

life is the decorated peasant house, what I call "the house beautiful" in rural Romania—or *casă frumoasă*, as the Romanians would phrase it.

Though often lying fairly close to modern cities with their tall apartment blocks and smoky factories, or near sprawling collective farms, most houses in the villages and rural areas of Romania today are still, like those of many past generations, individual family homes, built by hand according to regional traditions of material, form, and decor. They constitute *folk housing* in the classic sense of the term. The often lavish decoration of the interiors and exteriors of their houses by people following traditional means and designs is an on-going practice in Romania, as indeed it is, to some degree, in neighboring Eastern European countries and elsewhere.¹

As I have written elsewhere, "In some Romanian villages virtually every house seems to be slathered with embossed and brightly painted stucco designs, adorned with intricate wood or metal ornaments on gables and roofs, and dripping with sawed fretwork and wood applique" (Brunvand 1975b:66). It is true, however, that in other Romanian villages most of the houses are drab and commonplace with only the dimmest traces of any decorative efforts, or else they may be so over-decorated in kitschy modern colors and designs that contrast with the good taste and eloquent harmony characteristic of the finest specimens of old peasant houses preserved in open-air museums. Still, I have never been in a Romanian village that completely lacked at least a few examples of very *interestingly* (if not always *beautifully*) adorned houses. The sheer number of these decorated houses, and the mere fact of the vigorous survival of this tradition in the midst of modernization and rapid industrial growth in Romania, are reasons enough to appreciate and study them, especially when one considers how really abstracted from reality and how non-functional a carefully decorated house in a remote village is.

This point becomes more clear if we compare exterior house decoration with most other traditional folk arts in Romania. While the components of *interior* decor (textiles, icons, ceramics, furniture, etc.) are detachable from their settings and have distinct handicraft and utilization traditions in their own right, the decorated house facade is fixed in place and exists only as an eye-pleasing but apparently "useless" artifact. The richly decorated "clean room" inside a peasant house is both a family wealth display and a guest room or stage for special celebrations; its contents have functions beyond mere decoration. But a fancy exterior is just packaging, and the house seems no better or no more usable for the effort. Folk costumes are worn away

from the home, and artifacts like wooden spoons, woven goods, or homemade musical instruments are sometimes used or are sold and traded at fairs and markets, but the decorated house is seen only by those who live in it or by people who happen to pass by.

What a decorated house contributes to the world is beauty, or at least an attempt at beauty, this being applied to a human residence, which in essence is a functional tool for survival. When the resulting building is truly pleasing, there is a temptation simply to rhapsodize about it, as one Romanian traveler, Tereza Stratilesco, did while gazing over the distant prospect of a peasant village some eighty years ago:

Seen from the distance, a Roumanian village will always strike the traveler as a nest of peace, of comfort and homeliness, with those little white cottages peeping among the trees, in their own yards, more or less large, all away from each other, separated by large stretches of green and irregular roads meandering about in all directions. . . . A Roumanian village looks at its best in spring, when all Nature is green and fresh; after Easter, the cottages are still shining with cleanliness, with their white walls and red wood-work under the thatched roof, like Roumanian black-eyed country girls, with their glistening strings of bright-colored beads around their necks. [1906:206-207]

That passage sketches a very pretty picture, and one that it is still possible to view in our own time. But such enthusiasm and appreciation do not provide any understanding of what this complex and ancient tradition of decorating the exterior of houses with multifarious patterns, colors, and textures is all about. Besides, everything looks best on a sunny day in the spring—the country girls as well as the houses—and if Nature (with a capital "N") should unkindly give us a spell of dull wet weather after Easter, or if we should simply stroll a bit closer to the village houses and their often muddy or dusty yards, then the view may not seem so idyllic. William Wilkinson, for instance, British Consul in Bucharest in 1820, had only this to say about Wallachian dwellings:

The villages throughout the country are principally composed of peasants' huts, all built in the same style and of the same size. The walls are of clay, and the roofs thatched with straw, neither of which are calculated to protect the lodgers from the inclemency of the bad seasons. [1971:157]

Wilkinson concluded that these inadequate shelters—the same kind that Stratilesco praised so highly—contributed materially to the "natural stupor and apathy" he believed to be typical of the oppressed, hard-working, and heavily-taxed, but patiently resigned peasantry of Wallachia and Moldavia. Similarly, Queen Marie of Romania (who was also English, it should be remembered), despite her enthusiasm for

Romanian folk culture—to the extent of sometimes donning peasant costume herself—summed up the villages she visited with the one word "miserable." She described one house as "absurdly ramshackle, with an over-bulky maize-covered roof" (1971:355,371).

It may seem odd that sources disagree so sharply about whether the Romanian village houses are attractive or not, and even whether they are decorated at all, beyond a coat of whitewash over the mud walls, but it is almost as if the earlier travelers and writers each saw completely different countries. Take William Jänecke, for example, a German military engineer stationed in Romania for about one year at the end of the First World War in order to direct highway construction; this put him in Wallachia considerably after Wilkinson, shortly after Stratilesco, and some time before Queen Marie. Jänecke was captivated by the village houses he saw, to the extent that his preoccupation while he lived in Romania was to sketch and photograph them avidly as he travelled by car in the vicinity of Bucharest and in the present-day states (*județ*) of Ilfov (renamed Giurgiu in 1981), Ialomița (partly re-designated as Călărași in 1981), Gorj, Mehedinți, and Teleorman.² He published *Das Rumänische Bauern- und Bojarenhaus* (1918) containing 109 drawings and photos, including floorplans, elevations, many details of decoration, and one excellent cross-section representation printed in color of a typical decorated house. Jänecke's work shows painted outlining, carved wood trim, and embossed plaster decor, and he documented both the geometric designs used in house decoration and such other more representational motifs as trees, birds, stars, dates, initials, and even two portraits.

But had all of these beautiful houses completely vanished and the tradition died out by 1975 when one bicyclist, touring through some of the same countryside that Jänecke wrote about, reported his own thoroughly *opposite* impression? He claimed that all the villages looked like "shantytown," and that "the only bright spot can be found in the peasants' cemetery"; he wrote that for tourists seeking comforts and beauty "Rumania has little to offer" (Rakowski 1975:42-45). One wonders when reading this why anyone with a high regard for comforts would choose to go through Eastern Europe by bicycle in the first place, but one also observes that this traveler (as his mapped route showed) seemed to use only the main highways (such as the fast, but notoriously dull stretch of freeway between Pitești and Bucharest), that the weather during his trip was rather bad, his bicycle broke down several times, and that he was really more interested in reaching the seacoast than in seeing the Romanian countryside anyway.

My approach has been objective and eclectic. I have tried to look closely at whatever the Romanian people who build houses and decorate the outsides have actually done, rather than at what the previous scholarly literature, or someone's current idea of "good taste" suggest that they *should* have done in order to preserve a supposedly pure peasant art tradition.

My first goal was simply to describe and illustrate the very rich tradition—both archaic and modern—of house building and exterior decoration in Romania. Second, I attempted to relate this continuing practice both to the broader subject of old Romanian peasant art and to the current needs, tastes, and desires of people who build and occupy these decorated houses. I have drawn on numerous published sources concerning folk architecture by Romanian scholars, and also examined pictures of old houses in Romanian archives. I studied the houses included in all of the open-air museums of Romania. But, above all, I traveled widely in Romania to find and photograph the decorated houses—old or new—in all regions. While I cannot claim that my data are "complete," or even that my geographical coverage has been perfectly systematic (highway and weather conditions sometimes interfered with careful plans), I believe that what I have collected is representative of the material that exists, both in documentation and in the field.

Early in my research I discovered the writings of the influential Romanian art historian and critic George Oprescu (1881-1969) whose enthusiastic appreciation of "the wonderful paradoxical blending of primitive taste and extreme refinement" (1926:35) in Romanian folk art was partly communicated in three works published in English. As I viewed decorated Romanian houses I kept coming back to the following description by Oprescu, somewhat idealized though it is, as representing very well the way many of the older village households still appeared:

... do not certain parts of that house and of the church, which is everyman's house, being that of God—both of them built in the majority of cases by the villagers themselves—fall within the province of peasant art? The monumental gate, the royal entrance to the yard, at the far end of which nestles a tiny cottage—always clean but usually humble—the row of carved and decorated pillars which runs round the "Prispă"—a terrace and peristyle in front of the house—the rafters of the ceilings decorated with notches cut out with the knife and arrayed in accordance with ancient canons, the stucco flowers and animals, the figures which crest the roof, popularly known as "larks," the doors, the windows and their embrasures, the railed cellar openings, the panels of the carved doors and a host of other things, the railings and the stove, the wooden bench before the door and the bucket of the well—all this is the work of peasant hands. [1929:12]

The major paradox I felt, however, was the discrepancy seen in many Romanian villages nowadays between the balanced, harmonious, and entirely homemade nature of older traditional Romanian peasant house decoration and the absolute frenzy of new patterns and colors—often rendered in bright and garish colors and using metal, tiles or glass as often as wood, adobe or plaster. When I once asked a man living in a village in Moldavia that contained house after house done up in this new style how he could account for it, he replied very straightforwardly: "Well, first one man decorates his house, then his neighbor does, and soon everyone wants his own house to be just as beautiful as the rest."

It could be said, perhaps, that my whole interest in Romanian house decoration stems from a desire to get beyond that Moldavian's statement, and to reconcile it with George Oprescu's praise for an earlier tradition.

If you were to walk through a Romanian village you might receive an object lesson in the history and current status of traditional folk housing there. Whatever the region or the proximity of the village to modernized sections of the country, you would be likely to find a broad spectrum of house types, ranging from a few remains (perhaps now in ruins) of that area's oldest most traditional houses, up to modern dwellings that follow the latest fads and fashions in construction, material, or decoration. Most houses, in fact, combine traditional and innovative aspects, perhaps having adobe walls decorated with contemporary realistic murals, or metal roof trim (plus a television antenna) placed atop a hand-hewn log house. And everywhere people may often be seen (depending on the day of the week and the time of year) at work—building, maintaining, and modifying their houses—or else gathering and processing such raw materials for house construction as reeds, logs, bricks, or shingles. Folk housing is definitely a living tradition in Romania, and assimilation of new trends is the norm rather than the exception in the folk process.

The many influences—environmental, cultural, historical, political, ethnic, etc.—on Romanian folk housing have been so bewildering in their variety and complexity that it is impossible to characterize the current tradition as simply as Stratilescu did in 1906: "A peasant's cottage in the Carpathian region," she wrote, "is easily built, and is always made by the peasants themselves. . . . The material needed for the making of the house is at hand: mud and wood; in the districts richly wooded more of the latter; in the districts where wood is scanty, more of the former" (207-205).

Nor is it acceptable, as another writer on Romania did in the period between the World Wars, merely to compare the various house types of Romania to a supposed similar style in another country,³ though there are certainly some useful descriptions of construction methods in the following passage:

In the mountains, the houses are built of wood and shingled, and the peasants vie with one another in the wood-carving which adorns not merely the porch and railing but even the barn-yard gate. In the plain, the better houses are built of brick, with tiled roofs; the poorer classes live in what much resemble the adobe dwellings of the Spanish and Portuguese tropics and like them are gayly colored, often with elaborate decorative designs against the background of clear color. The typical mud hut is built as in Turkey; at the four corners strong piles are rammed down, to support the beams for the roof, and these piles are then connected by straight lines of sticks, held in place with branches and brush. Then a mixture of dirt, cut straw and manure is built up around this frame-work to form the walls; they dry under the sun outside and with the fire inside. The roof is thatched with bundles of reeds in the lowlands, straw and grass on the steppe. The more ambitious surround their house with a porch; vines and flowers, combined with the gay outer painting or kalsomining, make them very attractive in summer. [Clark 1932:265-269]

Probably the most misleading kind of general view taken of Romanian folk housing—and it is a surprisingly common one—is that which equates elements of twentieth-century peasant culture directly with the ancient Dacian traditions. One example, from a political history of 1932:

The most amazing characteristic of the Roumanian people is that they have been able to maintain their language, culture, and religion throughout centuries in spite of war and servitude. Through all these thousand years and more they not only preserved but even intensified their faith in themselves. The peasant has preserved his ways and customs so remarkably that even today the villagers wear Dacian dress and build homes just as when the Emperor Trajan found them. [Roucek 1932:62]

The constituent elements of specific artifacts produced in any folk-cultural tradition are not explainable, as these writers believed, simply in terms of the availability of raw materials, competition among craftsmen, the relative ambition or wealth of different people, or even of their common cultural heritage, though each of these factors does *partly* explain the artifacts. *All* such influences plus many more (such as popular and academic cultural trends, the state of the economy, and contacts with foreign cultures) contribute alike, in almost incalculable ways, to determine the nature of such "folk" artifacts.

Ideally, each individual house needs a separate case study to sort out its distinctive features, account for its development, and compare it to "the tradition," which itself is to be understood only through

other case studies of many dozens of houses. In practice, however, some generalizations about Romanian folk housing are possible.

First, the traditional materials used to build village houses in Romania are common and rather simple ones. Romanian folk housing is constructed of wattle and daub (that is, woven sticks and mud), wood (either logs or heavy planks), reeds, earth and adobe, stone, or brick. Roofs are made of straw thatch or reeds, wood shingles, tile, and sheet metal. These materials appeared chronologically in approximately the order listed, but they also varied in relation to the most plentiful raw materials in different districts and according to specific village, ethnic, and regional traditions. All of these building materials and several different construction techniques are found in active use today, often several co-existing in a single house.

Each building material has its own distribution, history, and methodology. Wattle and daub, now mostly used for rural outbuildings (corn cribs, pig sties, etc.) probably predates log construction, which requires some metal for cutting down trees and preparing the logs. Wattle and daub construction is also the typical house-building technique found in Neolithic sites such as Cucuteni and Hăbășești in Moldavia (MacKendrick 1975:11,14). The Romanian log building technique belongs to the great tradition of wooden construction extending from Scandinavia across to the forests near the Volga River and originally found also further south in western Europe (Petrescu 1972). Unlike some of the northern-European log work which has vertical members, however (such as the Norwegian "stave churches"), all Romanian log construction is done with horizontal logs that are notched at the corners and held together without the use of metal fasteners. Generally, these logs are first shaped to an oval or rectangular form and then quite tightly fitted along their lengths. Both log and heavy plank walls often have sticks or laths nailed close together and then are plastered over both inside and out.

Mostly in the Danube Delta some houses are made of reeds tied to a wooden frame with mud packed between and over them. The adobe or packed-earth house construction is found mainly in the regions poor in timber, particularly in Dobrogea. Stone houses appeared first in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, largely in an area in the southern part of the country extending from Dobrogea westward to the Banat and in a few parts of Transylvania where good building stones are readily available (Petrescu 1973a). Brick is a relatively recent building material now in quite general use; it is most frequently plastered over, so that in common with most of

the older building styles it offers a ready surface for the application of painted, stencilled, or embossed decoration.

A second series of broad generalizations may be offered about the design and floorplans of typical Romanian folk houses. While most specimens of Romanian peasant houses in the open-air museums are from the nineteenth or twentieth centuries, and only a few existing houses may be dated as early as the eighteenth century, it is clear that their basic form and structure were followed in antiquity. The houses excavated in the Dacian sanctuary of Sarmizegethusa in the Oraştie mountains, for example, were log cabins set on stone footings with painted clay-daubed walls; and those shown on Trajan's Column being burned by the Roman invaders are one- or two-room cabins made of horizontal members (probably log) and with shingle roofs (MacKendrick 1975:64,79-80). It is certainly an oversimplification to select, as MacKendrick does, a single example of a current "house" (actually, his sample illustration is of a *mill* used for processing gold ore) from the Village Museum in Bucharest in order to "give an idea what ancient Dacian dwellings were like" (p.46), but many old wooden houses do seem to be relatively pure examples of an archaic type. This is true especially in the more remote sections of Transylvania such as Maramureş, Haşeg, and the Western Carpathians (Stahl 1961, Stahl and Petrescu 1966, Dunare 1973).

The simplest—and the oldest—of these Romanian peasant houses are rectangular (or nearly square) single-unit log structures ranging in size from four to eight meters on the shorter side and seven to fifteen meters on the longer, and with a very high thatched or shingled roof extending sometimes as much as three times above the wall height (Stahl 1958). The base logs (or *talpă*) rest upon huge boulders at each corner, or else on a row of stones which isolate the wooden wall from the moist earth. Only a few peasant dwellings—usually temporary shelters—were circular, although other rural buildings are occasionally found in this form (Petrescu 1963). A larger semi-sunken house type that had its floor excavated one or two meters into the earth was found mostly in western Muntenia and in Oltenia; these are known as *bordei* (huts).

The floorplans of Romanian houses traditionally include a "clean room," (*cameră curată*), for guest or festive use, that is richly decorated with ceramics, woven hangings, rugs, icons, and impressive furniture; and a "hearth room" (*cameră a focului*) that is much more simply furnished for everyday family use. Larger plans may add a small parlor to the front, or a separate room (generally at the rear or side) for the storage of food, clothing, and tools. A narrow porch

(*prispă*) may extend along the front and perhaps also across one or both ends of the house, and an extension of the porch—a sort of balcony or belvedere (*foișor*)—may thrust forward either from the center or at one end of the front porch. A common two-story floorplan (especially in Oltenia, Muntenia, and Dobrogea) has this projection placed directly above the ground-level entrance to a cool dry basement area (*pivnița*) where food, plum brandy (*țuica*), and wine are commonly stored.

The roofs, porches, and balconies of these houses, with their extending overhead protection, shelter the house walls somewhat from the elements and provide a pleasant place (especially in hot weather) for socializing and for food preparation. Also, their exposed beams, pillars, door and window frames, and railings are prime areas for decorative additions to the houses. Most Romanian traditional houses are aligned with the facade directly facing the street, or tilted at a slight angle from streetside. The larger two-story houses found in the hills of Oltenia and Muntenia have their first level closed with massive doors, and they are protected with heavy house walls and narrow defensive slits, in the manner of the nearby boyars' fortified houses which are called *cula* (Baș 1954, Stahl 1962).

In most regions of Romania the smoke from the centrally-placed hearth rises directly into the attic space and then escapes through chinks in the thatch or shingles. An adobe spark-catcher—like a second oven—is built into the house roof, directly above the flame, to prevent fires; the rafters of the house may then be used for hanging meats and other food to dry, smoke, and cure. The smoke probably also retards mold and repels vermin from the straw roofs, and its warmth melts snow that might otherwise collapse the roof. In Mehedinți (Oltenia), however, tall pyramidal chimneys (*coș*) are found (Popilian 1975), and other houses have eyebrow slits in the shingled roofs where smoke may escape or, at times (especially in Moldavia) houses have simple functional central chimneys.

The roof structure itself on Romanian traditional houses is usually composed either of two or four planes or watersheds; *apă* (literally, "water") is the word used to describe these forms. A roof with "two waters" will have the house entrance on the front wall (the long side of the rectangular plan) under the eave; this creates triangular sections, which are often decorated, at the gable ends. A hipped-roof variant creates a trapezoidal section there instead. A roof with "four waters" will extend downwards evenly all around the house and sit, it is said, like a fur cap (*căciulă*) upon the four walls. When the roof of a *foișor* has two watersheds, a triangular section faces forward, and with three

watersheds this roof too is cap-like (the fourth side being joined to the house roof proper). A very few houses, mostly those that were built originally as taverns or shops, have gable-end or corner doorways.

Such, in brief outline, are the traditional materials, construction techniques, and designs of Romanian folk houses. All of these elements have steadily undergone modifications in response to social, political, economic, cultural, and technological influences. In general terms, the "new" peasant houses (i. e., those built since World War II) are larger (both in terms of number of stories and of rooms), make more use of modern materials, have irregular floor plans, and employ much more colorful and elaborate exterior decor. But several of the most traditional elements of Romanian folk houses—the *prispă* and *foișor*, the house's alignment to the street, the typical uses for various areas, and especially the dwelling being owner-built from local materials, have all persisted to some degree (Stahl 1964).

The major specific influences on post-War Romanian folk culture generally were the collectivization of agriculture and the increased contacts of rural and urban people. These factors resulted in such changes as the disuse and eventual disappearance of individual farm buildings, urban house plans being duplicated more often in the villages, brick (and sometimes cement) replacing wood or adobe for house walls, thatch or shingle roofs giving way to metal, tile, or asbestos; and moulded plaster or cement trim substituting for carved wood or embossed stucco (Petrescu 1975). In a striking instance of a traditional art, closely associated with the house, evolving as it is taken up in a new medium, certain gate carvings in the Bacău region of central Moldavia—once rendered in wood or stone—now appear in cast concrete, and with three "generations" of design features (Petrescu 1973b). First (up to about 1890) there were simple lofty wooden gates with minimal geometric decorations carved on them. Next (from about 1930 onwards) the wood or stone gates acquired richer geometric patterns, plus some symbolic images; and third (after the War) the gates began to receive decor combining geometric designs plus vegetal and animal motifs, but were now almost exclusively rendered in concrete with the designs embossed by means of pre-shaped wood or metal forms.

In the same way that modern forces have altered peasant houses, the influence of village houses on urban styles is also evident. Peasant-style house plans and decoration have been identified in such towns of northern Muntenia as Pucioasa, Pietroșița, and the old Wallachian capital, Tîrgoviște (Lăzărescu 1972). Even Bucharest has (or had until recently) many houses reflecting rural styles that became

popular in the metropolis from the eighteenth century onwards (Petrescu 1971).

Since the mid-1970s, change has greatly accelerated in Romanian folk housing, and some of the earlier "innovations" now seem to constitute almost a new tradition. I can compare most easily my own field observations made in 1973-74 with those I made in February through August 1981 (see Brunvand 1976b).

On my earlier trip (as well as in 1970-71 when I looked only casually at decorated houses) larger house types were still exceptional in most villages, painted porch murals had become popular, and the colorfully-glazed factory-made ceramic tile was just beginning to appear as a frequent decorative medium. By the later trip, in many villages, huge (five or more room) two- or even three-story new brick houses with elaborate balconies, turrets, porches, and all sorts of wood and metal eave trim had all but replaced the traditional house forms. The ceramic exterior wall trim (on the relatively small percentage of new houses that were actually completed) had become the most common decoration in use in every region. There was also a veritable epidemic of fancy glass and metal window treatment on porches and house facades. Obviously, then, a Romanian house-building boom was on in the 1980s, but it was for the most part not simply a revitalization of traditional material culture but rather a new mode of (questionably) "folk" housing that was going up.

Fortunately, many older, simpler, and more traditionally-decorated folk houses still remained—and I saw some of these types under construction as well. Also, several open-air museums had been newly established or recently enlarged to ensure the survival of representative examples of earlier eras of Romanian folk architecture. In exceptional cases—such as the ongoing construction of a wooden church in the old traditional style in the Maramureş village of Ocna Şugatag—I saw instances of the deliberate revival of traditional folk architecture springing from the grass roots. But, in general, it was clear to me in 1981 that any folklorist hoping to document the house beautiful in rural Romania *now* would need to be quite broadminded and nonsentimental about the subject. The classic traditional styles had their great enduring value as part of the folk art heritage of Romania, but they probably had also already passed their prime and were being replaced by a new and quite different set of modern traditions. The recent news (1988) of the Romanian government's plan to raze thousands of peasant villages in the name of "progress" poses a terrible threat to the tradition of house decoration, and even of Romanian village life itself.

NOTES

This essay is adapted from an unpublished book-length work of the same title in which three further chapters and numerous illustrations present my findings on Romanian house decoration. When this book is published, it will be dedicated (as is this essay) to Warren E. Roberts.

I studied the folktale at Indiana University with Professor Roberts in the pre-folklore days, but my subsequent work in material culture has been strongly influenced by Roberts' writings and talks on the subject.

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¹ This sentence is slightly revised from the opening statement in Brunvand 1980.

² In referring to places in Romania I use the old names of all thirty-nine *județ* (i.e., "states") because this is how they are cited in the earlier literature. The larger regions mentioned in this essay are geographic, not political, units—Transylvania, Moldavia, Oltenia, and so forth. It should be noted that Romanian scholars have identified about eighty "ethnographic zones" distinguished by costumes, customs, dialect, folk art, and the like. These zones seldom coincide exactly with boundaries of *județ*, although some have the same names.

³ This author was mistaken in thinking that the building method in Turkey is identical to the one described here.

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(Abbreviations: RRHA = *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art*, *Seria Beaux-Arts*. SCIA = *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei*, *Seria Arta Plastică*. Both are published by the Institute of Art History, Bucharest.)

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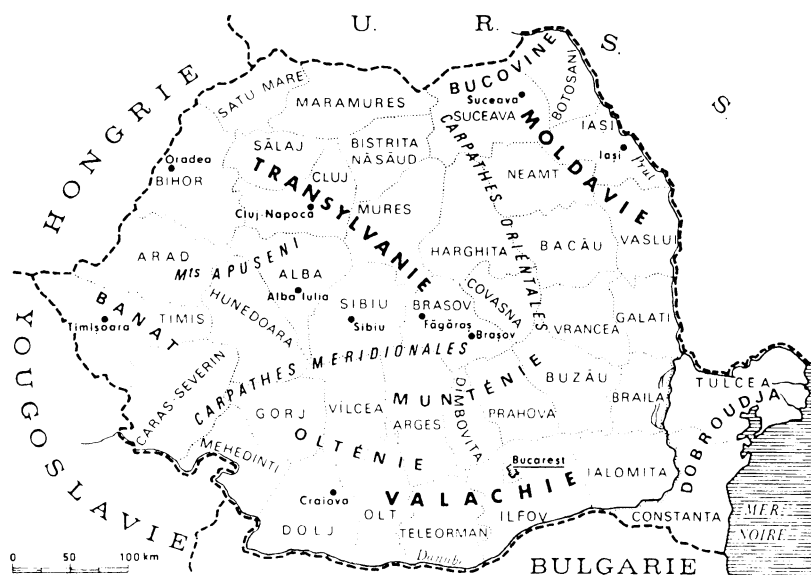
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Carte de la Roumanie.
VALACHIE, etc. anciennes principautés
BUCOVINE, etc. provinces
BRASOV, etc. départements
- - - - - limites de département
- - - - - limites d'Etat

(Carte exécutée par le Service de Museographie
du Musée de l'Homme)

Note - Par manque de signes diacritiques la
translittération suivante II = ts g = sh à = al a
etc. adoptée dans les noms géographiques lex.
Maramuresh et les termes vernaculaires lex.
calimtsai

Figure 1. Map of the **Județ** of Romania, from Petrescu 1978; note that the general regions and the surrounding countries are given in French spellings.

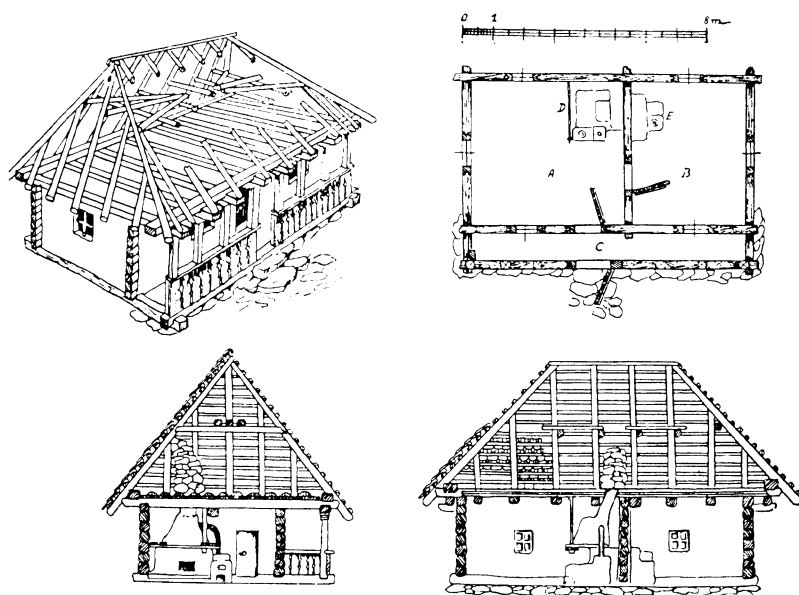


Figure 2. Elevations and plans of a house from Bulz, Jud. Bihor, Transylvania, from Dunăre 1973. The "hearth room," "clean room," and porch are marked as A, B, and C respectively. The construction of the stove and spark-catcher are shown in the section drawings.



Figure 3. Old log house, plastered over, and with carved pillars, in Racovița, Jud. Vâlcea, Oltenia, photographed by Paul Petrescu ca. 1960.



Figure 4. Decorated house in Iașlovat, Jud. Suceava, Moldavia, photographed by Jan Brunvand in 1981.

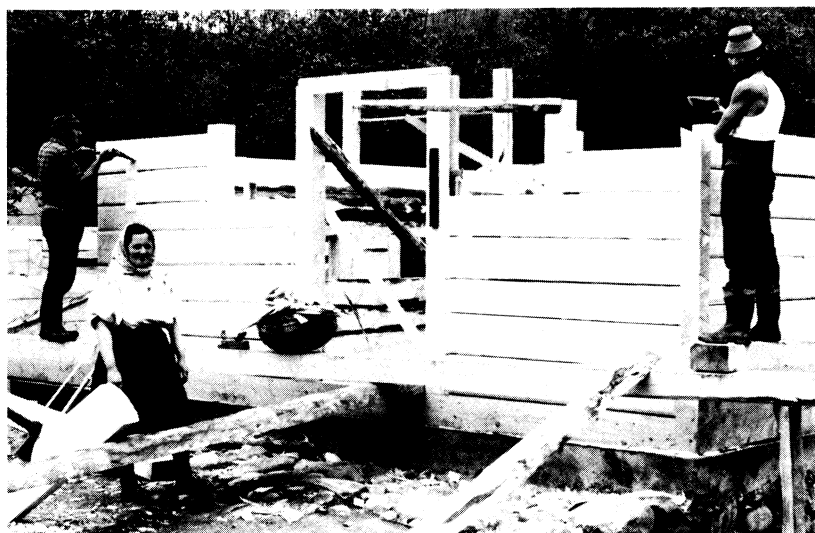


Figure 5. Wooden house construction with dovetail corner notching in Sirbi, Jud. Maramures Transylvania, photographed by Jan Brunvand in 1974.



Figure 6. Men sawing timbers for use in house building, photographed by Paul Petrescu ca. 1960.

The Sisters Leave Their Mark: Folk Architecture and Family History

H O W A R D W I G H T M A R S H A L L

Introduction

In 1969, a historic farm came under the University of Missouri's care in the estate of the two elderly daughters of the nineteenth-century pioneer couple who developed the farmstead.¹ The 1,200 acre property known as the Cornett farm includes a collection of domestic furnishings and structures in the sort of pleasant rural landscape much admired by outsiders. This paper offers, in the spirit of Warren Roberts' way of closely studying cultural phenomena and traditional architecture in context through field research, a consideration of the story of the Cornetts and their Midwestern farm home. Near the county seat of Linneus in Linn County, Missouri, the farm lies in the fertile north-central part of the state in a region that is rarely studied.

In 1986, a multidisciplinary research effort was developed at the University to include field documentation, inventory, analysis, and preservation of the farmstead and its material culture. As the university's cultural research office, the Cultural Heritage Center mounted the project and joined discussions of partial restoration and preservation of the farm. The College of Agriculture funded research by our graduate student, Toni M. Prawl, and she conducted research in family history, furniture, and vernacular architecture. Laurel Wilson of the Department of Textile and Apparel Management inventoried and conserved historic textiles in the Cornett house. My work, in addition to running the project as a joint venture between my office and the College of Agriculture, attended to the architectural history of

the 1884 house, the buildings of the steading, and the farm's cultural landscape.

In the house there is an array of furniture and furnishings left largely intact when the two daughters, Misses Bracy and Winnie Cornett, passed away. On the site are a one-room schoolhouse, the family graveyard (where slaves are interred as well as their owners), old agricultural implements, and a stand of hardwood timber (black walnut, hickory, and species of white oak) as well as the buildings. While this paper will discuss only features of the house, our team documented all the pieces of the material culture assemblage here. The main structures of the farmstead include the central-hall I house, and a side-opening, three-bay "English" barn built in the mortise-and-tenon construction tradition common to barn-building long after houses were being built of balloon frame.² Other outbuildings are less distinctive—a frame chickenhouse, wash house, smokehouse, and contemporary automobile garage. The Cornetts were practical conservationists and forbade plow tillage of the prairie and pastures they loved. The site and the saga of the Cornett family span some 150 years of Anglo-American settlement in Missouri.

The Place. In a study of regional folk architecture and local history, I described the patterns and traditions in an area often called "Little Dixie" out of which farmsteads like this one were formed.³ In that study there is documentation of many buildings across a wide swath of the central-Missouri landscape; it provides a framework for the discussion of the vernacular design of the W.L. Cornett farmhouse. Little Dixie is a dynamic folk region of several counties in north-central Missouri defined by various criteria. The criteria include settlement history (heavy settlement by assertive and often well-off farmers and gentry from the piedmont, bluegrass, and gentle valleys of Virginia, the Carolinas, Kentucky, and Tennessee), voting patterns, pre-Civil War slave population and agricultural practices, patterns of rural vernacular building and other localized traditions with antecedents in the piedmont and Upland South. The story of the Joseph Moore and W.L. Cornett farm families fits within the historical outline of the classic Little Dixie scene as suggested in the 1981 book, and yet the farm is located beyond the arbitrary borders of the region.

In this paper, the Cornett farmhouse and the stylistic personality of the building's symbolic features are examined—architectural details that were possible to enunciate within the broad and flexible Anglo-American vernacular design tradition. I point to the venerable tradition behind the shape of the Cornett house, but my emphasis is equally on the specific people involved. They altered the received

dwelling concept with additions—a new basement, rooms, and an intriguing new portico. We must ask how their additions suit motivations, community social conditions, economic circumstances, and individual design sensibilities.

Will and Mattie Cornett

William Lewis Cornett was the grandson of Kentucky emigrant William Cornett. W.L. established his farm in Locust Creek Township near Linneus, the principal town in Linn County until Brookfield was laid out by the Hannibal and St. Joseph and the Chicago, Burlington and Kansas City railroads in the late 1850s. The railroad towns grew quickly and surpassed the older agricultural market villages in population, commerce, and influence.

Young W.L. Cornett fought as a private with the legendary confederate general Sterling Price during the Civil War. After Appomattox, Cornett did what many other defeated Southerners did and went west; he became a freighter and drove ox teams from Nebraska across to Denver, Colorado. Later, he drove horse-drawn street cars in San Francisco. Still looking for his place, Cornett had moderate success in the Colorado gold and silver mines and helped organize the town of Telluride. He was among the first white men in the San Miguel Mountains and such landmarks as Cornett Gulch, Cornett Creek, and Cornett Falls are named for him. He christened his mines "The Golden Reef" and "The Silver Chief" in good frontier custom.

Cornett came back to Missouri and married Miss Martha Kansas Moore in 1881 in the old Moore homeplace in Linn County. He was 37, she 28. "Mattie" Moore was the daughter of prominent, affluent agriculturist and entrepreneur Joseph C. Moore. Moore came from North Carolina in 1840 to claim the 150 acres of untouched, rolling northern Missouri prairie he had been awarded as a veteran of the War of 1812. He built a carding and grist mill and was active in community affairs. He organized Locust Creek Township school district Number One and donated the land for the one-room white frame school house that still stands at the Cornett Farm. Moore helped organize the Methodist circuit in Linneus in 1844. He became a respected judge and enjoyed a long and influential career in local politics and society. Moore's wife was Sophia Root, born in Tennessee, and some Root family furniture is part of the Cornett Farm collection today.

The Young Couple Settles Down. In 1883, after a sojourn in Kansas during which Mr. Cornett flirted with cattle speculation, Will

and Mattie bought the old B.H. Mullins farm. They lived at the Mullins place and developed their agricultural activities while their two-story "southern" house was being built on Turkey Creek a mile to the east. The house was constructed between March, 1883, and February, 1884 (the dates of the land purchase and the insurance policy covering the house).

Mattie and Will Cornett reared five children—Buena Vista, Bracy Vilas, Carlyle Cleveland, Winnie Davis, and Josie Lee. Such names conjure telling images for us of historical events and figures, and of the family's values; the last two children were named for Confederate States of America president Jefferson Davis's daughter and for Confederate commander Robert E. Lee.⁴

Carlyle ("Carl"), Miss Bracy, and Miss Winnie returned to the home place and figured in its consequent history and later development by the University of Missouri. "Jo Lee" was the only Cornett child to marry, was childless, and thus the Cornett family left no heirs in the community.

The Cornett children were well-educated. Three attended college. Bracy (who took a masters from Columbia University) and Winnie were noted schoolteachers before returning to the farm to help their brother Carl care for their aged mother, Mattie, who died in 1942 at 87. Will passed away at 85 in 1929.⁵

The Farm and the University. At the suggestion of their late brother Carl, a skilled farmer, in 1965 Miss Winnie and Miss Bracy gave control of the major part of their farm to the University for twenty-five years. The legal instrument required the University to create the agricultural research station where experiments are now conducted on cattle and pasturage.

The legal papers also ask the state university to "preserve and maintain the furniture, furnishings, and other contents of such residence as long as the University owns the farm." Miss Winnie hoped that the University of Missouri would develop the historic buildings and their contents as a museum to preserve, interpret, and honor the daily life of a farm family in rural Missouri. The house and the landscape are in very good shape. In the house, only the kitchen and back porch have been substantially remodeled. Most of the members of the Moore and Cornett families are buried in the Moore graveyard at the farm and in the Odd Fellows cemetery in Linneus.

The legacy of the Cornetts and Moores endures in the impressive materials they left us. Fortunately, we are able to study and appreciate the wealth of artifacts and material culture available in the house,

the farm buildings, and the cultural landscape itself. We are in their debt.

The I House in North-Central Missouri. A traditional house known as an "I house" dominated the nineteenth-century central and north Missouri landscape on prosperous farms and in fine neighborhoods in town as well. The old British Isles-based house type was versatile and accommodated certain kinds of additions and stylish masks as it was rendered across the United States. The I house form could withstand the fresh ideas and variation an individual might bring to the building of the home.

The balanced central-hall I house is found wherever Southerners settled, especially those who shared cultural traditions of the largely protestant, Anglo-American life style familiar in the tidewater and piedmont areas of Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and the lowland valleys of Tennessee and Kentucky.⁶ The house type demonstrates a degree of economic success and intended social position, and these aspirations are played out in the selection of a solid Georgian appearance or the kind of decoration that lends a fashionable look of, say, classical revival architecture to the building.

The I house was until the early twentieth century a major dwelling form in European-America. Its layout is based on a dwelling one-room deep (though generally augmented by additions to the rear), two stories high, with the front door or doors on the long front aligned with the ridge of the gabled roof.⁷ Indeed, the I house furnished with a central hall and symmetrical facade—like the W.L. Cornett house—came to be the ideal farmhouse for successful north-Missouri farmers in the nineteenth century, particularly those with a southern heritage.

Many I houses in Missouri, like those in the South, have a stately hallway as the home's focus. The hallways were built in imitation of and reference to larger, two-room-deep, more substantial Georgian houses of the prosperous earlier generation back in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia. They seem crunched up and tiny by comparison with their commodious antecedents, but they provided a graceful reception area and a conservative formality much favored by well-to-do farm families ("planters") with southern origins, lifestyles, and proclivities. The I house became more than shelter, it became a visible emblem of an attitude of Old Southern gentry transplanted to Missouri in the fifty years of settlement before the Civil War.

The I house as the farmer's standard desired dwelling was beginning to be eclipsed by the time the Cornetts completed their fine central-hall I house in the 1880s. In this period, several factors led to the popularity of new house types. These factors included the

growing influence of designer's manuals, builder's patternbooks, and mail-order house plans from companies like Sears-Roebuck. Many of the new kinds of houses could be built more efficiently, less expensively.

One of the important factors that led to the demise of the "old Southern" I house was the desire for dwellings that indicated a person's sense of progress, patriotic vigor, and acceptance of the new order of rapidly-modernizing life in late Victorian America. While it was a heroic time of great inventions and technological marvels, the twenty-five years after the Civil War was a time of difficulty for "Southern sympathizers" in Missouri. There were maudlin popular ballads of lost comrades and despoiled honor, stories of yankee militia scalawags—all part of the romantic Gothicism of the post-Civil War era. Modern times brought a growing sense of national reality, industrial might, and technological change in domestic living; the "Gay Nineties," the "age of elegance" cultural landscape was beginning to look more "American" and less regionally distinct (Andrews 1969).

Today the old-fashioned I houses are often regarded as monumental relics of a past way of life. The "southern mansions" are the locus of legends and a community's reflections on its heritage. If one of the old Southern houses happens to date back to the antebellum period and if it happens to be constructed of red brick and dressed in Federal style finery (with an impressive Greek Revival portico, perhaps), the building may be the location of the local historical museum or be nominated to the *National Register of Historic Places*.

The Cornett House

In its vernacular pattern the Cornett farmhouse represents a continuation of the British-based upland and piedmont Southern I house. In its "style," the Cornett house represents a moment in architectural history when there was a transition from the old Southern models to more contemporary house types like the T house and to house types disseminated in patternbooks and catalogs, like Victorian Gothic cottages and twentieth-century bungalows.

Many people in the 1880s, like the Cornetts, devised an impressive home that was in essence a structure standing half-way between the old Southern dwelling and the contemporary patternbook Gothic Revival houses. In its plan it is a perfectly traditional central-hall I house, familiar and comfortable to conservative people like the Cornetts. Yet its original 1884 *style* suggests "Gothic cottage," complete with stick-like porch with turned posts and Gothic wall dormer over the front door.

But the house we see today appears more Greek Revival ("colonial" in the local tongue)—due to the handsome classically-inspired portico added on the front. The Cornetts' house in 1884 drew on their heritage and not on the more popular architectural trends that called for complete acceptance of the patternbook housing and Gothic style that were coming to be predominant throughout much of the Midwest.

The time of construction is important. On the rim of Little Dixie, the Cornetts' home is in perfect synchronization with the assertive ex-Southerners in the 1880s. It was in this period that the idea of a Little Dixie began to take hold in north-central Missouri. It reflected a partial rejection of repatriation for the Secessionists. The idea of Little Dixie is visible and symbolized in the houses these people built. The image of a "lost glory" was fortified by a desire to call on the noble, mythic motifs of Greece and Rome that had in earlier generations helped define for the nation the landed, slaveholding gentry of the antebellum South.

In architectural terms, variation could be expected in a house such as the Cornett house. Variation is almost always present when builders re-enact the customary forms of folk housing familiar in their families, communities, and regions. Once planting the traditional pattern, the Cornetts gave their house a "popular" 1880s' dash of fashion in the application of colors (contrasting buff colors), the small Eastlake-style porch, and in the steep wall gable centered over it.

Yet the house had sprinkles of classicism mixed in compatibly with the prevailing Gothic Revival look of the house—in the corner boards that are classic pilasters, in the cornice treatment, in the harmonious and symmetrical balance of the facade, and in interior details such as the ceiling medallion supporting the lamp in the fancy north parlor.

One of the errors we sometimes make is to think that these ideals and design motifs—the Gothic, the Greek—are concepts in conflict. For the people who shape and use these buildings, they are not.⁸ When people build their own houses, they do not fuss over architectural terms or worry about agreement with the dictates of elite designers in distant cities.

Details. This 1884 house is special in several ways. There are distinctive elements which accumulate to form a unique building constructed within the community's tradition. As in many cases, the role of personality and personal history is probably larger in the articulation of individual buildings than we sometimes think. In looking at the changes in the house, one becomes interested in the

sensibilities of Mr. Cornett's educated daughters, the last residents in the house who left it for us to visit and ponder.

Among the notable details are the basement's evolution, the kitchen T addition, the original color scheme, the hallway layout, the northwest dining room and bedroom addition, and the Greek Revival portico. The hallway, the dining room and bedroom addition, and the new portico will be discussed in some detail.

The basement evolved in three stages from a dirt-floor root cellar excavated under the back porch. The first addition was a limestone-walled cellar under the kitchen, and the second addition was a similar room under the dining room. The kitchen T was original to the house and not an addition. The kitchen is located in the customary way in an I house of this period.

The original Victorian colors are no longer evident. The house was painted stark white in about 1925, and the shutters green. Green asphalt shingles were put over the split shingle roof. A look at paint layers on the building suggest that the house was originally buff and earth tones (such was the scheme recommended by design manuals such as Downing's 1850 *Architecture of Country Houses*). The horizontal weatherboarding was probably a light buff color with contrastingly deeper shades applied to the cornerboards, the shutters, the cornice details, lintels, pilasters, eaves, and other trim.

The hallway. The house contains a perfect example of the formal hallway that became an essential ingredient in the proper I house in late nineteenth-century central Missouri. The hall as passage and reception area was common in medieval British vernacular houses. As Fraser Nieman notes, the kind of formal, enclosed hall seen in the Cornett house evolved in eighteenth-century Georgian Virginia from the medieval English cross-passage that in the seventeenth century was an open, informal space where gentry, neighbors, servants, and slaves mingled, a common hall with many social and agricultural functions (Nieman 1986:307ff).

The hall gradually became a special place for symbolic formality and ceremony: the stage for public and not private society. The hall has since then been considered as "foyer" and entry space where people are greeted and dealt with as they enter the family domain. The hallway thus serves as a threshold giving admittance to the home. The open hallway had become unpopular in eighteenth-century America in part due to the unstable, unsettled and rapidly changing nature of American society. People needed dividers; they needed separation, symbolically and physically, from others.⁹ Architectural change echoes social change. People began to rely on their built environment and

chosen artifacts, to create and define social position and personal intentions and to control the behavior of visitors and other people in the house (Upton 1986:321).

The Cornett house's central hall is typically a "closed" rather than an "open" space, with doors to other spaces. Just as in the fine Georgian home on a Virginia or Carolina farm, Missouri hallways were set with the finest furnishings the family could afford.

One of the interesting hallway details is the low landing at the top of the stairs. The difference in height between the landing (the upper hallway floor) and the doors to the room could be due to practical engineering needs of construction of a fancy stairway in a small space. But more likely—or in addition, perhaps—the lowered landing functions as a physical and psychological threshold where a home's public arena (its formal hall) gives entry to its private chambers of personal use.

Another interesting feature in the upstairs hall is the separate cross-walk hall on the front of the house where the balcony door is located. The hallway is sufficiently narrow that it was inconvenient to carry the landing fully around. Thus each of the upstairs front bedrooms has two doors in the inboard walls; the front (east) doors open onto the small separate walkway between the rooms, and the rear (west) doors open onto the landing at the head of the stairway.

The dining room and bedroom addition. These were added to the northwest corner of the house at the same time. The date of the addition has not been determined, but I believe it was between about 1900 and 1921. The bedroom was certainly added by necessity, but the dining room was probably added for social reasons and a desire for the special "dining room" (a new term) becoming fashionable in the Missouri countryside.

The addition carefully but incompletely supports the balanced appearance of the original front of the house. But the resultant construction slightly disrupted the exterior symmetry as one views the house from the north: the outside windows do not line up because the Cornetts placed a built-in china closet in that northwest inside corner. Having built the addition this way, the lower window had to be moved slightly inward toward the other window, thus off-setting the ordinarily perfect symmetry of a house like this one. The trick works so well that the casual visitor does not notice this subtle imbalance.

The dining room and the full-height bedroom above were added in such a way that they fill in the northwest side of the house. From the outside, the house takes on a squarish look and the additions blend with the original "T" shape of the house. Such additions were used earlier in the southeastern United States to contain new rooms,

ordinarily bedrooms and kitchens (Upton 1986:325), and had become a standard element in the substantial I house and an accepted part of the tradition in nineteenth-century Missouri. The addition itself is not elaborate. There are no pocket doors in the passage between the more elegant front parlor. The "good" front parlor has very nice baseboard and a plaster medallion in the center of the ceiling where an electric light fixture now hangs. It was in the fancy front parlor where the Cornetts placed their fine piano about 1908. Bought in Brookfield for \$100, the piano is typical of the big uprights (labored over by generations of correct young ladies) that are still an important, if little-used, possession displayed in American homes.

The new portico. This feature is critical to understanding the story of the Cornett house, the family, and the sisters Winnie and Bracy. The new front porch had always been assumed to have been an original part of the 1884 house. It looks like it has always been there. Indeed it furnishes the old southern I house with a familiar and appropriate finishing touch. It lends to the otherwise decently plain house the aura of mansion that people hold dear as an image of the cultural past. This classical portico is two full stories high, supported by a pair of white wooden Doric columns and topped with a plain classical pediment and roof.¹⁰ If it was not original to the building, one might suppose the portico to have been the result of the Colonial Revival fashion in 1910 or 1915. Not at all.

Architectural research and family album photographs indicate that the portico was added by Bracy and Winnie Cornett between 1956 and 1962. In building the classical portico, the original Gothic wall dormer centered over the front door was simply brought forward and furnished with pediment, trim, and paired white columns.

Americans have that "Greek" image deeply embedded in our consciousness. Columns sprout on old as well as brand new buildings with every spring rain. Columns are important ingredients in the way institutions as well as families present themselves to the world. Motifs of classical Greek architecture have long been the favorite posture for American buildings whose designer wished to project power and authority in marketplace, government, and religion as well as in the mansions of the successful landowner; the style has been "copied on and off for some 2,500 years" and "never been superseded" (Fleming, et al 1976:212). "Greek" columns have a mythologizing force today just as in the past.

What does the Cornett sisters' portico suggest about the personality and motivation of the two women who had it built? Consider Bracy and Winnie Cornett. Both girls were named after famous Southerners

who championed the glorious lost cause of the Confederacy—one after Robert E. Lee and the other after Jeff Davis's second daughter. They were talented, educated, traveled women who liked classical learning and taught school for many years. They remained unmarried and lived in the house in their elderly years.

In 1956, Winnie would have been 69 and Bracy 71 years old. It was at about this time that they had a classical portico put on the front of the old house. Allow a tenuous conjecture: Instead of thinking they were merely altering the family mansion, could it be that Bracy and Winnie understood they were creating the final chapter in their family history? They were growing old. They knew the University would soon take charge of the estate. Perhaps they did not want to leave the world with an impression of their father and family as railroad-town Victorians whose house was but a half-hearted embrace of the Gothic cottage style of the 1880s and 1890s.

Perhaps Winnie and Bracy wanted to leave the world with an impression of their family as educated, if perhaps old-fashioned, conservative gentry of whom Thomas Jefferson might have been proud. That front porch was the last palpable testament to a way of life that was very largely gone. Gone but not forgotten.

The portico may make the ghosts of Palladio and Inigo Jones smile (as it must make scholars blink). In the final chapter of a proud family, however, a sense of classical education and Missouri's Jeffersonian heritage was not unskillfully contrived by the children of an old Southern veteran.

Conclusion

Stylistic details and ornament present on the outside of the Cornett house are of sufficient importance that some architectural historians would classify it on these elements alone. Based on the prominent new porch, it might thus be called a "Greek Revival" house (looking at it today) or a "Gothic cottage" (looking at its original Victorian shape in historic photographs).¹¹

In thinking about the case of this family and their experiences, I grow dissatisfied with standard generalizations about the rigor of vernacular design. While for the ethnologist, folklorist, and geographer formal characteristics and typology will remain paramount, a more congenial approach seems useful in our ability to incorporate style and psychological forces as we think about folk buildings.¹² Traditional concepts are elastic. Variation and the owner's sense of style are often neglected in the study of vernacular design. To come to fuller understandings of the process of folk building, we more and

more wish to stress the roles that personality and personal history play.¹³

Where knowledge of the families and builders and users is available, personality and motivation along with economics often prove as instructive as theories of replication of patterns for understanding vernacular houses like the Cornett house. Buildings emerge as unique to their specific landscape. Far from being a dilemma, individuality and improvisation are present in folk architecture and these issues merit increased attention from researchers.

Mr. Cornett was aware of style and sought it—but he sought it conservatively. His children were sentimental and successful. They added to the domain, and the sisters Winnie and Bracy left their own mark on the old home place. At the historic Cornett farm in Missouri, we have an opportunity to realize the kind of creative action that is part and parcel of vernacular design. Information on pattern, and equally valuable information on variation and personalization, help us understand the process by which character is generated in folk culture.

NOTES

This paper is dedicated to Warren E. Roberts, in whose classes at Indiana University in the early 1970s I learned much about the nuances and pleasures of folklife studies. In forming this essay, I thank James M. Denny and Osmund Overby for bringing the matter of style more deeply into my considerations of vernacular architecture. This essay grows from papers presented to the Missouri Folklore Society (Columbia 1986) and to the Vernacular Architecture Forum (Salt Lake City 1987); a brief version appears in Carter and Herman (1989).

¹ As part of the agreement bringing the farm to the University, the College of Agriculture developed a research facility to study beef cattle production and experiment with forage grasses. The College of Agriculture's attention to historic properties is timely because the centennial of the Hatch Act occurred in 1987, the sesquicentennial of the University in 1989, and because of growing interest in cultural heritage studies and historic preservation in Missouri. (William Henry Hatch was from Hannibal and in Congress developed legislation providing for agricultural experiment stations at land-grant universities in the United States.)

The project resulted in publications (Yancey 1986a, 1986b); an exhibition; a brochure ("The Cornett Farm Historic Preservation Project"); and a thesis (Prawl 1986). More can be done, such as historical archaeology at the original Joseph Moore farmstead and a study of the farm's original forestation along Turkey Creek and its alteration and preservation by the Cornetts.

² To the south and east in the heart of Little Dixie, a county or so away, side-opening barns like this one used to be called "Yankee barns" in the dialect of the nineteenth century; see for barn types in central Missouri with discussion of their origins and associations in Chapter Four of Marshall (1981:72-88).

- 3 See Marshall (1981); I refined Little Dixie's flexible borders in a map of Missouri's vernacular regions developed with Walter A. Schroeder for *The WPA Guide to 1930s Missouri* (1986:frontispiece).
- 4 Davis and Lee were household words in the uneasy years during and after Reconstruction as southerners rebuilt livelihoods and communities; adjustment and rejuvenation was most painful in parts of Missouri where Unionists had been dominant and influential (as in much of northern Missouri).
- 5 For more on local history and the family, see Prawl (1986); Birdsall and Dean (1882); and Edwards Brothers of Missouri (1886).
- 6 For the vernacular architecture of early Missouri's southerners in this region, see James M. Denny (1983,1984,1985).
- 7 The dwelling which scholars know as the "I House" was first identified as a distinctive form by cultural geographer Fred Kniffen; the essential reference is his article "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion" (1965), reprinted in Upton and Vlach (1986:3-26), quote p.8. Kniffen stressed the primacy of the floorplan in establishing a structure's "type" (following Estyn Evan's lead in Northern Ireland), and in this article coined the still-troublesome term "I House" (p.7). Also see Glassie (1968); McAlester (1986:78,96-97,309-17); and Marshall (1981:62-71).
- 8 John Summerson points this out in *The Classical Language of Architecture* (1963:7).
- 9 See Neiman (1986:310). The manor house's hall was "becoming less the shared center of everyday life on the plantation for the planter and his laborers and more the isolated domain of the planter and his family." The central hall developed into a "receptacle for outsiders" (p.311), the finest example of which is seen in the plan of Stratford Hall.
- 10 For the Doric order, see Summerson (1963); Doric often has a "soldierly bearing" (p.13).
- 11 The style of the new porch may pass under several revival titles (Greek Revival, Colonial Revival, Neoclassical); in McAlester (1986:342-43), the portico would be used to specify the entire house as Neoclassical. I prefer not to categorize vernacular houses according to decorative ingredients like the style of an added porch, but rather according to structural layout and function. In the original shaping of the house, layout and function prove more essential than exterior decoration or style for the purposes of folk and vernacular design.
- 12 In *Folk Architecture in Little Dixie* I add decoration as the fourth ingredient to be weighed, in an early expansion of Henry Glassie's (1968) formulation of "form, construction, and use" as the three criteria in analysis of folk buildings.
- 13 For an example of the need for including personality and intention in one's architectural investigations, see Marshall (1986); here a talented and individualistic German-American made a very old-fashioned housebarn out of personal motivation and not to suit local or family tradition.

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Figure 1. The Cornett farmstead looking south; the house faces east. (Photo by H. Marshall 1986)

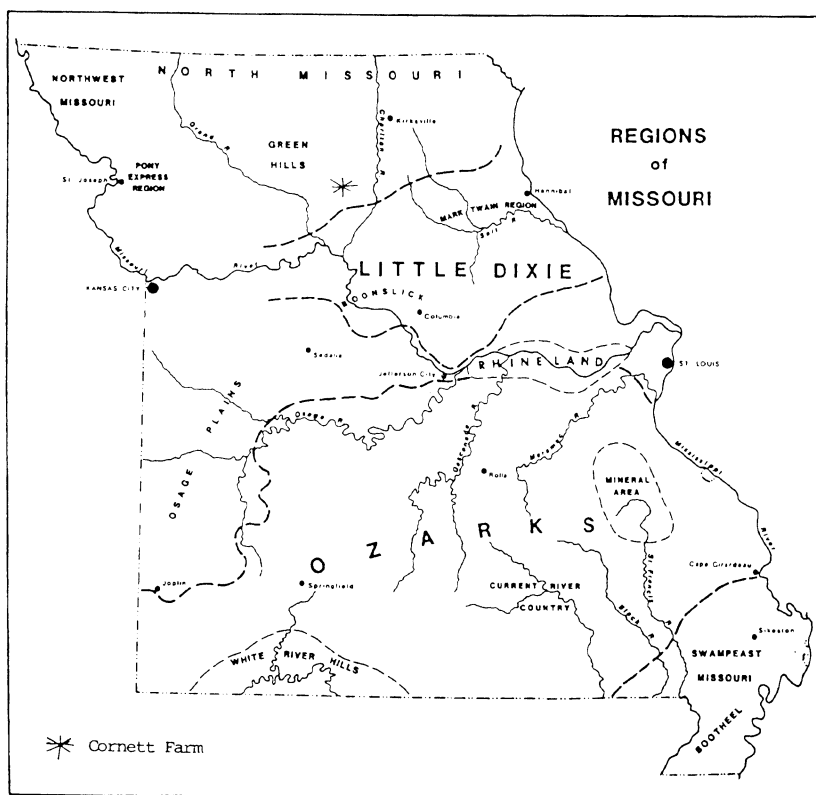


Figure 2. Regions of Missouri by Walter A. Schroeder and H. Marshall. (WPA Guide to 1930s Missouri, 1986)



Figure 3. The Cornetts pose with their children at a reunion in about 1927. Front: William Lewis Cornett (1844-1929), Josie Lee Cornett-Wood (1894-1970); rear, L-R: Bracy Vilas Cornett (1885-1967), Winnie Davis Cornett (1887-1981), Martha Kansas Moore Cornett (1855-1942), and Carlyle Cleveland Cornett (1889-1964). (Cornett family album, University of Missouri)



Figure 4. Among items in the Cornett collection that came down through Mrs. Cornett's side of the family is an exceptional handmade press (cupboard) in the Empire or Neoclassic style, made by a member of the Root family in Virginia ca. 1830-1840 and brought to Missouri by the Roots from Tennessee in 1844; the front is maple, the back walnut; the press disassembles into three parts for transportation. (Photo of author and researcher Toni Prawl by Kate Yancey, *Rural Missouri* 1986)



Figure 5. I house with Gothic wall dormers (left) next to a somewhat more fashionable T-shaped house (an I house turned sideways with the gable to the street) built at about the same time (ca. 1880) in the up-and-coming railroad town of Brookfield some ten miles east of the Cornett Farm. (Photo by H. Marshall 1986)



Figure 6. The Cornetts on the front porch of their house in 1900—the "two story shingle roof frame Dwelling" detailed in the \$19.00 1884 insurance policy covering the house up to \$1,000, and the "commodious rural home" to a local newspaper of the day; the photograph shows the Victorian paint scheme and Eastlake porch that were later replaced with pure white and the classical portico. (Cornett family album, University of Missouri)

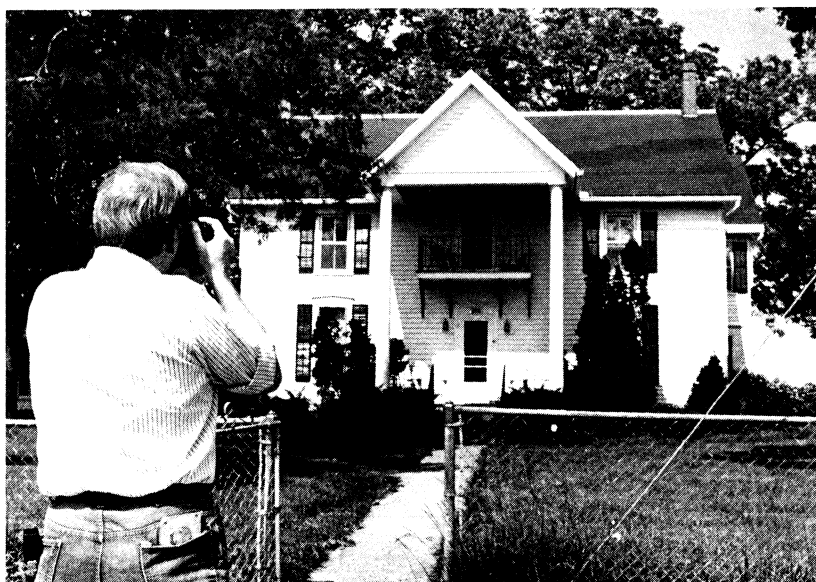


Figure 7. The author photographs the Cornett house. (Photo by Kate Yancey, *Rural Missouri* 1986)

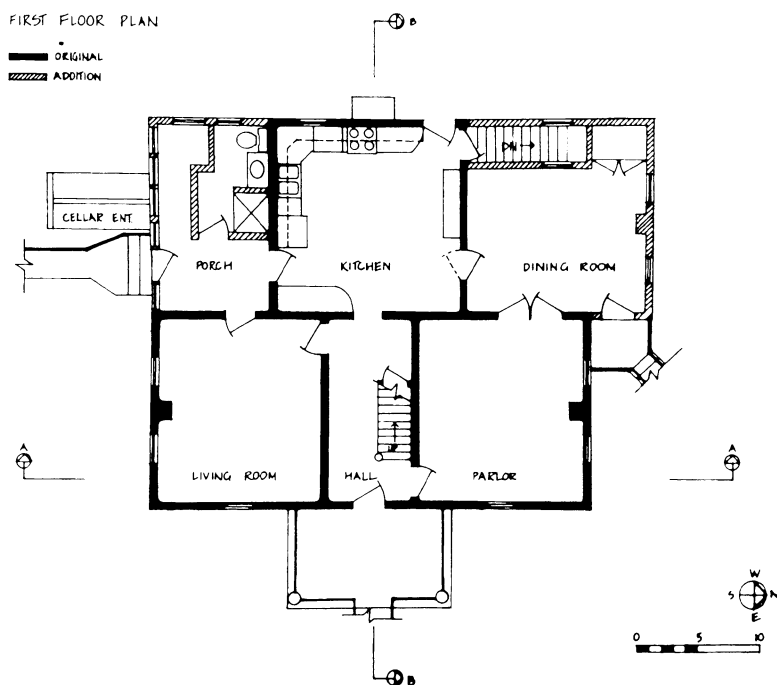


Figure 8. Plan of first floor of Cornett house. (T. Prawl 1986)

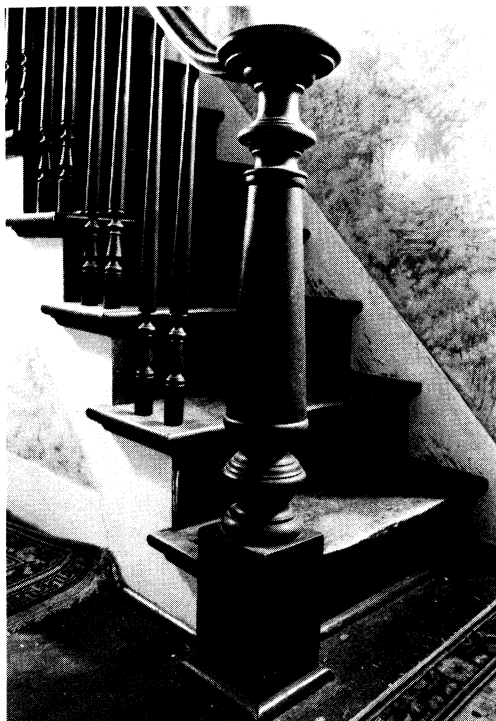


Figure 9. The itinerant carpenter, whose name was forgotten, built this handsome neoclassic walnut staircase and newel post as well as pieces of furniture while living with the Cornetts and finishing their house in 1883-1884. (Photo by Howard Wilson 1986)



Figure 10. A storefront in Linneus, the county seat, exhibits the application of power and trustworthiness—columns—to anchor the corners of the hardware store. (Photo by H. Marshall 1987)

Summer Kitchens of Harrison County, Indiana

C H R I S T O P H E R K . B O B B I T T

Until the mid-twentieth century in southern Indiana, most rural households, and many in town, did their summertime cooking and many other chores in a small building separate from the main house. For nearly five months out of the year, this summer kitchen served as the center of all of the family's activities except sleeping and entertaining company; the main house could thereby be kept clean and cool. The building was put to a variety of different uses in the winter. The yearly move to and from the summer kitchen was a major but welcome event, a ritual marking the changing seasons.

While much has been written on the subject of traditional folk architecture of houses, and somewhat less on barns, very little to date has been written about the structure and function of the smaller outbuildings so necessary to the preindustrial household.¹ Fred Kniffen commented on this lack 20 years ago (Kniffen 1969:1-4). This study is a survey of one such type of building, and its physical structure, uses, and social significance in one small geographic area. I renew the call for such studies in other parts of the country.

Harrison County, some 25 miles west of Louisville, Kentucky, is still quite rural, if no longer preindustrial. Small-scale farming of corn, popcorn, vegetables, tobacco, cattle, hogs, and poultry is widespread. Home canning remains a way of life for many families. Summer kitchens were very common until the 1940s and many of them are still standing. "Everybody had one" (Leffler), or at least "Most people would have had them" (Lang 239).² Harrison County was chosen as the site for this research partly because I have done

additional fieldwork on folk housing in the county, and partly because my own grandparents had a summer kitchen there.

The construction and use of these buildings mark a specific era in the history of folk architecture in southern Indiana. Sometimes a summer kitchen was the original settler's first home, put to new use. "And I remember being up in the Flatwoods area and my mother would go around to various of my cousins, and nearly every one of them had a summer kitchen, and I'd say half of them . . . were the first house they had built, or were the first house that they had, just pulled into the back yard" (Griffin 225). Some were originally another building, such as a springhouse or smokehouse, converted for this purpose (S. Turpin 294; Mauck). Of the structures I studied, however, most had been built specifically as summer kitchens, some as late as the 1930s (Atkins; Leffler; Lang 336).

The summer kitchens I saw in Harrison County were remarkably consistent in size and proportion, being 12 to 14 by 20 to 22 feet (cf. Milspaw 1983:80).

One such structure which no longer stands, dating from the 1840s, had been of log construction (Griffin 210); all the rest, including one whose main house was log (Lang 194), were frame. Some of these were vertical board and batten (Bickel 333; Griffin 289) but most used horizontal weatherboarding.

Many floors were wooden, perhaps covered with linoleum (Bickel B110); the back room might have only a dirt floor (Duggins). One 1930s summer kitchen had a poured concrete floor (Leffler)—a long term investment at a time when external economic changes were soon to alter the summer kitchen's original purpose.

The present-day roofs I saw were "tin" (galvanized iron), but at least one summer kitchen in the county still has a wooden shingle roof (Bickel B181; G. Bickel B189). Most of the main houses had tin roofs as well.

All of the summer kitchens I saw or heard about had gable roofs, and the main door (sometimes with an attached porch) was in a gable end. The other door was either in the other gable end or on one of the long sides near the end (Atkins 36; Bickel 118, 333, 356; Lang 86; Griffin 108; Leffler). This is in marked contrast to the predominant style of folk house in Harrison County, the double pen, whose main doors are in the long wall facing the road (see Bobbitt 1985). I suggest that this departure from the classic housing pattern has a very practical reason. In the summer kitchen, ventilation was of paramount importance. In the main house, the primary center of winter activities, ventilation (i.e. a draft) is *not* a particularly desirable attribute. The

summer kitchen door, which usually faced south or southeast, might have to remain closed to keep out the chickens and pigs (Lang 66), but two windows in each of the long walls, in line with the west to east prevailing wind, would provide excellent cross ventilation as well as light in morning and afternoon.

Several of these summer kitchens have or had a central or slightly offset chimney, intended for use with either a single stove or one in each of two rooms. Others had one end chimney opposite the main door (cf. Milspaw 1983:80). All chimneys that I saw were built of brick.

Most had two rooms, one slightly larger than the other, and a loft. The partition between the rooms might be temporary or permanent; if permanent, there would probably be a door between the two rooms. The windowless loft would be used for storage (Leffler; Duggins), a children's play area (Wiseman), or sleeping quarters for itinerant workers (Lang). A few had no loft (Atkins 40) or only a sheet of muslin stretched across as a ceiling (Bickel 360; Bickel 1981:31).

The summer kitchen was usually very near the back of the main house, occasionally attached as a lean-to (S. Turpin 295). Almost invariably it was oriented so that the windows faced east and west. There might be a stone walkway between it and the main house, and a grape arbor over this breezeway appears to have been very traditional—as well as delightful when fruiting in July and August (Griffin 240; E. Turpin 300, B105; S. Turpin B100; Bickel 128).

Folk houses normally face the road (or where the road used to be). In Indiana, roads tend to follow north-south and east-west range and section lines because the state was surveyed before much homesteading had taken place. What happened when a house must face due north in order to face the road? The summer kitchen was still oriented for best light and ventilation.

A source of water was always close to both the summer and main house kitchens. This might be a spring (Atkins 84; Mauck), a well with a hand-operated pump—one inside was deluxe (Leffler; Bickel 280; Griffin 150; Bickel 1981:30-31)—or a cistern (E. Turpin B60; Griffin 155; Lang 200). My grandparents had an elaborate system of drain pipe, barrels, and an old washing machine to collect rain water from the roof.

Other small farm outbuildings usually located near the summer kitchen might include a bakeoven (Griffin B84), a separate dryhouse (Griffin B180), a smokehouse (Griffin B191; Flock 42), wellhouse or springhouse, and woodshed (Atkins 96; Griffin B93; Bickel 28, B12). A woodbox inside the summer kitchen would be replenished by the

children every evening. ". . . this was wood split in small pieces, wrist sized, which made a good fire 'cause you didn't have a big place to put wood into [in a wood-burning range]" (Bickel B38). "It was a little further distance to carry it into the main house in winter. The wood box in the main house sat in the kitchen fairly close to the stove. We had another woodbox out on the side porch which was filled with the big wood for the heating stove" (Bickel B50).

"The woodpile would be between the kitchen and the outhouse so that every time you went to the outhouse you'd come back with a load of wood. Or if somebody saw you headed for the outhouse you could just go as far as the woodpile instead" (E. Turpin B195).

Most obviously, the summer kitchen was used for summertime cooking. In this way, heat was kept from the main house, making it a cooler place to sleep (Duggins; Griffin 27; Flock 26). Odors and clutter were also kept away from the parlor, where company might be entertained (Griffin 37; Flock 29). The hazard of fire in the main house was also eliminated for nearly half the year (Flock 126). Opening the house's windows in the summer while there was a fire in the fireplace or stove might well create a backdraft, causing the house to fill with smoke. Summer kitchens were designed with such cross ventilation as to prevent this from happening (Griffin 42).

In addition to cooking, people generally ate in the summer kitchen (Duggins; Griffin 210; S. Turpin 93, 310; E. Turpin 95). Adults might sit in chairs around a drop-leaf table while the children would sit on backless benches or eat outside (Griffin 214). Occasionally, when company came, a meal might be prepared in the summer kitchen but served in the more formal main house parlor (Flock 385; S. Turpin 310; E. Turpin 316).

The wood stove provided not only heat for cooking, but also hot water for laundry and bathing. "Mother used part of it [the summer kitchen] when she washed clothes, and heated the water to wash the clothes on the stove" (Atkins 44). A few families had a separate wash house (Griffin 270; cf. Long 1972:244-257; Leach and Glassie 1968:56-61), and some would boil clothes in a large kettle underneath the grape arbor near the summer kitchen (S. Turpin 356; E. Turpin 366; Flock B20-45; Griffin 194). Unless the stove had a built-in hot water reservoir, water for bathing would be heated in a large oblong copper kettle placed across two burners (S. Turpin B53; Griffin 186).

On cool nights, children might sleep in the summer kitchen rather than in the main house. This was akin to camping out (Leffler). Apprentices and long-term hired hands might also sleep there, as might a cook or housekeeper in a more affluent home in town (Flock

210; Griffin B59). One summer kitchen in Ramsey, Indiana, served as headquarters for several ten-year-olds who published a local children's newspaper from 1940 to 1942 (Wiseman).

During the summer, food would be stored in the loft, if there was one. Milk, butter, and other perishables would be stored in the springhouse or root cellar which was underneath or very nearby (Wiseman). It was the children's job to get fresh food from the refrigeration of the springhouse or root cellar (Wiseman; Lang 175). Unless there was a separate dryhouse (cf. Long 1972:197-205), the summer kitchen would be used for drying fruits and vegetables such as apples, pears, peaches, beans, hot peppers, and pumpkin (Griffin B180; Wiseman; Bickel 363).

With the exceptions of sleeping and entertaining company, family summer life in the old days centered around the summer kitchen, just as in winter around the main house kitchen.

At summer's end came the canning season. Ball jars from Muncie had been readily available since the 1890s (Birmingham 1980:70), and the summer kitchen was ready to receive the onslaught of tomatoes, beans, corn, and other vegetables. "They done all the preparation for the canning out there, like they snapped their beans, and like if they were making jams or jellies, you know, all the fruit preparation and such" (S. Turpin 318). Most people did their canning within the summer kitchen on the wood cookstove, but some would set up a tripod and large kettle outside. Straw would be put between the jars to keep them from bumping together, for in "open kettle" or "cold pack" canning, the jars need to be boiled vigorously for several hours. As many as 65 jars at a time could be processed in a 30-gallon kettle (Flock 310; S. Turpin B173; E. Turpin B385). Canning can be an all-day affair and then some. "Mother did some canning, most of it out there, and then some of it at home, because there she could be with us of a nighttime, see, with the children" (Atkins 60).

Despite its name, the summer kitchen was used all year round. In winter, the building would be used to store things brought in out of the weather (Atkins 93; Lang 86, 319; Flock 378). It would also be used to store food which would not freeze, such as flour, sugar, dried food (Duggins; Griffin 145; Bickel 383; S. Turpin 17), and smoked meat (Leffler). The summer kitchen was usually vermin-proof (Leffler).

A homemade drum stove might be brought out to take the place of the cookstove which had been moved back into the main house kitchen (Bickel 42). One reclusive grandmother lived for many years

in the back room of a summer kitchen; the wall calendar has not been touched since she turned it to April, 1966 (Leffler; P. Flock).

The drum stove would provide heat when needed to dry laundry in inclement winter weather (Bickel 58), and men might gather inside to play euchre or checkers or just to talk (Bickel B81, B100). But because it was usually *not* heated in winter, the summer kitchen was the ideal place for the messy job of cutting up meat after slaughtering (Bickel 70, 95; Bickel 1981:24-25). Most farms which raised animals had a smokehouse, for in the days before electric deep freezes, smoking meat was the best way to preserve it. For occasional use, however, part of the summer kitchen might be pressed into service: the closet under the stairway to the loft (Leffler), or the dirt-floored back room, shut off with a heavy rug as a curtain (Duggins; Lang 86; cf. Milspaw 1983:71,80). Meat would be hung on greenwood hooks over an iron kettle containing slowly burning hickory knots and stumps—wood not suitable for use in the stove (Leffler; Lang 98). After the meat was cured, the summer kitchen served as a walk-in refrigerator until spring (Duggins; Leffler).

Central to each of my informant's memories of summer kitchens was the twice-yearly ritual of moving tables, chairs, dishes, and most likely the cookstove itself. The exact dates would vary from year to year, but the summer kitchen was generally used "soon as it got nice and warm" (Lang 112), "... probably May, ... but we can have some pretty cold spells" (Flock 258). "Usually there was a thing amongst kids, your mother would let you go barefoot the first of May. . . ." (Bickel 82). Children helped with the move.

"In the spring, I was just a real small kid [about 1907], why, Mom would take newspapers and we'd paper that building; it was an old building. We would paper that anew every spring, and she'd move our cookstove and she'd move our table and chairs and I don't know what else. Now we didn't have that much to, I doubt if there were any cabinets; I guess she had something else to put the dishes in" (Lang 33).

"Paper was scarce, and they put clean paper on. I've heard Aunt Kate Funk say . . . they always entertained themselves . . . by reading what the newspaper said, papered on the wall. Yes, I think that it wasn't so much people being stingy, they just *used* what they had" (Griffin B296).

Additional spring cleaning at this time might include removing the tacked-down rag rugs and sweeping out the straw insulation underneath (Lang 44). "And we'd go out to the straw stack where they'd thrashed, and we'd done throwed our old straw bed away, and go and

get our fresh straw, and clean it all and change it, and put it in our straw bed, and boy we'd have a nice clean bed" (Lang 48).

The stove, too, would be cleaned. A winter's accumulation of soot and grime would be scrubbed off in the yard, so that the summer kitchen began the new season afresh (E. Turpin 270; Bickel 1981:31).

I did not find any Harrison County summer kitchens which used fireplaces. One 1820s main house fireplace was used for year-round cooking (Flock 160). The close proximity to Louisville may have enabled the use of stoves earlier than in the rest of the state. In the mid-19th century, Shaker step-stoves were popular (Griffin 373; they are used at the old state capitol in Corydon, Harrison County seat). These heating stoves were long and narrow, with three levels for cooking at different distances from the fire.

Later came wood ranges, designed specifically for cooking. A two burner stove (Leffler) would be replaced by the standard four or six burner one (Leffler; Duggins). A side reservoir for warm water was a special convenience (Atkins 55; Leffler; Mauck; E. Turpin 280). In the 1920s came coal oil (kerosene) stoves. Those who could afford to bought such a stove for use just in the summer kitchen (Leffler; Wiseman; Duggins; Bickel 42; S. Turpin 286), as they were far cleaner, more convenient, and above all cooler to operate.

The move back to the main house usually occurred in September, or whenever the weather began to get cool, "when the men would start shredding," that is, cutting cornstalks into fodder (Leffler). If the wood cookstove were to be brought back, it would first be given another cleaning. Many of my informants recalled the excitement of the moves, spring and fall—a family affirmation that a new season was at hand.

The summer kitchen can be seen to have been a symbol of community in this rural, pre-industrial part of southern Indiana, not only as expressed in the statement, "everybody had one," but also in the family (and hired help) all working together in the common labor of production, preparation, preservation, and consumption of food. The work done and the pleasures enjoyed in the summer kitchen—its place in the rhythm of the seasons—were integral to their way of life.

In Harrison County, summer kitchens as such fell into disuse in the 1930s and 1940s (Leffler; Griffin B167; Bickel 179, 190; Flock 64; Atkins 15). "It took a few years for people to make the change. Some people, I remember hearing people say, oh the food just wasn't *good* cooked on an electric stove, you know. I never could figure out how the food knew the difference. But it took a few years before people made the change" (Flock 90).

And indeed the coming of electricity was probably the most important factor in the phase out of the summer kitchen as an institution. In the southern two-thirds of the county, people could tap onto the high tension power line between Louisville and Evansville by the mid-1930s. One man sold \$400 worth of standing timber to obtain a spur from S & K Electric Company (Bickel 220). In northern Harrison County, "electricity came through here in '39, and after that those things [old time ways] sort of went into demise. There aren't as many of them anymore" (Flock 72).

For some households, the remodeling of the house, perhaps after a son's marriage, resulted in the abandonment of the summer kitchen (Leffler; P. Flock; Bickel 190; cf. Milspaw 1983:71). The availability of clean, cool, coal-oil [kerosene] stoves, and later electric ranges, meant that cooking might be done inside the main house year round with a minimum of heat. "It's when they done away with wood stoves. When they had coal-oil stoves, you know, they could afford to have more inside" (E. Turpin 322).

"Give electricity the credit, I suppose. An electric range to cook on, a fan to move the air, a refrigerator to provide ice, a freezer to keep foods in, a pump to provide running water, and one had the comforts, yes, luxuries of life right in the winter kitchen" (Bickel 1981:31).

Why else are there no more summer kitchens? "Modernization. Modernization. Everybody likes to have everything in one place" (Leffler). "I don't know. They couldn't have air conditioning and all that sort of stuff, could they? Ceiling fans. Think they could have a ceiling fan? I don't know. It's just a different way of life. My dad worked for 50 cents a day, worked a thrashing machine" (Lang 258). "Well, we have all this new stuff, microwave, you know, electric. We cook with electricity or cook with gas, and you don't need that big an area. You don't have to process food anymore; you go buy frozen food and canned goods. People don't process food and they don't have need for that area, and they don't have any reason to keep the heat out of the house anymore. And of course [electric] stoves don't make that much heat. And everyone wants things more efficient now. They don't want to do things the hard way like they used to" (Griffin B170). "It's fast, a fast world. People just don't want to take the time to sit down and eat" (Atkins).

Although Harrison Countians are now less tied to the land than they once were, their rural, conservative values are still manifest. While summer kitchens, once the norm, were rendered obsolete by the introduction of electricity, the buildings which once housed these

kitchens have not been demolished but rather transformed, with new uses, into workshops, storage sheds, and smokehouses. Some may even become guest houses (Milspaw 1983:80).

Does the summer kitchen have applications today? I believe that it does. With increased use of wood as a heating fuel in recent years, people should consider the entire complex of burning wood as a cooking fuel as well. Even those who continue to use electric stoves might well benefit from the example of the summer kitchen. After all, does anyone in Indiana really enjoy cooking indoors in July?

NOTES

¹ This annotated bibliography is indicative of the sparsity of published research on summer kitchens.

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Dawson, Roger R. 1969. Greenway Court and White Post: Virginia Home of Thomas, Lord Fairfax. *Pioneer America* 1(1):33-39. Description of elite homestead in 18th c. Va. Mentions "adjacent kitchen house nearby" (p. 37).

Franklin, Linda Campbell. 1976. *America in the Kitchen: From Hearth to Cookstove, an American Domestic History of Gadgets and Utensils Made or Used in America from 1700 to 1930*. Florence, Alabama: House of Collectibles. Illustrated encyclopedia of equipment used in both main and summer kitchens. Period line drawings.

Glass, Joseph W. 1986. *The Pennsylvania Culture Region: A View from the Barn*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press. Mentions in passing that summer kitchens would be oriented toward the main house and that their absence today is not proof that they never existed (Pp. 169-170).

Johnson, C. 1974. Missouri-French Houses: Some Relict Features of Early Settlement. *Pioneer America* 6(2):1-11. Proposes survivals of French colonial architecture in eastern Missouri. Kitchens were lean-to sheds or preferably separate structures (p. 9).

Jordan, Terry G. 1978. *Texas Log Buildings: A Folk Architecture*. Austin: University of Texas Press. Mentions in passing the existence of separate kitchens (Pp. 161, 173).

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- Wilhelm, Hubert G. H. 1971. German Settlement and Folk Building Practices in the Hill Country of Texas. *Pioneer America* 3(2):15-24. German settlers of Texas adapted their previous folk architecture to a hot climate, adding shed kitchens (p. 18).

² Number in text reference is counter number in tape recorded interviews.

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INFORMANTS

- | | |
|-----------|---|
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Figure 1. Jim Leffler's childhood homestead. The summer kitchen, built in the 1930s, has a poured concrete floor.

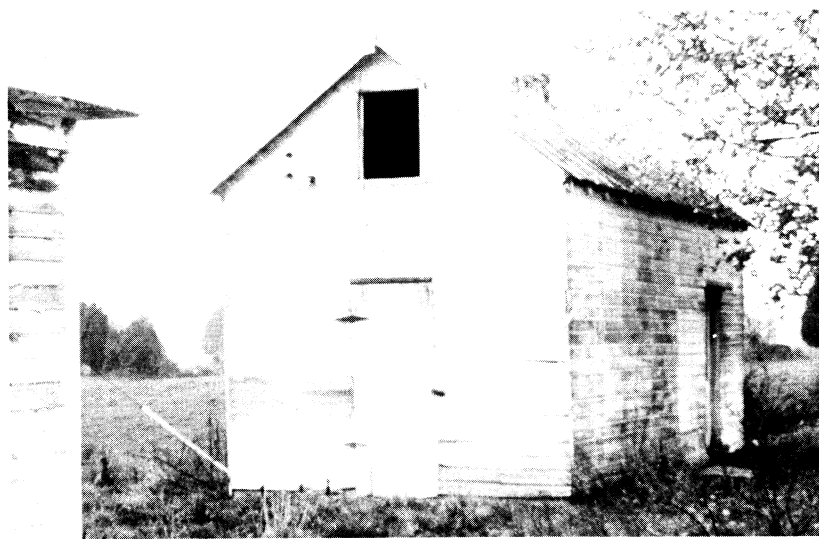


Figure 2. Leffler's summer kitchen as seen from the back yard. His grandmother lived in the rear room for many years.



Figure 3. Gay Lang's log double pen house, dating from the 1850s, and nearby summer kitchen built over the root cellar.



Figure 4. The offset gable-end door of the summer kitchen near Ramsey is unusual.

Nomadic Architecture: The River Houseboat in the Ohio Valley

J E N S L U N D

During the late 1940s, Kentucky artist and author Harlan Hubbard and his wife, Anna, floated down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers from Cincinnati to New Orleans in a homemade houseboat. Their journey, which took nearly three years, was chronicled in Hubbard's book, *Shantyboat: A River Way of Life*, published in 1953. The book captured the public imagination and inspired children's writer Lois Lenski to research and write *Houseboat Girl* (1957) for her American Regional Series. At the time these two books appeared in bookstores and libraries across the country, the way of life which they celebrated had nearly come to extinction. From the early decades of the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth, thousands of Americans lived a nomadic life on homemade houseboats, sometimes floating from one landing to the next one downstream on a regular basis, sometimes merely mooring for years at the same landing, but avoiding both house and ground rent. The nomadic and semi-nomadic houseboat-dwelling population that lived on Midwestern rivers produced a characteristic architectural form, the "houseboat," "cabin boat," "camp boat," or "shantyboat."

There are very few floating houseboats of the original type on Midwestern rivers today, although a few beached examples still exist on riverbanks in various places. There are, however, probably still a few afloat here and there in the South, at least there were up to five years ago (Crawford 1984; Freeman 1977). Many itinerant houseboat folk were commercial fishermen and fish-marketers, at least seasonally,

so it is not surprising that a few similar structures are still used as floating fish-markets (Comeaux 1978:86-87).

During the late 1970s, in the course of researching Lower Ohio Valley commercial fishing traditions, I was able to locate a few examples of river houseboats now dragged up on shore, and even a few still-afloat fish-markets, one of which had once been a real houseboat (Lund 1983:720-43). In the course of interviewing fishermen, marketers, and their descendants, I heard about houseboats again and again and was shown many a snapshot of a parents' or grandparents' houseboat or floating market (or combination of the two). In no case, did I ever hear a river person refer to one as a "shantyboat," although all were familiar with the term, which they considered derogatory (Bogardus 1959). The term, "houseboat," may be somewhat confusing, as it most often refers to elaborate craft used for recreation or as summer houses. Here the term, "houseboat," refers specifically to a type of locally built barge, with a cabin superstructure, commonly used by itinerant people on the rivers of the Midwest and South, and sometimes modified for use as a floating business, usually a fish-market or fish-house (Comeaux 1978:85-87).

The typical Midwestern and Southern river houseboat was strongly suggestive of the dimensions of today's single-wide mobile home. Aspects of it also strongly suggest the shotgun house, a structure often found in river communities and associated with Afro-American settlement (Vlach 1976). The most typical houseboat seems to have been one room wide and two or three rooms long, with the superstructure the same width as the hull, but several feet shorter at each end. It was single-story, with a flat or slightly arched roof. Early examples, seen in nineteenth century photographs, sometimes had a very low-pitched gable roof. Each end had a door and a small open deck, covered by the roof, which extended the full length of the hull. The decks were typically used as work-platforms and as places to land fish from the open johnboat or skiff that a fisherman also had. The roof typically extended the full length of the boat, thus supplying a porch roof at each end. Below the superstructure was a square scow-type barge with identical bow and stern. The superstructure was built of light framing timbers, such as two-by-fours, using balloon frame construction and sided with flush boards or occasionally clapboarding; the material used was often entirely or largely salvaged driftwood. Each room had one window on either side, so a two-room houseboat had four windows. The typical two-room houseboat had one room serving as a bedroom (often with an impractical large iron

bed) and the other (with a central woodstove) serving as a combination kitchen, parlor, and work area.

The houseboat's form suggests the flatboat, which served as the chief form of transportation on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers in much of the nineteenth century. The pioneer flatboat also consisted of a box-like superstructure mounted on a scow-end barge, with or without open deck space. Like the houseboat, the flatboat could only be navigated downstream, at least in common practice.

Historians of the Ohio Valley often divide the early settlement years into "eras," named after a preponderant form of river transportation in the period. "The flatboat era," 1800-1810, was succeeded by "the keelboat era," 1810 to 1830, which was, in turn succeeded by "the steamboat era," 1830 into the twentieth century (Ambler 1932; Baldwin 1941). The problem with this system is that these "eras" overlapped. In sheer numbers, flatboats continued to increase after the keelboat and steamboat made settlement and commerce more efficient. The flatboat was still the cheapest form of downstream (frontierward) transport, when speed was not important. One historian has suggested that during the prime of the "steamboat era," there were more flatboats on the rivers than ever, because they were still the cheapest and most practical way of floating goods and people downstream when time was not a factor, and when it was easy for a person to catch a steamer upstream after delivering goods and abandoning an inexpensive and easily replaced craft (Carmony 1964:306). In 1826 and 1833, travel writer Timothy Flint noted that the rivers were full of singular boats reflecting only the idiosyncracies of their builders (Flint 1826:14; 1833:160). The entire nineteenth century saw Midwestern rivers awash with various manifestations of the flatboat, and it is out of this enormous fleet of locally built boats that the houseboat and its itinerant population evolved.

Ease of building and economy of materials led to the use of large flatboats (also called "arks" or "barges") as the chief form of transportation on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers by 1800. Their classic form is attributed to a Mr. Hodgen, who built them on the Juniata River, an Ohio River tributary in Pennsylvania, beginning in 1793. Some observers noted "Kentucky boat" and "New Orleans boat" subtypes. The former was crude and only partly enclosed. The latter was well-built and completely enclosed and could conceivably make it all the way from Pennsylvania to New Orleans (Carson 1920-21:27-30; Ashe 1808:75). But all flatboats had one serious disadvantage: they could only be navigated downstream. The invention of the keelboat about 1810 obviated this difficulty, but for many purposes a barge

floating downstream was still practical and economical (Baldwin 1941:56-59).

It is worth taking a brief look at how flatboats were built, for purposes of comparison to later river craft. John Calvin Gilkeson, a professional flatboat-builder who built flatboats on Little Raccoon Creek (a Wabash tributary) in Parke County, Indiana, near Terre Haute during the mid-nineteenth century, left a detailed description of the process of building a Gilkeson flatboat. First, one laid the gunwales (their length ranged from twenty to over 100 feet (or 6.5 to 33 meters). Then the frame was added, consisting of cross-timbers (parallel to the ends) and streamers (parallel to the sides). He then pegged on the cross-planks from gunwale to gunwale to make the bottom, and then turned over the hull, so that the superstructure could be built. The result was a flat-bottomed double scow-end boat, with a perpendicularly-planked hull, on which stood a large cabin that served as its superstructure (Carmony 1964).

Scow-end boats became the predominant home-built boat type throughout the Midwest and South from frontier times to today (Comeaux 1978:84; Dablemont 1978; Marshall and Stanley 1978). Now they are called "johnboats" rather universally, but traditional names include "joeboat" and "dogboat." Small boats built by professional boatbuilders were usually skiffs (Comeaux 1978:76-82). All houseboats used by fishing families needed two or three auxiliary boats, usually johnboats or skiffs, and one was often mounted with an engine and could be used to push the houseboat short distances upstream or across the river. According to Lenski's description of Henry Story's houseboat, he also had a heavy wooden barge with an inboard engine covered with a small shed, which he used as a towboat and which he called his "cabin boat." His johnboat, powered with an outboard, was used for fishing (Lenski 1957:8).

The houseboat can be considered a variant of the flatboat, essentially a one-room-wide superstructure on a scow or barge. During the period when many nomadic people lived on houseboats, a typical example often had a long sweep, especially if it was being navigated. Early houseboats generally had slightly curved or shallow gabled roofs. Most of the later ones usually had completely flat roofs sealed with hot-mopped asphalt, which needed frequent repair.

Descriptions of early examples of houseboats are difficult to find. One that did turn up was a deed in the Recorder's Office of the Dearborn County Court in Lawrenceburg, Indiana, dated 1885: "House or shanty boat with hull twenty-eight feet [8.5m] long and ten feet [3m] wide, the said boat being painted blue" (Dearborn 1885:467). On

the other hand, early picture books and articles on local scenery in river towns often included houseboat photos, with such romanticized captions as "A Home on the Rolling Deep" (Hodge 1902:51; Johnson 1905:81-91; 1906:148-59; Marshall 1900:102; Tait 1907:473-78; Theiss 1910:699-701; Vincennes 1916:42).

Interviews with river people in the Lower Ohio Valley during the late 1970s produced a number of descriptions of houseboats and floating markets that were consistent with the generalized type. Harold Weaver of Antioch Harbor, Tennessee, who grew up on a Lower Ohio River houseboat, and who fished commercially for most of his life near Cave-in-Rock, Illinois, grew up on a forty-seven-foot (15.3m) by eighteen-foot craft. His father was a Pentecostal preacher and fisherman, who used large fish-fries as a way of attracting people to "bush harbor" (brush arbor) camp meetings along the Ohio River (1978). Roy Lee Walls of Urbandale, who operated the Cairo Point Fish Market in Cairo for decades, once owned a three-room houseboat sixty feet (18.3m) long by fourteen feet (4.7m) wide. This is the largest example of which I have heard (1978). Curtis Lang, commercial fisherman and musseller of Metropolis, floated from Metropolis to Memphis during the 1950s on a twenty-four foot (7.3m) by nine-foot craft (1978).

Sandra Cunningham Hartlieb of Indianapolis described her fishing parents' houseboat at Owensboro, Kentucky, which they used from 1935 through 1945. It was thirty-six feet (11.1m) long and twelve feet (3.7m) wide, and had three rooms, with two-foot (61cm.) porches fore and aft. At one end was an adults' bedroom with a double bed, a chest of drawers, and a dresser. A room amidships held a child's bed, a wood stove, two chairs, and a corner closet. At the other end was a kitchen, containing a wood stove (with oven), a table and three chairs, a cupboard, a work table, and an icebox. It had a slightly curved roof, doors in both ends, and six windows, and was plank-sided and painted white (Hartlieb 1980; Lund 1983:724). (See Figures 4 and 5)

During the 1950s most of the surviving houseboats in the Ohio Valley were hauled up on land. There most were either abandoned or disassembled, but a few continued to be used as dwellings, usually by former river folk. Diligent searching over a two-year period led to only two examples. One was a forty-four-foot (13.4m) by fourteen-foot (4.7m) three-room houseboat still owned by Joe "Bunk" Owens of Metropolis and stranded in his back yard near the riverfront. It was six feet (182cm) from deck to ceiling, and had two three-foot (91.5cm) porches, one of which was only twelve feet (3.66m) wide, because part

of it was enclosed to make a six-foot (183cm) square storage closet. The Owens houseboat has a flat roof, a door in each end, and was sided with clapboards, painted white. (See Figures 7 and 8)

The other example found was a twelve-foot (3.7m) by eighteen-foot (5.5m) one-room houseboat, with a six-foot-three-inch (191cm) ceiling, which serves as a gatehouse and caretaker's cabin for Ralph Carver, watchman for the Forrest Shelton Carver Marina on the Clark River in Woodland, Kentucky, just east of Paducah. In 1978, Carver still lived in it year-round. He had built it in 1963, and hauled it ashore in 1977 (Carver 1978). All its lumber, except ceiling and floor, was driftwood, and its barge, on which it still stood, consisted merely of a platform enclosing watertight steel drums. It also had a flat roof, doors in both ends, and was sided with corrugated sheet-metal roofing.

Some houseboat-like structures have been built in recent years as floating markets or as enclosed fish docks, where fish were landed and dressed, but not sold. An interesting case is the Lueke Fish Market on the Wabash River in Maunie, Illinois, near New Harmony, Indiana. It consists of two structures, built by Fred and Dennis Lueke in the mid-1970s, each about sixty feet (18m) long and fifteen feet (4.5m) wide. They are tied parallel to the shore and float on steel drums. One is full of deep freezers, and is used primarily for storing frozen fish. The other contains two hand-winch-operated live-baskets, raised and lowered through rectangular holes in the deck. It also has a large workbench used for dressing fish and fitted with power tools for scaling, skinning, and scoring. A door opens directly out onto the river, for loading fish. A door at the upstream end leads to the other market and one at the downstream end leads to a small, open boat dock. A door on the bank side is connected to land by a long gangplank. The freezer market is accessible only through the other market, as it has only one door, in its downstream end, connected to the other market with a short gangplank. Lueke's floating markets are balloon-framed with two-by-fours, and covered with prefabricated plastic sheet siding.

An older floating market is the Cave-in-Rock Fish Market, just outside the entrance to Cave-in-Rock State Park and close to a ferry landing, convenient to heavy tourist traffic. It consists of seven docks, all supported by watertight steel drums. Its open docks also serve as a marina and as a marine filling station. The enclosed portion is the market proper. It is about fifty-five feet (15m) long by twenty feet (6m) wide. In it are a large retailing area with freezers, dressing tables, an old iron bathtub used for rinsing fish, scales, and counters. In the far end is an insulated windowless room loaded with several

hundred pounds of crushed ice. It serves as a walk-in icebox. The market is connected by cable to an old farm-tractor ashore. When the water level rises, the marketer starts up the tractor and pulls the market further ashore, and when the level lowers, he lets it back down again. The Cave-in-Rock Market was built in 1955 by fish-marketer Bob Garland, and it has changed hands at least five times (Patton 1978).

Smaller enclosed floating fish-docks are found here and there in the Lower Ohio Valley. A small unique example built by Jack Emory floats in the Little Wabash at Carmi, Illinois. At the mouth of Bonpas Creek, where it joins the Wabash at Grayville, Illinois, there are seven small markets, all about eight-by-ten feet (2.4x3m). Five are enclosed, and four have small porched decks. All but one have winch-powered live-boxes. One built in 1976 by the Young Brothers Fish Market is wired for electricity and aluminum-sided. Fisherman Orval Loven of Grayville built three of them, the last in 1978. First he built the platform of wooden planks, with rectangular holes in both ends to accommodate live-boxes. Then he built the cabin frame of two-by-fours. With his welding outfit, he fashioned two steel winches to raise and lower the live-boxes. After that, the structure was roofed with plywood and asphalt, and sided with prefabricated plastic siding, and hauled to the river (about a mile [1.6km]), by trailer. On the bank, he turned it on its side and mounted the platform with six drums. He then righted it and slipped into the Wabash, pulling it by rope into the mouth of Bonpas Creek. He mounted it with a work table and a drained dressing table, and finally installed two live-boxes of wire and wood-slats (Loven 1977). (See Figures 9 and 10)

As late as the early 1980s, a traditional houseboat served as a fish market and seasonal home for Howard Durham at Old Shawneetown, below the Illinois State Route 13 bridge to Kentucky, and dwarfed by the enormous levee that cuts off Old Shawneetown from the Ohio River. The barge, long-since rotted away, had been replaced by a dock held up by watertight fifty-five-gallon drums. Originally it had belonged to the Jimmy Yakely family, who still live in Old Shawneetown, and it had been tied up at Wabash Island, a delta at the confluence of the Wabash and Ohio, where Illinois, Indiana, and Kentucky join (Durham 1977). The Durham market had two rooms, one with freezers, tables, and scales, and the other a living room with easy chairs, a dining room table, a television set, and a folding bed. (See Figure 6)

The Yakely/Durham houseboat-fish market represents the transition of the houseboat form from dwelling to place of business. Many river

fishing families operated floating markets permanently moored where a river town adjoined a levee. Such markets were often similar in form and structure to houseboats, but not used as dwellings. Cave-in-Rock, Golconda, and Old Shawneetown, Illinois, and Paducah and Smithland, Kentucky, were places which had several such floating markets for long, continuous periods. Floating markets often had live-boxes which could be raised and lowered through a hole in the deck by means of a winch. The Cox family market and houseboat at Golconda, also had a catwalk extending about a foot or two over the water and running the entire length of the boat (Cox 1978; Lund 1983:728). (See Figures 2 and 3)

Understanding the river houseboat necessitates familiarity with the nomadic houseboat subculture. This transient population began some time in the early nineteenth century and persisted as late as the mid-1950s, when regulations pertaining to waste disposal, craft safety, and tie-up began to be enforced (Comeaux 1978:87). The larger barge trains used after the building of the high lift dam system also produced wakes that were so strong as to make houseboat life uncomfortable, unsafe, and impractical, and by then the competition of industrial and construction wage-labor was too great for formerly self-sufficient houseboat folk to ignore. Houseboaters were most numerous during the Great Depression, and during the late 1930s sociologist Ernest Theodore Hiller conducted a major field study of houseboaters tied up in Illinois waters (Hiller 1939).

Houseboat folk were engaged in many different livelihoods, and most of them regularly changed activities, depending on what resources and opportunities were available. Many were fishing families, but there were probably more sedentary fishing families living on the river's banks than there were nomadic fishermen (Comeaux 1978:86). Despite this, many of the surviving commercial fishermen in the Lower Ohio Valley in the 1970s grew up in houseboat families. The negative stereotype of the "river rat" (an epithet often applied to houseboat folk by land-dwellers) was equivalent to "poor white trash," but most houseboat folk were industrious and self-reliant, though poor (Lenski 1957:2, 110-12, 126-27; Johnson 1906:262). Several former houseboaters did say, however, that certain urban concentrations of moored houseboats, such as the one on Pigeon Creek in Evansville, Indiana, had reputations for crime and violence.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many books and articles were written about the great rivers of the Midwest, particularly the Ohio. The authors were often fascinated by the lives of nomadic river folk and paid a great deal of attention to these people

(Jakle 1977). Reuben Gold Thwaites, writing in the 1890s noted that land-dwellers considered them larcenous, but he called them "a race of picturesque philosophers" and "followers of the apostle's calling." He noted their colorful speech, their occupation as fishermen, and their folktales which, "told with an honest-like open-faced sobriety, would do credit to a Munchausen." He also noted their complaints of pollution's harmful effects upon their livelihoods (1897: 107,259). In 1906, Clifton Johnson described them thus:

Of all the dwellers in the valley of the great river,
those who live in the houseboats have, by far, the most
picturesque environment. You find them everywhere,
from St. Paul to New Orleans, and not only on the main
river, but on all the larger tributaries. There are many
thousands of these water-gypsies, in all. [1906:251]

He described the diversity of their architecture, the circumstances of poverty or disaster that periodically swelled their ranks, and their varied occupations, including driftwood-gathering, peddling, stove-wood-sawing, preaching, shake-splitting, and, of course, fishing, and he found Cairo, Illinois, to be a concentration of them (1906:251-65). Most writers were relatively kind in their description of the houseboat folk, but a few emphasized the negative "river rat" stereotype (Marshall 1900; Tait 1907). The United States Commission on Fish and Fisheries also took notice of these people and their craft, counting 153 houseboats engaged in commercial fishing in Illinois, Indiana, and Kentucky in 1894, 220 in 1899, but only 84 in 1922. Most were tied up in Kentucky (Smith 1898:518,524; Townsend 1902:673,679,685; Sette 1925:222,227,237).

In 1913, Raymond S. Spears actually wrote an instruction book on how to become a houseboater! It was directed primarily at sportsmen and alienated city people who desired to establish an independent, nomadic life. Spears gave complete and detailed plans for building and equipping a houseboat. He seems to have derived his plans from observing traditional houseboats and building them himself. Spears' houseboat was twenty-eight feet, eight inches [8.74m] long, nine feet [2.74m] wide, and thirty inches [76cm] deep in the hold. Its cabin was eighteen feet ten inches [5.74m] long, eight feet six inches [2.59m] wide, and six feet, five inches [1.96m] between floor and carlins (rafters), allowing two decks, five feet, four inches [163cm] forward, and four feet, four inches [132cm] aft. For the hull, he recommended heavy hemlock and oak planking (1913:57-65).

Spears' directions are detailed and complex and can be summarized as follows: The hull is constructed first, and built upside down. First

the gunwales are laid, and then the bumpers are laid and spiked on, after which the sides and then the ends are planked. Then the bottom is planked perpendicular to the sides, after which inside and outside stringers are attached. The hull is then turned over, which takes four or five men. Timberheads for mooring are bolted on, fore and aft. Then the planking of the fore and aft decks are nailed on. At that point the builder decides whether or not to have a hold, and if he decides to have one, he nails the floor of the cabin at the same height as the decks, supported by rafters. If not, the floor is nailed directly on to the inside stringers (1913:61-70). (See Figure 1)

The builder then builds the cabin frame, first the corner uprights and then the struts. Then the carlins (roof rafters) are nailed in place, and the door-frames are put in the two ends of the cabin, and the cabin is boarded up, leaving spaces for the doors and windows, where they are desired. He recommends using store-bought casings and frames for the windows. The doors and windows are hung, and the roof is first planked, then covered with canvas and roofing paper. Finally, details are completed, such as a hole for the stovepipe, an interior partition (making it a two-room cabin), interior mouldings, door-jambs, a trap-door down into the hold, and so on. The boat, which has been built on the riverbank, is then slid down into the river on skids, and finally fitted and furnished (1913:70-75).

The author also describes how to make a lighter and narrower model, and notes that a single person could do quite well by merely decking and cabining over a skiff or scow (1913:75-80). He also suggests that a cabin could be built on a log raft (81-83).

Spears suggests that the aspiring nomad pursue hunting, trapping, driftwood-gathering, photography, or fishing (1913:48-136,239-41). He had floated all the way from the Ohio to New Orleans supporting himself by peddling fish, and he wrote articles on the subject for publications such as *Hunter-Trader-Trapper* and the *Saturday Evening Post* (1922, 1931). Another outdoor writer, Walter S. Chansler, writing in 1922, described the practice of setting out by houseboat from a Midwestern riverbank and floating all the way to New Orleans by peddling fish. Chansler was fascinated by the sheer variety of homemade boats found in one small area of the Lower Wabash, and provided photographs and descriptions of several houseboats there (1922:10-11,15).

The most prolific author on the subject was local-color fiction and travel writer Ben Lucien Burman (1929, 1933, 1938a, 1938b, 1949, 1951, 1953, 1973). He gathered material for his books while traveling as a tramp along the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, toting a mandolin,

on which he played folk melodies to allay people's fears that he was a Revenue Agent (1973:68). During the early 1930s, many houseboat-ers practiced moonshining, a pursuit which Burman heartily defended (Ibid:133). Burman's interest in folk culture led him to describe such activities as basketmaking, boatbuilding, fishing, hunting, trapping, root-and herb-gathering, and willow-furniture-making. He also described varieties of religious worship among houseboat folk, and emphasized the people's close familial and clan ties.

The most detailed and reliable account of houseboat life is Ernest Theodore Hiller's study, based on fieldwork on the Ohio River and the Illinois River-Mississippi River confluence. Hiller estimated that in 1935, there were 50,000 houseboat folk in the entire Greater Mississippi-Ohio Basin (1939:14). He found them industrious but poor, and described their "river self-help occupations," the same as those listed above, with the addition of "musselling"—fishing for freshwater mussels for their pearls and mother-of-pearl—quilting, woodcarving, and chair-bottoming. Most of Hiller's informants were Southerners, and he noted the similarity of their lives to lives on the Southern frontier (Ibid:33-65,129-32).

The free squatting and floating privileges and the pursuits of the self-help opportunities supplied by the stream are survivals of the frontier traditions, rather than unique adjustments induced by the depression. [1939:133]

The people of the river environs are seen to have a like background of skills and occupational attitudes which, since pioneer days, have enabled and predisposed them to use the opportunities supplied by the river. [1939:46-47]

There is also some evidence that nomadic fishermen specialized in the fabrication of gear for use by other river people. James "Harry" Linville (1980), of New Harmony, Indiana, remembered a houseboat family who floated down the Wabash seasonally preparing rived wooden hoops for hoop-nets, which they sold to other fishing families.

Hiller found that many houseboat folk had once been tenant farmers forced off the land by hard times (1939:211-12). Their larcenous reputation he attributed to the traditional habit of foraging for available resources, such as game or timber, stray chickens or standing green corn (Ibid:47,126). Although Hiller was not explicit about it, his research, others' articles, and my own interviews suggest that almost all houseboat folk in the Midwest were white. Despite this, many of their fish-buying customers were black (Hubbard 1977:72;

Walls 1978). There were, however, black houseboaters in the South (Freeman 1977).

Typically, a houseboat would be built in the Midwest or Upper South and, over a period of a few years, it would be floated downstream, perhaps all the way to New Orleans. Occasionally boats could be moved upstream by hitching a ride with a steamboat. Some houseboaters also tied ropes to trees and hand-pulled their houseboat upstream for relatively short distances—a technique called "pardelling" or "cordelling" (Tillson 1919:69; Walls 1978). Once powered skiffs and johnboats were available to houseboaters, they could be used to push a houseboat upstream, but this would be impractical and uneconomical for more than a few miles at a time.

One excellent source of information on houseboat life, still unpublished, is the collection of photographs made by former houseboater Maggie Lee Sayre on the Ohio and Tennessee Rivers from 1939 through 1965. Ms. Sayre, who was born on the river near Paducah, Kentucky, and now lives in Parsons, Tennessee, photographed hundreds of scenes of houseboat life. Many of her photographs were recently toured by the Tennessee Folklore Society in the exhibition, "A Pictorial Narrative of River Life," which is now permanently located at the Tennessee River Folklife Center in Eva, Tennessee. The folklorist who discovered her work, Tom Rankin, is presently compiling a book-length anthology of Ms. Sayre's work, slated for publication in 1990 (Rankin and Bobby Fulcher: Personal communications).

The twilight years of houseboating, the 1950s, were described by Harlan Hubbard in his travel account, *Shantyboat: A River Way of Life*, and by Lois Lenski in her ethnographic children's book, *Houseboat Girl*. The Hubbards, floating in their own houseboat from Cincinnati to New Orleans, supplied themselves with river fish, and also learned to build johnboats, a skill they considered necessary for any river-dweller (1977:47-49). They also noted that houseboat folk often planted squatter gardens on bottomland near where they were tied up (Ibid:56-57). Lenski spent time with the Henry and Lou Story family of Metropolis, Illinois, visiting them at various places along the river, while they floated from Metropolis to Memphis, Tennessee. She renamed them the Fosters, and made their daughter Irene into the heroine-protagonist Patsy Foster. Her descriptions are consistent with those above, emphasizing in particular the importance of close family ties (Ibid:2, 110-12, 126-27). The negative stereotype was depicted in a confrontation between "Patsy" and some land-dwellers who harassed her by calling her a "river rat" (Ibid:81). Lenski also noted that both women and girls fished alongside men.

By the end of the 1950s, houseboat folk had practically disappeared from most rivers, except for a few cutoffs and sloughs, in most of the Deep South. Louisiana seemed to have had more later, and they were described as numerous there in the 1950s (Knipmeyer 1956:130-32). "Cabin boats" was the prevailing name in Louisiana. Geographer Malcolm Comeaux found a few survivors in the Midwest and Louisiana in the early 1970s (1972: 21-22,25-26,53; 1978:85-87; 1985:170-72). *Mother Earth News* reported on one in a Louisiana bayou in 1982, and the Louisville *Courier-Journal* described one on the Kentucky River near Frankfort as late as 1984 (Carpenter 1982; Crawford 1984).

Most houseboats were gone after the 1950s, but some of the houseboat folk who settled on land continued to work the river as seasonal fishermen, trappers, mussellers, and salvagers. Most of the fishing families on the river in the 1970s were of houseboater background, and some seem to have maintained the tradition of the riverman as raconteur. Hardin Dome Wentworth of Henderson, Kentucky, told two lengthy *Märchen* to a visiting University of Evansville student in 1976 (Lacy 1977; Lund 1983: 815-17). Harold Weaver, an Ohio River fisherman from the Cave-in-Rock, Illinois, area, who later retired to Antioch Harbor, Tennessee, on Kentucky Lake, recited dozens of *Schwanken* and tall tales, sang several ballads, and told scores of jokes (Lund 1983:808-13). Roy Lee Walls of Urbandale, Illinois, also sang ballads and told numerous tales, including an amusing family saga about two houseboater relatives stealing a cook stove with a pot of beans on it from a farmer's cabin (Lund 1983:772-73, Walls 1978).

The age of the river houseboat is now almost forty years past. The floating market is practically gone, too, for pollution and siltation have destroyed most of the river fish resource. Catfish, the mainstay of today's river fishery, is now mostly farm-raised in the Deep South. Howard Durham even sold frozen farm-raised "fiddlers" (baby channel catfish) from his Old Shawneetown market in 1979.

The river houseboat was never an attractive or elegant piece of folk architecture. Most examples were probably considered eyesores by land-dwellers. But the houseboat was indispensable to a little-known way of life that persisted on North American rivers for almost 150 years. No one knows how many nomadic river folk lived on the Midwestern and Southern rivers from the 1820s through the 1950s, but the total was probably in the hundreds of thousands. Some of them and their descendants continued to fish for a few decades afterwards, as a very few still do today. Scale and building materials have changed, but Orval Loven's fish-dock on Bonpas Creek, built in

1978, still follows the form of the river flatboats of the early nineteenth century. The river houseboat was cheap, practical, easy to build, and perfectly suited for a nomadic way of life.

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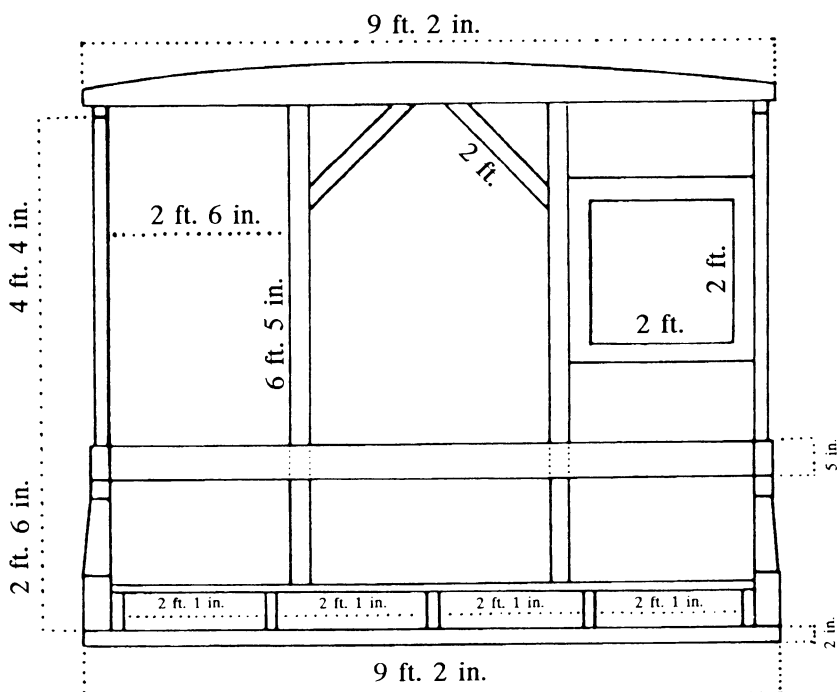


Diagram of End of Houseboat

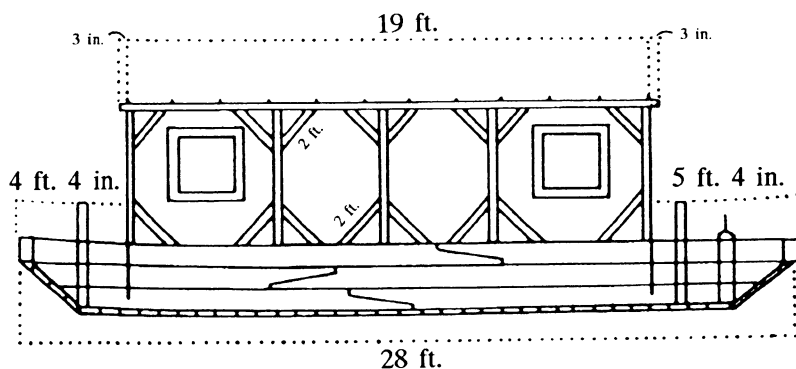


Diagram of Side of Houseboat

Figure 1. Redrawn from *The Cabin Boat Primer* (Spears 1913).

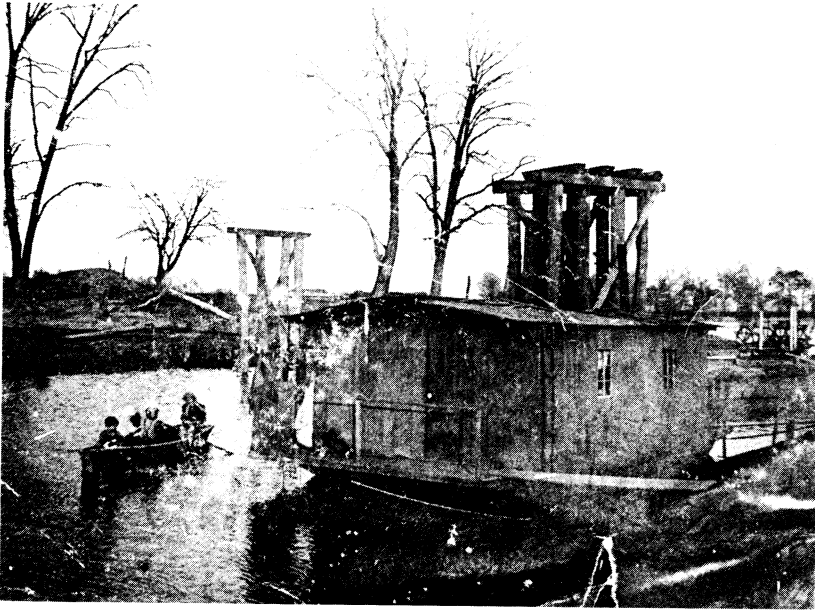


Figure 2. Cox family houseboat, ca. 1880, Wabash River, near New Harmony, Indiana. (Photo courtesy Bob Cox).

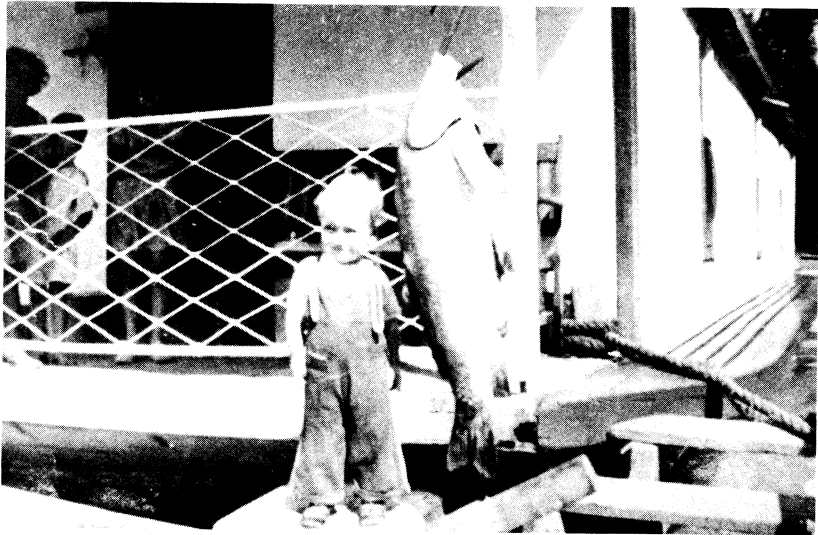


Figure 3. Bill Cox family houseboat and fish-market (Bob Cox foreground). Ohio River, near Golconda, Illinois, ca. 1950. (Photo courtesy Bob Cox).

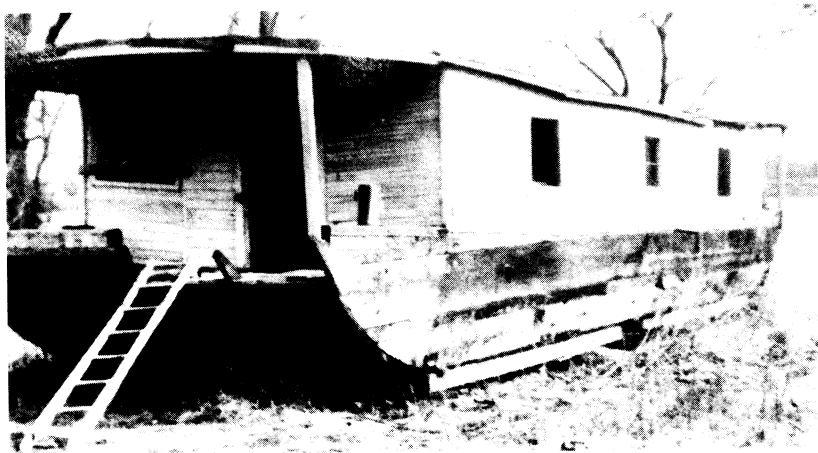


Figure 4. Cunningham family houseboat on bank of the Ohio River, near Owensboro, Kentucky, ca. 1950. (Photo courtesy Sandra Cunningham Hartlieb).

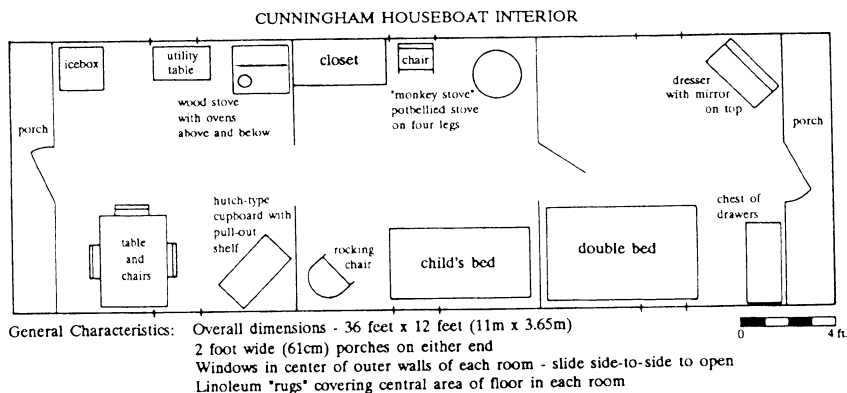


Figure 5. Cunningham family houseboat, ca. 1950, Owensboro, Kentucky. From drawing by Sandra Cunningham Hartlieb, Indianapolis, Indiana.

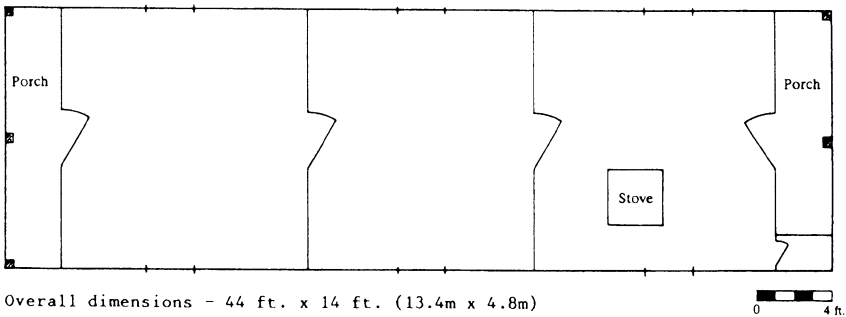


Figure 6. Former Yakely family houseboat, now Howard Durham's Fish Market, Ohio River, Old Shawneetown, Illinois, 1977. (Photo by Jens Lund).



Figure 7. Joe "Bunk" Owens family houseboat, 1978, Metropolis, Illinois. (Photo by Jens Lund).

Joe "Bunk" Owens Family Houseboat
Metropolis, Illinois 1978



Floor Plan

Figure 8. Joe "Bunk" Owens family houseboat, 1978, Metropolis, Illinois.

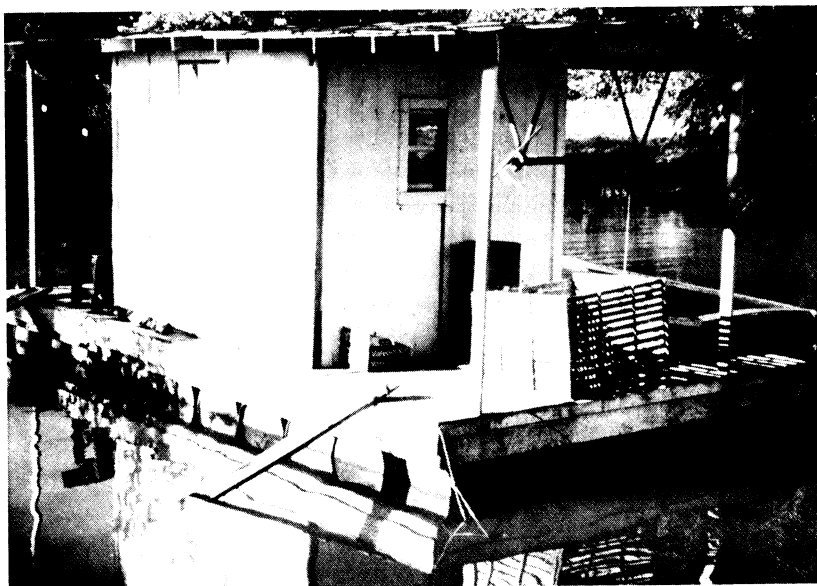
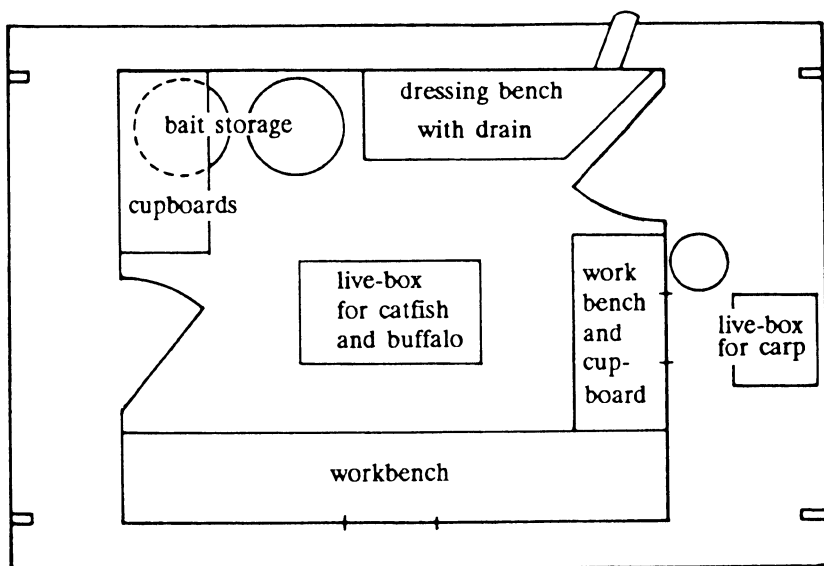


Figure 9. Fish dock built by Orval Loven, 1978, Bonpas Creek-Wabash River confluence, Grayville, Illinois. (Photo by Jens Lund).



Overall dimensions - 18 ft. x 12 ft. (5.5m x 3.65m)

Floor plan

0 4 ft.

Figure 10. Floorplan of Orval Loven's fish dock, 1979, Grayville, Illinois.

Puyallup Valley Hop Kilns: Preliminary Findings

P H Y L L I S A . H A R R I S O N

Since the 1860s, Washington State has been one of the nation's leading producers of hops, a flavoring agent used in the brewing of beer. The large curing sheds or kilns used to dry the hops are landmarks in hop producing areas, and the early wooden structures provide particularly distinctive markers on the landscape. The following observations on hop kilns and hop production in the Puyallup Valley of western Washington constitute a preliminary investigation into the kilns, the work and social activities associated with them, and the emotional and cultural significance of the kilns for current Puyallup Valley residents.

Hop production began in western Washington when pioneer Jacob Meeker brought the crop to the Puyallup Valley in 1865. Hop production spread quickly to other portions of western Washington, particularly to the Boistfort Valley in Lewis County, to Snohomish and Snoqualmie in King County, and to the Skagit Valley in Skagit County. In the 1880s, with the onset of irrigation in central Washington, hop production began in the Yakima Valley where it increased steadily in subsequent decades. By 1940, central Washington had taken over as the state's main producer. Common to hop production throughout the state was the curing shed, basically a wooden box with a ground floor furnace, an elevated drying floor, a cupola for ventilation, and an attached baling area. The early kilns were wooden, either log or frame. Contemporary kilns in central Washington follow the same basic model, though made of metal and using conveyor belts for

moving the hop cones from truck to drying room to baler (Lindeman and Williams 1985:29).

Hop production in the Puyallup Valley began in 1865 when Jacob Meeker obtained a few roots from a brewer in Olympia. Although the elder Meeker died before he could see the full success of his experiment, his son Ezra Meeker continued hop production, earning a reputation as the state's leading producer of and expert on hop cultivation; at one time, he devoted some five hundred acres to the vines. From the late 1860s to 1891, hops comprised the primary commercial crop of the valley. In the mid-1880s, cultivators were achieving 3000 pounds per acre and Puyallup Valley hops were being shipped all over the world. During this period, the crop is estimated to have brought some twenty million dollars into the valley. In 1891, a combination of plant lice and mold devastated the hop fields in western Washington. The remedy, brought to Washington from London by another Meeker son, Fred, required such quantities of whale oil soap and quassia wood chips as to prove nearly as fatal to the crop as the original pests (Lingreen and Tiller 1981:13). By 1895, crop production was still faltering in the Puyallup fields. A generation later, Prohibition added to the difficulties of hop growers by decreasing the demand for what had become a much more difficult and costly crop. Although hop farming continued on a much reduced scale as late as the 1960s, it never regained its earlier place of prominence in the economy of the valley. Area farmers responded by diversifying their crops, adding berries in the early 1900s, rhubarb and bulbs (tulip and daffodil) in the 1920s, and Christmas tree farms in the 1960s.

Jacob Meeker cured his first harvest of hops in the loft over his living room, and most of the earliest hop crops were cured in the producer's home. By the late 1860s, due in part to the research and experimentation of the Meekers, specialized curing sheds or kilns came into use, and by the 1870s the typical hop kiln was a familiar sight in the valley. The general model for a Puyallup Valley kiln is "approximately twenty-four feet square with interior walls of lath and plaster, normally suspended on stone foundation blocks several inches off the ground with drying rooms seventeen feet above the kiln floor and built with floors of slats laid one and a half inches apart" (Graham 1978:7). Ezra Meeker's 1883 publication, *Hop Culture in the United States*, contains fairly specific guidelines for the overall dimensions of the kilns, and most Puyallup Valley kilns fall easily within his guidelines. Still, by the time Meeker's work appeared, many kilns had been in operation for over a generation in the valley, and those built after 1883 suggest that construction details were determined as much by a

grower and his neighbors as by Meeker's treatise as no two seem to follow precisely the same plan. A forty acre farm generally possessed two kilns separated by a single baling room, all housed under one roof. (See Fig. 1)

In 1884, while the Meeker family had the most notable hop farms in the valley, some twenty-seven other farmers had smaller hop operations, and their kilns literally dotted the valley (Adventures 1987:31). As late as the 1940s many of the kilns remained, the large structures proving fairly adaptable to crops such as bulbs. "I could see ten from where we stand now," said Louise Koehler-Anderson in a recent interview. In 1978, six of the kilns remained; in 1988 the number is down to four.

One of the four is the Woolrey-Koehler kiln, remarkable for being one of the oldest kilns in the valley and for the use of both log and frame construction. The kiln itself was built in two stages. Jacob Woolrey acquired his farm in the 1860s and by 1869 had constructed one log kiln for curing hops. The charred cedar logs, some as large as thirty inches in diameter, are square notched and appear to lack any stone foundation. The kiln measures twenty-five feet six inches by twenty-six feet and the interior of the stove chamber is plastered. According to Pierce County records, Woolrey added a second kiln of frame construction in 1890 (although current occupants believe that their father, Karl Koehler, built the 1890 addition). Measuring approximately twenty-four feet square, the second kiln is sided with horizontal fir and the interior is lath and plaster. A large baling room was added at the time the second kiln was built. It measures forty-six feet ten inches by thirty-four feet, and is of frame construction with vertical board and batten siding. A single roof ties the three together.

Karl Koehler, an immigrant from Saxony, Germany, purchased the Woolrey farm in 1902, and whether or not he built a portion of the hop kiln he did continue hop cultivation on the farm through the 1930s. A firm believer in diversification, Karl Koehler had an apple orchard and a dairy along with his hops, and in the 1930s he replaced his hops with tulip and daffodil bulbs, using the baling room of the old kiln for the sorting and storage of bulbs.

Harvesting the hops required much labor and so involved family and neighbors. Hops were probably the first crop to bring migrant workers to the Puyallup Valley, and in the earliest days of cultivation some of the migrant workers were Chinese. Prejudice, anti-Chinese legislation and violence in the 1880s drove the Chinese workers from the hop fields, and current residents remember the majority of migrant workers being Native Americans from British Columbia. Frank

Swalander, eighty-nine, remembers harvesting hops when he was about ten years old:

I picked hops. All the kids did. If you were a kid or an Indian, you picked hops. I remember the Indians would come from British Columbia, down the Sound and up the Puyallup River in the dugouts. Dugout canoes as long as from here to the road. They'd camp by the Puyallup River and hop farmers would hitch a team to bring them out to their farms. They'd set up camp on the hop farms. They'd catch salmon in the river and smoke it while they were here.

Louise Koehler-Anderson, daughter of Karl Koehler, remembers hop harvests during the 1920s:

We had a special crew that came down from British Columbia. They were Indian families, and they were the same families that came every year. We had sheep and they would take the wool back with them and bring us sweaters and socks and caps and everything. . . . It was like a United Nations. . . . And there were white people who helped here too. Quite a number of white people. In fact, when the hops were done over at my Aunt Annie's, . . . then they would get together and if there was still work to do over here, they would come over and help finish up. . . . It was like any other thing here in the valley, like the berries or any other crop. There would be school kids and there would be older people from the town, people who wanted to get out and make themselves a little extra money to eat and pay their taxes.

Pickers filled baskets which were dumped into larger boxes in the fields for transport to the kilns. Frank Swalander remembers his uncle Carl who, crippled and unable to work in the hop fields, built containers for pickers to take to the fields. Using a froe, he split sections of fir and nailed them to two rectangular frames, creating an open-topped box slightly larger on top than on the bottom. He also nailed a board seat across one corner of the box, so the picker could push the basket under the hop vines and sit while he picked. The finished box was about thirty inches tall, thirty inches wide, and twenty-five inches deep. (See Figs. 4 and 5)

Frank Swalander also remembers the dangers of hop production. "Hardly a year went by without a barn burning. They'd just explode from the dry hops. They were log barns, mostly, logs lined with plaster, and they had to be air tight. The furnace would get red hot, and that would start the fire. You could see the light for ten miles. A year's hops and all your equipment gone."

A happier recollection is of the dances following the harvest. "The crews would move around, and every time you'd get done in a field, you'd have a big dance in a hop kiln. Sliding those burlap bales over the floor [bales of hops were wrapped in burlap] would polish them to a shine. You'd have a big dance, usually three or four in a season. . . . Square dances." The music he remembers is "violins, mouth harps,

guitars, and maybe an accordion," and the food, "oh, sandwiches and cakes, and probably beer and wine, but we kids weren't allowed near that!" Late nineteenth and early twentieth-century photographs of hop pickers in the fields, festooned with cone-filled hop vines as they posed for the camera, add to the picture of festivity that accompanied at least the conclusion of the harvest.

Despite the fact that hops have not served a vital role in area agriculture for over fifty years, and despite the fact that the number of kilns in the valley has decreased steadily as hop production declined, these unusual structures still play a vital role in resident's definitions of themselves and their region. Joe and Delores Meshke bought a hop farm with a kiln dated 1907, which they have incorporated into their Christmas tree farm. They were horrified when "newcomers" down the road bought another old hop farm and demolished the kiln to make room for more trees. Frank Swalander summarizes the dilemma, "I wish they'd save those darn things, but, I guess you can't save everything." Occasionally a stray hop vine reappears. One such vine is carefully noted in the locally-produced volume on Orting history. Louise Koehler-Anderson described another:

Every once in a while you find a spot where there is still an active root, and you just kind of nurture that and just love seeing it grow. We had one down at the golf course for quite a while and it was quite a topic of conversation. Wally Statz really loved showing it off and Bill Copeland would get his hand on it and then there'd be a little article in the paper and it would revive the good old days. . . . The days when hops were king.

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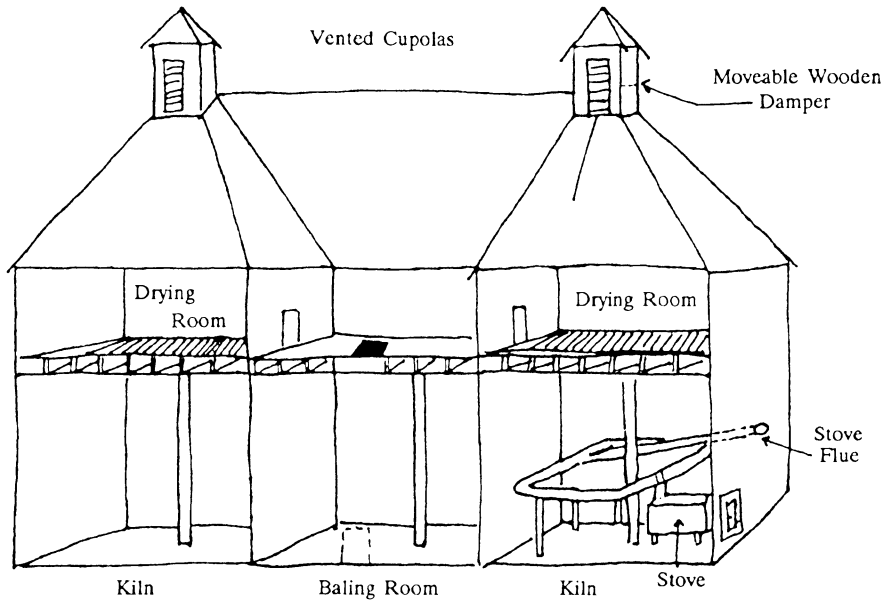


Figure 1. Basic design of a Puyallup Valley hop kiln. Hops were loaded into the drying room via a system of exterior ramps which ran to doors leading into the drying rooms. Heat, maintained at 150 degrees for fifteen to twenty hours, rose from the stovepipes through the slatted drying room floors. The slatted floors, covered with burlap, held freshly harvested hops, piled two feet deep. Rising heat carried moisture from the curing hops out through vents in the cupolas. Once cured, the hops were moved to the baling room and dropped through the floor into a compressing device which formed burlap-wrapped bales for shipment. (Graham/Gallacci 1983:7)



Figure 2. Undated photograph of Woolrey/Koehler kiln, 1890-1940. Photo courtesy of Louise Koehler-Anderson.



Figure 3. The Woolrey/Koehler kiln as it stands in 1988.

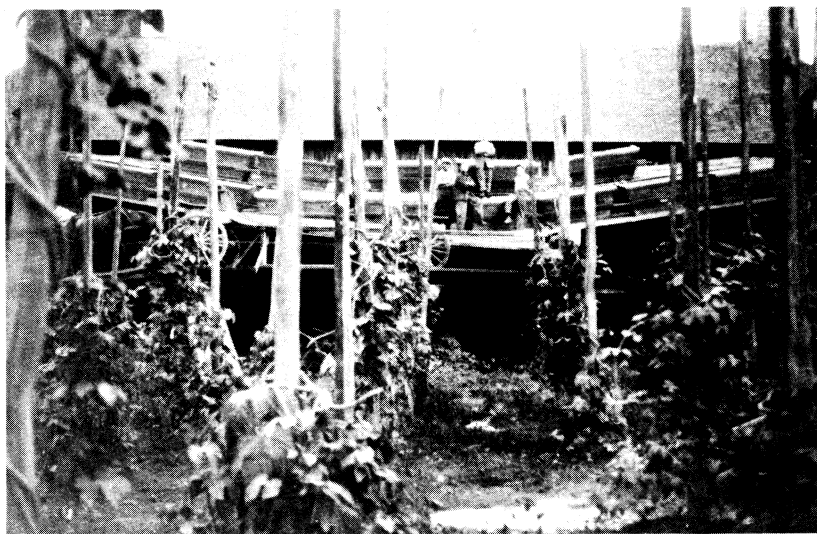


Figure 4. Undated photo of workers on Koehler hop farm. Note hop boxes on deck, team and wagon on ramp leading to kiln. Photo courtesy of Louise Koehler-Anderson.



Figure 5. Undated photo of workers on Koehler hop farm. Note picker's baskets and boxes. Photo courtesy of Louise Koehler-Anderson.

Here Today, Gone Tomorrow: Determining the Disappearance Rate of Agricultural Structures in Pike County, Ohio

ALLEN G. NOBLE
DEBORAH PHILLIPS KING

In 1981, several oversized corn cribs elevated on pillars stood on the floodplain of the Scioto river just south of Waverly, Ohio (Figure 1). Four years later, in 1985, a team of geographers from The University of Akron visited the floodplain in Pike County, Ohio, to look for additional elevated, elongated corn cribs, and other historic structures associated with the corn economy of the late 1800s and early 1900s and to document these structures (Noble 1988). One of the corn cribs photographed on the first trip, in 1981, was no longer standing. The grassy ramps which stood at each end of the corn crib, and the stone support pillars were in the process of being bulldozed down. One more structure in the Scioto River floodplain was in the process of disappearing.

This sequence of observations and the loss of a large agricultural structure raised the question of the disappearance rate of farm buildings in Pike County. Agricultural structures, which in an earlier time manifested distinct functions, rapidly are disappearing from the landscape. It is not surprising that relic structures disappear. Once a building becomes obsolete or its original function disappears or changes, it is likely to be abandoned or removed. In agricultural areas, obsolete structures may be destroyed in order to provide additional space for planting crops. Some abandoned structures become the victims of time and simple neglect. An obsolete structure does not

warrant much effort and expense in maintenance. A strong incentive to remove relic structures lies in the fact that taxes are often based upon buildings and their removal may reduce taxes. Finally, fire insurance rates may be lowered by removal of obsolete buildings, especially those built of wood and close to other buildings. Since structures stand as testimonials to a different age, it seems valid to ask, "How quickly are structures disappearing from the landscape?"

The purpose of this study is to determine the disappearance rate of agricultural structures in Pike County, Ohio. Pike County is located in south-central Ohio, 60 miles south of Columbus, the nearest major city (Figure 2, inset). Historically, the economy of Pike County has been based upon the land. The western part of the county is a hilly, timber-producing area, while in the east, the hills flatten and the soils improve for farming. The floodplain of the Scioto River, which traverses the eastern part of the county, is its most fertile and intensively farmed section. This study concentrates on the floodplain and the agricultural structures built to take advantage of the floodplain soils.

For the sake of easing field observations for this study, and to facilitate map and aerial photograph interpretation, the floodplain is considered as the area between the old Ohio and Erie Canal on the west side of the Scioto River, and the Norfolk and Western railroad on the east (Figure 2). The floodplain is approximately one and a half miles wide as it traverses the county. Structures within the incorporated areas of Piketon and Waverly have not been included in this study.

Methodology

The first step in this investigation involved counting the number of structures in the floodplain study area on U.S.G.S. 15 minute maps dating from 1906 and 1915. Secondly, a comparison was made to see if any of the same structures were symbolized on 7.5 minute maps from 1961. The comparison was made solely on the basis of location since the map symbolism for structures changed between the early maps and the 1961 maps. Figure 3 depicts part of the study area and illustrates the procedures and difficulties of identifying the structures. On the 1906 map, two buildings are mapped along a field road south of the river. These two structures do not appear on the 1961 map.

On the early maps, the legend indicates that the small, square, black symbols on the maps are "buildings". Map users cannot be certain exactly which kinds of structures fall into this general category. On the 1961 maps, two types of structural symbols appear: an open

black square or rectangle can represent a barn, outbuilding or warehouse; while a solid black square or rectangle represents a dwelling place or place of employment. It is possible that cases exist where an early structure was demolished and replaced by a structure built on the same site. If this occurred, the early building was counted as still standing. Since this study deals with the disappearance of structures, this inconsistency in symbolism did not cause a major problem. However, simple counts of building symbols from maps with different dates could yield misleading information.

The third observation was based upon 1977 aerial photographs viewed at the County Engineer's office in Waverly. The large-scale aerial photographs made it very easy to count the structures within the study area and often even to differentiate their uses.

The fieldwork was completed prior to examining the aerial photographs. Since structures dating from 1915 were the basis for determining the rate of disappearance, field checks were essential to ensure that newer buildings would not be counted on the aerial photographs.

One caveat should be mentioned regarding the accuracy of U.S.G.S. maps. Researchers traditionally put considerable faith in the reliability of 7.5 and 15 minute maps, as basic research tools. During this study, we realized that the maps are not perfect. In field traverses, some structures, as well as roads, were located which did not appear on any of the maps. While these minor inconsistencies did not materially affect this study, those working in the field should keep these deficiencies in mind.

Results

What do observations made from the maps, aerial photographs and fieldwork tell us about the disappearance of structures in the Pike County floodplain? Figure 4 shows the results of five observations based on different sources over a 72 year time period from 1915 to 1987. Initially, there were 89 structures in the floodplain study area. By 1961, 50 structures remained. In 1977, 37 of the original structures were indicated on aerial photographs, and in 1986 and 1987, fieldwork confirmed that 31 of the original structures were still standing in various states of repair. Based on these figures, the mean disappearance rate over the entire time period is: 1 structure every 15 months. By breaking the time period down by observation periods, the rates vary:

1915-1961	39 structures disappeared OR 1 every 22 months
1961-1977	14 structures disappeared OR 1 every 13 months
1977-1987	5 structures disappeared OR 1 every 24 months

These numbers indicate that the disappearance rates vary, and over the last 10 years the rate has been slower. The slower rate can be explained by four factors: 1) the process of urban sprawl and suburbanization in Pike County has slowed; 2) the structures that were poorly constructed or maintained have already met their demise and the sturdier structures remain; 3) a limited number of structures have been given a different function and because of this their maintenance has improved; and 4) the cost to remove the structures exceeds the benefits and the economy of Pike County in recent years has not been very healthy.

If we look at the results geographically, more structures remain in the central and southern sections of the floodplain than in the north (Figure 5). Most of the structures near Waverly, the county seat, have disappeared. In contrast, Piketon, being the less prosperous of the two towns, is still surrounded by several original structures. Looking at the disappearance of the structures by township (except Newton), considerable variation is revealed. Virtually all of the structures in Jackson township have disappeared (Figure 6). Seven structures remain in both Pee Pee and Seal townships, but more of the original structures have disappeared in Pee Pee township. Scioto township comprises a large part of the floodplain, and just over half of the original structures are still standing. Finally, all of the structures have disappeared in Camp Creek township, but the floodplain in that township is very narrow. Because of insufficient air photo coverage Newton township could not be included.

Analysis

Why have the structures disappeared in the floodplain, despite an overall population increase of 25 percent from 1900 to 1980? Clearly, the rate of disappearance of structures is not related directly to population levels. As figure 7 shows, population declined from 1900 to 1930, experienced a growth spurt in 1940, and has generally increased since 1950. However, the agricultural statistics for Pike County reflect more accurately what has happened in the farming area of the floodplain (Table 1). The early 1900s represented a prosperous period. At the turn of the century, there were four times as many farms as there are today, the number of acres being farmed was at its peak, and corn yields were high. In the 1950s, a drastic change

occurred both in the number of farms and the average size of farms. Even as farm consolidation began, employment alternatives in Pike County and nearby areas became available. The federal government picked economically depressed Pike County to be the site of a Uranium Enrichment Plant. As a reaction to this investment, Waverly built housing to accommodate 4000 new residents; 1800 jobs actually materialized. Bristol Village, one 400 unit subdivision built on the floodplain, went up for sale due to foreclosure in 1961. Today, Bristol Village is successfully operated as a retirement village by a nonprofit church organization.

Few scholars have given much attention to the question of the disappearance of vernacular structures other than to bemoan the loss of a part of our collective cultural heritage. Probably because of this lacuna, many students of material culture make the mistake of assuming that the current relic landscape is a faithful representation of earlier periods. At least one scholar recently has shown that such is not the case (Herman 1987). Fortunately, in Pike County the farm structures are overwhelmingly built of wood so that the rates of disappearance are not influenced by differences in building materials.

Overall, several factors contribute to explain why structures have disappeared in the floodplain:

1. Consolidation of farms has taken place, thus requiring fewer farm structures;
2. Corn is no longer stored in the large, elevated corn cribs which were a characteristic feature of the landscape in the early years of the century;
3. Storage requirements for farm machinery have changed;
4. People have various perceptions concerning what structures have "historical" value, and farmers cannot afford to be sentimental, therefore maintenance becomes an issue;
5. On the better managed or more prosperous farms, the cost of fire insurance works to eliminate the obsolete wooden farm structures;
6. Land use in the floodplain has changed, especially since 1950;

7. Abandoned and poorly maintained structures are simply falling down.

Summary

Why is this information on disappearance rates and patterns important? If we base a projection on the slowest rate of disappearance, and the rate remains constant, where one structure disappears every 2 years, it will take 62 years for the remaining structures in the floodplain, dating back to 1915, to completely disappear. This seems like a long time, but in 62 years the structures will be at least 130 years old. How many structures are standing today that date back to 130 years?

Several structures remain in the floodplain of the Scioto River—elongated corn cribs, scale houses and many distinctive houses which symbolize more prosperous times. These structures are valuable keys to understanding the settlement, economy and the resources of Pike County. Hopefully, a few structures representative of different technologies and a more lucrative time will be preserved. As scholars with map, aerial photograph and fieldwork skills, we can perhaps motivate and assist efforts to preserve some of this material cultural heritage for future generations, before it is too late.

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Table 1: Agriculture in Pike County, Ohio
(Sources: U.S. Census)

Year	Number of Farms	Acres of Farmland	Average Acres/Farm	Corn Yields (bushels)
1900	2385	243,270	102	1,053,680
1910	2189	242,226	111	1,092,432
1920	1940	229,343	118	731,603
1930	1592	204,806	129	873,513
1940	1720	209,214	123	915,948
1950	1656	169,268	102	719,419
1960	919	133,004	145	710,094
1970	770	126,298	164	444,061
1980	607	110,466	182	592,800



Figure 1. The elevated corn crib of the Scioto Valley.

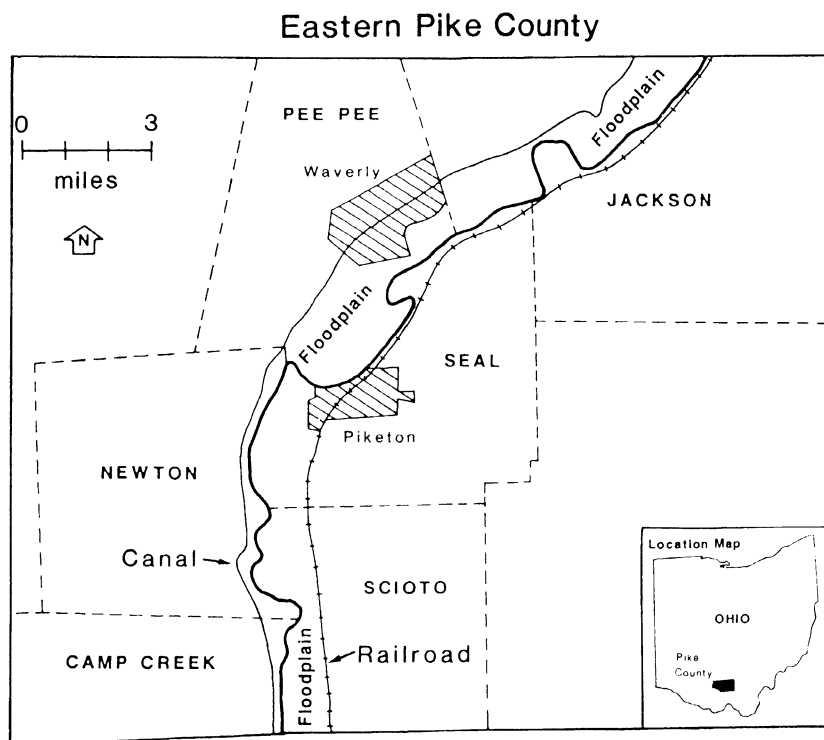


Figure 2. Eastern Pike County.

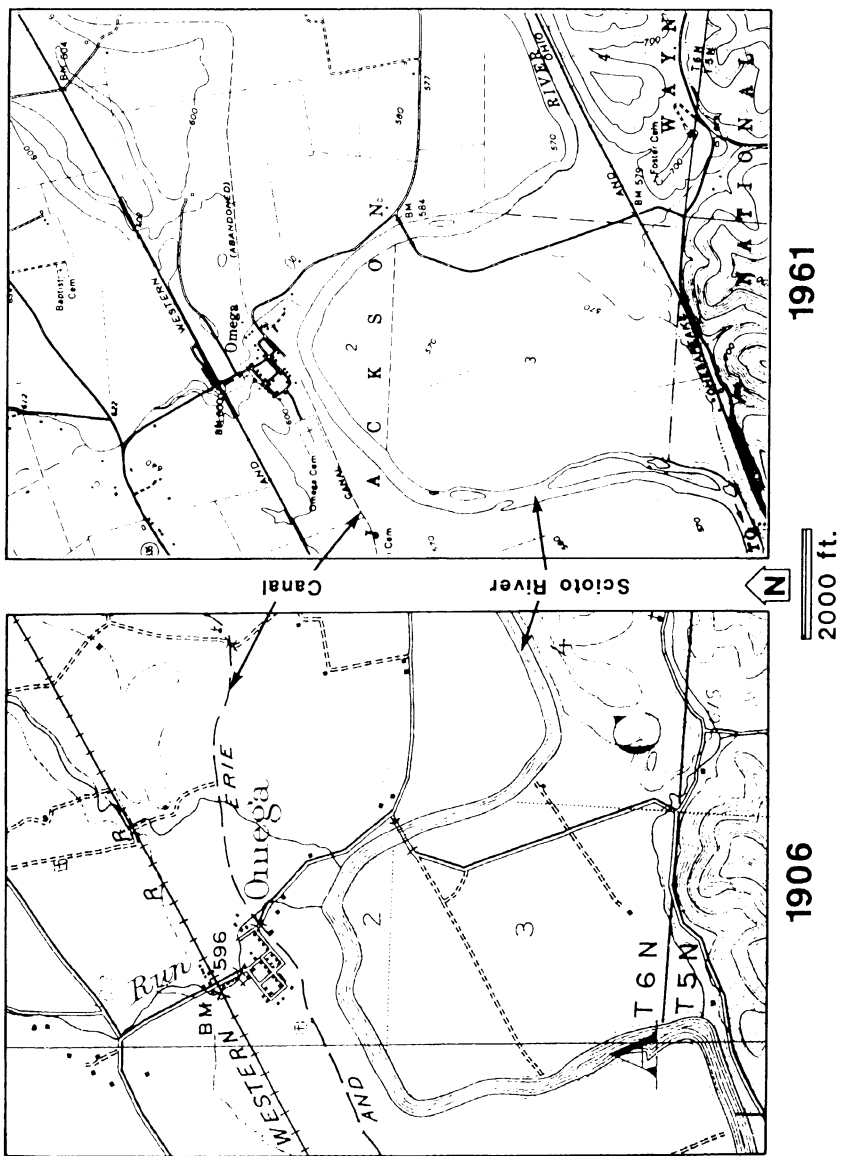


Figure 3. Topographic maps showing rural structures, 1906 and 1961.

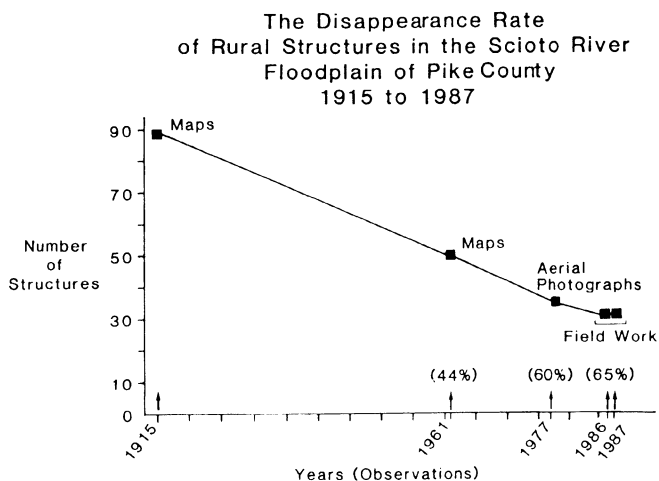


Figure 4. Disappearance of rural structures.

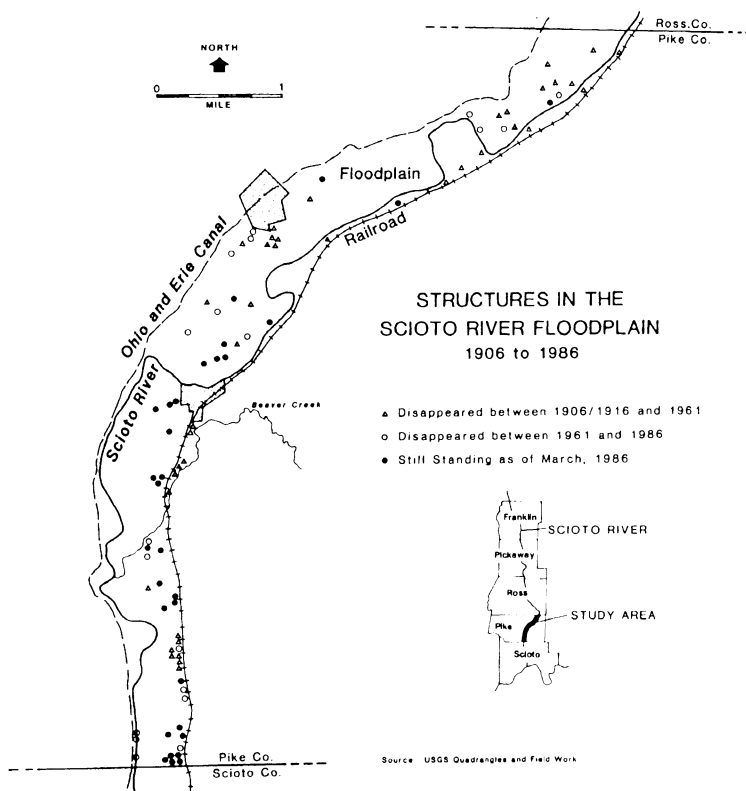


Figure 5. Rural structures of the Scioto River floodplain.

The Disappearance of Structures in Pike County

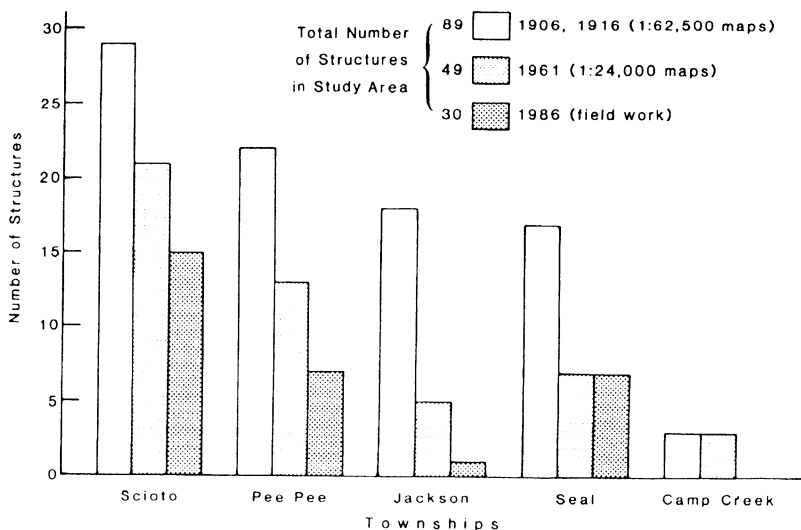


Figure 6. Disappearance of structures in Pike County.

Population of Pike County, Ohio

1850 to 1980

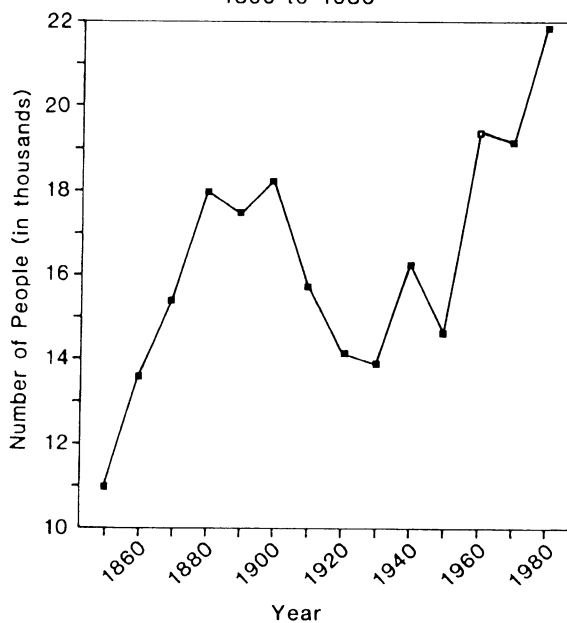


Figure 7. Population of Pike County, Ohio.

Folklife Starts Here: The Background of Material Culture Scholarship in Pennsylvania

S I M O N J. B R O N N E R

During the bicentennial celebration in Philadelphia of the American Constitution, a time for celebrating and cogitating democratic principles, Pennsylvania billboards told travellers that "America Starts Here." America's political history is indeed wrapped up in the momentous deliberations which occurred in Pennsylvania. Let notice be additionally served of the social and cultural legacy important to the work of Warren Roberts which also lies there: America's first plural society and a folklife studies movement geared to its study. Roberts reflected on this influence in his "Autobiographical Note" for *Viewpoints on Folklife*; in the piece he acknowledged how he kept coming back to Pennsylvania to inform his budding folklife research. He relied on the nation's first folklife journal, *Pennsylvania Folklife*, and in what he describes as a kind of initiation into the folklife fraternity, in 1967 he trekked to a conference in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, where he "met many of the scholars studying traditional material culture," including his life-long folklife comrades Henry Glassie and Don Yoder. In this essay, I want to examine reasons for the historical priority within Pennsylvania of material culture (particularly folk art and architecture) and folklife scholarship, and consider the future as this priority has become a national movement, thanks greatly to the missionary efforts of Warren Roberts.

Pennsylvania among the states holds the distinction in folklife studies of boasting probably the most extensive record of articles and

books on folk art and craft. The record reaches well back into the nineteenth century and continues to build today. This legacy has helped to convey the image of Pennsylvania as a place where hand-wrought tradition is momentous. It is an image filled with bank barns, fraktur, painted furniture, paper cutting, decorated stoves, baskets, quilts, and pottery. It is an image combining the hardy practicality associated with Pennsylvania's settlers and the beauty they carved into their lives. This image undergirds much of today's folk art scholarship in general—emphasis on handwork, rural life, and domestic goods—and reflects several patterns that call particularly on the Pennsylvania experience.

The first noticeable pattern has to be the ethnic context of art and crafts. As opposed to the relative homogeneity of the early southern and New England settlement, Pennsylvania encouraged, even legislated, multicultural and multi-religious settlement from groups outside the English mold. Coming into Pennsylvania, they formed distinctive ethnic and religious communities, often isolated from one another, that helped preserve Old World customs and language. In Pennsylvania, the character of group life in America became defined. As historian Michael Zuckerman emphasized, "The very diversity of the area demands the requisite attention to variation. Tribalism may have emerged among the Quakers of New Garden, but a far different familialism appeared close by among the Friends of the Welsh Tract. Sects may have solidified in revolutionary Philadelphia, but privatism prevailed in the revolutionary countryside a few miles up the Schuylkill" (1982:23-24). Unlike New England where studies of communities leap to national generalization, in Pennsylvania, study by geographic and cultural necessity is essentially local, primarily ethnic and religious. Yet it is in this local arena that studies in Pennsylvania more often grasp the meaning rather than the events of the American experience.

The contrast of Pennsylvania to the nation is less a matter of landscape than ethnicity, amply demonstrated by the coverage of German heritage among Pennsylvania's many groups. Even in this nod to the dominance of German material culture and folklife in Pennsylvania's history, there is a plural, fragmented story. The Dunkards and Brethren had their towns, while those known as the Amish diffused sects from Old Order Mennonite to the Byler Amish. Even as the sectarian emphasis has eased, residents still distinguish between Old German, or the "Dutch" of colonial Pennsylvania, and New German brought over in the wave of late-nineteenth-century immigration. Pennsylvania's identities, its sense of ethnicity, are bound up in its history and settlement.

The second pattern is an emphasis on decorative and pre-industrial arts. The combination of practicality and beauty is an oft-cited theme in the work on Pennsylvania's material culture. Some of this emphasis is a matter of ethnic cultural values, but often it is also a consideration of agrarian community life. In Pennsylvania there is a kind of national model for the conflict of industrialism and agrarianism. This hearth of American industrialization and great cities built around it, also is home to one of America's largest rural populations, a population that clings fiercely to small-town life. The abundance of communities in Pennsylvania inspired a variety and profusion of pre-industrial arts and crafts for localized use lasting to this day.

The attention to small-town life leads to a third pattern of emphasis on arts of regional and local concern within Pennsylvania. To be sure, the role of family and occupation, especially on the farm, in the shaping of folk art comes through in many works of Pennsylvania folklife research, but even when these themes are developed there is usually a strong connection to the many small communities emerging on the broad Pennsylvania landscape.

The fourth pattern is one of approach: studies of Pennsylvania's crafts commonly emphasize the role of crafts in everyday life. This emphasis is at the heart of what emerged as the "folklife" perspective, the consideration of crafts, architecture, custom, and lore in a total culture, rather than the life history of the item under scrutiny. Some academic influences particularly color this perspective in Pennsylvania: one can detect special consideration in many entries to historical, religious, and geographical topics.

The Ethnic Connection

Pennsylvania began its settlement late, when compared to the other colonies on the Eastern Seaboard. The Commonwealth also differed from its neighbors in the kind of settlers who came. Consistently, Pennsylvania attracted disenfranchised religious and ethnic groups from Europe. First came the English Quakers during the late seventeenth century, who were joined by Dutch and Welsh brethren. Almost immediately the principle of a plural society emerged with this mixing of European peoples in a "holy experiment." Attracted by promises of ethnic and religious tolerance and a landscape reminiscent of their homeland, persecuted religious sects from German-speaking countries came next to give a contrasting image to the English roots of most of the Eastern Seaboard. Mennonites, Amish, and Dunkers from Switzerland and the German Rhineland spread inland into Pennsylvania establishing close-knit farming communities. Further rooting their

culture onto the landscape were their sectarian ties, which came out in various religious arts and sectarian costumes. Showing the cultural strength of these Pennsylvania communities, the German language, art, and life of the Old Country persisted well into the twentieth century.¹ Near to the Pennsylvania-German settlements were lowland Scots who had lived in northern Ireland, including many Presbyterians who had come during the eighteenth century to southeastern Pennsylvania for religious and economic opportunities. The result of this early settlement was an association of Pennsylvania's landscape with strong ethnic areas—particularly German and Scots-Irish communities. The distinctiveness of the arts and customs of these peoples, when compared to the predominant English background of the other colonies, helped create an image of folk-cultural islands within the new American nation.

When waves of southern and eastern European immigrants came to Pennsylvania during the late nineteenth century, they found encouragement from German and Scots-Irish precedents for maintenance of ethnic customs. Nonetheless, the life preserved by the Germans was not matched by later immigrants who tended to maintain aspects of their culture such as food, domestic arts, dance, and music in a more ethnically mixed environment. By then spreading out across the state from Philadelphia to Scranton and Pittsburgh, the new waves of Italian, Ukrainian, Serbian, Croatian, Polish, and Hungarian immigrants—to name a few of the nationalities—settled more into an urban experience than their German predecessors. Today, we see a new kind of immigration from Asia—particularly from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos—following almost a century after the influx of Asians mostly from China. The literature on the urban Chinese harped on the carry-over of exotic religious customs, medicine, arts, societies, and games of the immigrants mostly in Philadelphia, while from the new Asian immigrants studies have taken note of textile arts, lore, foodways, and beliefs of the Southeast Asians settled across Pennsylvania (Culin 1890; Peterson 1988:6-22; Miska 1980:20-23).

Against this background, the study of folklife in Pennsylvania typically stressed ethnic connections. The first local chapter of the American Folklore Society in Philadelphia, formed in 1889 to study the forms of folklore in America, diverged from the national society by organizing its work around ethnic "fields." It identified these fields as Anglo-American, Africo-American, and other "Local Foreign," such as "The Chinese Quarter," "The Italian Quarter," "The German Quarter," and "Gipsies" (Philadelphia Branch 1893:71-72).

Other indications of this ethnic bias can be seen in nineteenth-century studies and societies. The Pennsylvania-German Society was formed in 1891 and featured many folklife topics in its publications, and other periodicals such as *Pennsylvania-German*, *Penn Germania* and *German American Annals* began at the turn of the century. Thirty years earlier, *Atlantic Monthly* featured Phebe Earle Gibbons's essays on Pennsylvania folklife. His organization revolved around ethnic connections: under "Pennsylvania Dutch (Properly German)," he covered Quiltings, Festivals, and Manners and Customs, and he discussed similar topics for Swiss Exiles, Dunkers, Moravians, Schwenkfelders, Irish Farmers, and English. Sydney George Fisher, writing his classic *The Making of Pennsylvania* in 1896, characterized the state and its folkways by its "mixture of languages, nationalities, and religions," and the way "these divisions led a more or less distinct life of their own in colonial times." Pennsylvania was no melting pot, according to the literature, and the studies of immigrant crafts verified this fact by showing the "extremely varied and interesting," as Fisher called it, character of Pennsylvania.

The Celebration of Decorative and Pre-Industrial Arts

The lateness of Pennsylvania's settlement allowed until-then, rarely-heard-from immigrant farming settlements of the Germans and Scots-Irish to spread out over central Pennsylvania. The lateness also encouraged the rapid introduction of industrialism that began sweeping Europe in the eighteenth century into the port of Philadelphia. Fisher believed that Pennsylvania's reputation for tolerance also contributed to the acceptance of innovation in the region. The same immigrants that brought masterful craft skills to the United States found themselves highly sought after by the growing numbers of manufacturers in Philadelphia and its outskirts. By the 1790s, more than one-third of all exports of the United States came from Philadelphia. In 1795, Oliver Evans introduced his automated gristmill in the Philadelphia area; to the amazement of the public, the mill received raw material and delivered a finished product on a large scale with little human intervention. Similar transformations were occurring in the printing, cloth, leather, and iron industries. The American factory system took shape in these technological advancements; artisans and small farm operations, a mainstay of the Philadelphia economy for more than a century, felt squeezed out by more mills and iron furnaces. By 1800, at least 167 furnaces and forges had been established in Philadelphia; by the early nineteenth century, Philadelphia led the nation in manufacturing and population.

Pennsylvania's populations, especially its German settlers, were known for their practicality bred by agricultural life. Out of this tradition, Pennsylvanians offered the nation the Conestoga Wagon and the Pennsylvania Rifle, known for their durability, efficiency, and economy. The German bank barns so much a fixture on the Pennsylvania landscape were architectural machines similarly built for use and efficiency. Larger than English barns, the bank barns used the hillsides for extra support and created extended space on the second level with an overhanging forebay. The forebay additionally served to protect livestock and equipment underneath (Glass 1986). Yet it was hard to miss the attention to decorating these barns. Builders formed ventilation holes in the second level in geometric and natural shapes; elaborate weathervanes graced the tops of the barns; hex signs colorfully marked the front of the barn. The decoration often worked in consistent motifs of tulips, birds, swirls, and hearts which added symbolic meanings of good fortune to the equipment of agriculture and farm living, but they also seemed to certify the masterwork of practicality by covering it in pleasing designs that drew attention to the value of the utilitarian object. To be sure, decoration often indicated a maker's cultural insignia and background, but it also marked the object as one made to last and to be cared for. This approach to the built environment carried over into the household, where rugs, quilts, towels, coverlets, documents, stoves, and furniture often carried decorative touches. Even after the landscape appeared more industrial, the domestic interior perpetuated traditional arts, and the hearth and bed became the dominant symbol of traditional ethnic life in Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania folk-art scholarship emerged to recognize the force of industrial change in the region, and to celebrate the domestic domains of stability. One can look to some of the nation's first folklife collections to see these influences on the attention to pre-industrial and decorative arts. John Fanning Watson created a stir in the early nineteenth century, for example, by publishing his *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in the Olden Time* (1830), in which he romantically recorded accounts of proud artisans. During his lifetime, he claimed, great changes had occurred in the lives of the artisans. "In less than twenty years," wrote Watson, "our exports have grown from twenty to eighty millions . . . Our inventions and improvements in the arts, which began but yesterday, make us, even now, 'a wonder unto many'"(Ibid:2). Thus he sought to document the handskills of the aged before their proud traditions associated with the bonds of community and spirit passed; he recorded the reminiscences of wheelwrights,

blacksmiths, and furniture makers. Many of these pre-industrial arts did not disappear, as Watson feared, but the belief that their extinction was imminent, coupled with the assumption that Pennsylvania's conservative rural German settlers preserved the old ways, guided the hunt for folk arts for many years to come. Indeed, the use of the term "folk art" and the decorative crafts it described during the late nineteenth century were particularly associated with Pennsylvania researchers before the term became generally popular in American studies during the 1930s (Robacker 1959:20-29; de Jonge 1972:10-13; Bronner 1984a:xi-xxvii).

A pivotal figure in the late nineteenth-century boom of interest in pre-industrial and decorative arts is Henry Mercer of Doylestown, Pennsylvania. Repeating some of Watson's rhetoric, Mercer claimed that "mechanical improvements in human handicraft at the beginning of the nineteenth century have suddenly transformed the American farmer from a pioneer relying for equipment upon his own skill and industry to a husbandman abundantly supplied with labor-saving devices." For Mercer, the value of preserving the old crafts was that "they give us a fresh grasp upon the vitality of the American beginning." Himself an industrialist, Mercer appreciated the integrity of handwork and its closeness to nature. In 1897, he compiled an influential exhibit entitled *Tools of the Nation Maker*, and followed with essays on fraktur and decorated stove plates. He then began building his dream of a folklife museum to house the collection and re-create the setting of pre-industrial life, now known as the Mercer Museum. His collection was not alone, as indicated by the publication of F.J.F. Schantz's *The Domestic Life and Characteristics of the Pennsylvania-German Pioneer* (1900) and, later, the famed collecting of the Landis Brothers which led to the establishment of the State Farm Museum near Lancaster, Pennsylvania (Landis 1939:71; 1945:43,46,49).

The Community Emphasis

In Pennsylvania, the idea of community is a material, not abstract, concept. When Pennsylvanians talk about community, they're talking about their towns and ethnic settlements (Zelinsky 1977:127-47; Hopple 1971-72:18-40). Just travel the old pike in Central Pennsylvania from Harrisburg to Carlisle, a distance under twenty miles, and you can go through a dozen towns. There's no thought here of incorporating into a larger unit, as cities in the Midwest have done. And residents maintain fierce loyalties to their small towns, manifested in Old Home Days, local historical societies, and town festivals. Another indication is that residents still identify where they live by the small

town name rather than the large urban center around which it may revolve. Considering the historical roots of this town identity, geographer Wilbur Zelinsky noted that the process of town founding advanced more vigorously in eighteenth-century southeastern and central Pennsylvania than over any other extended tract in British North America.

The Pennsylvania town has several distinctive characteristics. One peculiarity, when compared to other American regions, is the tightness of the settlements. Residences are built close together and close to the street, and as Zelinsky observed, this tendency "appears in those attenuated one- or two-street villages that straggle far into the countryside." Unlike town plans elsewhere, Pennsylvania towns often mix dwellings, shops, and offices in a single area and relegate churches, cemeteries, and schools to peripheral locations. Other common features in the Pennsylvania town are the diamond or square, often where a public market once stood, and a network of attractive alleys running through the town. Similar to many settlements in Germany, the compactness of the towns is contrasted with sprawling outlying areas of farmland or woods that are kept fairly pristine. The effect is to attain an "urbane intimacy and lively visual variety" in town while maintaining a pastoral landscape on its outskirts. This pattern reflects the varied settlement characteristic of the plural sectarian society that originally came into Pennsylvania, and fosters the bonds of tradition working in tightly knit communities. Part of the reason that folk arts are associated with these communities is the location of crafts and services in each town. The compact town commonly featured blacksmiths, wheelwrights, tinsmiths, and other craftsmen along the main street in addition to the farmers who brought crafts to sell at market. The profusion of towns throughout the landscape encouraged the establishment of many craft services and apprentice traditions through Pennsylvania. Documentation of crafts in Pennsylvania was often a way to recall town life and the quality of goods found within one's town. It also spoke to the speculation that along with industrial change, urbanization threatened Pennsylvania's customary folk life revolving around the almost-communal towns. Folk arts particularly showed local variation, and projected an "intimacy and lively visual variety" reminiscent of the towns.

Hence, local study of folklife and history have been strong in Pennsylvania. Watson's *Annals*, reprinted in many editions to the end of the nineteenth century, was an influence on the efforts to record folk traditions as part of town histories in Pennsylvania. The guide for study published in 1893 by the Philadelphia chapter of the American

Folklore Society made the emphasis of community explicit. It urged the study of "usages of a community which are peculiar to itself, and which, taken together, constitute its individuality when compared with other communities." Henry Mercer's fame in folklife studies was indeed based on the study of his beloved Doylestown and surrounding towns in Bucks County for the Bucks County Historical Society. In this light, with the community holding the key to tradition and creative expression, we might better understand his particularly Pennsylvanian boast in 1897 that when considering folk crafts, "we need not look so far ahead to imagine the time when if we do anything like our duty, the student of these things, whoever he may be, will not go to Washington, Boston, New York, Chicago or anywhere else in the country to study American history from this fresh point of view, but will be compelled to come to Doylestown" (1897:289).

The communities of Pennsylvania relate well to one another partly because of ethnic connections and the paths of transportation that tied the state into a region. Unlike the pattern in other states, migration from the eastern port of entry, namely Philadelphia, tended to stay within state lines. A reason, then, for the attention to arts particularly framed by Pennsylvania is that the state demarcates cultural as well as political lines. The Pennsylvania-German influence dips down below the Mason-Dixon line into north-central Maryland and northwestern Virginia, and north-central Pennsylvania bears a New England stamp, but generally the state uniquely represents a cultural region tucked between the older regions of New England and the South (Glassie 1968; Zelinsky 1973; Gastil 1975).

As with other aspects of Pennsylvania's life, the tradition of fragmentation works on the state's regional identity. Many views of folk arts typically take in the state's subregions representing its ethnic and occupational variety. The roughest division, often offered by residents, falls into eastern Pennsylvania revolving around Philadelphia, central Pennsylvania working around Harrisburg, and western Pennsylvania orbiting near Pittsburgh. But the arts commonly spring from more closely defined regions. North-central Pennsylvania up from Scranton has a Yankee feel to it, and the slags near Hazleton announce what many call the Coal Region. A great deal of attention has also been given to identifying the "Pennsylvania Culture Region" formed by German settlement, art, and architecture in south-central and eastern Pennsylvania (Glassie 1968; Zelinsky 1977; Glass 1986).

The Folklife Perspective

The close integration of language, art, and custom in the ethnic and sectarian enclaves of Pennsylvania suggested to many nineteenth-century chroniclers an approach that examined the arts within the life of Pennsylvania's distinctive communities and regions. The arts were seen as part of the daily round of life and an expression of the cultural inheritance maintained in the New World experience. Contributing to the appropriateness of this approach to Pennsylvania was the influence of German anthropological methods which were widely read in intellectual circles in Pennsylvania academies. Referring to *Volkskunde*, or "folklife," and *Volkskunst*, or "folk art," nineteenth-century German scholars understood arts as part of the cultural life and spirit of community-based societies (Bronner 1984b: 57-73; Möller 1964:218-41; Yoder 1963:43-56). Scholars in Pennsylvania picked up on this idea, especially because they could observe similar patterns among the state's Amish, Quaker, Irish, Italian, Chinese, and Welsh communities, to name a few.

The folklife approach in Pennsylvania differed from the British-inspired approach prevalent in the American Folklore Society, formed in 1888. In this latter approach, oral traditions were often considered separately from material traditions, and compared cross-culturally, rather than in the context of a single community or culture, to compile an evolution of the tradition's development. The distinctiveness of the Pennsylvanian, and especially Pennsylvania-German, scholars' approach helps explain the relative independence of Pennsylvania folklife studies from the main movements of American folklore study until the late twentieth century.

Pennsylvania study stressed the crafts and arts as part of folk tradition, and related it to social and oral parts of a community or regional culture. A sign of this emphasis to American folklorists came in 1888 with the first volume of the American Folklore Society's journal, the *Journal of American Folklore*. In it, Walter James Hoffman published "Folklore of the Pennsylvania Germans," in which he described flax raising, barn design, marriage custom, foodways, and quilting parties all related to the cultural history of Pennsylvanians around his native Reading.

Interest after World War II in fading community life and folk arts in America promoted renewed consideration of Pennsylvania's folklife studies by American scholars. Mercer's museum was already in place in Doylestown, and the Landis brothers developed their collections near Lancaster. The Pennsylvania Folklife Society was formed in 1951

with support from Pennsylvania-German researchers at Franklin and Marshall College.² Don Yoder, a long-term editor of the society's journal, *Pennsylvania Folklife*, and a teacher at Franklin and Marshall College and the University of Pennsylvania, described the move toward folklife studies as a "20th Century re-discovery of the total range of the folk-culture (folklife)" (Yoder 1963). Folklife studies, in particular, built on folklore, anthropology, and cultural history; and in Pennsylvania, with its close relation of landscape to the built environment, folklife studies prominently added a geographical aspect. Folklife research, he announced, "is oriented toward holistic studies of culture regionally delimited and toward 'life,' the life of the society under study and of the individual within that society" (Yoder 1976). Crafts and arts were particularly expressive of folk life because they expressed not only the skills important to survival, but also the spirit and values basic to the culture. The folklife studies movement has spread around the country, although much of its initiative remains strongest in Pennsylvania.

Emerging Patterns

Although the patterns I have discussed still set the stage for much of folklife research in Pennsylvania, changing trends are apparent from recent studies. The new trends reflect a concern for post-industrial Pennsylvania following on the legacy of pre-industrial life. Urban and industrial crafts, modern children's crafts, suburban yard arrangements, and memory arts of the aged are coming under increasing scrutiny. Revival and tourist arts, especially in regard to the image they convey of traditional Pennsylvania life, are the subject of several significant studies. More attention is also being given to individuals maintaining their craft in modern society, their life stories, their performances before the public and their communities. More than documenting arts for posterity, many students are questioning the vital roles that traditional craftsmanship can and should play in our society, today and in the future. Scholarship is becoming more active, chronicling the past and present with an eye toward interpretation, and indeed conservation, in the future. Coincidentally, the inspiration of American folklife studies in Pennsylvania's plural society and vernacular spirit informs Warren Roberts's own wish for the future that the appreciation of America's craftsmen provides "an intellectual basis for democracy, a basis not anchored on the belief that all progress comes from a handful of elite geniuses but from great numbers of intelligent, hardworking people, both men and women, who work with their hands

and their minds and constantly improve the things they make or grow and thus contribute to creating a better life for everyone" (1988:311).

NOTES

¹ This pattern drew Warren Roberts's attention when he studied German-Catholic communities in Dubois County, southern Indiana. See his "German-American Log Buildings of Dubois County, Indiana," in *Viewpoints on Folklife*, pp. 289-310; and "Field Work in Dubois County, Indiana: A Project of the Folklore Institute, Indiana University" (1976).

² In addition to offering courses on folklife, Franklin and Marshall College had a Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center and during the 1950s sponsored "Seminars on the Folk-Culture of the Pennsylvania Dutch Country" intended for "serious students of American folk-life" who wanted to study "folk culture on an academic plane"; see *Pennsylvania Dutchman* 4 (May 1952), p. 2. The Center published *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* devoted to the Pennsylvania-German folklife. The Center's faculty included Alfred L. Shoemaker (Folklore, Arts, Crafts), Don Yoder (History, Religion, Genealogy), and J. William Frey (Dialect, Literature, Music). Although the Pennsylvania scholars emphasized German sources and subjects for their study of folklife, they also recognized folklife efforts in the British Isles which were appropriate for the study of Pennsylvania's substantial Scotch-Irish population. Indeed, the switch in title from the limiting *Pennsylvania Dutchman* to the broader scope of *Pennsylvania Folklife* was inspired by the appearance of *Ulster Folklife* in 1955. As Don Yoder explained, "The scientific study of folklife (traditional culture) in the United States is an academic migrant from the universities of the Continent of Europe and the British Isles in the 20th Century. Our work in Pennsylvania very much reflects this European emphasis." This statement appeared as an editorial note attached to Donald M. Hines, "The Development of Folklife Research in the United Kingdom," (1972:8).

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