

THE COLONISTS AT HOME.

BY EDWARD EGGLESTON.

I.

THE HOUSE.



COCKED HAT. (FROM AN ADVERTISEMENT IN THE "NEW YORK GAZETTE," 1765.)

was the first house of some of the earliest Pennsylvanians. Almost as primitive was the life of certain backwoods Virginians of a later period, who dwelt in the capacious trunks of hollow sycamores, and lost their corn by irruptions of buffaloes. In parts of New England, in New Netherland, and in Pennsylvania, many of the first-comers began the new world as cave-dwellers in cellars, which were usually formed by digging into a bank; the earth at the sides was supported by timbers; and the roofs were of bark, or, better, of turf. To account these warm burrows merely a novel device evolved to meet the exigency of the situation might be an error, since there were at that time in the midland counties of England, as well as in parts of France, people living in subterranean caves and others in cabins of "mud." The primitive house of clay, built above ground, appears to have been known on the Delaware, where at least one such house was standing as late as the middle of the eighteenth century. Men can with difficulty originate, even in a new hemisphere; perhaps the most the earlier colonists could do was to modify some device already known in the familiar life of Europe, or to improve upon some shift borrowed from the savages about them. Of thirty buildings on Manhattan in 1626, all but one were of bark; the bark wigwam was, indeed, a very common resort of American pioneers. In the Middle and South this took the form of the "half-faced camp," which was a wigwam with one side open. The open side served for door, for window, and for fire-place, the fire being directly in front of it. The half-faced

camp was sometimes built more substantially of logs, and at the South it was in some cases only a booth with sides and roof of palmetto leaves. Even that most American of houses, the log-cabin, cannot be said to have originated with the settlers. It has probably been known to every race of people who constructed dwellings in a well-wooded country. In the time of Tacitus, the Teutonic tribes built with "rude, unhewn timbers," and the Indians of the Muscogee confederacy had winter houses of logs. The hut of round logs, notched at the corners, with open cracks, and without floor or loft, was the rudest form known to the American settlers; the addition of a floor of rough puncheons hewn out with an axe was a first step in its evolution. Then came the chinking of the cracks with bits of wood and the daubing of these with clay. There were many cabins without chinking or daubing; one man had his head bitten by a hungry wolf which thrust its nozzle through the open cracks of his dwelling while he was asleep. Some lightly covered the cracks by attaching long, rough shingles, called clapboards, by pegs, to the outside of the logs; some, quite omitting the logs, made a slighter house by hanging the clapboards on a frame. The dwellers in these undaubed and windy structures, whether of logs or clapboards, burned their faces by the fire to keep from freezing, and sometimes watched at night by turns to keep the great fire from going down. On the frontier, the house of logs from which the bark had been peeled was a mark of gentility, and a second story was a luxury, although the most honored guest might have to reach his chamber under the roof-poles by ascending steps on the outside, or by climbing up a perpendicular ladder within the house. A dwelling of logs hewn and squared with the broad-axe and adze was the highest of the kind; in some places it distinguished its owner as a man of superior wealth and social dignity.

Nails were scarce and wrought by hand on the anvils of the colonial blacksmiths; lawless people were accustomed to procure them by burning down uninhabited dwellings. Very many houses were built without iron; the hinges and latches were of wood, and the shingles or clapboards of the roof were held

in place by "weight timbers." The nipping draughts that whistled through the crevices of the log walls, the puncheon floor, and the clapboard roof rendered necessary a huge uproaring fire within the fire-place, which was of a size proportioned to the coldness of the house and the inexhaustible supply of fuel. The chimneys were usually built of sticks of wood and well plastered on the inside with clay. These "katted" chimneys, as they were called in New England, often took fire, and in the towns were a constant source of anxiety during the earlier years of the colonies, when conflagrations could only be extinguished by forming lines of men to pass up pails of water. The fire-engines, where there were any, could only throw water which had been poured into them from pails; it was after more than a quarter of the eighteenth century had elapsed that engines were brought which had "suction." Throughout the whole colonial period the chimney-sweep was in request; hanging his blanket across the wide fire-place, he worked his way to the top, where, thrusting his sooty head out, he gave notice of the completion of his task by singing:

"Sweep O! sweep O!
There are sweepers in high life as well as in low."

"Bring oiled paper for your windows," writes one of the Plymouth pilgrims to some who were about to come over. Window-glass was not then in general use in England, and oiled paper for a long time let a dusky light into the obscure rooms of many settlers' houses. The Swedish pioneers on the Delaware used sheets of mica—"muscovy-glass," it was called—for the same purpose. Farther toward the south, where winter was less feared, a board shutter, sometimes "made very pretty and convenient," was at first the main device for closing a window, but about 1700 "windows shasht with crystal glass"—that is, with glass that one could see through—are spoken of as a luxury recently affected by the Virginia gentry.

Many of the earliest houses were far from being rude. Five years after the first landing, the Jamestown colonists began to build the lower story of their "competent and decent houses" of brick of their own burning. In New England some substantial houses were erected very early; New Haven people built city houses at the outset; but primitive Carolina dwellings were of rough clapboards nailed to a frame; and the houses of the poor were generally left unplastered, not only in Carolina, but as far north as Connecticut. Paint was rarely seen outside of the larger towns. Oyster-shell lime was the material

most commonly in use for plastering; often the walls were covered with mortar from the nearest clay-bank, and whitewashed with shell lime. A concrete of oyster shells, called "tabby," was much used on the southern coast; walls and columns of this material, built before the Revolution, are still standing. Oglethorpe, true to his military ideals, had all freeholders' houses in Savannah, his own included, made exactly alike: twenty-four feet long and sixteen broad, inclosed with feather-edge clapboards, roofed with shingles, and floored with deals. It was a city of shanties—a fixed military encampment. Penn planned a somewhat larger house for his colonists, to be divided into two rooms, the walls clapboarded outside and in, the intervening space filled with earth, the ground floor of clay, and a loft floor of boards. He reckoned that such a house might last ten years. A common form of cottage in parts of New England was built eighteen feet square with eaves seven feet high, and a loft in the peak of the roof. To these pioneer dwellings we must add the New Jersey house, introduced by the Swedish pioneers. The sides of this were palisades of split timbers, set upright. Nor should I omit from the list the abodes of some of the aquatic Dutch, who dwelt with their families all the year round aboard their sloops plying in the rivers and bays about New York, and up the Hudson to Albany, just as their ancestors, the Holland boatmen, had lived upon the rivers and canals of the Low Countries, and as their New York successors to-day rear families on far-wandering lighters and canal-boats.

Life in the pioneer houses was necessarily simple and generally rude. With the ambitious settler, a cave-house or cabin was but a rough thoroughfare to a better lot, when the stubborn phalanx of forest trees should have been gradually beaten back, and when the disencumbered fields should yield a surplus, and leisure and comfort compensate for hard beginnings. But there was another class whose congenial home was the puncheon floor and mud-daubed walls. These people, who had not yet emerged from Saxon barbarism, were hereditary pioneers. As soon as neighbors approached them, the log-cabin dwellers sold their little clearings to a race of thrifter men, and pushed farther into the woods, where wild food was plentiful and where manners and morals were unfettered. Their social pleasures were marked by rude jollity without any attempt at luxury or display, or any regard for the restraints of refinement; they were hospitable, generous, fierce, coarse, superstitious, and fond of strong drink; given to fighting, and some of them to the barbarous

diversion of gouging out one another's eyes. Indian wars and their own barbarity have wrought the extermination of some of the worst strains in this tribe of log-hut builders.

The finer American houses* were for the most part imitated from the forms prevailing at the same period in England. The large room called "the hall"—a relic of the primitive undivided Anglo-Saxon dwelling—was the most striking feature of many of the better dwellings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There exist to-day examples of colonial architecture in which a great hall that served for an assembly-room dominates the whole building. For instance, Drayton Hall, on the Ashley River, in South Carolina, is a brick dwelling in a style seen in some English country houses of the same period. In front there are steps, leading up to a stately portico. One enters thence into a spacious room in the middle of the house, for the only unvarying trait of a "hall" is that it is always entered directly on passing the main door. In the Drayton house the living-rooms are grouped at either end of the great hall like little satellites depending on a central sun. There are wood-carvings on the elaborate chimney-pieces and on the moldings about the wainscotings, and the balusters of the double stairway that rises from a lobby in the rear of the hall are carved. This weather-stained house, despoiled of many of its ornaments by lawless tourists during the war period, is still a legible record of the social fabric of the colony. Such mansions were built, not for domestic retirement, but for festivity. They were the abodes of rich and hospitable planters, whose delight it was to live surrounded by friends and guests and to rival one another in the magnificence of their great assemblies. William Penn built a similar mansion on his manor at Pennsbury, the great room of which was called the audience hall; here the proprietor met his council and held parleys with the Indians. In Virginia and Maryland the great houses were built on a similar plan, but in some cases a curious modification of the old English hall appears to have taken place out of deference to the climate. The central room became in many houses a wide, open passage through the middle of the dwelling. It was still called "the hall," and in it the family sat to receive guests, except in cold weather, when the wainscoted parlor that adjoined was cheered by a crackling fire. Perhaps this opening of the hall into a spacious passageway was a trait borrowed from the double log-houses which were built in

the pioneer period, and which were virtually two cabins joined by an "entry," open at both ends, whose width was regulated by the convenient and usual length of the log cut for house-building.

The great proprietors, though perhaps more numerous in the tobacco colonies than elsewhere, were vastly outnumbered by the middling planters, a class from whose ranks sprang the Washingtons and Lees of the Revolution. Gentlemen of this class, like the English squires of the time, often carried their pride and personal independence to the verge of rudeness, and yet were generous, hospitable, and many of them intelligent. They lived mainly in sober one-story houses, or in houses whose curb-roofs were broken by dormer windows that gave light to a low second story. Such dwellings were probably built at that period in all the colonies. Some of them are yet standing about New York. The plainer Virginia house also had the passage through the middle, "for an air-draught in summer," as a writer of Spotswood's time tells us. But some of the earlier middling houses, in Virginia as at the North, were built about a great stack of chimneys, which stood like a core in the middle. Bricks for the chimneys and for the walls of the finer houses at the South were usually brought from England as ballast. Most Virginia and Maryland dwellings stood fronting to the rivers, so as to be easily reached by the shipping. All Southern houses of pretension were approached by a drive through a lawn, and most of them were embowered in trees. All the planters had kitchens detached from the dwelling, except where the house was built in imitation of the "Italian style," so called; then the kitchen was placed in the extremity of one of the long wings. The buildings were adapted to the climate and to the domestic service of negro slaves. In the towns in both Carolinas many houses stood gabbling to the street, with a long veranda, light and airy, at the side, through which one passed to the cool and sheltered rooms.

In parts of Maryland, and in Pennsylvania and southern New Jersey, the Quakers and Germans had founded a different society. The traveler toward the North might note the gradual disappearance of the overseer's cabin, the negro quarters, and the detached kitchen. The houses were generally of hewed logs, those of the richer farmers of stone. Everywhere one saw substantial comfort and frugality. The smoke-house was a little smaller than that of the planter to the southward, but the barns were large, sometimes vast. The protracted battle with the

* See the engravings of some colonial houses that accompany the article on "Social Conditions in the Colonies" in THE CENTURY MAGAZINE for September, 1884.

primeval forest had begotten a hostility to trees; the Pennsylvania house, even of the better sort, often confronted a midsummer sun with no shade to intervene. A little clay oven stood by each house, and on some slope near by there was usually a low hut, beneath which the spring running cold from between the limestone strata spread its water over a flat rock. In the almost icy shallows of this "spring house" stood earthen crocks of milk and jars of butter, with perhaps some large water-melons cooling for use in the middle of the day. Such farm-houses were the homes of yeomanry, who had little leisure to cultivate the social refinements of their neighbors at the South, but who lived comfortably and exemplified what one of the early historians of their thrift calls the "republican virtues."

There were worse dwellings than these in the back country of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and there were better ones near the cities. In Philadelphia the houses, except those of the poor, were very early built of brick and stone. Almost all of them about 1700 had balconies running the entire length of the upper story. At the time of the Revolution Philadelphia houses were of various styles, and straggling in arrangement. The uniform rows of monotonous red were thought a great improvement when they were first brought in, some years after the close of the war. In 1771 four hundred Philadelphia houses had private wells, and there were two hundred pumps in the streets. The finer suburban and country houses of the middle region were large, and were often surrounded by cedars, which were pruned into pyramids and cones. Penn had set the fashion of planting Lombardy poplars, and there were rows of these grenadier-like trees both in Philadelphia and along the roads which ran into the country. These, with the cedars, must have given a trim regularity to the prospect. The gardens were also stiff and English in appearance, with "walks and alleys nodding to their brothers."

In New York and the region about the Hudson River, the foundation form of the early dwelling was the Dutch house built, like many other colonial town houses, with its gable to the street. The top of the gable wall was notched into corbel steps, and the black fire-bricks of the kiln were laid alternating with red or yellow ones to make checks on the gable front. The date of erection and the initials of the owner were sometimes wrought with bricks of diverse colors; sometimes these were shown by letters and figures in iron on the front; and this rather childish decoration was usually completed by a weather-cock surmounting the whole. The primitive thatched

roofs gave way after a while to Dutch tiles. Within, one found the incredible Dutch cleanliness; the walls of the houses were whitewashed and hung with small pictures; the wood-work was painted a bluish gray, as were the walls of the alcoves for beds, which were constructed on each side of the chimney. In some of the better houses porcelain tiles with pictures of Scripture subjects were built in and around the fire-places. In New York, as in Pennsylvania, the little stoop before the front door was almost universal. In these outdoor lodges the family sat in summer evenings, and often in the day-time, receiving informal calls from gossiping neighbors. In Albany the gargoyles projected so as to pour rain-water from the roof far into the street, and the town retained its quaint Dutch character until after the Revolution. An Italian traveler compares it to "those antique villages represented in the paintings of Teniers."

After 1700 the English taste modified the form of the houses in New York. They were built large, some of them with a touch of magnificence; they no longer stood with gables to the street, and many of them had balconies on the roofs, which afforded a cool and more private retreat than the stoop-benches, while the outlook over the waters and islands of the bay and rivers was very agreeable. Sycamores, water-beech, and locusts, with some basswood trees and elms, made abundant shade in the New York streets. Kalm, the Swedish traveler, declares that promenading in New York in 1750 was like walking through a garden. The vociferous notes of tree-frogs sometimes made it difficult to hear conversation.

In the country houses of the landed gentry of New York we find a curious resemblance to the houses of the great planters of the South. Here were the same large porticoes, and often the same wide hallway running through the house, and here were also detached kitchens for use in the summer. The conditions of life were somewhat similar to those at the South; for, though the broad acres of a great New York or New Jersey proprietor were farmed by tenants, the house was always filled with domestic slaves. On the Hudson, as at the South, there was a tendency of the landed gentry to imitate the life of the English country families, so far as the surrounding conditions permitted.

Besides houses in other styles, New England had one very common form of building that was almost peculiar to the North-east—a house two stories high in front, the roof of which from a sharp gable sloped down at the back to a low story. This low portion in the rear was called the "lean-to"; it was sometimes written by the colonists, as it is still



DUTCH HOUSE IN ALBANY, N. Y. (FROM AN OLD PRINT.)

pronounced by many old-fashioned people, "linter." Houses in New England usually faced exactly south, so that noon-time was marked by the sun's shining straight into the front door. The sides were covered with rived clapboards, the walls filled in with clay; the ceiling overhead was left unplastered; the floor-boards were thick and fastened with wooden pins; the ample chimney, which usually stood in the middle, was of stone or brick. The lower floor was sometimes laid below the sills, leaving those great beams projecting into the room. Some of the dwellings of the rich were very commodious; the house of Eaton, the first governor of New Haven colony, had nineteen fire-places, and that of Davenport, the first minister of New Haven, had thirteen. In these early houses the "hall," which was entered directly by the front door, was ample. It did not change into an open passage through the house, as in Virginia; the New England climate suggested an opposite transformation, and some early houses were altered after building by dividing the hall into smaller rooms.

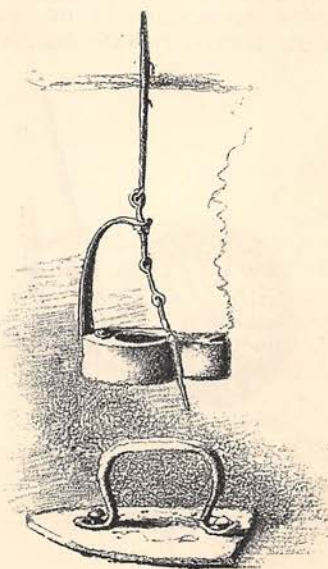
In Boston the later colonial buildings were generally of white pine, inclosed with overlapped siding. They were two or three stories high, and, like similar houses in New York, had a belvedere on the roof for the enjoyment of fresh air in summer evenings. Though the roofs were generally of the prevailing cedar, a single trait of the more solid covering of the

English house remained: these shingle roofs were capped with a row of ridge-tiles until after the Revolution.

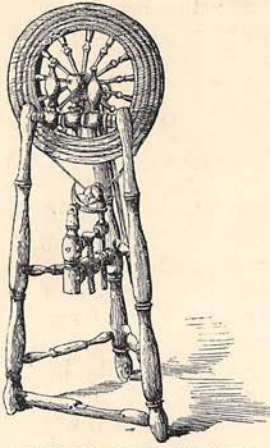
II.

FURNITURE AND INTERIORS.

A STUDY of colonial furniture reminds us that life with many English families in the seventeenth century was hardly a step above that of their barbarous Anglo-Saxon forefathers. In the ruder part of North Carolina, for example, the traveler Smyth found but one bed in the house, occupied by the householder and his wife; while the sons and daughters and the guest slept in a row upon the floor, after the manner common, perhaps, in King Alfred's day. Spotswood lodged with one poor planter who had no bed at all, nor was such destitution very uncommon in pioneer regions. But the puncheon floor was often a little mitigated for sleeping purposes by spreading deer, buffalo, or bear skins upon it. The pallet on the floor—"the kermis bed," as the Dutch called it—was an occasional resort even in good houses. The Labadist travelers in 1688 sojourned in a New Jersey tavern that put its guests to sleep on a horse-bedding of hay before the fire; and, a hundred years later, Chateaubriand found an inn on the New York frontier where everybody slept about a central post that upheld the roof, heads outward and feet toward the center. Such poor people in the colonies as had tastes too luxurious to enjoy a deer-skin



WROUGHT-IRON LAMP AND SAD-IRON. (NEW YORK STATE CABINET OF NATURAL HISTORY, ALBANY.)

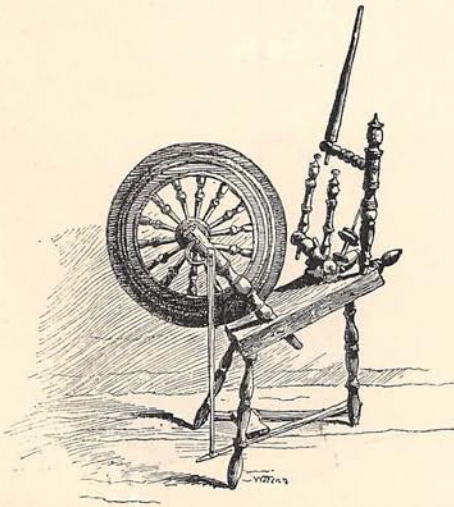


IRISH IMMIGRANT'S FLAX-WHEEL.

on the hearth were accustomed to fill their bed-sacks and pillows with fibrous mistletoe, the down of the cat-tail flag, or with feathers of pigeons slaughtered from the innumerable migrating flocks. The cotton from the milkweed, then called "silk-grass," was used for pillows and cushions.

In the houses of the prosperous, good feather and even down beds were in use. The Pennsylvania German smothered and roasted himself between two of these even in summer nights, and sometimes without sheets or pillows. Trundle-beds, pushed under the standing beds in the day-time, were commonly used; the stove-heated room of a German settler's house often held two standing and two trundle beds.

Robert Beverley, the Virginia historian, who lived in plenty and entertained friends and strangers with the most cordial and insistent hospitality, was probably a type of a class of men of competent fortunes who had been nurtured in pioneer conditions and were content to live in substantial plainness—were even defiant of habits of luxury and ostentation. He had good beds, but, for a wonder, no curtains to them; while for chairs he had only wooden stools, made in the country. But there was always, from the first, in every



A COLONIAL FLAX-WHEEL.

colony, a gentry that valued very highly their elegant furniture, particularly the bed that stood in the parlor. And in the quarter of a century or more before the Revolution, when large fortunes had been acquired in trade, in agriculture, and by the increase in the value of lands, there came to be a very considerable number of people in the several colonies able to live with luxury and ostentation. These rich provincials spent money freely in fine furniture, seeking to purchase at one swoop outfits that should rival the accumulations of generations in old English houses. In the dwellings of the richer colonial gentry, as in the mansions of similar people in England, there was a household idol, known as the state bed, very much adored, and kept shut up from vulgar eyes, to be exhibited only on rare occasions. It was in all ways extravagantly costly; its coverlets and hangings were sometimes richly embroidered in divers colors; but it was stiff, ugly, uninviting, and useless,



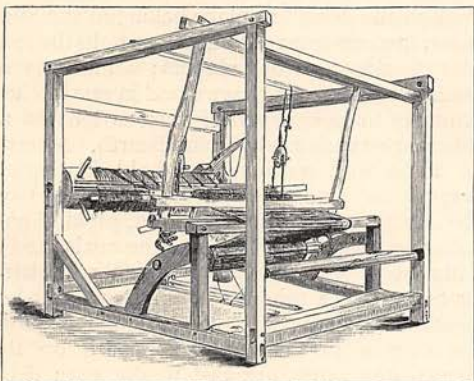
A COMPORTIER, OR CHAPING-DISH. (NEW YORK STATE CABINET OF NATURAL HISTORY, ALBANY.)

as idols are wont to be. No ordinary family friend was ever allowed to occupy it. In this later and richer time wealthy householders came to prefer the newly introduced mahogany wood from the West Indies to native walnut and cherry; some of them even had chimney-pieces, door-casings, wainscotings, and balusters of mahogany elaborately carved.

Since this is not the place for an antiquary's list, I must content myself with a passing mention of the ancient "dresser" of the earlier colonial time, with its stock of pewter, the dignified "chest of drawers," the carved oaken chest for linen, and the high-backed chairs of various grades with bottoms of hair-cloth, of serge, of rushes, or of wood. Carpets were little known in England and were hardly known at all in America until near the middle of the eighteenth century. Floors were swept with brooms of birch or hemlock twigs, with Indian brooms of shaved wood or of corn-husks, or with imported brooms of hair; sometimes the floor was dry-rubbed with sand; sometimes the parlor floor was strewn with sand laid off in ornamental figures. Clocks and watches were exceedingly rare at first;

the noon-mark at the door told the dinner-hour, and in some cases a sun-dial indicated the time of day when the sun shone. In school, in church, and in a few houses there were hour-glasses; but most people depended upon their expertness in estimating time by the sun's altitude or by guess. When two persons, however slightly acquainted, met upon the road, it was but an ordinary civility for them to exchange their reckonings of the hour, as ships give latitude and longitude to one another at sea. "Passing the time of day" is the well-worn phrase yet used in the country for the exchange of commonplace courtesies between acquaintances. The beating of a drum in the street, and, at a later period, the ringing of the church bells, were necessary warnings for religious and other assemblies. In the larger towns a curfew-bell was sometimes rung at nine in the evening, and the cry of the hour at night by the watchman with a hand-bell must have been very convenient where time-pieces were so scarce.

During the eighteenth century fine pier-glasses and dressing-glasses were affected. For these there were frames of walnut, of olive-wood, and of glass, as well as frames gilt and japanned. The walls of the opulent, from the earliest period, were sometimes hung with rich cloth, with linen, or with tapestry representing stories from the ancient classics and other subjects. Toward the middle of the eighteenth century paper-hangings began to come into vogue. The prints which adorned the rooms in that day were of several sorts,



COLONIAL LOOM. (WARREN COUNTY, N. Y.)

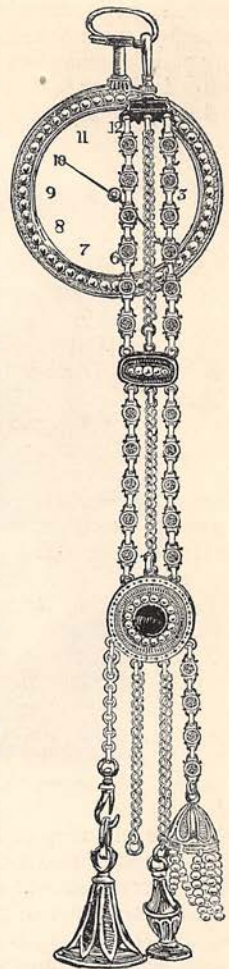
such as "landskips," pictures of ships, battle-pieces, historical scenes, and representations of "noblemen's and gentlemen's feasts." The paintings which hung alongside these were portraits, made in England, of ancestors, or more recent portraits, made by some struggling provincial "limner"—that was the

genteel word—or by some English painter "of the highest fashion," to whom the wealthy colonist had sat on a visit "home," as the phrase of the time ran.

That which more than all else lent character to the interior of the average colonial house was the fire-place, sometimes wide enough to drive a cart and horses between the jambs. The living-room in the plain-er houses served also for dining-room and kitchen; and here the devouring fire made in summer an insufferable heat, while in winter its tremendous draught produced disagreeable air-currents. But fire-places so open did not always draw well, on which account a "chimney-cloth" had to be used at times to close the upper part of the fire-place and keep the smoke from escaping into the room. Logs were sometimes drawn on to the ample hearth by a horse; the children, in the chimney-corners of some houses, might see the stars through the capacious chimney-top; and the

myriads of mosquitoes that infested the woods found ready entrance by this opening when the fire lay dormant under the ashes in the oppressive summer nights. The bonfires built in these gaping fire-places were in accord with the rude and hearty life of the time. One is not surprised to learn that by such firesides "Chevy Chase" and other ancient ballads of blood and slaughter were sung. Stories of more recent encounters with the Indians must have mingled well with old English folk-songs; and witch and marvel tales had no difficulty in obtaining credence when the last flickering blaze had died away, and the dim light of smoldering embers left the corners of the room and the rugged recesses of the blackened chimney to be peopled by the excited fancy.

In the finer houses the fire-places, at least in the smaller rooms, were not so large, and



WATCH AND CHAIN OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD, IN POSSESSION OF COL. CHARLES DRAYTON, OF DRAYTON HALL, S. C.

as fuel grew scarce some of the large fire-places in town houses were reduced by building "little chimneys" within the big ones. Already in 1744 Franklin, living in Philadelphia, could speak of the great fire-place

back-plate of the stove. The manifest economy of the German stoves probably moved Franklin to introduce, in 1742, his "New Pennsylvania Fire-place," which was a complicated arrangement, somewhat different from the "Franklin



COLONIAL TEA-SET OF GOLD, BELONGING TO THE DRAYTONS, OF DRAYTON HALL, S. C.

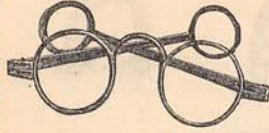
as "the chimney of our fathers." In Boston, Philadelphia, and other cities, coal brought from over the sea was found cheaper than wood in the later years of the colonial time. Even where wood was abundant the Pennsylvania Germans gained an economical advantage over their neighbors by the use of stoves. Of these they had more than one kind; the most curious was made like "a box with one side out." The open side of this stove was outside of the room, sometimes quite outside of the house itself, so that while the back of the stove projected through the wall into the room, the fire was fed from without. A traveler in the middle colonies could tell at sight that a house with a single chimney in the middle was inhabited by Germans, and warmed with stoves; the English settler had two chimneys, and a fire-place at either end of his house. The stoves, and especially the drums, with which last the "Pennsylvania Dutch" heated the second-story rooms of their dwellings, were a continual wonder to their English neighbors and to travelers. There was at least one Quaker meeting-house in Pennsylvania furnished with a German stove opening outside. The men warmed themselves by the fire before going into meeting; the women sat in the end of the room heated by the

stove" as we know it. There were also so-called "stoves" in Boston soon after 1700, but these were perhaps the open grates used at that time in London, which stood within the fire-places and bore the name of stoves.

With the open fire-place belonged the andirons, the cob-irons with hooks to hold the spit, and the fire-dogs or creepers; sometimes all three kinds appear to have stood in one kitchen chimney to hold wood of various lengths at different elevations above the hearth. A crane or chain with pot-hooks to hold kettles always hung within the kitchen chimney; on the hearth were skillets, griddles, pipkins, and other vessels for cooking over the coals, and a little three-legged trivet on which a tankard or coffee-boiler might sit with live coals beneath; and there was often a small oven in the side of the chimney. The fire on the hearth was rarely allowed to die out; if by chance the embers expired, coals were usually brought from a neighbor's house,—a practice that was very dangerous in towns and villages, especially where roofs were of thatch.

For light our ancestors learned from the savages to burn, on the hearth or in a torch, the bright-blazing pitch-pine, called "candlewood" in New England and "lightwood"

at the South. A rough iron lamp filled with grease of any sort was used in some parts of the country. Tallow "dips" were common, molded tallow candles less so, but a candle made of the wax of the wax-myrtle berry was much used; it shed a balsamic perfume when blown out. Spermaceti candles, a fruit of the colonial whaleries, probably suited better than any others the gilt and carved sconces, and the "sconces with fine brass arms," which are advertised in New York, and such chandeliers as one sees yet in the Bull-Pringle mansion at Charleston. Candlesticks were of pewter, of iron, of brass, and of silver; one pair is noted in a Connecticut inventory of 1640 as of "wyer"—that is, perhaps, of twisted metal.



SPECTACLES WORN BY PATRICK HENRY.

III.

MEATS AND DRINKS.

THE most brilliant and accomplished Virginia gentleman of his time laid it down as a maxim, in 1728, that "pewter bright" was the mark of a good housewife, and the same standard was accepted in New England. Indeed, the colonial period might be called the pewter age. Pewter was getting the better of wooden ware when America was settled, and it was yielding to porcelain at the era of American Independence. The first colonists in many cases used great wooden platters to serve meats in. Their plates were sometimes mere square blocks of wood; but some of these were rounded into form on the lathe. One finds the trade of dish-turning followed in New Jersey as late as 1675. But from the first planting of the col-

onies well-to-do people affected pewter, and an ample collection of this ware was a sign of prosperity. All kinds of household vessels, even bottles, were made of pewter. People drank from "cans" or mugs of pewter, glass, or silver; they ate their porridge and their Indian mush from small bowl-shaped pewter porringers, which, like the cans, had handles. From pewter plates or wooden trenchers the first-comers ate without forks. There were spoons of pewter, or better of a mixed metal called "alchymy," but fingers were much more serviceable at the table then than now.

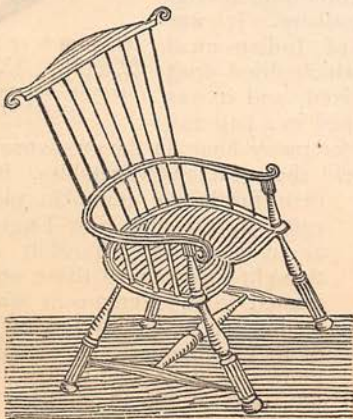
It was characteristic of the seventeenth century that, along with a rather scant assortment of articles necessary and convenient, there should be many things whose chief use was display. A considerable part of the estate of a well-to-do family was invested in household plate; partly, perhaps, because secure investments for capital were not easy to find. In the house of a leading man, an ample reserve of silverware stood always ready to outshine on state occasions the burnished pewter of every-day life. The incoming of tea and coffee opened a new field for the silversmith in the eighteenth century. To silver tankards, beakers, and double-handled cups for stronger liquors, there were added tea-services of silver and even of gold.

With the new "china drink" came china cups and saucers, and from that moment porcelain began to threaten the reign of pewter, which, however, gave ground but slowly. The early tea-cups contained about a gill; the tea-pot was a little globular vessel holding about a pint. Sometimes, by way of extra finery, the pretty china tea-pot had its nozzle tipped off with silver.

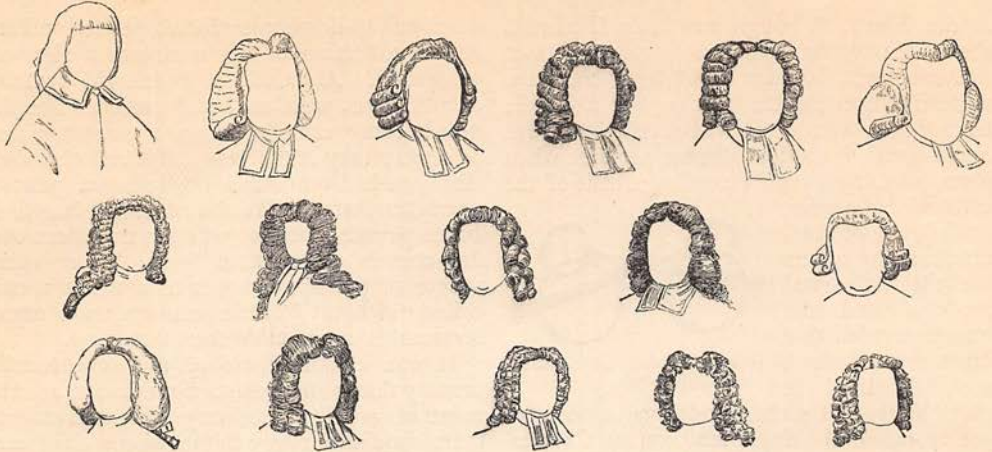
English usages held their own for a while in the colonies, in affairs relating to food. The New England town community in some cases provided bolting-mills, where each man might bolt his own flour. People in the more considerable towns of the colonies long preserved the English custom of buying their bread fresh at the baker's, and the price and weight of bread were regularly fixed by authority. Among the "happy blessings" for which a writer of 1698 thinks the people of Philadelphia should be devoutly thankful, are



ADVERTISEMENT FROM THE "NEW YORK WEEKLY GAZETTE AND POST-BY." (1765.)



WINDSOR CHAIR. FACSIMILE OF A CUT IN THE "NEW YORK WEEKLY GAZETTE AND POST-BY." (1765.)



COLONIAL WIGS. (DRAWN FROM PORTRAITS IN MEMORIAL HALL, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, AND THE ROOMS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.)

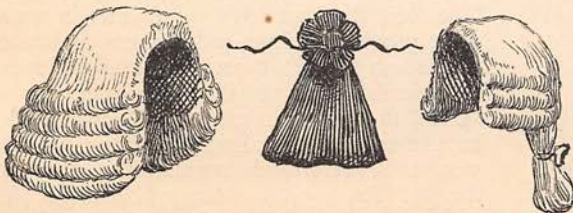
“several cook-shops, both Roasting and Boiling, as in the city of London.” Fish-days — not the Fridays and fast-days of “popish” observance, but good Protestant fish-days — had long been prescribed in England. This was in order that the reformation of religion might not increase the consumption and enhance the price of meat, and especially that the fisheries might not fail of support, and so the naval strength of a Protestant nation be weakened by the decrease of sailors. Following this example, the Massachusetts people dutifully ate salt cod-fish dressed with butter and hard-boiled eggs on Saturdays, the year round, and this lasted until after the Revolution.

The conflict between old habits and the pressure of new conditions, which extended to every department of life, showed itself curiously in the preparation of food. The breakfast which the English settlers transplanted from England was a frugal one, consisting of “a draught of beer and a toast, or a hunk of bread and cheese, or a wooden noggin of good porridge and bread.” “Milk and bread boiled, or tea with bread and butter, or milk coffee” with similar accompaniments appear to have been later forms a little less frugal. The thin porridge of peas and beans, with but a savor of meat, seems to have been a common breakfast. In some parts of New England this

porridge appears to have lingered through the whole colonial period, though its place was disputed by the new mush of Indian meal to which the people of the north-eastern colonies transferred the name “hasty-pudding,”—a name applied to a porridge of oatmeal in some parts of England. But mush and milk was oftener used for supper among frugal people. In the Middle and South breakfast very early came to be a substantial meal, with a basis of some kind of salt meat. One of the commonest dinner dishes in New England, especially in winter, was the Indian pudding, which was almost an exact copy from aboriginal cookery. It was made of Indian meal with which dried fruit was mixed, and it was enveloped in a bag and boiled for many hours in the omnivorous pot that held the meat and vegetables. But Indian meal, like pumpkin pie, was eaten by the first New Englanders as an unwelcome makeshift; it was thought injurious to those not habituated to it. Perhaps it was this feeling which led to the invention of that compound and compromise known as “rye and Indian,” which was used in the Wednesday bread-baking of the New Englander, and also to make a sort of johnny-cake.



HEAD-DRESS OF A CITY BELLE, 1776. (FROM THE MSS. OF JOHN F. WATSON, IN THE PHILADELPHIA LIBRARY.)



WIGS AND WIG-BAG. FACSIMILE OF A CUT IN THE “NEW YORK WEEKLY GAZETTE AND POST-BY.” (1771.)

The Dutch in Albany and New York, like the New Englanders, seem to have held on to certain habits of the fatherland, retaining an especial liking for great salads with bacon and "picked buttermilk." An English clergyman of the time explains that it was in consequence of this diet that the New York Dutch were obliged to smoke so much: "to keep their phlegm from coagulating and curdling."



Costume of Thomas Hancock. Black velvet coat, waistcoat, and breeches. (About 1755.)*

The abundance of Indian corn did more than anything else to change the diet of the colonists. Where mills could not be erected, it was pounded in mortars, or ground in querns after having been soaked. Hominy, at first merely the coarser bits left in the rude grinding or pounding, was usually cooked in milk where milk was to be had, and formed the staple food of the poor in the middle and southern regions. Although the upper class made it a point to have wheaten bread upon the table, many of them preferred the pone baked from the meal of Indian corn. As early as 1720, the Southern habit of having a wheaten loaf warm from the oven every day was



Collar of Gov. Edward Winslow. (About 1645.)



Collar of Gov. John Endicott. (About 1655.)

remarked upon, and the custom remains today as fixed and characteristic as the equally ancient and persistent custom of having Sunday baked beans in New England.

The broiling of meats of all kinds upon the bare live coals was one of the resorts by which pioneer life made amends for the scarcity of utensils, and those accustomed to meat thus prepared easily came to account it more delicate and savory than that which was cooked with the intervention of a gridiron. So, also, potatoes, green corn, sweet potatoes, and squashes were accounted delicious when roasted in the Indian way, by burying in the hot ashes. Apples and eggs and "ro'sin' ears," or green corn, were sometimes baked by laying them between the andirons in front of the fire. Cakes of Indian corn meal, of buckwheat flour, or of "rye and Indian," were baked on a stone, or a hoe, or



Cuff of Nicholas Boylston. (About 1760.)



Costume of Peter Faneuil. Velvet coat, cloth waistcoat, velvet ruffles. (About 1740.)

an oak board, or a pewter plate, before the fire. One finds "a good baking stone" advertised for sale at Princeton, New Jersey, in 1750. These modes of cooking were probably of Indian derivation, as was, beyond doubt, the baking of the "ash-cake" under the ashes. The fruits of the country were all pressed into service to give variety to the settler's diet; dried peaches were cooked with meats when vegetables were scarce in Pennsylvania, and the North Carolinians even made puddings and what they called tarts of the American papaw. Besides the salads familiar to us, some of the early colonists, following a very ancient English practice, used violets and roses both for salads and to flavor broth; they also made a salad of the flowers of the sassafras, but the blossoms of the red-bud tree were esteemed the best of all. Sassafras flowers, "when gathered from the husky bud," made a "curious preserve," and poke leaves were boiled for spinach, as were many other plants. It was in a search after salads or plants for "greens" that some of the soldiers in Bacon's rebellion discovered the poisonous properties of stramonium. After eating its leaves, they suffered a delirium of several days, whence the plant got its name of Jamestown weed, long since corrupted to its present form of "jimson weed."

The change of dietary habits which was wrought partly by Indian corn in the middle and Chesapeake colonies was probably, in the Carolinas, due more to the sweet potato, which was so abundant that even the slaves ate it. The root was cooked in many ways; it was roasted under the ashes, it was boiled, it was made into puddings, it was used as a substitute for bread, it was made into pancakes, which were eaten with tea for breakfast, and which to a foreigner tasted "as though composed of sweet almonds."

Except in the houses of the higher classes, the table provision in England in the period of American settlement was meager. The abundance of wild food and the fertility of the soil made the living in America somewhat more plentiful and varied; but even



Costume of Thomas Boylston. White satin waistcoat, gold trimming. (About 1720.)

* All of the illustrations of costume in this article are from portraits of Americans resident in the colonies, except where otherwise described. Many of these are from the collection in Memorial Hall, Cambridge, and that of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

during the Revolution the diet of a Connecticut farmer was said to be "like that of the ancient patriarchs." "Vegetables, maize, milk, and butter" were "their ordinary nourishment," according to the Abbé Robin; "the use of the insipid beverage," tea, was the only luxury. The lower classes in Virginia ate more meat and drank no tea. "Meat, bread, and milk was the ordinary food of all my acquaintance," says Jarratt. On the other hand, the tables of the rich in all the colonies were lavishly supplied; there was, indeed, a general conviction that Americans ate too much meat.

Alcoholic stimulants were not held in as low repute as they are by the majority of Americans to-day; they were not even ranked as luxuries, but were about as necessary a provision as bread. In the reign of James I. the sailors in the king's navy were supplied with a gallon of beer daily; a gallon of beer was served with every pound of bread. Bradford, the pilgrim governor, complains of his deprivation of beer; and Higginson, the pioneer minister of Salem, makes it a matter for boast that he could and did "often-

times drink New England water very well." Many repented their coming during the first winter in Salem, when beer was scarce; it was thought a great mark of fortitude that "even the most honored as well as others" contentedly rejoiced "in a cup of cold water," for water in that day was rarely drunk at all. In 1627 it was a proof of returning prosperity in Virginia that "few of the upper planters drinke any water." But twenty-nine years later beer had already grown scarce in Virginia. In many places in 1656 the distressed traveler could find nothing stronger than water, or milk and water, or "beverage," which last appears to have been a drink made of molasses and water. One of the earliest signs of the change of English habits in the new environment was this decline of malt liquors, which was petulantly attributed to "idle good-wives," too lazy to brew. Bristol beer continued to be imported and highly esteemed in Virginia, and English malt was also brought over. But barley was not a chief grain, and brewing was incon-

venient in a new country. Rum, or "kill-devil," as it was everywhere called, was rendered plentiful by the trade with the West Indies and by the New England stills. It was cheap, portable, and strong enough to bear dilution in punch, toddy, flip, and grog. The abundant growth of apples made cider more abundant even than rum. Trade brought various kinds of wines from Spain, Portugal, and the Canaries; but Madeira was the favorite drink of the fashionable and luxurious in all the colonies.

A people so full of ingenious makeshifts as the English settlers naturally tried many new experiments, and applied many old devices for producing stimulant drinks. Cider they reënforced by distilling it into "pupe-lo," or brandy; and, wherever the supply of rum was inadequate on account of the distance from seaports or lack of trade, a common resort was a destructive brandy distilled from the great quantities of peaches raised on every farm. Brandy was also made from cherries, plums, persimmons, wild crab-apples, and grapes; in some regions there was a still in nearly every house. The Irish, Scotch, and German immigrants made whisky from rye, wheat, barley, and potatoes, and it was soon found that Indian corn would serve as well. The colonists brought from England the ancient art of making metheglin or mead from honey and water. That made in the colonies was praised on all hands; it was "as good as Malaga sack." A so-called metheglin was made from the sweet bean of the honeylocust, and some projectors in Virginia even set out plantations of that thorniest of all trees. People of delicate tastes ground pears to make perry, but the "quince-drink" was preferred by epicures to all other liquors of the country. Innumerable weaker drinks, as substitutes for home-brewed beer, were tried by colonists whose race had long lost the art of drinking water. One of the earliest of these was made by putting molasses with bran or Indian corn in water. When fermented, this produced a refreshing beverage still used in Virginia. "Beer" was also made from Indian corn meal dried like malt,



Costume of Gov. Thomas Hutchinson. Brocade waistcoat, stiff collar, velvet coat—collar not rounded. (About 1765.)



Costume of John Wentworth, Lt.-Gov. of N. H. Neck scarf and slashed sleeve. (About 1770.)



Costume of Rev. Thomas Prince. Black silk coat and scarf. (About 1740.)



Costume of Gov. Jonathan Belcher. Lace fall from neck, lace ruffles, rich gold lace on coat and waistcoat, velvet coat. (About 1745.)



Costume of Benjamin Pollard. (About 1755.)



Costume of Charles Paxton, Commissioner of Customs. Velvet coat, scarlet edge, embroidered waistcoat, wig, shirt ruffled, stiff lawn. (About 1770.)



From portrait of Mrs. Simeon Stoddard. (About 1725.)



From portrait of Mrs. Anna Gee. (About 1745.)



From portrait of Mrs. Mary Sinibert. (About 1735.)



From portrait of Mrs. Thomas Boylston. (About 1765.)

COSTUMES OF WOMEN IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

from baked cakes of a paste of persimmons, from the green stalks of the Indian corn cut small and bruised, from potatoes, and from Jerusalem artichokes. These were Virginia methods. The commonest small beer of the northern colonies was made by mixing a decoction from spruce or birch or sassafras twigs with molasses and water, or, better still, by boiling the twigs in the sap of the sugar maple. Arts like this came in some form, no doubt, from England, since early Massachusetts colonists, deprived of beer, boast, in an ancient ballad :

“We can make liquor to sweeten our lips
Of pumpkins, and parsnips, and walnut-tree chips.”

These mild drinks, of which there were varieties that I have not thought it worth while to name, were chiefly for women and children, whose heads could not bear much rum, and for men between times and when rum was scarce. There was no class in the colonies that could be called temperate, if judged by modern American standards; our forefathers were a most thirsty people. Even their wines were of those fiery kinds which are backed up with brandy. Drinking was universal. The birth of a child, the moving into a new house, the taking possession of a piece of land, the induction of a new minister, an election of officers, the assembling of a court, of a body of clergymen, of a Quaker yearly meeting, weddings, funerals, auctions, buyings and sellings, arrivals and departures, and even religious meetings in private houses, were occasions for drinking. In Boston, and perhaps elsewhere, the great punch-bowl

came on the table first of all; the master of the house, after setting an example, sent around the table the cup that he had drunk from, that each guest might drink in turn. A “generous bottle” of fiery Madeira topped off every dinner among the gentry in New York. In Virginia a host now and then showed his hospitality by locking the door and cheerily notifying his guests that no man might depart until all were drunk.

Even after Puritan magistrates had ceased to punish the habitual drunkard by hanging a letter D about his neck, and when they no longer sent an officer to watch a stranger lest he drink too much, there was less of downright intemperance in Massachusetts than elsewhere; but there was an abundance of distressing excess even in Massachusetts. The outspoken Governor Belcher officially expressed his fear that the people of Massachusetts would “be deluged with spirituous liquors.” In 1744 an effort was made to work a reform by persuading men to abstain from “unreasonable tipping in the forenoon”; and there was a similar movement in Pennsylvania. The potency and frequency of drams increased as one went southward. It was estimated early in the eighteenth century that about one building in every ten in Philadelphia was used in some way for the sale of rum. In a diary we find the young lady guests at a Virginia country house having their beds moved into the chamber of a married lady, in anticipation of the return of the young gentlemen of the house from a dinner-party, drunk. “The gentlemen arrived, and we had to scamper. Both tipsy!” writes the young lady diarist, with evident enjoyment of the adventure, though one of the



From portrait of the wife of Governor Dudley.



From portrait of Mrs. Nathaniel Appleton. (About 1760.)



From portrait of Major Robert Pike. (About 1690.)



From portrait of Jonathan Mason. (About 1695.)

COSTUMES OF WOMEN IN THE COLONIES.

COSTUMES OF MEN IN THE COLONIES.

tipsy youths was her brother. Dr. Ramsay, in his history of South Carolina, declares drunkenness to be endemic there. Many gentlemen of fortune in that province shortened their days by intemperance, and hence many great estates were in the control of widows. We are told by a writer of the time that South Carolina ladies rarely drank anything but water, and this certainly could not be said of any other class in the colonies.

Trivial as it may seem, the coming in of chocolate, tea, and coffee marks a considerable advance in refinement. The tea-party was often insipid; but it was society on its good behavior, while the rival "drinking frolic" was beastliness in good clothes. Tea and coffee began to get a foothold in England at the Restoration; they first appear in the statute-book in 1660, and they were rare for years after that date. Early in the eighteenth century, tea, accompanied by porcelain from which to drink it, and sometimes lacquered tables to serve it on, began to make some figure in the houses of the colonial gentry, who readily followed an English fashion. Before 1725, tea—"green and bohea"—had not only become established in the larger towns, but had found a secure lodgment among the country gentry of Virginia and the Carolinas; in North Carolina the "better sort" early showed a preference for such "sober liquors." When "beaux" were announced in the afternoon, Virginia young ladies were accustomed to go out into the hall and pour tea for them. The Dutch of New York became very fond of the new beverage; they drank it after a fashion

young ladies in Connecticut who, in their eagerness to test the new drink, boiled it in a kettle and served it like broth, with the leaves for thickening. Coffee was never so generally drunk as tea in any of the colonies.

The excessive and destructive use of strong liquors attracted less attention than the rapid advance of tea-drinking, which excited many ludicrous fears in the breasts of conservative people. It was urged in the "New York Gazette" of 1730 that tea produced fatal effects on the health, and was especially injurious to the mind. The frequent loss of teeth in America was set down to the account of tea, when it had hardly been in general use for one generation. "Our people," says the colonial historian of New York in 1756, "are shamefully gone into tea-drinking," and an Annapolis broadside of 1774 calls it "that detestable weed, tea." In 1742 Benjamin Lay, the Quaker Elijah, went into the market-place in Philadelphia at noon-time, during a general meeting of the Society of Friends, and "bore a testimony" against tea-drinking by mounting a huckster's stall and breaking piece by piece with a hammer a valuable lot of china-ware that had belonged to his deceased wife. In vain the crowd sought to stay his hand by offering to buy the dainty cups and saucers; the people at last pushed the enthusiast down and carried off what was left of the china. The great popularity of tea-drinking was probably due in part to the widespread notion that it was a novel and rather dangerous dissipation. But all the effects supposed to come from tea-drinking were not bad,

for the Abbé Robin, who says that the Americans took tea at least twice a day, attributes to this beverage the ability of the Revolutionary soldiers to endure the military punishment of flogging.

The fondness for tobacco was general. In Virginia pipes were eagerly lighted as soon as the minister had made an end of the services. In New York women of

of their own, laying by each cup a lump of sugar, which they put into the mouth and held there while they sipped the tea. It is significant that the famous well from which pure water was carted into New York to be sold in the street was known as the "tea-water pump." Tea made its way in New England much more slowly than elsewhere, and was not in general use until about the middle of the century. There is a pretty well authenticated story of some

fashion opened their snuff-boxes at the table, and, if we may believe the satirist, tendered a pinch to the church-warden when he came around with the collection-box. The "irreverent habit" of taking snuff and chewing tobacco in meeting was frequently reprobated by the Society of Friends. But Boston was the best market for snuff. The early law-makers of Massachusetts had sought to put tobacco under ban, or at least to hamper it, after the example set in England, where tobacco was



Cuff and buttons, from velvet coat of John Adams. (About 1760.)



Knee-button and clasp shoe-buckle and shoe. (John Adams.)



Quaker bonnet.

(FROM THE MSS. OF JOHN F. WATSON, IN THE PHILADELPHIA LIBRARY.)



Black silk bonnet.



Musk-melon bonnet.



Costume of a Virginia lady. (From a colonial portrait.)

forbidden in ale-houses because it was believed to excite a thirst for strong drink. But revered preachers became fond of the pipe, and the restrictions were quite broken down by their example. Groups of New England ministers were wont to fill a room so full of smoke that it became stifling. Long before the close of the seventeenth century, ladies of social standing in New England "smoked it," as the phrase ran; and in 1708 one finds the Governor of Massachusetts showing friendly feeling by sociably smoking a pipe with the wife of Judge Sewall. The wide fire-places of the early time were convenient outlets for tobacco smoke, and Franklin suggested that where his stove was substituted a hole should be made directly into the flue, so arranged that it could be opened when a room became too full of smoke. But the New York Dutch probably excelled all the other colonists in unintermitting devotion to the pipe; a writer who knew them in the last years of the seventeenth century calls them "obstinate and incessant smokers."

IV.

DRESS.

DRESS was an affair of some solemnity with our forefathers. Clothes were a badge of rank: to dress above one's station was an affront to superiors; and disrespect to rank and dignity was a kind of minor blasphemy in the seventeenth century. In 1623 no Virginians but those who were of the governor's council were allowed to wear silk; and in 1651, thirty years after the last sumptuary law had been passed in the British Islands, the General Court of Massachusetts expressed its "utter detestation and dislike that men or women of meane condition, educations and callings should take upon them the garbe of gentlemen, by the wearinge of gold or silver lace, or buttons, or poynts at their knees, to walke in greate boots, or women of the same ranke to weare silke or tiffany hoodes or scarfes." But magistrates and public officers, and their families, and persons of property of a certain amount, are by this act "left to their discretion in wearinge of apparill."



Mourning Rings. (Permission of Dr. G. E. Manigault, Charleston, S. C.)

Part of the New England sumptuary legislation had its origin in a puritanic aversion to display and extravagance, but in the act cited above there is evident a desire to repress unbecoming self-assertion in people of the lower orders. In like manner, the titles Mr. and Mrs. were only given to those of a certain rank; a plain man was addressed as "Goodman" So-and-so, and a woman in the same station as "Goodwife"; this last was often abbreviated to "Goody." No one might enlist in the Massachusetts Cavalry unless he were a man of a certain amount of property. Lads in college had their names arranged in the catalogue, not by scholarship or seniority, but by the relative dignity of their family connections; and a boy in Harvard was required to give the baluster side of the stairs



Costume of a burgomaster of New Amsterdam. (From a portrait in the New York Historical Society.)

to his social superior. Committees in the several New England towns gave their days and nights to marking with religious care the nicer distinctions of social importance in assigning seats in church to the villagers. In some old Virginia churches the gallery-pews were the post of honor, and were studiously monopolized by the chief families of the parish. Among Virginians the great social line between gentlemen and non-gentlemen was marked by the wig. The Rev. Devereux Jarratt was born below the periwig line, and he confesses that in boyhood he used to leave the road and skulk in the woods to avoid confronting a person with this appalling badge of gentility. When Jarratt himself was about to set up as a school-master, he bought a cast-off wig from a slave in order to appear with professional dignity in a new neighborhood.

Any attempt to describe with fullness the costume of the colonists would carry me into the complex details of the



Costume from an old portrait. (New York Historical Society.)

fluctuations of English dress in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; for the richer Americans kept up a resolute stern-chase of the English fashions of the time. To dress in the manner of "the best fashion at home" was the object of social ambition in the colonies. True, the Puritans at the outset justified their nickname of Roundhead by fighting hard, for St. Paul's sake, against long hair on the head of men. In Virginia, on the other hand, long hair was universal in the days before periwigs. Cutting the hair short was the brand of disgrace and the mark of identification affixed to a servant who ran away before his term of indenture had expired. New England Puritanism was pretty successful in its fight against long hair, but when in the reign of Charles II. the periwig reappeared, it proved too enticing for human vanity to resist. In vain did some of the ministers and magistrates of Massachusetts denounce periwigs as a thing abominable, struggling against the wicked fashion, with books and in many hand-to-hand contests by personal interviews with offenders. And in vain did Sewall, in the very last days of the seventeenth century, walk boldly into meeting with his partly bald head protected by a little black cap, for a testimony against them. The portraits of the later magnates of New England show how completely the wig triumphed over the heads of its opponents. Even the Philadelphia Friends, with their declared hatred to superfluity, yielded to the wig.

The periwig probably succumbed at length to the very completeness of its victory. Not only did men of dignity wear it, but many

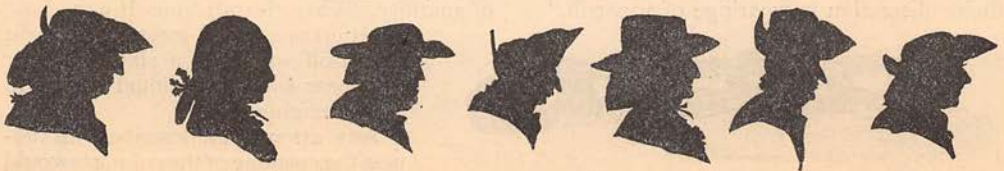
humbler men came to follow their example. One finds half-fed country school-masters in wigs; tradesmen proceeded also to shave off their natural hair and don the mass of thread, silk, horse-hair, or woman's hair, with which wigs of various kinds were compounded. Apprentice-lads under twenty are described in advertisements of runaways as wearing wigs; hired servants aped the quality, and transported rogues were tricked out in wigs to make them marketable.

Soon after 1750, perhaps, the decline of the wig set in; but the exuberant fancy of the age still made the heads of gentlemen to blossom. The wig-maker's tortures fell upon the natural hair: it was curled, frizzled, and powdered; it was queued or clubbed. The man of dignity, even the fashionable clergyman, sat long beneath the hands of the barber every day of his life. Side-locks and dainty little toupees were cultivated. The "macaroni"—type and pink of the most debauched English dandyism—made his appearance in 1774 in the fashionable assemblies of Charleston, and even in Charleston there were two varieties of these creatures: the one wore the hair clubbed, the other preferred the dangling queue. The rage for growing the longest possible switch of hair infected the lower classes; sailors and boatmen wrapped in eel-skin their cherished locks, and the back-countryman in some places was accustomed to preserve his from injury by enveloping it in a piece of bear's-gut dyed red, or clubbing it in a buckskin bag.

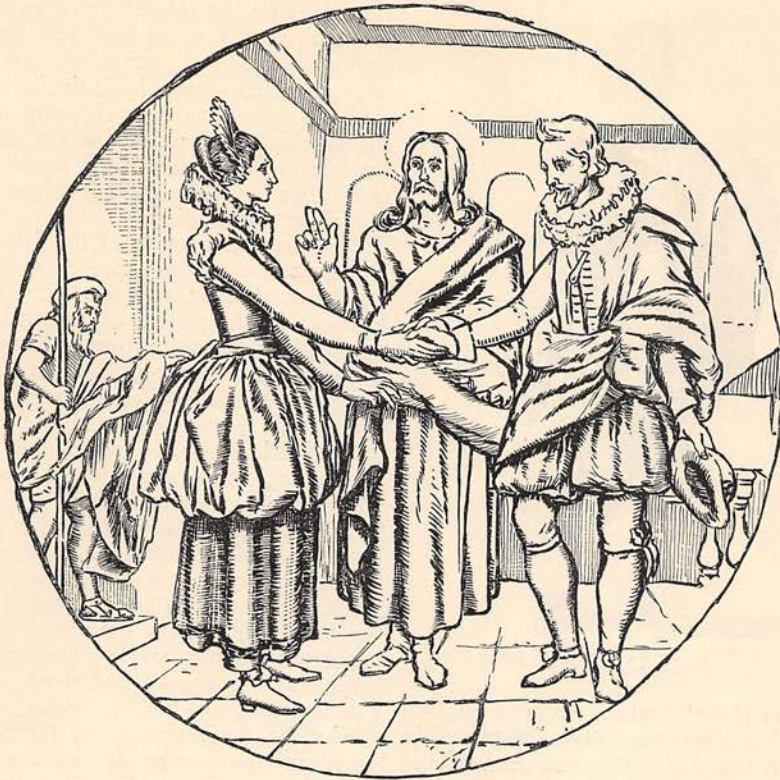
The dressing of women's hair kept pace with that of men. The "commode" or "tower" head-dress rose to a great height in the days of Queen Anne, and then declined to rise into a new deformity in the years just preceding the American Revolution. In 1771 a bright young girl in Boston wrote to her mother in the country a description of the construction upon her own head of one of these coiffures, composed of a roll of red cow's tail mixed



Costume of the wife of Gov. Spotswood, of Va. (About 1720.)



SILHOUETTES OF PHILADELPHIA COLONISTS.

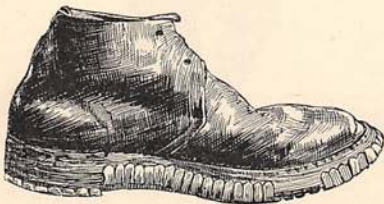
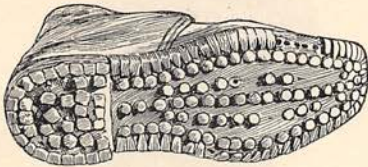


DUTCH COSTUME. (FROM AN ENGRAVING ON THE TANKARD PRESENTED TO SARAH RAPELJE, THE FIRST WHITE PERSON BORN IN NEW NETHERLAND.)

with horse-hair and a little human hair of a yellow color, all carded and twisted together and built up until by actual measurement the superstructure was an inch longer than the face below it. Of a hair-dresser at work on another lady's head, she says: "I saw him twist and tug and pick and cut off whole locks of gray hair at a slice for the space of an

hour and a half, when I left him, he seeming not to be near done." One may judge of the vital necessity there was for all this art from the fact that a certain lady in Annapolis about the close of the colonial period was accustomed to pay six hundred dollars a year for the dressing of her hair. On great occasions the hair-dresser's time was so fully occupied that some ladies were obliged to have their mountainous coiffures built up two days beforehand, and to sleep sitting in their chairs, or, according to a Philadelphia tradition, with their heads inclosed in a box.

The clothes of early settlers, except of those of the highest rank, must have been simple; but increasing wealth brought increasing elaboration and display in the costumes worn in towns and among the country gentry of the tobacco and rice-growing provinces, where many planters, lawyers, and factors acquired fortune and had an abundant leisure. Indeed, the fluctuation of English fashions can be quickly traced in all the provinces. When women's dresses were worn audaciously low in the immodest days of the Stuarts, the minister of the Old South, in Boston, found it needful to denounce "naked breasts" in a sermon on the seventh commandment.



SHOE OF THE KIND WORN BY THE PALATINES. (STATE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY, ALBANY, N. Y.)



AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN—1640. (FROM A PRINT AFTER SIR GODFREY KNELLER.)

The "plate-silver" buttons made of Spanish dollars and smaller coins, which flourished in England in the days of Queen Anne, were also worn in America. One of the curious minor traits of costume for some years before the Revolution was the wearing of paste brilliants. Gentlemen's shoe-buckles shone with this cheap luster, and women wore paste combs, paste pins, and even—though it hardly seems worth while—paste garnets.

Next to the hair-dresser's business in importance must have been that of the dealer in silver buckles for the knees and ankles, and the maker of stays. Even children were laced, and one man announces that he can make stays in which "crooked women and children will appear straight." Hoopskirts a few years before the middle of the eighteenth century attained an expansion that would be incredible if it were not avouched by all the pictures of the time.

Watches for the pocket were first made in England in 1658, and their use in the colonies was late and confined to the richer classes. Some of the colonial watches were of very large size; one reads of the theft of a large striking watch, with an inner case of brass and an outer of silver, "with round holes to let the sound out." Some of the watches in the eighteenth century had exterior cases of fish-skin, studded and hooped with silver. It was customary to attach the key and two or three seals to the watch by a leathern string.

"Umbrilloes" were made of oiled linen; they

were unknown until late in the colonial period, and the use of them by men was accounted a sign of effeminacy. Sun-fans of green paper were sometimes used by ladies to shield the face, and green masks were worn to protect the face in riding; black velvet masks were used in New England as a shield from the cold. The mask was held in place by means of a silver mouth-piece.

The distinctive mark of the laboring man was that his ordinary breeches, his jacket, waistcoat, doublet or coat, were usually of leather, of sheep-skin or deer-skin. Entire suits of deer-skin were worn on Sunday in the newer parts of the country, and backwoods rustics were familiarly known as "buckskins." Coats were sometimes made of bear-skin; raccoon-skin was also worn, and the tails of the raccoon were used for mufflers. Silks, satins, velvets, silver, gold, jewels, true and false, and fabrics in gay colors were freely used in the dress of gentlemen of that day. Besides the showy buckles at the knees and in the shoes, there was the jaunty cocked hat upon the head; there were the shirts with ruffled bosoms and cuffs, and gold sleeve-buttons; breeches of rich stuffs and vivid colors. The Friends made amends by the richness of their fabrics for the plainness of their patterns; some of them ventured to wear starched cuffs and silver buckles; for their laxity these were dubbed "wet Quakers." The lower



A PURITAN GENTLEMAN OF 1650. (FROM AN OLD COPPER-PLATE.)



AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN — 1700. (FROM BARNARD'S "HISTORY OF ENGLAND.")

classes must have been equally given to gay colors, unless we conclude that all renegade servants stole their masters' garments. Bondmen ran away, according to the advertisements, in blue breeches adorned with red puffs, leather breeches with red puffs, coats with blue shoulder-knots, carved silver shoe-buckles, and one with a green waistcoat buttoned with octagonal metal buttons of two sorts, and bound with green cord. One servant carries off a black silk crape jacket, lined with black silk and laced on both sides with green lace. In the "Virginia Gazette" there is advertised a joiner from Ireland who must have been clad in his master's finery, for he wears a blue broadcloth frock-coat with metal buttons,—a garment that was dear to the Southern gentleman everywhere,—and he has also a green silk waistcoat with gold buttons and vellum button-holes. In Andover, Massachusetts, a well-to-do farmer when he died left behind him, besides other garments, a red coat and breeches, a blue coat and breeches, and a dark-green coat and jacket. The Abbé Robin tells of New Jersey women with their hair fashionably dressed, driving country wagons drawn by high-mettled horses into the lines of the French army to sell pro-

visions; and, Frenchman though he is, Robin is ever surprised at the fine dressing of ladies in the American cities.

The frontiersmen and hunters did not quite escape the prevailing fondness for the decorative and fanciful in dress. That some of them clubbed and some of them queued their hair, I have already remarked. Their "hunting-shirt," which served for vest and coat also, was of linsey-woolsey or buckskin in winter and of tow-linen in the summer. It had many fringes and a broad belt about the middle. The hunter wore either breeches of buckskin or thin trousers; over these he fastened coarse woolen leggins tied with garters or laced well up to the thigh, as a defense against mud, serpents, insects, and thorns. He wore moccasins, and covered his head with a flapped hat of a reddish hue, or a cap. The sharp tomahawk stuck in his belt served for weapon, for hatchet, for hammer, and for a whole kit of tools besides. The shot-bag and powder-horn completed his outfit; the powder-horn was his darling, and upon it he lavished all the resources of his ingenuity, carving it with whimsical devices of many sorts. And there was probably less that was in false taste in



UNIFORM OF THE 43D REGIMENT OF FOOT, RAISED IN AMERICA. (1740.)

Black hat, white binding, scarlet coat, collar, waistcoat, and breeches, light-green lapels and cuffs, white skirt facings, belts and leggins, silver buttons. (From a drawing in the British Museum.)



A LADY OF QUALITY—1640. (FROM BARNARD'S
"HISTORY OF ENGLAND.")

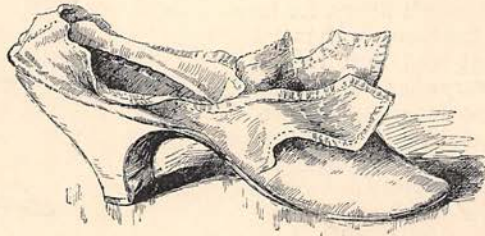
the woodsman's outfit than in any costume of the period.

The ordinary dress of country people was of cloth, spun, dyed, and woven at home. The greater wheel for spinning wool, the little treadle-wheel for flax, the great hand-loom, and the unsavory dye-kettle in the chimney-

corner were common articles of house-furniture. The country people were usually their own tailors, and sometimes their own shoe-makers. Rustics wore "skilts," that is, a kind of short, wide trousers, reaching to a little below the knee, and these, by extension, came in time to take the form of the modern trousers. Well-to-do countrymen, in some cases, wore trousers instead of the conventional short-clothes, and even ventured into places of public amusement thus attired; and they often went about in public without shoes or stockings. A dozen years after the close of the Revolution, one of the regulations of a dancing assembly in a Pennsylvania town read: "No gentleman to enter the ball-room without breeches, or to be allowed to dance without his coat."

But when we pass out of the region of home-spun we are at once struck with a fondness for ornamentation in the people of the eighteenth century that seems to us childish. The bright-colored coats, waistcoats, and breeches, the display of gold and silver buttons and buckles, the abundant shimmering of paste jewelry, the cocking up of hat-brims, the ruffled shirt, the frizzled wigs, the "craped" and powdered hair, the public parade of costly gold snuff-boxes, some of them with "Egyptian pebble" tops, the high wooden heels of women's shoes, sometimes made conspicuous by their red color, the well-padded coat-tails of the men, the exact and puerile distinctions of rank, the pomps, ceremonies, and never-ending dress-parades, present to us a people with more external dignity than real mental seriousness. Life in the colonies was simply the life of Europe in the eighteenth century made small by reflection in a provincial mirror.

Edward Eggleston.



LADY'S SATIN SHOE. (IN THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.)