the concept of "*bed-time*", Willich expresses classical distaste for certain parental techniques: "Equally absurd and injudicious is the practice of *terrifying* young people to sleep by threats; or of *wheedling* them by promises . . ." (IV, 506).

On *clothing*, Mease notes with approval the *calico printing* work of Mr. Huston at Kensington, Mr. Stewart at Germantown, and Mr. Thoburn in Delaware County. "It is pleasing to know, that the prints of these manufactures meet with a ready sale, notwithstanding all the disadvantages arising from the European importations, and the want of protecting duties, and in the face of the constant cry of the silly or interested, that we are too young to manufacture; that labour is too dear!" (IV, 332-333). He gives detailed instructions for the business, sent him by Mr. Thomas Cooper of Northumberland, with notes on the colors of drab, olive, mud, bloom, purple, buffs and nankeens, and the use of dyeing materials such as logwood and sumach (IV, 339-340).

Other recent improvements for the American home were the *mangle*, the *tap-cock*, and the *water-boiler*.

On the use of the "*mangle*," Willich calls it "a valuable domestic machine, employed for the purpose of smoothing such linen as cannot be conveniently *ironed*." He says also, "Mangles are highly useful in preventing the necessity of ironing all plain articles of Linen or cotton, which is a serious and laborious task in a warm day in the United States, and the source of much indisposition among females. Mangles

are made in Philadelphia by WRIGHT, Cherry-Street" (IV, 19).

Tap-cock: an appliance invented by Mr. Robert Hare, Jr., of Philadelphia, to prevent the necessity of a vent-peg, in a beer or cider barrel (V, 90-91).²⁹

Water-boiler: the invention of Timothy Kirk, of Yorktown, Pennsylvania, is described, with a cut (V, 357-359).

The *musquitoe* is "a well known and troublesome insect in warm climates." "Water hogsheads are fruitful sources of these insects." "The period of their breeding is about ten weeks, and allowing a water hogshead to every house in a city, what myriads of these insects must be generated!" (IV, 130).

Back of the Philadelphia houses stood the "*privies*," which Willich in classical diction calls "certain places of retirement, which require no farther definition" (IV, 341). He gives instructions on how to remove the "fedor" (IV, 341). In the article on manure, Mease ventures the opinion that "the matter of privies is known to be a most valuable manure. In China and Japan, there are laws to prevent its waste." Mease suggests lining domestic privies with cement—"If the privies of families were lined with cement, (which see) so as to retain the moisture; (the most enriching part) and if earth, fine sifted coal ashes, but more especially fresh slacked lime, were frequently thrown down the privies, all disagreeable and unwholesome smells would be prevented, and the quantity and value of the compost greatly increased. By this management, its removal would be also rendered inoffensive to those employed" (IV, 30).

HEALTH

Mease was an M.D. and gave much attention to American disease and health.

Among common complaints, he mentions *dysentery*, which "often prevails in the country settlements in the United States, with great mortality." For this he recommends, among other remedies, mutton-suet boiled in milk, or calves-feet boiled into a jelly (II, 434).

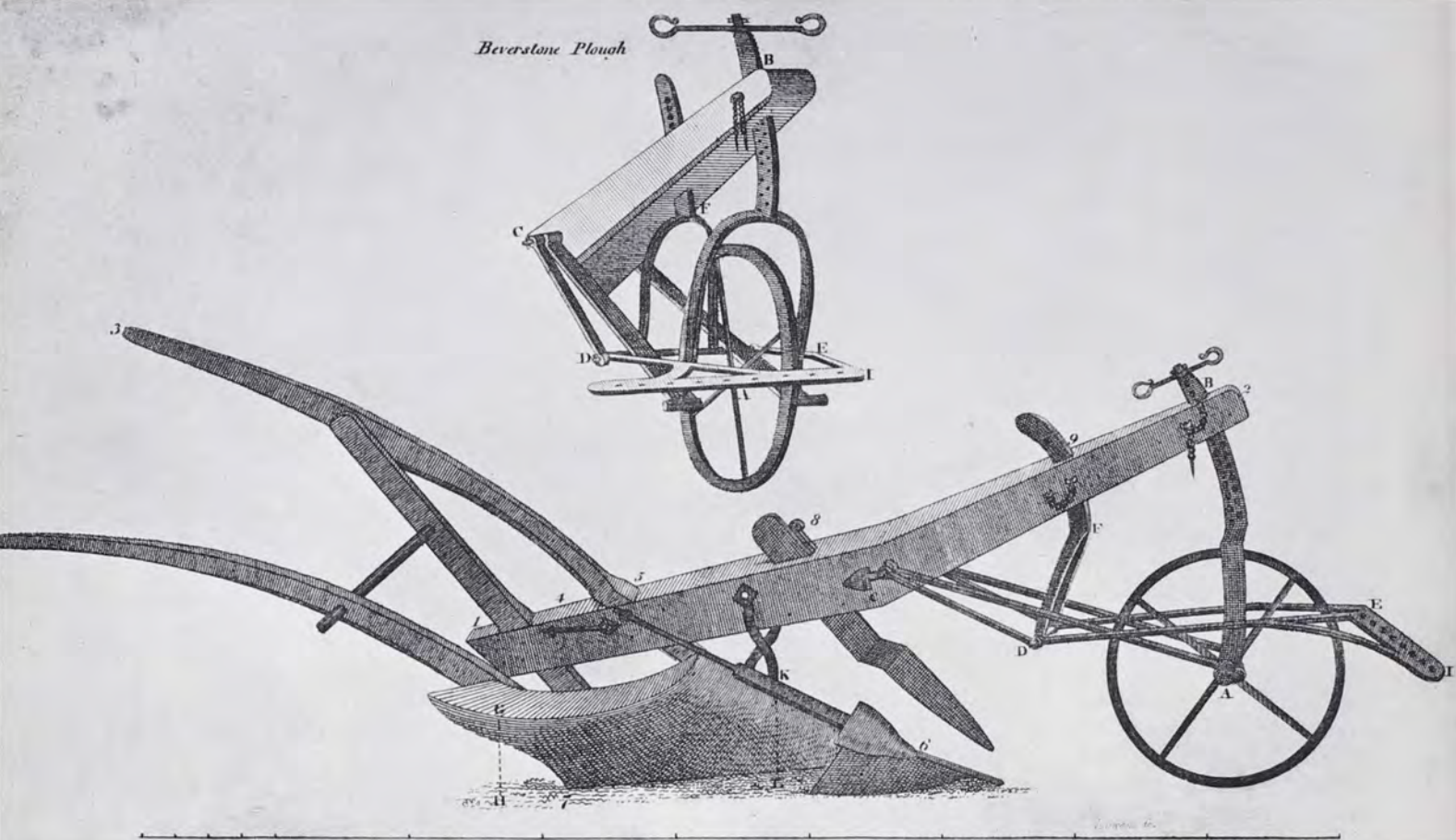
In a long article on "*bathing*" he recommends a cold bath "to preserve children from the bowel complaints which prevail in the summer throughout the United States" (I, 202). For everybody he recommends a tepid bath, three times weekly, in the summer (I, 206).

Mineral baths were popular at the time, and Pennsylvania had several favorites, as for instance the Quaker spa of Bristol. In dealing with "*chlorosis*," a disease of females after puberty, Mease writes: "The mineral waters of Bristol, Pennsylvania, and also those of Schooley's Mountain in Sussex county, New Jersey, joined with the fine air of that elevated spot, have done much good in this complaint" (II, 124). But Bristol was evidently declining as a spa. "Bristol waters were formerly much used; but they have latterly given way to the more fashionable places at Ball-town, New-York, and the springs of Virginia" (I, 407).

Occasionally we get a glimpse of sufferers of various kinds. Mease describes cases in Philadelphia of *anthrax*, or *carbuncle*, "a large inflamed painful tumour" which "commonly seizes the backs of old people" (I, 80). In his article on the *foot*, Mease mentions venison tallow for foot blisters, and makes note of "the many melancholy instances of persons walking with inverted feet, which we daily see . . ." (III, 65).

An ointment made of the juice of the leaves of *Datura Stramonium* (Jimson weed) and hog's lard was good for a

²⁹ For Dr. Robert Hare (1781-1858), Philadelphia chemist and inventor, see *DAB*, VIII, 263-264, also Henry Simpson, *The Lives of Eminent Philadelphians* (Philadelphia, 1859), pp. 484-490.



The Beverstone plough from Gloucester, England, which gained the prize at the ploughing match in 1798 held in Somersetshire under the patronage of the Bath and West of England Society. It could be worked by a pair of oxen without a driver.

swelled udder (II, 265). An ointment of stramonium leaves is recommended for sore breasts in another context (I, 368).

Frostbite was common, and Mease notes that the late spring frosts in Philadelphia in 1802 and 1803 "will long be remembered" (III, 80). *Goose-grease* is used for frozen limbs in Russia, and Mease comments, "The fat of common fowls is a domestic remedy in the United States for the same complaint. The simplicity of these remedies ought not to prevent our using them" (III, 79).

For "the bowel complaints, which so commonly prevail in the United States, during warm weather, especially among children," he recommends the West Indian *arrowroot*. "The plants would thrive in the Southern states, and ought to be introduced into them, by some of the numerous Americans who visit the West-Indies" (I, 117).

Corpulency and *dieting* were problems then as now. Mease notes in his article on "corpulency" that in some people there is a disposition to grow corpulent, apart from intake of food. "... the female sex in the United States, are frequently distressed by their increase in size, and are too apt to take a variety of remedies to prevent the disagreeable circumstance. But the practice cannot be reprobated in too severe terms. All that can be done with propriety, is to diminish the quantity of animal food, confine the drink to

water, and to take much exercise" (II, 233).

Opium was widely used for medicinal purposes. Mease warns, however, that "it is a melancholy fact, that this excellent, kind assuager of our bodily pains, and mental distress, is frequently used for the horrid purpose of self-destruction" (IV, 170-171).

FOOD AND COOKERY

On the state of American cookery and eating habits, Mease furnishes much valuable information.

On his interest in new vegetables for the table, see his articles on *artichoke*, *asparagus*, and *love-apple*. "Artichokes succeed very well in this state, if left exposed in the winter months." He recommends the method of Mr. Legaux of Springmill who imported his seed from Holland (I, 126). *Asparagus*, also called *Sparagus*, *Sperage*, or *Sparrow-grass*, must not be cut in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, after June 1st. "Mr. J. COOPER, of New Jersey, who raises the finest asparagus brought to Philadelphia market, sows his seeds in drills . . ." Mease describes his methods (I, 138-141).³⁰ On

³⁰ Another agricultural experimenter whom Mease mentions frequently is William West of Upper Darby, Delaware County, a pioneer in the permanent pasture idea. See Mease's "Eulogium on Wm. West," *Memoirs of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture*, II (1811), 147-163. See also the *Pennsylvania Farmer*, April 9, 1938.

the "love-apple" (tomato), a native of the East and West Indies. Mease writes, "The cultivation of this excellent vegetable is rapidly extending in Pennsylvania, where a few years ago, it was scarcely known. The apples stewed make an excellent sauce for fish; and a fine catsup, which is used by the French in a variety of dishes" (III, 506).

On the growing of *cabbage*, there is a long article, including winter storing methods (cold cellars and trenches), their use as "greens," the grubs that attack them ("fumble-foot"); methods versus insect pests (asafoetida boiled in dung juice) are detailed (I, 469-472). Mease adds, "The highly beneficial effects experienced from pickled cabbage, on long voyages, is well known and will be particularly mentioned under the head SEA VOYAGE. . . . See also SAUER KRAUT" (I, 473).³¹

Under "*Saur-Kraut*," Mease writes, "This preparation was mentioned before under the head CROUT. The following directions for making it, are given by Dr. WILLICH. In Pennsylvania it is a very fashionable dish among the Germans, and when prepared with neatness, is highly palatable, especially when eaten with salt pork" (IV, 443-444).

On the *common potato* there is a long article by Willich with additions by Mease. Mease felt that Bordley had proved the superiority of potatoes as animal food over corn, and tells us that "in Pennsylvania, potatoes are commonly kept in the vault, under the bank leading to the threshing floor of the barn; and from the equable temperature of the heat therein, they are preserved very well, neither freezing nor vegetating" (IV, 324-326). The *Sweet Potato* Mease calls "a well known esculent root in the United States," and gives Joseph Cooper's methods for growing them in New Jersey (IV, 328).

On the *Onion*, Mease adds, "The success with which our New-England brethren, prosecute the *onion husbandry*, has long been known." He mentions storing them in the garret, and the Southern method where they are "usually kept through the winter in dry casks placed in chambers or garrets" (IV, 167-169). For onion breath eat raw parsley (IV, 170).

According to a test made by the British House of Commons, American *flour* is superior to the English, says Mease. "This is a proud fact for the American farmers, and cannot fail of being gratifying to every patriotic mind" (III, 48).

As to *hops*, "The hop is an article of growing importance in the United States, and should be cultivated by every farmer more or less, as they require little trouble and pay well" (III, 305). After giving long directions on how to grow them, he concludes by mentioning that "*hop-tops*," eaten in the early spring, are a substitute for asparagus (III, 309). Under "*yeast*" Mease describes the production of yeast from hops (V, 454).

Pot-ash Cake is "a kind of biscuit, much used in the state of New-York," and he gives the recipe (IV, 318).

On *food preservation* Mease has many notes. "In North America, as well as in Germany, apples are often preserved during the most severe frosts, by placing them in an apartment immediately under the roof of the house, but without a fire; a woolen cloth being thrown over them before the frost commences. This experiment, however, has not succeeded in Britain" (Willich, I, 96).

A long article on *buckwheat* contains Dr. Mease's encomium of that great American staple, the buckwheat cake:

³¹ Philadelphia Quakers used the term "pickled cabbage" for sauerkraut as late as the first half of the 19th Century; cf. Don Yoder, "Sauerkraut in the Pennsylvania Folk-Culture," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XII No. 2 (Summer 1961), 60.

"BUCK-WHEAT reduced to flour, mixed with water, and a little yeast, will rise in the course of two hours, if placed near a fire; and being then baked upon a hot iron, previously greased, forms very pleasant cakes, which when buttered, constitute part of the diet of many persons in the United States during the winter. By depriving the grain of its husk before grinding, the flour is rendered white, and is much esteemed" (I, 425).

Mease gives directions to "those who wish to rear *melons* in perfection." Of these, "the kind called *Cantaleupe*, has generally been most esteemed in the United States, but the true *Cantaleupe*, having many knobs and protuberances is never seen in the markets of Philadelphia" (IV, 65). Of the *watermelon* (*Cucumis Anguria*), its cultivation "is so well understood in the United States, that no directions on the subject are requisite in this place. They afford a very refreshing article of diet in our warm summers, and yield considerable profit." Syrup made from watermelon juice (by "insipidation") "would answer every purpose required of any syrup". A Quaker experimenter in Philadelphia, Henry Drinker, "procured half a pint of this syrup, from 14 lbs. of melon-juice, a part of which I tasted, and found very pleasant . . ." (IV, 66).³² The Moravians at Sarepta in Russia also brew beer from watermelons, and (as Pennsylvanians also did and still do) make "a conserve or marmalade from this fruit, which is a good substitute for syrup or treacle" (IV, 67).³³

We have noted several references to Philadelphia markets. In the article on *sheep* Mease adds, "We also know, that the sheep from Cape-May, Shrewsbury, and the high lands of Neversink, in N. Jersey, produce the finest mutton and wool, of any brought to our market" (IV, 485-486).

For food preparation Mease mentions what he called the "*Laboratory*," a house on the farm in which the operations, too commonly performed in the kitchen to the great danger of those present, may be safely attended to, such as smoking the meat on the crossbeams above (II, 425). One presumes that this is the common outkitchen, washhouse, and butcher-house once commonly found on Pennsylvania farms.

In describing cheese manufacture, Mease praises Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Jersey for their cheese (II, 96). After describing Parmesan Cheese, he adds, "The climate of Pennsylvania is similar to that of Placentia and Milan, where the cheeses called Parmesan are made: and it is highly probable, if we fail in making cheeses of equal flavour and excellence with the English, that we may rival those of Italy, which have a superior advantage in being found to keep in warm climates, much better than most other cheese" (II, 94).

Hints to the shopper are occasionally offered, as this one by Willich on saffron: "It deserves to be more generally known, that mercenary dealers often adulterate this valuable spice with *safflower*, or with the fibrils of dried *beef* . . ." (IV, 429).

Mease mentions that "in Philadelphia, it is a very common practice to surround meat, with potatoes, in an earthen dish, which is sent to the oven." In this method of cooking, the

³² Henry Drinker was a Quaker leader, merchant, and land speculator of Philadelphia in the latter half of the 18th Century, and the husband of the diarist Elizabeth Drinker.

³³ Mease's information is from P. S. Pallas, *Travels through the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire, in the Years 1793 and 1794*, 2 vols. (London, 1802), which contains a detailed account of the Moravian colony of Sarepta. See the magnificent color plate (III), "View of the Colony of Sarepta," showing the similarity in architecture and town-plan of this Eastern European Moravian town with the Moravian towns on the other side of the world, in Pennsylvania. Dr. Mease thought the book so valuable that he tells us that he was bringing out an American edition.

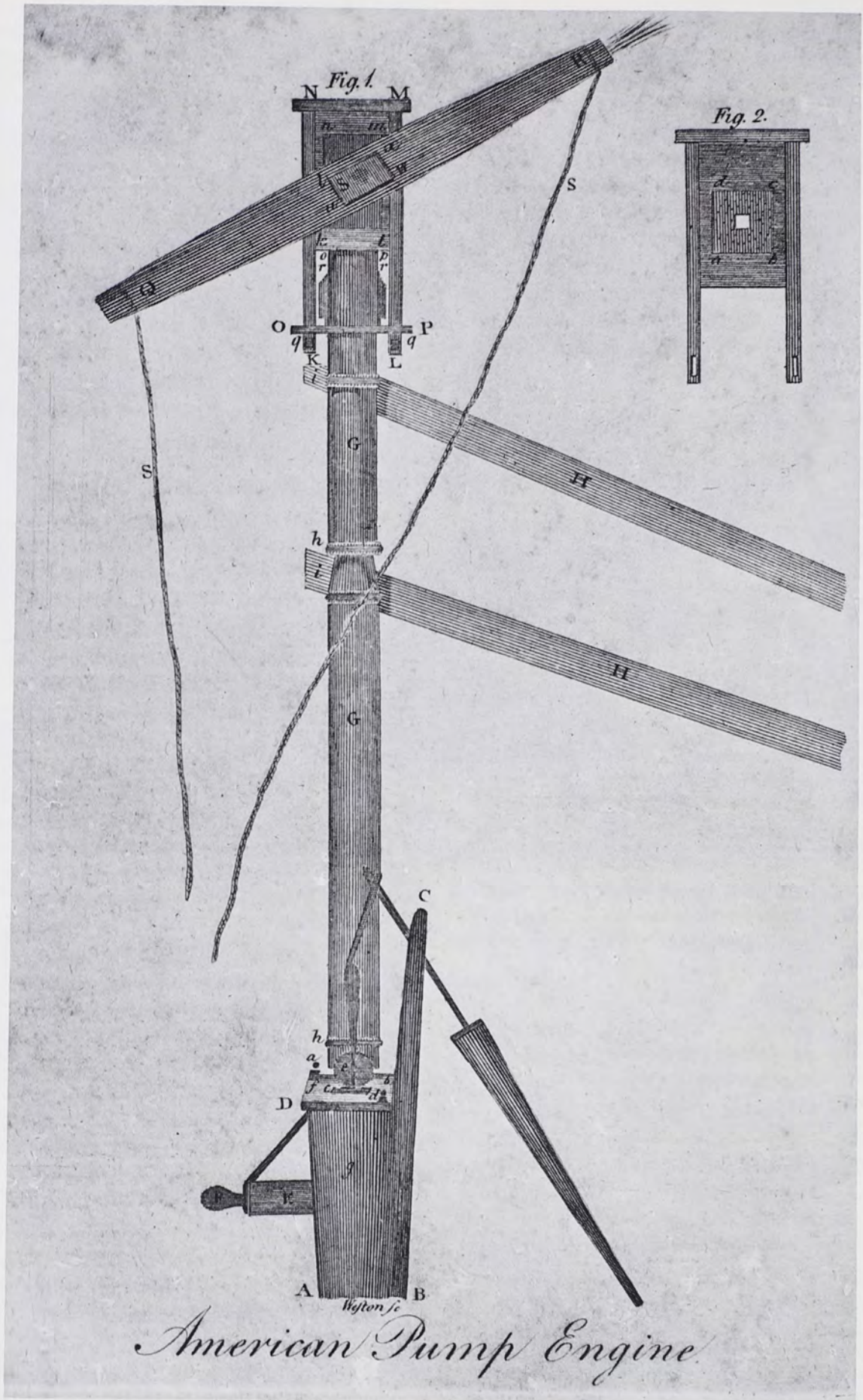
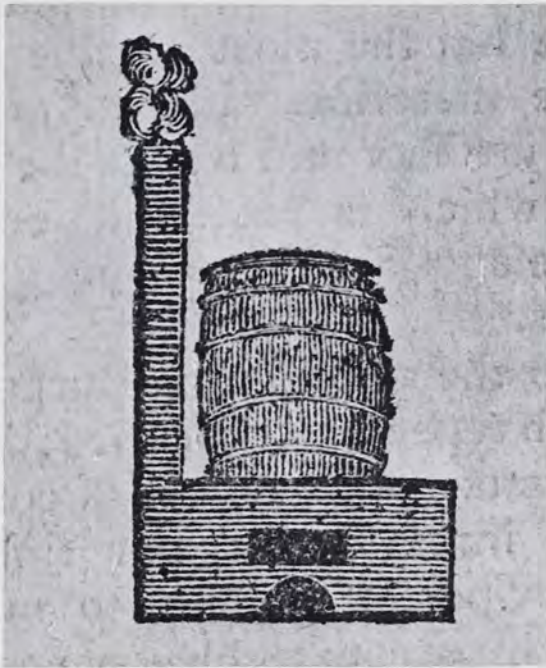


Diagram of a pump engine so constructed that it could be conveniently added to a common pump in order to answer the purposes of a fire engine. It enabled the user to throw water on a building 37 feet from the pump, and between 30 and 40 feet in height.



Root-steamer, for steaming potatoes, carrots, and other roots to feed cattle. It consisted of a brick-stove in which a pot or kettle is fixed. Over this boiler is placed a cask with an open top and bottom drilled with numerous holes about one inch in diameter so that steam could pass through the roots which were placed therein.

article on the "Steam-Dish," he describes an appliance, of tin or earthenware, which corrects this (V, 41-43) and gives a recipe for potato-pastry for the steam-dish (V, 43).

BEVERAGES

We shall end our notes from the Willich-Mease *Domestic Encyclopædia* with a few items on American beverages and drinking habits in the early republic.

"Excellent brandy is made," Mease tells us, "from apples in the U. States, notwithstanding what CHAPTAL has said on the subject,"³⁴ and he gives Joseph Cooper's New Jersey recipe for making apple brandy, which Mease admitted is "mild, mellow, and pleasant, and greatly superior to apple spirits procured by the common mode" (I, 356). "In Virginia, peach brandy has long been distilled, and might be made a very profitable article of internal commerce, as the peach-tree appears to thrive better in that state, than in any other in the Union" (I, 356).

On "CYDER, or CIDER," Mease adds American materials after Willich's notes on British cider traditions. Mease was ready to praise the American product: "... in a general way it may be safely asserted, that the cyder of the United States equals that of any part of the world." He gives a long description of the Jersey method of making cider. He advises pressing the "pumice" in hair cloth as preferable to the "common American custom of inclosing it in bands of straw," which affects the taste of the cider. New Yorkers have a practice of keeping the pumice 12 hours before pressing it—"The practice has since been mentioned to many Pennsylvania

³⁴ John Antony Chaptal was a French chemist in the Napoleonic era. For biography, see Hugh James Rose, *A New General Biographical Dictionary*, VI (London, 1853), 211-212. The book referred to is either his *Art de faire de gouverner et de perfectionner les Vins* (1801), or the *Traité Théorique et Pratique sur la Culture de la Vigne*, 2 vols. (1801).

farmers, but they do not approve of it" (II, 305-309).

For cider vinegar, Mease gives the New Jersey method (V, 325), and the Pennsylvania method (V, 325-326).

On *Beer*, Mease includes "extemporaneous small beer," "spruce beer," "gallypot," etc. (I, 253). On *Small Beer* he notes that sometimes *Cocculus Indicus* or Indian Berry is added, "to the great scandal of some brewers," which makes it intoxicating (II, 162). For an American recipe for *spruce-beer*, a kind of "diet-drink," see V, 31.

Mease gives an American recipe for the old drink *Mead*, which Willich defines as "an agreeable liquor prepared of honey and water, with the addition of spices" (IV, 53-54). Shrub, a "compound liquor," is bad for weak females according to Willich, although Mease defends the drink and gives a receipt from New Jersey, believing "... occasions often occur, when a glass of pleasant cordial may be properly, nay, usefully taken ..." (IV, 496-497).

In discussing the *Persimmon-Tree*, Mease mentions that persimmon beer is made in Maryland, but that the juice is also used for tanning and dyeing, and the fruit for bread (IV, 256-257).

Mease's directions for *currant-wine* (II, 297 ff.)

Cyderkin, Purre, or Perkin—made of the murk (lees) after making cider, described by Willich (II, 309).

Among summer drinks was *Capillaire*—"This pleasant syrup is much used in the West-Indies, when mixed with water, to allay thirst, and ought to be generally introduced into this country during warm weather, instead of brandy, or spirits and water." Mease gives the recipe, which uses capillaire or maidenhair leaves (I, 504). Another "pleasant summer drink," already made in America, was that concoction of young twigs of the black spruce tree, boiled, and sweetened with molasses (IV, 275).

New-Jersey Tea (*Ceanothus Americanus*), a shrub, was used as tea during the Revolution, also for a dye (II, 59).

The article on "tea" refers to an article by the Rev. Dr. Matthew Wilson of Lewes, Delaware, in *Aikins' Pennsylvania Magazine* for 1775, on tea substitutes (sassafras, etc.) during the Revolution (V, 96-97).³⁵ Matthews "endeavoured to reconcile the Americans to the loss of their favourite infusions at the beginning of the revolutionary war, by pointing out the evil effects which a constant use of tea, produce in the system; and proposed a number of substitutes, chiefly from among our native vegetables."

In dealing with *chocolate*, Mease called Spanish chocolate superior to every other. "Chocolate, it is well known, constitutes the breakfast and supper of two-thirds of the Spanish nation, and it is to be regretted that it is not more used in the United States. During the winter, it certainly is a preferable breakfast to coffee, both in respect to the labour, which it will enable a man to perform, from the stimulus of temporary strength it affords; and also from the nourishment which it communicates to the system. When properly boiled with milk, it certainly is preferable to any other breakfast" (II, 125).

But having said that, Mease admits that "the heaviness, head-ach[e], giddiness, sickness, and nervous affections, which attack some persons in the morning, after taking an opiate at night, are abated by a cup or two of strong coffee" (II, 168).

We close on that note. In this one case the America of 1964 is the same as the America of 1804.

³⁵ For the Reverend Matthew Wilson, D.D. (1731-1790), Presbyterian minister and medical doctor in Delaware but a native of East Nottingham, Chester County, Pennsylvania, see William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, III (New York, 1858), 178-180.

TAMING THE LAND

By BERTON E. BECK

During the 18th Century, any man going into the dense forest to clear up his farm and make a home for himself and family must have felt a deep sense of pride when his first field was cleared and ready for a crop of grain. And too, those men who during the last quarter of the 19th Century bought their farm plots of virgin forest in Cogan House Township and began the work of clearing their farms must have been well pleased to see the logging finished on their new fields. But their work of taming those wild-looking fields into really arable land had just begun. It would require a number of years of hard grueling labor before the ground was free of the many stumps, roots, stones, knolls and hollow places.

There is an old saying, "Nature abhors a vacuum," and a newly cleared field would soon be reforested if Nature had her way. There are certain species of hardwood trees that, if cut in the winter when the tree is dormant, will sometimes send up shoots from the base of the stump if the stump had not been too badly burned in the clearing process. Seeds, blown in from neighboring woods and falling on the ground, would germinate and in a year or so be seedlings. The only way to prevent this reforestation was to farm the field or to pasture it so that grazing cattle would destroy the seedlings.

But how could a man farm such "wild" land and how did he go about "taming" it? I never heard the expression "taming the land" used but once, and that was by a man who had a small piece of ground that was partially cleared. He cleaned it up and planted it to potatoes; and to protect them from his few cattle and sheep that were pastured in the nearby woods, he built a log fence around the potato field. The fence served as a barrier to the cattle but not to the nimble sheep, and they soon destroyed the potato plants. Being of a philosophical disposition, he remarked, "Planting the potatoes and building that fence was for nothing, but anyway it did help to tame the land."

The first crop grown on a newly cleared field was the first act in the episode of converting a "newground" into a fertile farm field. The usual way of treating a newly cleared field was to sow a grain crop, oats, buckwheat or wheat, as soon as the logging was finished. The grain was broadcast, that is, sown by hand, and the top soil was loosened by "scratching" shallow furrows with the shovel plow.

Dr. Henry C. Mercer delved deep into the history of early Pennsylvania and did a great deal to preserve many

of the artifacts and customs of the early days. When the capitol building was erected at Harrisburg about the turn of the century, Dr. Mercer made porcelain tiles that depicted many of the early implements and customs. On page 25 in his *Booklet Describing the Tiled Pavement in the Capitol Building At Harrisburg*, Dr. Mercer illustrates and describes the shovel plow and implies that this plow is of Roman origin, having been adapted from the forked stick and wooden plow of antiquity. The shovel plow survived throughout Europe during the Middle Ages, and either the shovel plow or the knowledge of how to make it was brought to America by the first settlers.

A light shovel plow was most advantageous for working on a newground, and consisted of a beam about four inches square and four or five feet long. A leg about two feet long that inclined forward at a slight angle was attached on the under side of the beam, and an iron brace extended from near the end of the leg upward to the beam. A pear-shaped piece of steel was attached to the end of the leg with the convex side forward. This curved piece of steel ended in a point that was called the point of the plow. Two handles extended from the rear so that the operator could control the plow, and motive power was supplied by an ox or a horse hitched to the front end of the beam.

Larger and heavier plows were simply made of heavier and longer materials. Some had the beam extended as a tongue, with the end fitted into the center ring of the ox yoke, or if used with horses, into the center ring of the neck yoke.

To those who spoke English, this was the shovel plow, but in the dialect it was "dar hooka blook," or "dar hooka blug." Those who spoke both languages sometimes called it the "hook plow."

After the grain was sown, using the shovel plow on ground that was infested with the many roots of the stumps was a slow and laborious task. The plow point was always catching on roots that would "stall the motor." The animal soon learned to stop of his own accord when the point was fast. As the operator clucked to go on and the animal's feet began to move, a lift on the handles allowed the point to slip over the obstruction. The horse or ox might go for some distance or perhaps only a few feet before being stopped again. Often a small root caught on the point and was pulled forward until the small end broke, leaving the main stem of the root to spring back and catch the

plowman a whack on the shins. It was a most discouraging job for both man and beast, but with perseverance a whole acre might be plowed in one day.

There is no way of knowing how many stumps with their myriad number of roots near the surface or buried deep in the ground there might have been on one acre. With no way of doing anything about these stumps, the farmer had to plow his field and harvest his crop as best he could.

If the farmer was just getting started on clearing his farm, he had to make use of the newly cleared fields each succeeding year. If oats were sown in May and the grain harvested in August, that September wheat could be sown on the oats stubble and the shovel plow again used to loosen the top soil. Many of the smaller roots would be partially decayed and weakened, so now the plow would penetrate a little deeper. Even some of the larger roots that had stopped the horse last May now broke loose and could be gotten out of the ground.

I have never seen a brush harrow in use but have heard of them and have read about it being the first harrow used by the early farmers. It was no more than the top of a tree dragged over the ground to smooth the ground after the plowing. The first improvement was the wooden frame with wooden pins to cut into the ground; later, two square frames or two "A"-frames of wood were hinged together and steel or iron spikes ten inches long and an inch square were used. These wooden-framed harrows were supplanted about 1890 by the metal-framed steel-spring-toothed harrow.

For hay or pasture fields, the seed of timothy and red clover was sown with the grain, the growing grain acting as a nurse crop to the tender grass plants, protecting them from the burning sun of summer. After the grain was harvested, the small plants grew vigorously and the next year there would be a good growth of grass.

For many decades the shovel plow was a most important implement to the farmers of the eastern part of the United States where the farm land had to be cleared from virgin forests. This was the only plow those early farmers had, and it was used for all plowing up to about the first quarter of the 19th Century. At about this time, the metal moldboard plow was developed and used for general plowing; but the shovel plow continued to be useful, for all through the 19th Century land was being cleared from the forest.

After 1900 very little land was cleared in Lycoming County, and the importance of the shovel plow as a farm implement was about ended.

Five years after a field had been cleared, the tops of the small stumps and their roots were decayed, as well as many of the surface roots of the larger stumps. Now the moldboard plow that turns a furrow could be used to some advantage.

The difference between the shovel plow and the moldboard plow is that while the shovel plow only pushed the ground to the two sides of the point, the moldboard on the new plow acted to turn the sliced furrow completely over. Men in Europe and America were experimenting with wooden moldboard plows, and a few were used here in Pennsylvania; they now are museum pieces.

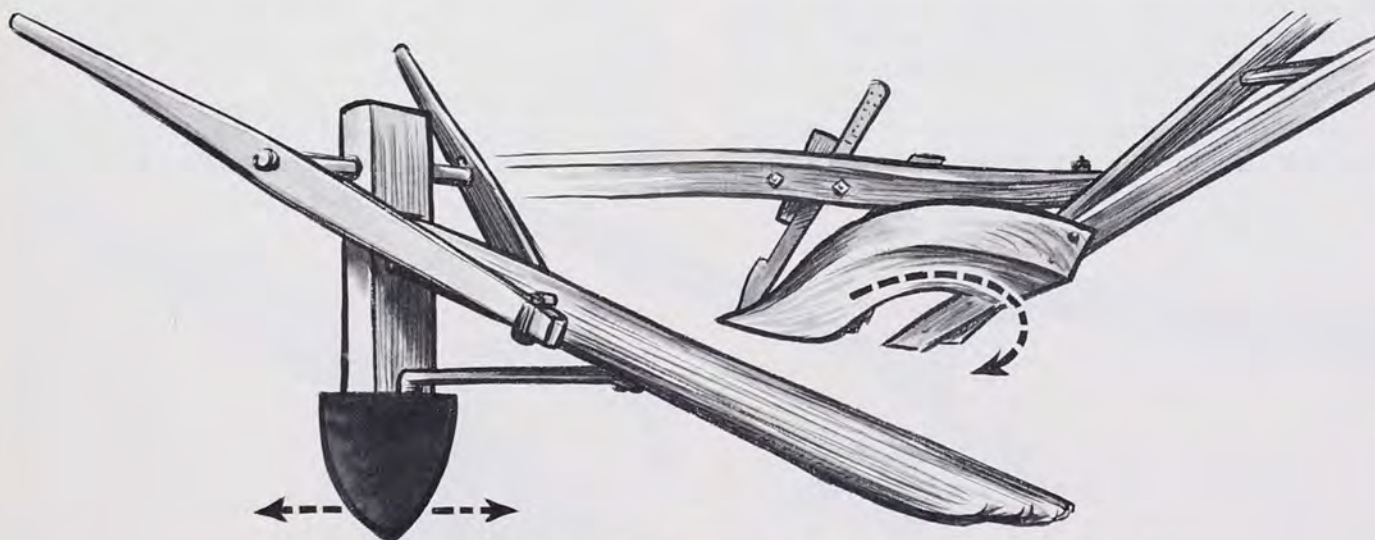
In the Illustration (*below, right*) note the knife-like blade called a coulter used to cut the furrow slices. On ground that was free of stones and stumps, these plows were undoubtedly better than the shovel plows, but unfortunately very little land here in Pennsylvania is free of stones.

In an article, "Of Plows and Plowing," in *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Volume 10, Number 2, Fall 1959, Russell S. Baver gives a resumé of the development of the metal moldboard plow and dates its first patent in 1797 by Joseph and Robert Smith of Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

Patents on moldboard plows by others soon followed, namely Jethro Wood of New York and Morris Newbold of New Jersey.

It is an interesting commentary on plows that for nearly two thousand years the shovel plow had changed but little in its appearance and use, but during the 19th Century the moldboard plow was developed and its use turned America into an agricultural giant.

The moldboard plow played an important part in the taming of the land, for as it cut and turned over the furrows it buried and destroyed all growing vegetation. The first metal plows made in 1797 were made of cast iron, but soon steel was used and many improvements were made by inventors and manufacturers. The early plows had the moldboard in a fixed position, generally turning the furrow to the right, though some were made to turn the furrows to the left. This was known as the level land plow, and it worked very well in plowing around the four sides of the field. But on a hillside, one furrow had to be turned up the



The shovel plow (left) only pushed the ground to the sides of the point; the moldboard plow (right) turned the furrow over with the knife-like blade called a coulter.

hill, and this was not too satisfactory.

About 1850 someone made a plow with the moldboard and point hinged in such a manner that the moldboard could be made to turn the furrows to either the right or left. This was known as the reversible or hillside plow, for with it the farmer plowed back and forth along the hillside, turning all the furrows down the hill.

My father often told of an escapade he and his younger brother got into with one of these reversible plows. Grandfather came home one Saturday afternoon with a new reversible plow which he placed near the barn. On Sunday, the two boys were admiring the new plow and day dreaming of the time when they would be big enough to do the plowing.

Now this plow had an iron hook, that was placed in a hole in the moldboard, to hold the plow together. To reverse the plow the hook was removed, the handles lifted high and the moldboard was swung to the opposite side; the hook was put in place and the plow was ready for another furrow.

My father said he removed the hook, lifted the handles and swung the moldboard over and put the hook in place. He felt very proud of his accomplishment. His younger brother now said, "What you can do, I can do," and removed the hook. But he lacked the strength to lift the handles high enough to swing the moldboard, and the plow finally came to rest flat on the ground in an open position. My father came to the rescue, and they soon had the plow upright, but they neglected to place the hook in the moldboard.

The plow stood for a moment, then fell over on its side. In falling, the curved part of the handle or the hand grip hit on a stone and was broken off. It was two frightened boys who righted the plow, this time making sure the hook was in place.

The younger boy said, "You'll get a licking."

Father replied, "You are the one who couldn't turn the plow, so you'll get the licking."

Just then the two had a single terrible thought: they both might get a licking!

The broken piece of the handle was picked up and examined. It was a splintered jagged break and fitted quite securely on the plow handle. The end was gently tapped with a stone to make it a bit more secure, and the two hoped for a miracle.

Monday morning Grandfather was going to start plowing in the field near the barn. The two boys eagerly helped to harness the horses and get everything ready. They had opened the bars in the fence leading to the field, had the doubletrees in readiness, and now led the horses into the field.

Grandfather picked up the plow to carry it through the bars, and as he passed the bar post, the broken handle hit the

post and fell to the ground. It was an irate grandfather who picked up the broken piece and berated the man who had used such a poor piece of wood to make a plow handle. He said, "If I had something that was hollow to fit over the handle, and if it had a curve in it, I might be able to put it on there for a handle."

"Would the cow horn I want for a powder horn do?" asked my father.

Grandfather thought it might, and as fast as he could my father was off to the woodshed for the cow horn. Grandfather looked at the hollow horn and said, "We will have to shave the plow handle a little to fit into the horn. Will you boys get me the draw knife and hammer?"

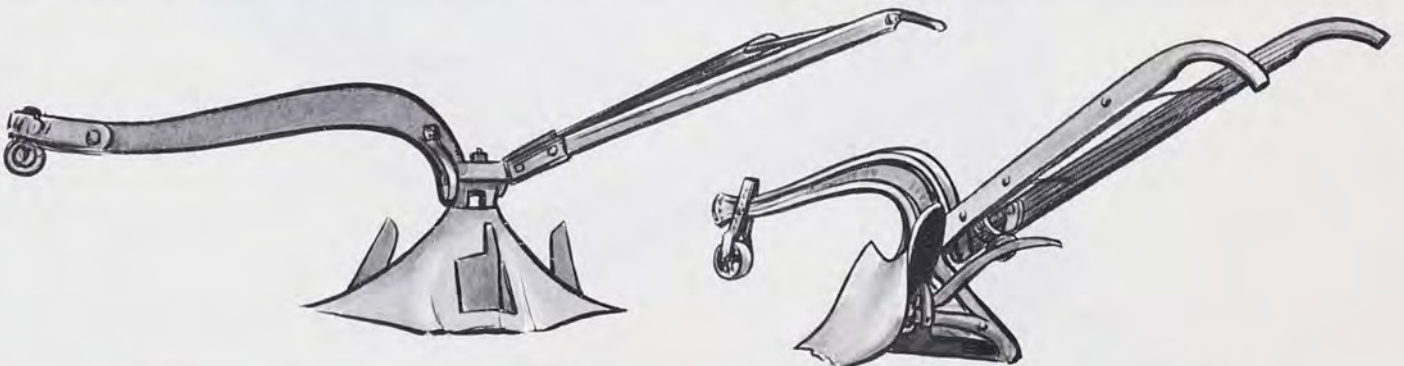
Away sped the boys for the tools, and soon the plow handle had a handgrip that lasted for the life of the plow. The hoped-for miracle had come to pass!

There were a number of different makes of reversible plows in use when I was a youth, but I can name only two of them now. The Syracuse Plow Company made two models, the No. 60 and No. 702, and the other plow was made by the Oliver Plow Company. It was the Syracuse No. 60 on which I "cut my eye teeth." Except for the wooden handles, it was an all metal plow, with the beam of metal instead of wood. The plow was very heavy and my father liked it for he said the extra weight kept the plow in the ground. Father was not a profane man, but he "swore" by that plow. My brother and I, when father was not around, often "swore at it."

In 1902 my father and I cleaned up a field that had been cleared and pastured for about twenty-five or thirty years. The stumps had had this long period of time to decay, and fires started in the decayed wood burned furiously, often spreading from one stump to another. After the fires had burned out, we used the team to pull the remaining small stumps; and dynamite was used to blast the large stumps. All of the stumps in the field were destroyed except one large hemlock stump. Our supply of dynamite was all used, and my father thought we could farm around this one stump for that year.

Father and I took turns at plowing this field for it was hard work. The horses were not so fortunate for we had but the one team and they had to work at the difficult task every day. While I was plowing, I came to this one stump in the field and broke the moldboard. My father's only remark was, "Just one stump in the field and you had to hit it and break the plow!" Fortunately the different parts of the plow were replaceable, so we only had to replace the moldboard.

In the latter part of the 19th Century, a picture of a father and his moldboard plow was often used as a symbol of American farm life. On calendars distributed by dealers in



Two versions of the reversible moldboard plow; on the left, an interesting design, right, the Syracuse plow.



Pine stump cut close to 100 years ago. Photograph taken in 1963.

farm machinery and in advertisements in farm papers and magazines, these pictures often showed the farmer wearing a brightly colored shirt and blue overalls, driving a team of matched bays, with the plow painted a light green, but the handles a pale yellow; the plow was cutting through the dark green grass sod, turning it over and under, leaving the furrow of mellow dark earth. With the furrows smooth and even, it all made a colorful picture, with never a stone or stump to mar the scene.

What a contrast this picture makes with that of plowing a field that had been cleared only five years. As the plow cut through the ground and came close to a small stump, it could break off the roots; and when the next furrow was made, the plow might turn out the stump. But if the stump seemed too solid, it was not wise to risk breaking the plow for it was not meant to be a stump-puller. It was better to plow around the obstruction or to lay the plow aside, fasten a chain about the stump and try pulling it out with the team. Often it was necessary to take the grubbing hoe and shovel and axe to dig and chop, and to use a lever to pry on the stump as the team did their pulling.

As the plowing approached a big stump, the smaller surface roots were broken loose and turned out by the plow. If the plow point caught on a big root, the grubbing hoe and shovel were again used to fully expose the root; and with an axe it was cut loose from the stump and then pulled out by the team. The point of the plow did not go more than about five inches deep, and any roots deeper than that could be left to decay.

Ten years after a field had been cleared, all the hardwood stumps and most of the hemlock and other stumps not over a foot in diameter might have been removed by the primitive methods of burning, digging, chopping, and pulling. The longer the time that Nature had to decay the stumps and roots, the easier it made the farmer's work of destroying them. Given enough time, Nature would eventually destroy all the stumps, but generally she is a slow worker, never in a hurry as are we mortals.

How much time would Nature require, working alone? As a rule hardwood stumps such as beech, maple, and birch would be entirely destroyed in ten to fifteen years; hemlock and chestnut stumps might require forty or fifty years, depending on their size; but white pine stumps never seemed

to decay. Picture (*left*) is of a white pine stump that was cut close to one hundred years ago; if we were to remove this stump today, we would find the smaller roots decayed but the large roots would seem to be as sound as they were the day the tree was cut. In pulling such big stumps, one often found roots a foot in diameter near the stump.

Until the time those remaining big stumps were pulled, each year when the fields were plowed a great number of roots, both large and small, were turned out by the plow. The work of gathering those roots and placing them in piles to be burned was called "picking roots," and it generally fell to the lot of any boys in the family. Woe to any girls who might be older than the boys, for they were often drafted to help. Even mothers were not always immune to the draft. Root-picking could be most irksome to a growing lad who delighted in day-dreaming of the time when he would be able to do the plowing and could leave the root-picking to a younger brother.

Previous mention has been made of the knolls and hollows in a newly cleared field. The knolls consisted of subsoil in which there was very little fertility, so on these knolls no grain or grass would grow. The use of the moldboard plow hastened the breaking up of that subsoil, and the harrows gradually raked the loose ground into the hollow places, thus in time leveling the ground. But those knolls and hollows plagued the farmers for many years.

Stones were another problem to many eastern farmers in the work of taming their newly cleared land. Fortunately, here in Cogan House Township there were not too many really big stones, but many wagonloads of small stones were hauled from the fields. The few stones too large to lift onto the wagons were rolled on the stone boats* to be hauled away.

The number of small stumps the farmer destroyed depended somewhat on the amount of time he had to devote to the work and on his ability to stick to a seemingly endless task. With the smaller stumps out of the way, the farmer "worked around" the remaining big stumps, and looked forward to the day when heavy equipment would be available to remove them.

Neighboring Jackson Township had been settled forty or fifty years before Cogan House Township, and in the former, stump-pulling machines were being used to remove the large stumps on the farms.

By 1890 there had been many improvements made in farm equipment, and the farmers were anxious to make use of them. There were better plows, a metal-framed harrow with curved spring steel teeth, and a two-wheeled corn cultivator that would cultivate the two sides of a row of corn each time across the field. For making hay there were bigger and better mowing machines, a side-delivery hay-rake, and a hay-loader. The self-binder for harvesting grain such as oats and wheat had been perfected; this one machine cut the grain and tied it into sheaves, thus relieving the farmer of untold hours of work with the grain cradle and hand rake.

To make efficient use of this new farm equipment, those remaining stumps in the farm fields would have to be removed. A succeeding article will describe the stump-pulling machines, their operation, and the disposal of the pulled stumps.

* A "stone boat" in Pennsylvania usage was a horse-drawn sled or drag, simply a rough board platform on low runners, used specifically for this purpose—when farmers "picked stones" from the stony "newground" areas of their farms. The term "stone boat" is documented also from Centre County, Pennsylvania, where the editor saw them in operation in the 1920's. How widespread is this term in Pennsylvania?

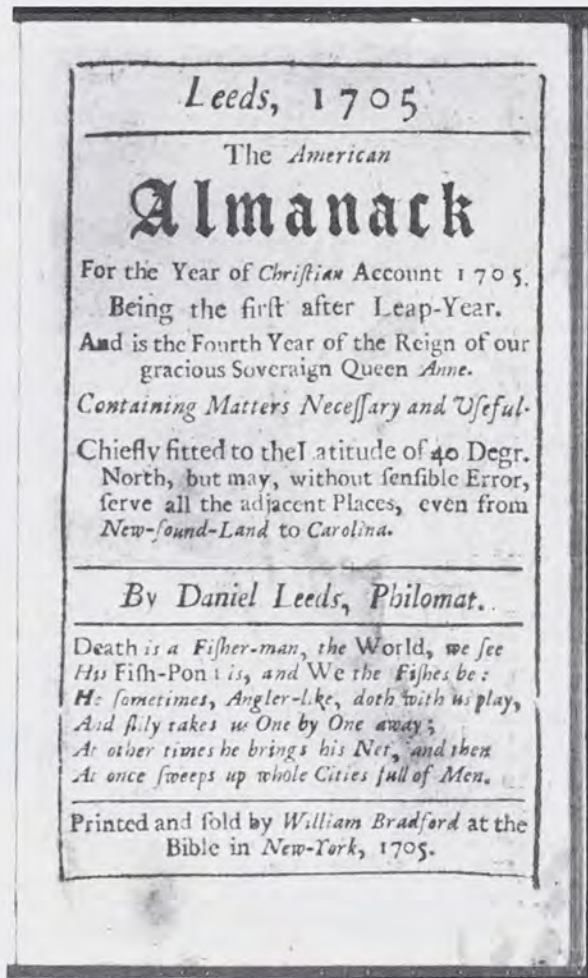
JACOB TAYLOR and His Almanacs

By WILLIAM H. KENNEY, III

The almanac has usually been considered a rather ambiguous source of information in the study of folklife. Its quaint charts, full of strange symbols for the appearance of celestial events or harbor tides, would have little apparent significance for the study of human behavior. However, early almanac authors did not confine their labor to the bounds of astronomy. On the contrary, early 18th Century almanacs in Philadelphia were filled with a unique mixture of editorial comment, poetry, and public announcements.

Moreover, these small handbooks were produced for popular consumption. In colonial Pennsylvania they were purchased and read by a large audience whose general literary interests extended little beyond the Bible and the weekly newspaper. Consequently, competition among local astronomers was keen, producing no less than nine different almanacs for the Philadelphia market alone.¹

¹The American Philosophical Society, the Library Company of Philadelphia, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania hold copies.



"Titan" Leeds' Almanac of 1705.

Far and away the most popular of these was Benjamin Franklin's *Poor Richard* which first appeared in 1732 and is still read for its droll aphorisms. Yet Franklin himself recognized the high quality of another man's product; for in his own of 1747 he wrote,

I cannot omit this Opportunity of making honourable Mention of the late deceased Ornament and Head of our Profession, Mr. JACOB TAYLOR, who for upwards of 40 Years . . . supply'd the good People of this and the neighbouring Colonies, with the most compleat Ephemeris and most accurate Calculations that have hitherto appear'd in America. He was an ingenious Mathematician, as well as an expert and skilful Astronomer; and moreover, no mean Philosopher, but what is more than all, He was a PIOUS and an HONEST Man. *Requiescat in pace.* . . .²

Jacob Taylor (?-1746), more than the unusually able and enigmatic Franklin, revealed, in his almanacs, much of the urban life and thought of colonial Philadelphia. The views which he expressed in his prefatory editorials and in the sadly mechanical verse surrounding his charts could not have been the results of philosophical or artistic isolation. Like Franklin and most men in colonial Pennsylvania, Taylor was forced to learn many roles and to perform various functions in order to support himself. Specialization and the leisurely life were luxuries afforded by very few in that still growing society. The general reflections which such a man might formulate were necessarily the fruits of constant and intimate experience in a widely-shared spectrum of work, worship, and infrequent repose.

Having arrived in Pennsylvania as a child whose family settled as tenants on Tinicum Island, Chester County, Jacob Taylor was educated at an obscure and improvised school kept there.³ His father, John Taylor, died in 1688, only four years after their arrival leaving his sons to fend for themselves. Jacob apparently used the advantage of schooling pragmatically for by 1701 he was "concerned in a school at Abington."⁴ Soon after, he moved to Philadelphia and took up residence in "a house on the other side of Walnut Street directly over against the backward part of James Logans House."⁵ Thereafter he served successively as the city's Quaker school-master, manager of the Pennsylvania Land Office, Surveyor General of the Province of Pennsylvania, third official printer for the government, and finally, the calculator, versewriter, and sometime printer of his own almanac.⁶

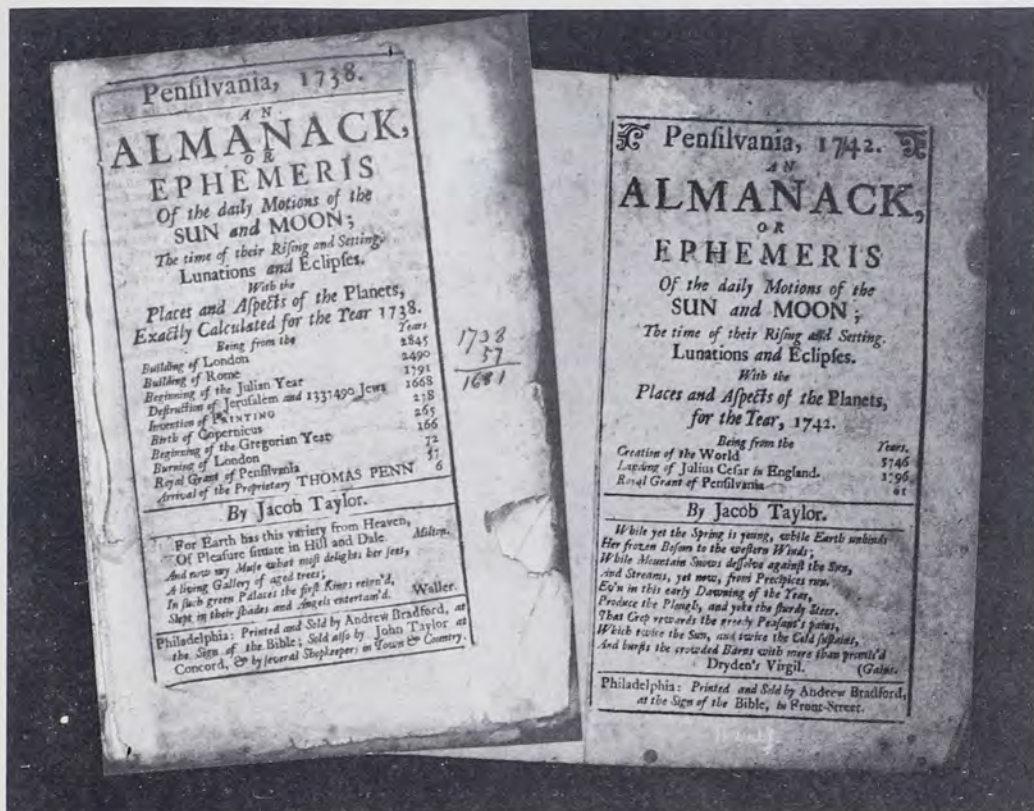
² Leonard W. Labaree, ed., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, Vol. 3, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1961; p. 101.

³ The land was owned by Christopher Taylor, a member of the Governor's Council who also was the founder and sole faculty member of the school for "the humanities." Most of the scanty biographical information available is contained in Samuel T. Wiley, *Biographical and Portrait Cyclopaedia of Chester County Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia, 1893); J. Smith Futhey and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia, 1881); and volumes of the *Collections of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*.

⁴ William H. Egle, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, XIX, (Harrisburg, 1890), 247-248.

⁵ Letter of Jacob Taylor to Isaac Taylor, "The Taylor Papers," Vol. 14, #2830, in H.S.P.

⁶ Printing was his most occasional occupation.



Taylor's title-pages included classical poetry. — Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

But most importantly, out of this versatile colonist's life in early Pennsylvania emerged a consistent and very real commentary upon the day-to-day implications for Philadelphians of what we have learned to call "The Age of Reason." For Jacob Taylor this rather general and abstract description of the intellectual life of post-Newtonian Europe⁷ was no retrospective rubric. He began to feel its power on the popular level when he produced his first almanac.

An extremely popular almanac had for some years been offered by Daniel Leeds. Much of its appeal, however, rested in its liberal mixture of astrology with astronomy. Taylor, long before Franklin, used his own almanac to discredit Leeds' use of superstition in the proper realms of science. In an early verse he attacked "Titan" Leeds⁸ with a rare show of humor.

OUR AUTHOR Solves a Botch with banter
 And does his work by halves
 But Leeds exerts a Thumping Wit
 Above all Vulgar measure:
 Moves Nature in a jumping fit
 According to his Pleasure:
 Transcribing was the Art he us'd
 'Twas all the skill he had
 But being of the same Accus'd
 It made him almost M—D.⁹

⁷ Philosophers and intellectual historians feel that this widespread phenomenon was the result of scientific discoveries in the 17th Century which seemed to put the mysteries of life out of divine hands and into the realm of human reason. An important characteristic of popular thinking, according to Carl Becker, *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers* (New Haven, 1932), was the essentially negative attitude which wished to discredit Christianity without endangering social and moral order.

⁸ A satiric nickname coined by Franklin in 1732.

⁹ Jacob Taylor, *An Almanack for the Year . . . 1705*, Philadelphia, Printed . . . by Tiberius Johnson, 1705.

Leeds, nevertheless, went right on selling his simple little pamphlet, hiding his ignorance of astronomy under a barrage of "Necromancy, Exorcism or Legerdemain." Taylor's criticisms became more heated and to the point. Abandoning his crabbed rhyme briefly he stated what Leeds' slight-of-hand meant for the science of astronomy.

Our Ignorance of Astronomy (which in some of us is almost total), being helpt ('tho poorly) by the aforesaid practice, we proceed to manifest our Follies pretending to give the meaning of every Aspect & . . . to foretell the future Transactions of the Greatest Men & Councils on Earth, although it be often evident that we have not an hours foreknowledge of what Accidents befall ourselves, or know what's doing in our own Houses, while we are at our next Neighbors.¹⁰

Taylor saw astrology and its evident market value as symptoms of a deeper and more important trend in Philadelphia. The town evinced a growing spiritual unrest.

How strangely we're bewicht! Some men We find
 Made wretched fools by Superstition blind:
 Another sort, and these perhaps as bad,
 Whome Scepticism renders almost mad
 But still much worse, if I conclude aright,
 Are the profane who all Religion slight.¹¹

Taylor observed that many had unthinkingly swallowed the popularized version of recent European thought and had raised a chorus of adulation to the new god of human reason. At the same time, however, these same people were incapable of discerning or else were indifferent to the vital distinctions between scientific prediction and fortune-telling. Consequently, the new God was in reality the bastard son of popularized science and vain pride.

Taylor first attacked the obvious ignorance which sur-

¹⁰ Jacob Taylor, *An Almanack for the Year . . . 1709*, (Philadelphia), Printed for Jacob Taylor, (1708).

¹¹ Jacob Taylor, *An Almanack for the Year . . . 1711*, Philadelphia, (Andrew Bradford, 1710).

rounded and to an extent caused the deification of the human mind.

Reason's a Noble thing Tho' that be true,
 Abstract from Learning what can Reason do;
 Canst thou dear Child of Reason tell us when
 Those Stars met yonder will meet there agen;
 Much less could true Religion be suppli'd
 If Revelation were not Reason's Guide.¹²

Philadelphia's "Children of Reason" wanted a God which demanded little of them. They worshipped a style of "reason" which worked wonders without constant study and thought.

A little shallow Learning, soon obtain'd
 A little Gold, or Grandeur, newly gain'd,
 A Voyage or two, the sight of stately Towns,
 A little talk of Politicks, and Crowns,
 All these work Wonders on the Weak and Vain,
 And often breed a Coxcomb in the Brain.¹³

Reason was a more popular god than Jehovah because it demanded less rigorous duties.

Unfortunately this weak-thinking scepticism was not confined to a clique of coffee-house dilettantes. The dramatically ingenious electrical demonstrations of Franklin and Ebenezer Kinnersley had taken the town by storm. Whether these men were scientists or magicians was unimportant. Anyone who dared to doubt that each man could be his own saviour was either ignorant or "of the vulgar sort."

Fashions affect not only Cloaths and Dress,
 Thy Way of Thinking must conform no less.
 When Fortune turns the Brains of all the Town,
 Thou (or thy Surgeon) ought'st to turn thy own.
 'Twas once a Crime to say this Earth turns round,
 No one that doubts it now on Earth is found.¹⁴
 But Demonology is now disclaim'd,
 The works of Angels must no more be nam'd;
 'Tis out of Fashion and exploded quite,
 No Microscope presents them to the sight.
 If Spirits good and bad are now deny'd,
 Yet all confess there is that Devil Pride.¹⁵

Jacob Taylor personally experienced the sting of adverse public opinion, for his outspoken criticisms of his fellow Philadelphians did not go unheeded. In 1726 Samuel Keimer, another amateur printer, poet, astronomer, and philosopher of "Titan" Leeds' calibre, printed an almanac under Taylor's name. In it Keimer had perpetrated a characteristically inept satire of Taylor's bombastic views. In "Moral" Keimer demonstrated his light-hearted and careless approach to scientific standards.

This *Fable* shews that Coxcombs prate
 Of Planets, Signs, they know not what;
 And yearly vend their empty Jargon,
 More base than Lowest Note of Organ,
 Altho' with Telescope they stare
 Thro' the dense Medium of the Air;
 I mean our Stargazers, (Have at 'em!)
 Who scarce know how to split an Atom;
 Nor can they (mighty Sons of Art)
 Take the Dimensions of a Fart,

¹² Jacob Taylor, *An Almanack for the Year . . . 1720*, Philadelphia, Andrew Bradford, 1720.

¹³ Jacob Taylor, *An Almanack for the Year . . . 1745*, Philadelphia, Printed and sold by William Bradford, (1744).

¹⁴ Jacob Taylor, *An Ephemeris, of the Planetary Motions and Aspects for the Year . . . 1723*, Philadelphia, Andrew Bradford, (1722).

¹⁵ Jacob Taylor, *An Almanack for the Year . . . 1737*, Philadelphia, A. Bradford, (1736).

Shew whether it is thick or thin,
 What qualities lie hid therein,
 Its Subtility, or Colour shew,
 (Tho' some pretend, it to be blue:)¹⁶

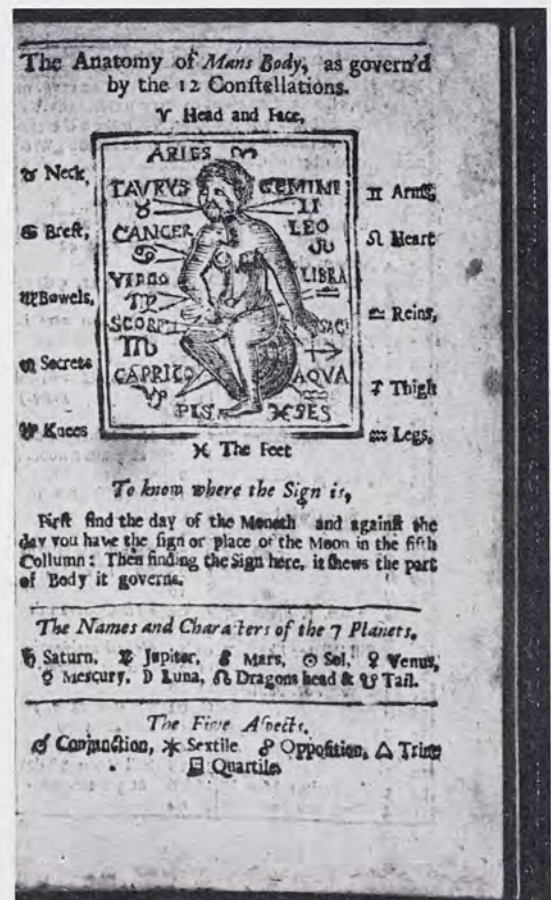
The blundering Keimer found Taylor's concern over stargazers rather silly; after all, they were harmless enough.

Yet, the very fact that a man of Keimer's meager talents could sell almanacs in this manner pointed to the unusual heat and urgency which had increasingly characterized Taylor's comments. There was obviously something more to his stand than an attempt to out-sell or discredit his competitors. The second general theme of his printed attacks revealed the source of his vocal concern. This theme went beyond the valid issues of scientific accuracy, learning, and good judgment while complementing each.

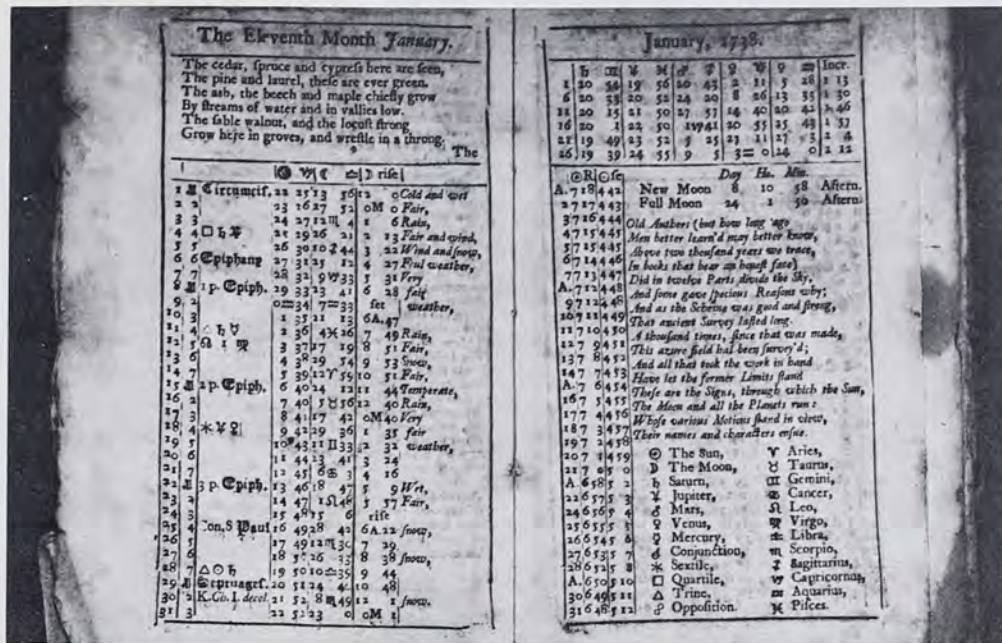
Taylor was a man of faith. Although there is no positive proof it is reasonable to assume that he was a Quaker.¹⁷ Certainly Keimer's spoof contrasts vividly with Taylor's chaste language and biblical imagery. Whatever his formal affiliations, Taylor was a "Christian Philosopher" who found occasion in his role of scientific observer to glorify the creator, rather than the observer. Regardless of whether his faith inspired his astronomy or astronomy the faith, the two

¹⁶ Jacob Taylor (Samuel Keimer), Taylor, 1726. *A Complete Ephemeris . . . Philadelphia, S. Keimer, (1725).*

¹⁷ Neither local Quaker records nor William Wade Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* (index and files at the Friends Historical Society, Swarthmore College) record Taylor as a member. Yet the school he attended and the two at which he taught were Quaker schools and his obvious governmental connections would argue a community of views at the least.



The "Almanac Man"—primitive anatomy and the zodiac.



Church calendar, weather prognostics, and zodiacal signs from Taylor's 1738 Almanac.

were not at war. In 1736 he wrote of what astronomy had taught him.

The glorious Works, this universal Frame,
 The mundane System, All from nothing came;
 From nothing Something, must a thought excite
 Of Pow'r divine and Wisdom infinite.
 Thus wondrous fair the Work in ev'ry Part,
 How wondrous He! how great Creating Art!
 The World's great Eye, the Sun, whose light and Heat
 Are seen and felt, and granted to be great,
 His heat and light and magnitude will hold
 Beyond the bounds a thousand thousand fold,
 That can be fancy'd by th' instudious throng
 Who wanting thought and whistling along,
 No more th' enlightened mind th' enlarged soul
 Can comprehend the Author of the whole.¹⁸

The perfection of the universe and the terrible realization of infinity; these were grand thoughts indeed! With study, observation, and care he could predict planetary motions and the fluctuations of the tides. But he certainly could not have created them and set them in motion. The vanity of Leeds, Keimer, and those who believed them was grossly profane.

In this manner did the almanacs of colonial Philadelphia reflect and carry on the popular interpretations of enlightenment thought. Pressed between the crude charts and limericks of pocket almanacs were the folk impressions of the West's most advanced thought. To Jacob Taylor and his loyal readers it came down to a battle between faith and vain ignorance. His decision, never really in doubt, involved a complete rejection of science as a substitute for faith.

Since Life is short and Art is long,
 Let's part with Science for a Song,
 Send Demonstration packing hence,
 Conceit supplies the Want of Sense;
 Reason may tugg the Oar in Vain,
 While Dame Opinion sweeps the Main,
 To simple Truth the Tyrant Queen
 A most pernicious Foe has been: . . .
 Yet know, base Quean, that Truth may be
 Fatigu'd but ne'er o'ercome by thee.¹⁹

This personal decision appears to be a ringing defense of religious faith and true science. Nevertheless it was met by public disapproval. Shortly before Taylor's death, Isiah Warner wrote a letter which revealed the importance of these issues to the readers of almanacs. Along with it Warner had sent a copy of each of the other local almanacs . . .

. . . no less than nine, too many by at least half a dozen . . . I printed only two thousand of yours and am very much afraid shall not be able to dispose of 'em all having at least seven hundred yet by me.²⁰

Apparently fuzzy-thinking "Dame Opinion" had swept the main clean, brushing the annoyingly sincere and scrupulously accurate efforts of Taylor under the rug. Colonists seemed to prefer Franklin's light moral witticisms with their astrology and folk remedies. An anonymous local bard found heroism in Taylor's fall from public grace.

With Years opprest, and compass'd round with Woes,
 A Muse with Fire fraught yet T-YL-R shoes.
 His fancy's bold, Harmonious are his Lays,
 And were He more correct, He'd reach the Bays:
 But Heedless of the Rein, He Ply's the Whip. . .²¹

Jacob Taylor's didactic use of the almanac reveals the vital importance of the Age of Reason to at least one "common man" in colonial Philadelphia. Moreover, and of equal significance, is the fact that the battle of almanacs raised such issues and circulated them on a decidedly more pedestrian level of society. In doing so the colonial almanacs were an important, if limited, mechanism in the transmission of ideas. They bridged the gap between those few who discovered new concepts and the many who had to learn to deal with them. If the final product of this transmission bore only a general resemblance to the original stimulus, Jacob Taylor and his readers were no less affected.

¹⁸ Jacob Taylor, *An Almanack for the Year . . . 1737*, Philadelphia, 1736.

¹⁹ Jacob Taylor, *An Almanack for the Year . . . 1719*, Philadelphia, A. Bradford, 1719.

²⁰ "Isiah Warner to Jacob Taylor," December 29, 1743, reprinted in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography*, "Notes and Queries," XXI (1897), 130.

²¹ *The American Weekly Mercury*, "The Wits and Poets of Pennsylvania," No. 592, April 29–May 6, 1732, Philip Goldberg feels that this was written by Joseph Breintnall; *Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography*, LXXXVI (1962).

ITALIAN IMMIGRANT LIFE In Northampton County, Pennsylvania, 1890-1915

By CLEMENT VALLETTA

INTRODUCTION

I have concentrated on the exclusively Italian settlements in what is today Roseto, West Bangor, and Martins Creek as well as the Italian elements in the boroughs of Bangor, Pen Argyl, East Bangor, and Wind Gap. Roseto became a borough in 1912. West Bangor and Martins Creek have remained villages. (Please consult the appended map.) I have considered this area as a unit except where I think particular variations should be observed.

The years between 1890 and 1915 generally comprise the time limitations of the study; however, there have been certain extensions. I take 1890 because then the Rosetan settlement was beginning. This "New Italy" settlement was the first significant movement of Italians into Northampton County.¹ I take 1915 as an outside limit because Roseto which was the most important single settlement was incorporated into a borough some twenty-two years after its founding. The extensions go even to 1925 because the settlements in Martins Creek and West Bangor were started at least ten to fifteen years later than Roseto.

The numbers of Italian born residents for Northampton County were as follows: 1890, 341; 1900, 1582; 1910, 3723; 1920, 4427.² Until about 1910 the Italian settlement in the County was mainly rural.³

The categories selected—family, religion, ceremony, housing, structures, tools, and clothing—have been treated individually. There has been little hesitation, however, in following certain relationships beyond a specific limitation. Such overlapping is probably inevitable especially with a peasant, immigrant community such as the Italian wherein the spiritual, familial, and economic themes are so fundamental and so pervasive. The categories selected are good indicators of the settlement as probably any study of Italians in America will show. Such studies usually include those aspects that would be the most useful in studying the Italian transplantations. These have, therefore, given direction to the paper. Certain general ethnological writings have also influenced the focus of attention given various categories. Thus, I have hoped to deal with those categories revealing of the colony as an immigrant settlement and also as a sub-culture in itself. These considerations which can not really be disassociated for this study form the basis for the final

¹ Northampton County, Assessment Office, *Assessment Records* (Easton: County Archives). A survey of the records indicates when and where the settlements were started.

² E. Gordon Alderfer, *Northampton Heritage: The Story of an American County* (State College, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Valley Publishing Co., 1953), p. 303. The figures check with the U.S. Census reports for the years involved.

³ *Assessment Records*, *passim*.

generalizations on acculturation.

In order to at least approach completeness in each of the categories, I have used the *Outline of Cultural Materials*.⁴ The raw material of the immigrants' culture was but a manifestation of their underlying assumptions and implicit beliefs. The philosophical orientations of the immigrants have determined the nature of their settlement as well as those aspects of the surrounding culture they selected. The American culture did not let the immigrants free to follow their own ways and free to select what they wanted. Certain aspects of the Italian settlement were accessible to outside influences. In the categories of material culture and to some extent in religion the Italians welcomed and were prepared to accept what the surrounding culture offered. There was also the influence of individuals bringing the American culture to the Italians from within the immigrant settlement itself.

After laying the descriptive foundation, I have attempted in the conclusion to more closely consider the above statements as they apply to the contact of the Italian and the American cultures.

⁴ George P. Murdock *et al.*, *Outline of Cultural Materials*, Vol. II: *Yale Anthropological Studies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945).



Map of Northampton County "New Italy" settlements referred to in this article.



Photograph of 1902 emigrant, dated 1915.



West Bangor family group, photographed about 1910.



This young woman (photographed 1924) came to America in 1905 at the age of eight.

THE FAMILY

It is perhaps best to begin with a consideration of the family. George Murdock finds that the nuclear family—a married man and woman with offspring—"exists as a distinct and strongly functional group in every known society."⁵ The Italian family and community life is centrally important. Robert Park concludes that the "Italians retain longer than many other nationalities the virtues of the primary group organization."⁶ "Their family and community life has a very affectionate and intimate character. . . ."⁷ Philip Rose agrees finding that the "great virtues are domestic virtues, the great events are family events."⁸ I have found the family to be in many ways the basic unit of the Italian settlement and therefore of primary consideration to my study.

While the family may have formed the basic unit, during the initial settlement there was extensive boarding. The young Italian male seeking employment in order to establish his own home or to earn enough to establish himself back in Italy often sought the household of a relative or friend from the same town or region. The strong communal tie known as *campanilismo* was probably an important factor in deciding who boarded with whom. The informants report a "lot" of boarding, and they assign from three to five boarders to many of the nearby houses as well as to their own. Mrs. M. S. remembers that a relative of hers had as high as thirty men living with his family in Martins Creek.⁹

⁵ George P. Murdock, *Social Structure* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949), p. 2.

⁶ Robert Park and Herbert Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted*, (New York: Harper & Bros., 1921), p. 241.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

⁸ Philip M. Rose, *The Italians in America* (New York: George H. Doran, 1922), p. 78.

⁹ Mrs. M. S., *Housewife*, American, 65, East Bangor, January 28, 1962. "American" means born in America of Italian parents. The religion is Catholic unless listed as otherwise. This is true of all notations on informants. Also, all the informants have lived all their lives in the area or for the immigrants ever since the year indicated.

When the immigrant did marry, his family life would have many peculiar aspects, that is, peculiar from today's standpoint. Doctors aided in the deliveries of the newborn though a midwife or neighbor woman was usually present. The technique of tightly wrapping the infant in swaddling clothes was common. This was done to be sure that the child's bones would set. Diaper changes were infrequent—perhaps two or three a day.¹⁰ The infants were, of course, breast-fed. For maladies like the colic, they used native herbs to make a "tea." One recipe, used for adults as well, was of *malva* or a plant of the mallow family.¹¹

I was told of a man who delivered all his wife's children, but this was very unusual.¹² The doctors who attended the Italians became used to their method of aiding an infant having difficulty breathing immediately following delivery. It seems that the Italian would take a chicken and force its air into the child's anal passage. I say this must have become familiar to the doctors because of the following story. When Mrs. C. S. gave birth to her first child, a boy, Mr. C. S. followed an old custom of shooting a gun once into the air to signify the event. Upon hearing the shot, the doctor stirred and told an attendant neighbor (whose story this really is) that there was no need for a chicken in this birth. In practice, however, the chicken was not shot. Its air was forced into the child until the chicken died or as long as necessary.¹³

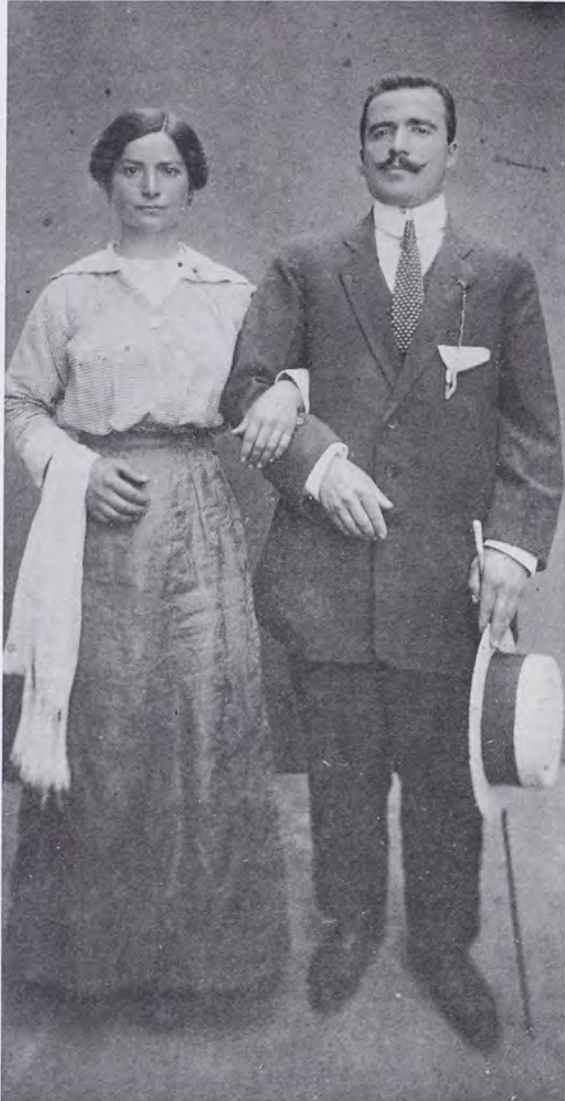
When a married son or daughter lived with the parents, the elder father remained the center of authority by virtue of occupancy and ownership of the homestead as well as

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Mrs. M. S. was helpful in giving the female viewpoint. Before marrying she was brought up in Martins Creek.

¹¹ Mr. C. S., Mill Worker, American, 61, Protestant, West Bangor, March 5, 1962. This informant and his wife had a store of interesting examples and stories. I have tried to discover the exaggerated parts. Since they were interviewed together, the one usually seemed to modify the other.

¹² Mr. and Mrs. C. S., February 17, 1962, Mrs. C. S., Seamstress, American, 58, Protestant, West Bangor.

¹³ *Ibid.*



Young married couple, photographed about 1905.

the powerful and traditional disciplinary position of the father. There would be discussions between man and wife regardless of age, but the man had the final say. "It was not fifty-fifty."¹⁴ Finally the man might say: "This is the way it's going to be."¹⁵ If the wife disobeyed, she might be slapped or beaten. Physical punishment was applied if the wife did not, for example, prepare a good dinner or was insolent.¹⁶

¹⁴ Mr. M. S., Blouse Contractor, Italian to area 1906, 68, East Bangor, January 28, 1962. This individual had a concise way of exemplifying his answers that seemed typical of neat Italian sayings and expressions.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ L. C., Tailor, Italian to area, 1902, 78, Pen Argyl, January 9, 1962. Because of his age, his cooperation, and intelligence, he was very helpful. He did not seem anxious to reveal what were to his mind the negative aspects of the Italian settlement.



Brothers-in-law—picture taken 1906.

Interfamily arguments were settled quite easily, for the man's word was law. Usually, however, there was little discipline needed. The children learned to submit to parental will. "To eat is to obey."¹⁷ It seemed that the physical superiority of the father as well as traditional respect for him served to assure his dominance.

The male might further be considered as the strong ruler. Interviews with the informants generally reveal that very few Southern Italians who settled in the area had an education in Italy beyond the fourth grade. That they could not read or write even Italian is revealed in reading their wills and court cases. Such was their educational background.

Most of them labored at the slate quarries. During the summer they would spend the evenings in the garden. They were fond of drinking, of course, but it was done in moderation and usually at home. It was a disgrace to be seen drunk.

It seems to me that the Italian male, in general, was an assertive individual especially in a social sense. The immigrants' card game of "three-seven," for example, had one "boss" each hand who decided who would drink the drinks that all had bought—himself, some, or all. Indebtedness was certainly not a virtue as talks with local shopkeepers reveal. The male role was maintained since the women did not work outside the home during the first years. Moreover, it was common practice for the grandsons to be given the same name as their grandfathers.

The strong position of the males might account for their separate activities in some connections. This as almost everything else had roots in Italy, so therefore the influence of the Church would be important. There was separate church attendance by the wife and husband and separate seating

¹⁷ M. S. This statement seemed implicit in the testimonies of others, as well.

at the church whether Italian Catholic or Italian Protestant.

Mr. and Mrs. C. S. tell of the gathering of the men of the village of West Bangor at their father's store in order to hear him tell ghost and fairy stories.¹⁸ The women were not present.

During and after the years dealt with there were men's social and religious clubs started in the isolated Italian settlements. The Saint Phillip Neri Society begun quite early (1898) in Roseto was a male organization that marched separately in the processions, attended the funerals of the members and wore a separate and distinctive headgear at formal ceremonies.¹⁹ The society fostered the teaching of civics and religion, parliamentary procedure and Americanism.²⁰ The Marconi Club begun in Roseto about 1910 stated as its scope the facilitating of relationships between the Rosetan Italians and those of surrounding towns, to draw them together as members of one family, and to better their intellectual and moral conditions, while leaving them free to profess their own political and religious faith, but urging them to become American citizens.²¹

The matter of inheritance will further point out the authority of the father. There is, of course, no way of knowing the particular circumstances involved in each of the wills selected, so I will present them with some general though not conclusive observations.

One Pasquale Ronca left most of his land to his sons and stipulated that an acre should be given to each of his two daughters.²² Matteo Bozzelli left \$250 to his wife and divided the rest of his estate equally among his children.²³ Another immigrant Giuseppe Falcone with holdings in Roseto, Valfortore, Italy, provided \$150 for his son and \$50 for his daughter.²⁴ He recommended that his children love their mother according to their duty and according to law. He left the balance of his estate to his wife and after her death the property was to be divided a third to his daughter and two-thirds to his son. He provided \$100 each to his male grandchildren who were both named Giuseppe, of course. Lorenzo Pacifico (one of the founders of Roseto) left everything to his wife. Should she remain a widow, at her death "the daughter" would receive a dollar and the other children would receive an equal share of the estate.²⁵ Domenick Vicario provided a dollar to each of his married daughters and the rest of his estate to his wife. At his wife's death or remarriage the estate was to be sold and divided equally between the two executors, his sons.²⁶ Nicholas Cacciaro left all to his wife, \$300 to each of his five daughters, and upon his wife's death the balance of his estate to his four sons.²⁷ The wills give some indication of the poverty of the immigrant. As shall be pointed out the unmar-

ried sons and daughters (but the sons moreso) gave in their earnings to their parents, thus in reality helping to earn a large part of the estate left them.

The practice of signaling the birth of a child has already been mentioned—one shot if a boy and two if a girl. A boy was slightly preferred, it seems, because of his future earning power, his help to the family if the father became incapacitated, his carrying on of the family name, his help to the father about the house, his eventual establishment of his own home. There was a saying if a girl was born: "The corner of the house has dropped."²⁸ Though several years later, Ralph Basso exclaims the virtue of a fellow townsman: "His record of having nine male children all of them in the professional class, is somewhat unmatched by any other Rosetan."²⁹ Note the emphasis he places on education (which few in the early settlement did, however), the desirability of male children, the importance of the community, and the accent on competition. The formal celebration of the birth complete with orchestra and dancing at first was held at the parent's home on the day of the christening. There was generally a greater celebration if a boy was christened.³⁰

The relationship between husband and wife involved a distinction of duties. The wife took care of the home and reared the children who were usually numerous. During the warm months she might pick berries for selling, gather kindling wood for the coal stove, and work in the garden. She often did light work in the garden including, perhaps, tying tomato plants to individual poles, cultivating, pulling "suckers" off the tomatoes. During the late summer and fall the wife would can fried and roasted peppers, squash, fruit, endive, and tomatoes—as high as 250–300 quart and pint jars in all with tomatoes and peppers predominating.³¹

During the first years of settlement the marriages were often arranged by the parents. The first marriage of one individual interviewed was arranged for him, but it was not successful, so he obtained a divorce and remarried. During the "talk" between the two sets of parents all the details of the marriage of their children would be discussed and settled. This practice did not last very long.

The security of the aged parents was preserved since at least one child—often the youngest—remained with the parents and took over the household or its greatest share after the death of the parents. All the informants report turning in their checks beginning at the time they were old enough to work up until just before the time they were married. Disobedience in these demands brought the disdain of the community. Sanction meant that everyone talked about the transgressor and thought it terrible.

As might be expected the eldest male child would have a special position in the family. When he arrived at early manhood (about eighteen) he would be consulted in family decisions especially involving expenditures and the younger children. He assumed head of the household if the father died or became incapacitated. One informant whose father became chronically ill told of his eldest brother who worked and provided for the family until his seven brothers and sisters were married.³²

¹⁸ C. S. I could find no substantiation for this from other informants, however.

¹⁹ Basso, *History of Roseto*, p. 9.

²⁰ J. D., Justice of the Peace, Italian to area, 1894, 75, Roseto, February 18, 1962. This individual related many of his personal experiences that I was not able to directly use, but these conveyed to me a sense of the way it was.

²¹ Mrs. M. S.; L. C., January 9, 1962.

²² Mr. L. C., January 9, 1962.

¹⁸ Mr. and Mrs. C. S., February 17, 1962.

¹⁹ L. C., February 19, 1962.

²⁰ Ralph Basso, *History of Roseto, 1882–1952*, trans. in collaboration with Rev. Frances C. Copozzi (Easton: Tanzella Printing Co., 1952), p. 37. Basso at the time he wrote this history said he was 63 and had "intimate contact with many of the early Rosetans." The informants consider the history to be accurate.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

²² Northampton County, Recorder of Wills Office, "Will of Pasquale Ronco, 1898," *Will Book 13*, p. 301. The wills are those of men who had lived within the area.

²³ Northampton County, Recorder of Wills Office, "Will of Matteo Bozzelli, 1902," *Will Book 14*, p. 534.

²⁴ Northampton County, Recorder of Wills Office, "Will of Giuseppe Falcone, 1910," *Will Book 11*, p. 361.

²⁵ Northampton County, Recorder of Wills Office, "Will of Lorenzo Pacifico, 1911," *Will Book 18*, p. 109.

²⁶ Northampton County, Recorder of Wills Office, "Will of Domenick Vicario, 1919," *Will Book 22*, p. 35.

²⁷ Northampton County, Recorder of Wills Office, "Will of Nicholas Cacciaro, 1925," *Will Book 14*, p. 191.



Mediterranean conviviality in the new world setting—photograph dated about 1915.

Even in the smaller matters of discipline the father's authority was extreme. Age was not a sufficient criterion for independence so long as the offspring lived under the "same roof." Mr. L. C. said that just a few weeks before his marriage he was seen smoking a cigarette and was slapped by his father for not asking permission. Permission was not obtained directly; rather, one asked his older brother or uncle to ask the father.³³ If the child in the later years went to a movie he was allowed a certain hour depending on when the affair would end and how much time would be required to walk home. Punishment in the smaller rebellions, which were few, might involve a slap, a beating, or a threat not to buy, for example, a new pair of shoes.³⁴ These punishments were applied by either parent while a brother or sister might try to intercede.

A wayward child would receive severe punishment. I was told of a daughter who conceived out of wedlock. She was beaten by her father, and she was not spoken to by her father and brothers for over twenty years.³⁵

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Mr. and Mrs. C. S., February 17, 1962.



Photographed in 1938, at the age of 68, this emigrant came to America at 21.



At work in the kitchen garden, 1924.

The Italian family practically included the *compare* and *comare*—the godfather and godmother. Great respect for them on the part of the godchild was traditional. The parents and godparents involved called each other *comare* or *compare* so and so. The child addressed the godparent in that way, using the given name, e.g., *Compare Giuseppe*. At Christmas time the godchild visited and greeted his godparents. He always tipped his hat when meeting them along the street. All the informants agreed that should the parents die the godparents would care for the godchild.

RELIGION

Another main heading in the Italian peasant community in America was religion. Ninety-five per cent of all Italian immigrants who landed at Ellis Island had called themselves Roman Catholics.³⁶ The tradition and law of religion rarely exists in an officially and doctrinally pure state within secular society and certainly not within the present subculture with strong roots into the life of Italian peasantry. "When [an anthropologist] studies a peasant community and its culture, the context is widened to include the elements of the great tradition that are and have been in interaction with what is local and immediate."³⁷

More specifically concerning the Italian immigrants, Robert Foerster finds that one of the deepest changes the Italian experiences is in religion.³⁸ The observations of Robert Redfield, Rose, and Foerster among many give an indication of the vast significance of religion—a significance far exceeding the limits of the community. As would be expected, therefore, this would be the category most directly treated by what few written records there are for the area. The doctrines of the Protestant and Catholic religions are, of course, quite extensive and complex as are the accompanying superstitions and customs.

While in no category of the study have I approached thoroughness, in this section I would not have the material profess a superficial representation. I have decided to present what I have found within the limits of the area. I shall attempt to present the formal and in a sense some of the traditional aspects and then some of the superstitious or unorthodox beliefs. The two perhaps can not be dissociated and the coloring of each upon the other will become evident. The religious ceremony considered in the next section may in a sense typify the union of the village and priestly traditions.

Considerations of the Catholic religion will first involve an understanding of the dedication to a patron saint or to the Blessed Mother. "The Catholic Churches are frequently named after the saint whose name the one interested in them bore."³⁹ Other reasons include the special devotion of the founder of the church.⁴⁰ Of more immediate interest would be manifestations of this in the area.

In West Bangor the devotion of one Domenick Abruzzese to Saint Rocco when there was no church in the village prompted him to establish a chapel in his home. He built benches, made a tabernacle, and led his *paesani* in the rosary. Deciding that an image was needed, through him the community purchased a statue of Saint Rocco—a statue transferred in 1922 to a newly built church in honor of Saint Rocco.⁴¹

Back in April, 1897, there was a murder trial involving one Fausto De Paulo who was accused of murdering Nicholas Ruggiero with a dagger or sharp instrument.⁴² It

seems that De Paulo was not welcome at a reunion party. Certain women told him: "You are too bad a man to be here."⁴³ There was a fight and then the murder. When struck, Ruggiero cried: "Oh my Virgin, I am stabbed."⁴⁴ It seems somewhat significant that at such a time a man cried out to the Virgin and not to God or to the devil.

A question may be raised as to whether or not the petitions were made directly to the saint or blessed Mother, or to God through the intercession of a spiritual being. One informant told of a popular anecdote that went like this: A woman prayed long and fervently to Saint Anthony for a special intention, but nothing happened. One evening while praying before a statue of the Saint she noticed a statue of Jesus. So she prayed to Jesus to tell Saint Anthony to grant her aid.⁴⁵ That this was an anecdote showed that the people of this Italian community realized where the omnipotence resided.

The settlement of Roseto, an all-Italian village which was a transplant of almost one-fifth of the village of Roseto, Valfortore, Italy, began in the year 1888.⁴⁶ This settlement was, as has been mentioned, the first of other settlements to follow—notably in West Bangor and Martins Creek as well as in certain of the established boroughs.

We can trace the activity of the Catholic and Protestant Churches in certain of these areas. Archbishop Prendergast of the Philadelphia diocese in 1896 gave full charge of all the towns and villages in the northeast section of Northampton County to the parish of Bangor. Chapels, churches, or stations were set up at Wind Gap, Pen Argyl, Roseto, North Bangor, East Bangor, West Bangor, and Martins Creek.⁴⁷

Besides the Catholic leadership of Abruzzese in West Bangor there was a Protestant movement. An Episcopalian minister of Italian birth gathered almost half the village under his wing and eventually established a parish in West Bangor and one in Wind Gap, both for Italians. Certain factors for the establishment of the church may be assumed: (1) The Episcopalian faith would differ only slightly from the Catholic to the uneducated peasant; (2) The Protestant church was built before the Catholic; (3) The minister was there not in the role of the temporary missionary but there to gather his own congregation and thus, (4) offer a weekly and permanent service within the community; (5) Most importantly, he as an Italian was one of them and interested enough to help them with their problems. For this kindness, in large part, many of his original followers remained even after the Catholic church was built.

Beginning about 1910 Father De Nisco from Roseto ministered to the religious needs of the people of Martins Creek. The Alpha Portland Cement Company donated land for the erection of a chapel in 1913. Father Landolphi began construction and dedicated the chapel to Saint Rocco. The little money contributed by the congregation proved inadequate to pay the upkeep. By 1918 the Cement Company again assisted in repairing the building and finally two years later a mission was established.⁴⁸

For many years the residents of Pen Argyl (as did those of West Bangor) attended the Italian Church at Roseto. Later they held services in the Palace Theater in Pen Argyl. By 1920 there were some fifty Italians (with 150 Slavic people and fifteen English-speaking members). Saint Elizabeth's

⁴³ *Ibid.* p. 3.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 7.

⁴⁵ L. C., February 19, 1962.

⁴⁶ Basso, *History of Roseto*, p. 4.

⁴⁷ Rev. McCann, "The Catholic Church," p. 388.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 389-90.

³⁶ Rose, *The Italians in America*, p. 99.

³⁷ Robert Redfield, *Peasant Society and Culture: An Anthropological Approach to Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 89.

³⁸ Robert F. Foerster, *The Italian Immigration of Our Times*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919), p. 439.

³⁹ Rev. John E. McCann, "The Catholic Church," in Vol. I: *History of Northampton County and the Grand Valley of the Lehigh*, III Vols., ed. William J. Heller (New York: American Historical Society, 1920), p. 388.

⁴⁰ V. Benigni, "Patron Saints," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Charles G. Herbermann et al. XI (1911), 563.

⁴¹ J. C., Quarry worker, *American*, 62, West Bangor, February 12, 1962. This informant had of those interviewed the closest contact with the experience at West Bangor.

⁴² *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. Fausto De Paulo*, Northampton County, Clerk of Quarter Sessions, April, 1897.

Church was dedicated by the archbishop in 1919.⁴⁹ The name of the church indicates the influence of the Slavic immigrants.

This brings us to a consideration of the religious activities of Roseto or "New Italy" as it was commonly called. (This community was the most articulate and self-conscious of those studied.) After describing the Protestant movement within the community, I will consider the activities of the Catholic Church.

A Presbyterian minister from Bangor appealed to the presbytery at Hazleton which took an interest in Roseto.⁵⁰ As early as 1890-91 a colporteur from Hazleton distributed religious literature and preached. A year later a Reverend Tealdo entered the area. There was no church building. The first meeting place was a shanty furnished with tree stumps and crudely made benches used as pews while an empty beer keg was the pulpit.⁵¹ Minister Tealdo lost no time, however. He wrote to the editor of the *Bangor Observer* in 1893 to announce the dedication of the new Italian Presbyterian Church at New Italy.⁵² Services on Tuesday afternoon would be in English and by ministers from the vicinity. Second services would be held in the evening featuring addresses from missionaries then working in different Italian settlements in the United States. The newspaper reported that many citizens of Bangor attended the afternoon service. The Italians raised \$300 of the total of \$1283.⁵³

During the pastorate of Tealdo there were no religious controversies. During these years, however, a Catholic priest was sent into the area. Controversy between the successors to Tealdo and the Catholic priest, Father DeNisco, lasted until 1912. But by that year, it seems that the Presbyterian Church had some difficulties because the original converts were "old" and many had "gone away."⁵⁴

What, then, of the original sixty-four chartered members who "repudiated"⁵⁵ their allegiance to the Roman Church and became Presbyterians? It seems that about 1893 during the movement to build a Catholic church "everybody wanted it built near his house."⁵⁶ Basso concluded: "There is no doubt that the disagreement and the ill feelings accompanying it was the principal motive and did much to influence the rise of Protestantism in New Italy."⁵⁷ This in itself is probably an unsatisfactory explanation. Realizing the strong and perhaps vain assertiveness of the Italian peasant, it does not seem too exaggerated to dwell on such emotional influences. The Protestant minister did appear when there was no established Catholic parish in the Roseto area. He himself was Italian and in this way could capitalize on the want of religion he found.

Despite such considerations, the existence of Protestantism still remains unsatisfactorily explained in large part. The reasons for this have not been adequately given by written records that were available. Elderly informants in both villages offer, however, explanations which they evidently quite firmly believe. The Italian minister in West Bangor, it seems, had been a Catholic priest who married. Where this took place they did not know, but they were sure of it. (He did come to the area, as mentioned, and had built his church

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 390-91.

⁵⁰ C. J. Scarpellati, *History of the Presbyterian Church of Roseto* (Bangor: Bangor Printing, 1948), p. 3.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* pp. 3-4.

⁵² *Bangor Observer*, August 3, 1893, p. 2.

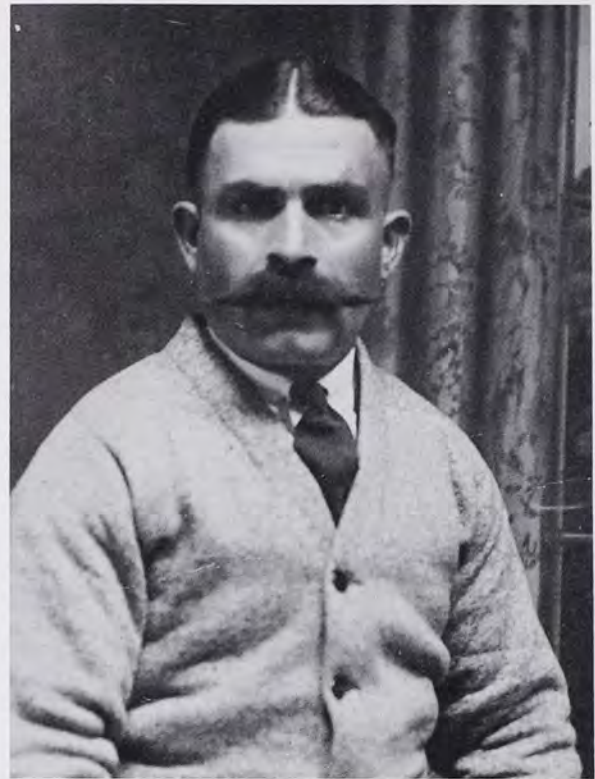
⁵³ *Bangor Observer*, August 10, 1893, p. 1.

⁵⁴ Scarpellati, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁵⁶ Basso, *History of Roseto*, p. 29.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 30.



This emigrant of 1915 served in the U. S. Forces in the First World War—Photographed about 1925.



Three friends who worked together in the Pen-Argyl slate quarries.

before the Catholic Church did.) He was very kind and helpful to many of the immigrants. Some of them remained followers of his.

It seems that a Catholic priest who had been doing work in the early days of the New Italy settlement was excommunicated. They did not know why. Then, they said, he gathered the people of the village into a shack that had been a makeshift church. Here he told the people he was going to start his own church. Some of the audience followed him. This, they said, turned brother against brother.

Those are the explanations for what they are worth which is probably not very much. I regret that I was not able to find definite information in this matter.



Emigrant of 1896 with his family.

The lots for the Catholic church were decided upon and five Italians agreed to back the purchase of land for \$1000.⁵⁸ The Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel was dedicated on April 16, 1894. A priest from New York officiated. A large group of Catholics from Easton arrived by trolley on a Monday morning. There were eight priests in all. After they dedicated the church they consecrated the cemetery.⁵⁹

The church persisted as a missionary station until April of 1897 when Father Pasquale DeNisco arrived as pastor. He became the civil as well as the spiritual head of the community. Besides certain factors concerning the settlement—the peasant background, the needs of survival, the outside influences—there was an additional condition represented at its best, perhaps, in an individual such as Father DeNisco.

Because he was an Italian Catholic priest with a realization of many American potentialities for his people, he was able to work through his spiritual headship and move his people toward new goals that they would have to achieve. If they were not to actively seek certain needed benefits, they probably would have remained for a longer time a passive group of immigrants before the corrosion of their own ignorance and the influences of outside groups, however welcome or obtrusive. DeNisco was able to provide leadership *within* the conditions of the Italian settlement and improve them. Thus, I say his was perhaps the best influence because through him the people could retain those ways of believing

⁵⁸ McCann, "The Catholic Church," p. 391.

⁵⁹ *Bangor Observer*, April 19, 1894, p. 1.

and acting they felt important as Italian peasants and still through him rise to meet and adjust to the challenges and conditions of America.

The Priest first organized religious societies: A Mutual Aid Society or *Addolorata* for men; a Sacred Heart Association for wives and mothers; A Society for Young Men; and A Daughters of Mary Society or *Figlie di Maria* for the girls.⁶⁰ Such societies were established to promote Christian life and the regular reception of the sacraments.

His civil activities were varied and extensive. He instructed and prepared for citizenship hundreds of people both Catholic and Protestant. Citizenship papers were handed out in the basement of the Catholic church. He was able to open a branch of the American Federation of Labor. He became its first president, leading his quarry-working parishioners in strikes which pressured a steady increase in wages.⁶¹ He went on to organize the Roseto Water and Steam Company, to renew the Roseto Cornet Band, to initiate a circulating library, to establish an annual ten dollar prize for the best shrubs and flowers.⁶²

By 1911 he worked for the incorporation of Roseto into a borough, but that achievement a year later he did not live to see. After he died they named a park for him and erected a marble monument in the cemetery and adjacent to the church. (He died in the middle of life from an appendicitis operation.)

He had made known his will in 1904 of "such estate as it hath pleased God to entrust" him with.⁶³ DeNisco left to each of his two sisters \$200 and designated the rest for funeral expenses and the erection of a "modest" tombstone. At the time of his death, however, he and his church had some \$1800 in bills half of which the diocese had to assume. The state of indebtedness involved a hearing during which certain actions transpired revealing various spiritual and financial conditions at the time.⁶⁴

Father Fiorillio, the successor to Father DeNisco, did not find any accounts or bills. When asked if priests keep accounts he answered that they "must" send annual accounts to the archbishop.⁶⁵ When asked if the priests make the report themselves, the priest responded: "The priest makes them himself, he is the boss and is appointed by the bishop."⁶⁶ To an inquiry concerning aid from the bishop the priest acknowledged such help "sometimes."⁶⁷ If the bishop thought requested repairs necessary, he would pay the expenses—if not the priest must pay. Priests could buy real estate in their own name.⁶⁸ When asked by whose authority he could perform priestly activities, the priest replied that the archbishop had given him the authority.⁶⁹

Certain notes and bills were presented against the estate. Three Rosetans presented notes totalling \$800. The two priests having notes withdrew their claims. There was a bill for an American flag.⁷⁰

The hearing revealed obviously that Father DeNisco and his church were not financially secure. Some indication was given of the difficulty determining just who incurred the

⁶⁰ Basso, *History of Roseto*, p. 34.

⁶¹ J. D.

⁶² Basso, *History of Roseto*, pp. 35–36.

⁶³ Northampton County, Recorder of Wills Office, "Will of Pasquale DeNisco, 1904," *Will Book 18*, p. 407.

⁶⁴ Northampton County, Clerk of Orphans' Court, *Auditor's Hearing on the Estate of Pasquale DeNisco*, January, 1913.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

debts: the priest, the congregation, or the diocese. The diocese held administrative and spiritual headship as revealed in the testimony. The ultimate explanation would involve apostolic succession.

The priest held that the pastor was the "boss" and could incur debts and have property of his own. This would explain how in relation to the diocese DeNisco had the freedom to provide civil as well as spiritual leadership within his parish. The activities of DeNisco would also appear to have been motivated from more than material considerations.

Having considered the element of priestly tradition working at its optimum in a new environment, I would like to turn to the more local elements of Italian superstition.

The superstitions show the personal rather than the impersonal explanations of actions and pain. There is also the close relationship between the tangible and intangible. Thus, while the Evil Eye has a personal explanation and the resultant headache is a tangible feeling it has an intangible cure in the "powwow." This is perhaps too neat, but the relationships indicated will become more or less apparent.

An adult having a headache or a child having worms might have been the victim of the Evil Eye cast by someone who had been jealous, or who was born on Christmas Eve, or turned his back in church to the uplifted host, etc. A test was usually made to determine if the *mal' occhio* was the cause of a malady. One informant told of a man who was sent for and performed the following test: He dropped some cotton pieces into an olive oil and water mixture. If the cotton pieces spread out this meant the influence of the Evil Eye.⁷¹ A variation of this involved taking a teaspoonful of olive oil and pushing out small droplets with the forefinger into a glass of water. If the oil spread it indicated the presence of the Evil Eye.

The cure was performed by a few people who had learned the appropriate prayers from his or her parents. They never accepted pay for their function. These individuals would say prayers for the afflicted soul and manipulate a large kitchen knife in the sign of the cross. The prayers were directed to God or a combination of pagan and Christian gods.⁷²

Preventative charms and amulets shaped like a hunchback, a goat's horn, even a small scissors were worn or carried by the fearful.⁷³ Tiny horns and other charms were pinned on baby clothes. A preventative gesture made by the anxious was as follows: The forefinger and small finger were extended while the middle two fingers rested on the palm with the thumb over them. There were also charms in this fashion.

The importance of personal wishes and inclinations rather than impersonal forces can be illustrated in relating the superstitions concerning pregnancy. Practically any wish of the expectant mother had to be fulfilled or else some mark might appear on the baby. She had to eat whatever her husband ate lest a repressed desire have a harmful effect on the baby. One informant told of a woman with a growth resembling a bunch of grapes on the lower side of her jaw: "How could this have happened unless her mother had desired grapes?"⁷⁴ (I said I didn't know.) The virtual mother must not be frightened or the results would be similar. A pregnant woman was frightened by a rat, I was told, and her

son carried a mark resembling a rat on his forehead.⁷⁵

The scientific methods and guides of farming were, of course, unknown to the Italian immigrant. The scientific reasons for planting or harvesting at certain times would be intangible and unfamiliar to the immigrant. But he had his own tangible signs. If the position of the moon was turned up he would have a sign for planting beans. When the moon was turned down it was an indication to soon plant rooted vegetables. Should the moon be in a growing stage, it would be a sign not to pick the grapes.⁷⁶ If the Italian thought a storm were too severe, he would try to calm the storm by throwing outside a palm blessed on Palm Sunday.

A misfortune in the family was usually presaged by some dream the Italian had had a few days or weeks before the event. When the misfortune fell, the Italian might say: "There was the dream, the warning."⁷⁷ It was a bad sign for the future for someone to dream that his dead parent wanted something. There were writings attaching a number to practically anything dreamt which was helpful to a gambler.⁷⁸

The viewing of the departed was held in the home. It was important for the bereaved ones to give full and unrestrained vent to their grief.⁷⁹ The stricken family was brought food for at least a week after the death. The *paesani* brought gifts of money, and a few would offer to dig the grave. Such was the community coöperation familiar and customary to the early Italian settlers.

CEREMONY

The community expression of devotion was especially apparent in the annual celebrations, ceremonies, and processions. Emily F. Meade in her study of Italians at the Hammonton, New Jersey, settlement listed church festivals among the important social gatherings.⁸⁰ Foerster associates ceremony with what he thinks is a certain love of show on the part of the Italian.⁸¹ As will be pointed out the formal and informal ceremony of the Italian was an integral part of his religious and communal life.

The special devotion of a person and region for a saint had historical origin. If a particular saint worked miracles or died in a particular region or if there was a special apparition of the Blessed Mother in a particular place, then that region consequently had a special devotion. Mr. M. S., for instance, was born in the region of Abruzzo and thus his patron, he tells me, would be Saint Gabriel. Blessed Gabriel died in the region of Abruzzo one hundred years ago.⁸² Processions would be natural expressions of dedication and petition. In order to bring about the end of a plague, the Council of Constance in 1414 ordered public prayers and processions in honor of Saint Rocco.⁸³

It would be expected then, that such spiritual ceremony as well as less formal display would be an integral part of the rural settlement. Special processions in honor of the patron saint took place in each of the little Italian colonies on or near the day of special dedication as specified by the Church calendar.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ J. C.

⁷⁷ J. D.

⁷⁸ L. C., January 19, 1962. He said he had such a book which was used in connection with the Italian national lottery.

⁷⁹ J. C.

⁸⁰ Emily F. Meade, "Italian on the Land: A Study in Immigration," *Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor*, No. 70 (May, 1907) p. 429.

⁸¹ Foerster, *Italian Immigration of Our Times*, p. 435.

⁸² Authur Devine, "Gabriel Possenti," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. VI, 331-332.

⁸³ Gregory Cleary, "Saint Roch," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. XIII, 100-101.

⁷¹ J. D.

⁷² Phyllis H. Williams, *South Italian Folkways in Europe and America: A Handbook for Social Workers, Visiting Nurses, School Teachers, and Physicians* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938), pp. 155-59.

⁷³ Mr. and Mrs. M. S.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

Saint Rocco's of West Bangor organized a three-day celebration beginning on Friday night. Stands were set up from which certain church members sold watermelons, ice cream, candy, hot dogs (no hot sausage, at first).⁸⁴ Entertainment might be provided by the Roseto or Delabole bands on Friday and Saturday night. The latter was especially festive with a fireworks display. (Delabole was a small Italian settlement about a mile south of West Bangor.) Sunday morning mass was followed by a procession through most of the parish. Four men would carry the statue of Saint Rocco bolted to a platform. The priest would lead the procession. The men and women would follow and recite the rosary in unison. Those who had vowed to do so carried a large stone or walked barefoot.⁸⁵ The vow was made for some special favor the individual believed he had received from God through the special intercession of a saint or the Blessed Mother. The people pinned their gifts of money on a strip of ribbon suspended from the statue of the saint.⁸⁶

The same general experience was evidenced in Martins Creek. When the village was yet a mission station, the visiting priest took money gathered in the celebration; whereupon, the people became angry. They kept the money.⁸⁷

The Rosetan celebration in honor of Our Lady of Mount Carmel was held on the last Sunday of July—a practice originating in Italy because the reaping of the wheat permitted no time for a celebration on July 16, the day designated on the Church calendar.⁸⁸ During the first years an Italian priest came from Philadelphia, and he said mass under the shadows of the trees. Mass was said by 1890 on the porch of the best house in New Italy called *la prefettura* or the prefecture. Basso writes of large crowds of both Italians and Americans coming to hear classical selections by two brass bands—one from Philadelphia and another from New York City. As part of the ceremony the American and Italian flags were blessed by the priest.⁸⁹

About fifteen years later one informant remembers the processions headed with a wagon carrying the statue of the patron. Four girls dressed as angels rode on the wagon.⁹⁰ The celebration also included the raising of funds through the selling of watermelons, ice cream—and as mentioned previously. There were bag races, greasy-pole climbs, and rooster raises. On the top of the greased pole was placed a ham or some such incentive. The rooster raise was a name for an event that went like this: A hole was dug in which a live rooster was placed. The hole was covered with a large stone. The contestants were blindfolded, brought to a starting line, and allowed to make the raise by means of a cane or stick.⁹¹

The importation of bands from the city would indicate the importance the immigrant attached to the annual celebration. The events during the celebration reflect the importance of food. There was little involved but strength and

⁸⁴ J. C.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ R. C., Storekeeper, Italian to area, 1920, 63, Martins Creek, February 18, 1962.

⁸⁸ J. D.; and A. F., Retired Laborer, Italian to area, 1904, Non-Catholic, Roseto, March 12, 1962. This individual was violently anti-Catholic. He married the daughter of one of the original converts to Protestantism in the area. He seemed repelled by the constant demand of the Church for money. He attended Catholic functions, he said, until at one of them—in the basement of the church—someone offered him a drink. Mr. L. C., a friend of his, said that he never formally changed his religion.

⁸⁹ Basso, *History of Roseto*, pp. 37–39.

⁹⁰ A. F., He told how the parents of the two who rode in back paid \$10 and the two in front \$5.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

luck, but the little contests were community affairs.

The Rosetan celebration was held by 1913 on July 26, 27, 28. The Bangor, Roseto, and Delabole bands were engaged. There were fireworks in the evening and religious parades during the day. A flagpole some eighty feet high—the highest in the area—was erected in front of the church. A large American Flag (ten by fifteen feet) was to be raised on Saturday noon. There was a procession on Saturday evening during which certain societies walked: the Society of Our Mother of Sorrows, the Sacred Heart Society, the Sunday School children, and the Societies of the Hungarian people of Pen Argyl. After the procession there was a solemn benediction. Masses with sermons in Italian and English were recited on Sunday.⁹²

Thus, the celebrations traditional in Italy were continued in the new environment. The celebrations were the central social events in the lives of the immigrants. They would buy new clothes and further stretch their resources in order to enjoy themselves at the celebration. The church gained a source of income and, more importantly, symbolized and led the communal dedication to the patron. The personal assertiveness of the Italian immigrant appeared, it seems, in the carrying out of the vow, or as a community expression in the hoisting of a “very valuable flag” up an eighty foot flagpole.⁹³ It should be pointed out that the Protestant elements in the communities did not take part in the Catholic processions though many did attend the festivities at the celebration. The Protestant church at West Bangor initiated their own annual celebration which did not include a procession.

Holidays were special occasions to the traditionally religious Italian. The *paesani* would visit each other on Christmas Day and New Year's Day to exchange greetings and drinks. The immigrants would light candles on the graves for All Souls' Day at the beginning of November. A small Sicilian colony among the Rosetans instituted a procession on Good Fridays during which they carried a large crucifix. This was of short duration, however.⁹⁴

Domenick Abruzzese decorated the small chapel in his home for Christmas. He made a miniature clay hillside and a cave around which he placed the small figures he made. He would mold shepherds and dogs as well as the Holy Family from clay gathered locally. After baking the figures in his stove, he would paint them with water colors.⁹⁵

Carnevale before lent meant an evening of frolic. A few individuals would go about masqueraded and accompanied by a small band usually including a drum, cornet, and guitar.⁹⁶ One informant told of his participation in a house-to-house routine. He and a few older men dressed like women and carried about a cradle and a baby doll. One of the number had a fully bosomed transvestitism, and he would feed the baby for everyone's amusement.⁹⁷

Simpler ceremonies accompanied a house completion or a slaughtering. Several close relatives including the *compari* would help dig a cellar for a new home. There would be upon completion some beer and sometimes singing and guitar playing. Thanksgiving was usually the day to butcher the pig. A few skilled townsmen would go about directing the butchering at various places and in return might receive some meat or a good meal.

⁹² *Bangor Daily News*, July 29, 1913, p. 1.

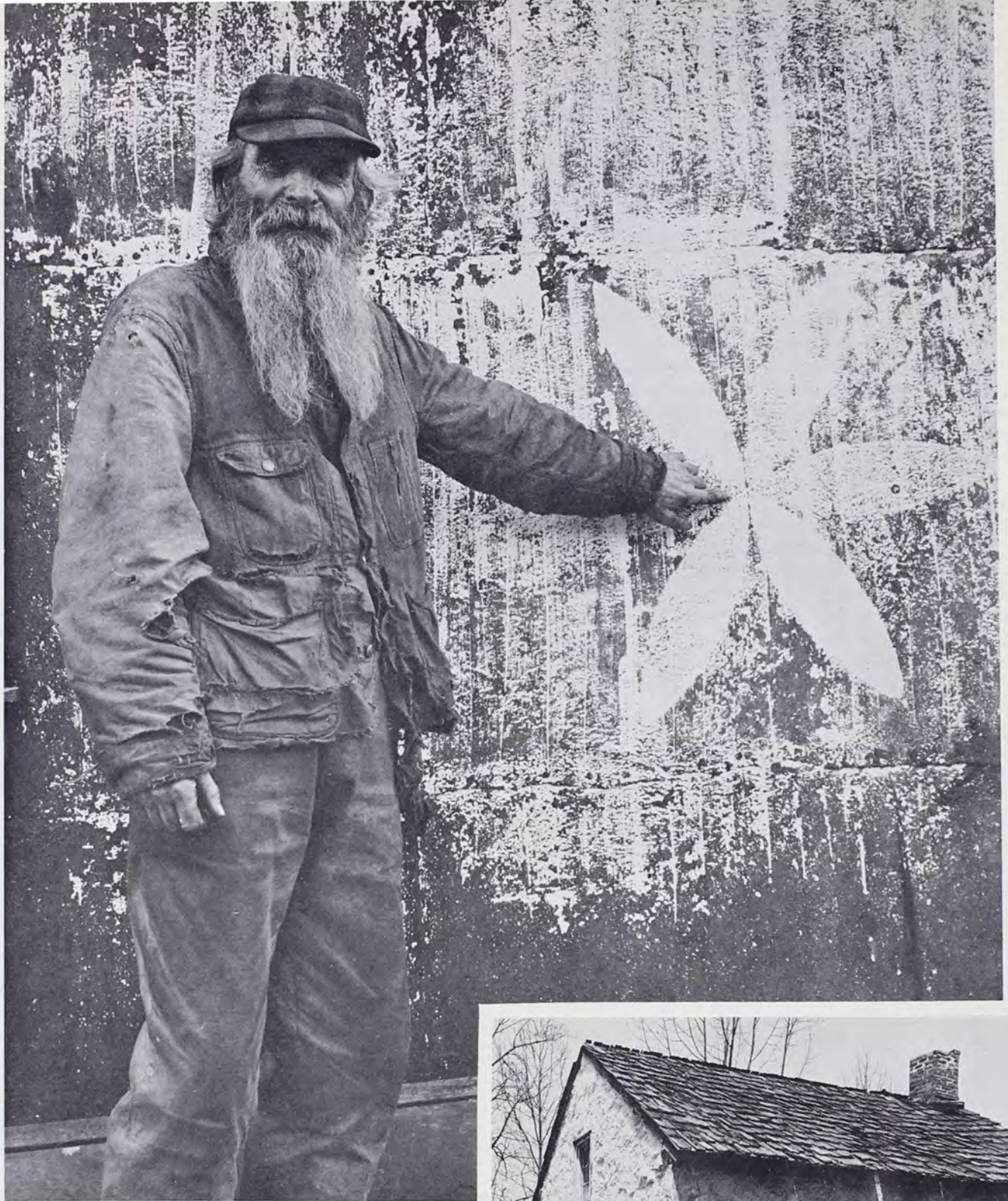
⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ A. F.

⁹⁵ J. C.

⁹⁶ J. D.

⁹⁷ J. C.



Uni Day pointing to "hex" sign painted on kitchen wall of his home.



Day's home with cedar-shingled roof located in the forests of Rockland Township, Berks County.

UNI DAY'S HERB GARDEN

By RICHARD H. SHANER

Of all the Dutch folk I have met in my travels, none is quite so fascinating as Uni Day of Rockland Township, Berks County. Living in the forest, this Dutchman in his late seventies, keeps alive the Dutch tradition of folk medicine through herbs.

Having retired long ago from full-time employment, Uni takes simple pleasures from living and hunting in the forests of Rockland. He is a crack shot, and in one particular year known to me, has shot as many as thirty red and gray fox.

To many of us, his life of carefree ease and outdoor existence is one to be admired. The keen sense and skill he has in the forest is undoubtedly due to his life-long home there. Much of his knowledge concerning herbs, however, is due in part to his mother's talent. I am informed that she was so gifted with herbs, that some of the local hill folk suspected her of being a *hex*, witch!

Uni Day preparing medicine from herbs which he has either grown in his garden or gathered in the woods. This art was taught to him by his mother.

Neither Uni nor his mother was a folk practitioner of herb medicine. Their knowledge of herbs was used as the occasion called for it. Since a few of my relatives were neighbors of Uni I would often stop in, to talk with him. We would mostly speak of the hill folk and of hunting, but once in a while herbs would enter our conversation. So interesting was this topic to me that I began recording for myself, this all but lost art.

Unlike most people of the Dutch Country Uni's herb garden consisted of the entire forest! Of course he had a well-kept domestic herb garden at his stone home, but his



The experienced marksman and hunter standing at doorway of his home ready to start a day's hunting in the nearby forest.





Resting during a hunting expedition, Uni keeps a wary eye ever alert for game.

knowledge and use of herbs went far beyond that small spot. To a person first visiting Uni Day, the presence of herbs would be known from the various types which could be seen drying from trees or at the kitchen stove.

The herb which Uni took most pride in was *snake root* (Virginia snake root). This herb is difficult to find in the forest. It usually grows where it is both sunny and stony. Among the Dutch of his area it is the most widely used herb, and young boys could go in the forest to make a small fortune by finding and selling it. The main purpose of the snake root herb is to settle an upset stomach, or to prevent one. To make the herb usable the roots of the plant are washed free from ground. Afterwards the roots—about three, five, or more—are immersed in a bottle of whiskey. When the herbs have been given a chance to mix with the drink, about two or three days, the medicine is ready. From ten on whenever a member of the family has a stomach ache, or fears one, one swig of this preparation will cure him or prevent the ache from happening. So accepted is this herb medicine that children as well as adults rely on its powers.

One of my favorite herbs is that known as *horse tail* (shave grass). In various parts of the Dutch Country it is also called *muhle*, and *fox tail*. To make this herb practical the tails are collected and pulverized so that a tea can be made. Occasional use of this tea is good for people that suffer from diabetes, and for people with water on their legs. Usually the horse tails will grow where there is plenty of sunshine, along the road-side, for example.

One of the most common herbs, *pig ears* (greater plantain), Uni tells of being good for poison. If a person has a case of poison ivy, either a tea can be made from the leaves, or the leaves fried in lard and applied as a dressing. A similar treatment for a burn or cut is that involving the petals of the white *wild lily* flower. When this lily blooms in summer, the petals are collected and immersed in a bottle of whiskey. When a person has a serious cut or burn, a petal, or several of them, are placed on the injury and bandaged. This lily petal will speed up the healing.

Probably the strangest herb known to Uni is the *Adam and Eve* herb. This odd herb is extremely rare to find in the forests, and is even more difficult to transplant. One time (the only time) Uni found the Adam and Eve plant

while walking in the forest. He dug it out and transplanted it in his herb garden. In a few days this strange herb grew right out of the garden, under a stone fence, and escaped into the forest. Thus it is called by the country folk—Adam and Eve—for they were expelled from the garden of Eden. However, the more tantalizing fact is that this herb is used to make a love potion! In order to prepare the love potion, the root of the Adam and Eve plant is dropped into the drink of the person you wish to love you. If the herb is at all as powerful as it is difficult to find, it certainly should be an active agent of love.

Of all the herbs which Uni shares with his neighbors, the most frequently requested one is *pile root*. This root is not known by any other name familiar to the author. It has been confided to me that the pile root does work, and many of Uni's friends have sought it for the cure of the bleeding piles. This amazing plant grows wild in the forest about Uni's home. In order that a supply may be kept on hand Uni digs this root in the fall of the year and dries it. When washed and dried, oddly enough the root looks similar to the piles. In order to cure the bleeding piles certain directions must be followed when taking the tea made from the root. As with all herb medicine, if the proper amount and directions of usage are not known, the correct outcome too will be doubtful.

For persons suffering from kidney trouble, gall stones, and gravel, a tea can be made from the leaves and stem of the *huckleberry* bush. The tea taken periodically is said to be very beneficial to the afflicted person.

A tea or drink which both Uni and the author like is that made from the roots of the young *sassafras* tree. This root has a pleasing smell, almost like root-beer. The roots are cleaned and then boiled in water. For quicker flavor the roots may be cut or chopped into fine particles. After the flavor has been freed from the roots, the roots are strained and the beverage sometimes cooled over ice. It makes a very inexpensive but delicious summer drink. However, excessive indulgence may bring about the Pennsylvania Dutch quick steps!

Of all the summer teas made in the hill area, *stomach balsam* (blue balsam) is the favorite for an upset stomach. It is collected in the spring and summer for use all year round. It has a delightful mint flavor, and is quite abundant. Another herb popular for relieving internal disorders, is *sweet fern*. A tea made from the leaves of this plant is used also in reducing a fever.

In the forests and meadows are many wild *elderberry* bushes. If a tea is made from the blossoms of this bush, and given to a child with a fever, the fever will more than likely pass away. As with the other herbs, if the blossoms are picked at the proper time they can be dried and kept for future use.

There are many herbs which are an excellent part of Uni Day's memory, but neither time nor space will allow me to record all that he knows. My purpose for the time being, has been to introduce the reader to a part of our contemporary culture, which is in many parts of the world a part of the forgotten past.

On Ascension Day, when the Dutch are out in the fields and forests collecting the herbs known to them by their ancestors, the modern world continues to rely on the pharmacy. As Allie Day, the brother to Uni, once said: "Everything in God's forest has a meaning for being, but what all the purposes are, I do not know if we will ever find out!"

About the Authors

DR. EARL F. ROBACKER, White Plains, New York, needs no introduction to the readers of *Pennsylvania Folklife*. For many years he has been Antiques Editor for the periodical, and in addition has a distinguished list of regional books to his credit, from *Pennsylvania German Literature* and *Pennsylvania Dutch Stuff* to his forthcoming *Touch of the Dutch*, which is a collection of his antiques articles from recent issues of *Pennsylvania Folklife*.

WILLIAM H. KENNEY, III, Philadelphia, is a graduate student in the Department of American Civilization at the University of Pennsylvania. Recipient of the Fels Fellowship for 1965-1966, he is working on a doctoral dissertation on the Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies. The paper on Jacob Taylor was written at the university for Dr. Yoder's course in "Religion in America to 1865".

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CLEMENT VALLETTA, Wilkes-Barre, is a graduate student in the Department of American Civilization at the University of Pennsylvania, at present teaching English and American Studies at Kings College, Wilkes Barre. His article, which was done at Pennsylvania under Dr. Anthony N. B. Garvan in American Civilization, is of extreme value in that it is one of the pioneer anthropologically-oriented accounts of a non-Germanic ethnic group in Pennsylvania. Because of its length we have divided it into two instalments, the second, scheduled for publication in our Fall 1965 issue, to include the material culture of the group.

