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**THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
PENNSYLVANIA FARMHOUSE TYPE IN
MANCHESTER TOWNSHIP,
YORK COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA**

by

Barry R. Rauhauser

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Early American Culture.

Spring 2002

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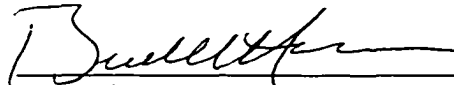
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*But come, my friend, I bid thee, come
Turn from New England's barren hills,
I'll show thee an old Keystone-home,
One's heart with pleasure fills.*

-H. L. Fisher. "The Homestead." *Olden Times or,
Pennsylvania Rural Life Some Fifty Years Ago* (York, PA:
Fisher Brothers, 1888), 434.

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I've always loved old farmhouses but, until recently, my appreciation has been limited to simple aesthetic judgments. Bernard Herman taught me that architecture tells us much bigger stories about ourselves, unveils more subtle truths about culture, and completes our images of the past.

The exceptional patience and encouragement of my family and friends made this entire project possible. My mother, Mary Rauhauser, has encouraged me throughout my life, and this particular instance proved no exception. Gretchen Knaub listened to several hundred of my thoughts on farmhouse architecture, waited in the car while I visited with owners, and now accepts the fact that I will forever slow down while driving past old farmsteads.

Special thanks go to those who helped with the fieldwork for the project. Mark Brickner proved to be a valuable assistant and friend. Jeff Klee also deserves my thanks for spending several uncomfortably hot hours assisting with measuring and photographing Manchester Township's farmhouses.

Many thanks go to the people who manage the great collections of historical manuscripts, photographs, microfilms, field surveys, and other research material on York County's history and architecture. Thanks go to Becky Roman at Historic York, Inc., June Burk Lloyd and Lila Fourhman-Shaull at the York County Heritage Trust Library, and the helpful staff at the York County Archives.

Lastly, I would like to applaud the owners of Manchester Township's old houses for preserving a part of south-central Pennsylvania's architectural landscape.

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ABSTRACT

The Pennsylvania farmhouse, with its four-bay symmetrical fenestration and occasional use of double doors, once dominated the architectural landscape of south-central Pennsylvania. Its long-lasting popularity and connection with the Pennsylvania-German community have encouraged scholarly attention in the past, resulting in conflicting theories that describe the house type's development. Using frameworks provided by the contrasting theories of Henry Glassie and Henry Kauffman, this study examines the development of the Pennsylvania farmhouse type in Manchester Township, York County, Pennsylvania.

Manchester Township, an area located within the Pennsylvania Culture Region, has undergone changes brought about by settlement, trade, and transportation since its formation in 1742. Using Geographic Information System (GIS) software and both modern and historic maps, fifty-one dwelling houses believed to be constructed before 1860 were surveyed. A select group of these houses merited detailed examination. This included measured drawings, sketches, as well as a biographical look at previous owners. This resulted in a better understanding of the variety of interior room arrangements found within the type, as well as a more complete context based upon the lives of the families who constructed the houses.

Manchester Township provides evidence that Glassie and Kauffman correctly described different points in the development of the Pennsylvania farmhouse type. Both theories, however, suppress the importance that the house type's exterior

had on the vernacular designer. Vernacular architectural design has been regarded as a process dominated by concerns of interior space in which abstracted ideas of interior room arrangement become the basic elements that shape the development of new house types. Unlike many other vernacular dwelling house types, the Pennsylvania farmhouse type is defined by its exterior shell.

The study of Manchester Township's farmhouse architecture reveals that vernacular designers used the exterior of their houses to moderate cultural changes. The rapid acceptance of the four-bay symmetrical façade created a distinctive architectural identity for the region, one compatible with varying modes promoted by ethnicity, nationalism, fashion, and progress. In this manner, vernacular builders maintained regional cohesion through the repetition of this new façade while permitting a variety of interior spatial arrangements.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA FARMHOUSE TYPE IN MANCHESTER TOWNSHIP, YORK COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

Henry Glassie described several Mid-Atlantic house types in 1968 in *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States*. However, in 1972 he applied the label, "Pennsylvania farmhouse," to a particularly unique house type found "in the heartland of the Mid-Atlantic area." Identified easily by four symmetrically arranged windows across the second story of their unadorned, rectangular box shape, Pennsylvania farmhouses are sprinkled along the sides of nearly every rural road in south-central Pennsylvania (Fig. 1). Their prominence in the landscape can be attributed to the form's longevity. For over one hundred years, from the early nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, south-central Pennsylvanians often chose the Pennsylvania farmhouse type over all other available architectural forms. They built them out of logs, wooden timbers, bricks, and stone. Often banked into slight rises in the topography, the farmhouses created clean, vertical lines in an agricultural and small town landscape criss-crossed by an abundant network of roads.¹

Manchester Township, located in northern York County in south-central Pennsylvania, is well suited for the study of Pennsylvania's unique architectural types. Regional studies of dwelling houses, barns, and town development, such as the work of Joseph Glass, determined that northern York County, including nineteenth-century Manchester Township, falls within the core of the Pennsylvania Culture Region (Fig. 2). In his geographic analysis of the Pennsylvania Culture Region's built



Figure 1. Examples of the Pennsylvania Farmhouse Type in Manchester Township.

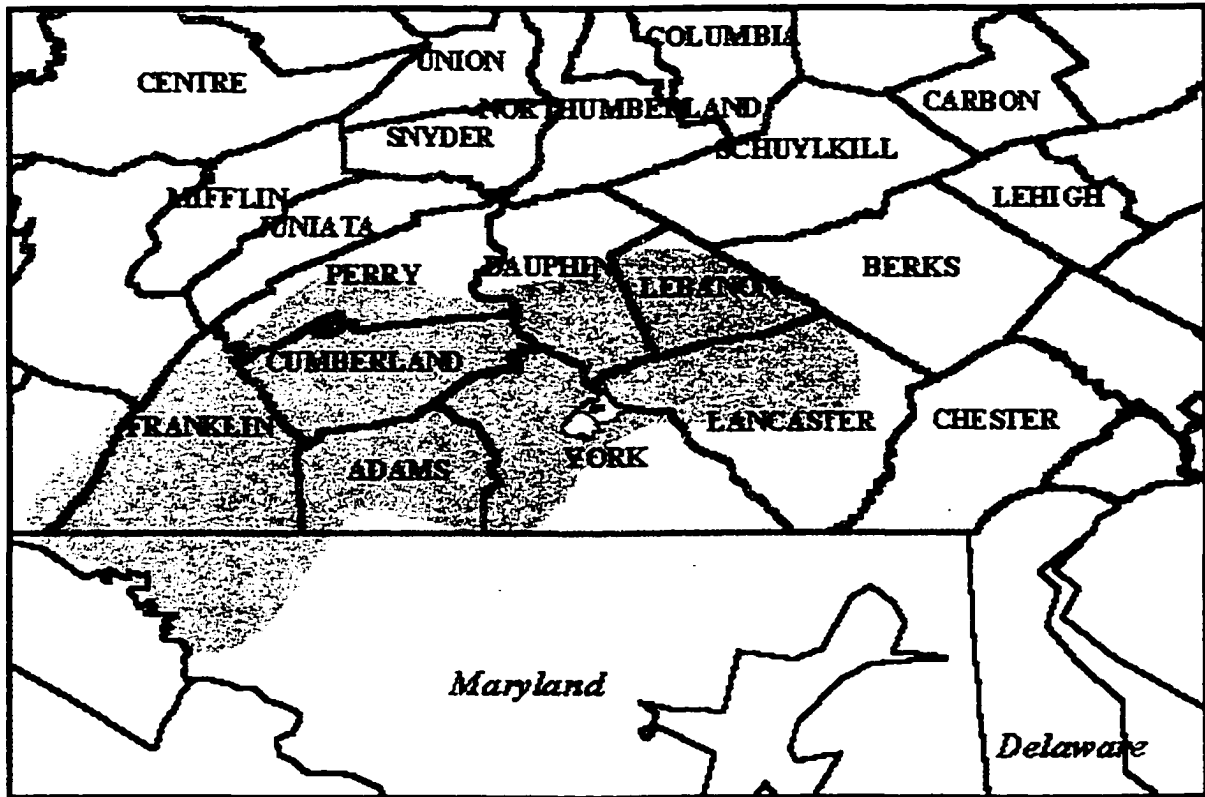


Figure 2. Location of Manchester Township within the Pennsylvania Culture Region. The shaded area represents the core of the Pennsylvania Culture Region as defined by Joseph Glass. Map created by Barry R. Rauhauser, adapted from Joseph Glass, *The Pennsylvania Culture Region: A View from the Barn* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1971), 15-121, 211.

environment, Glass discovered that four-bay farmhouses dominate south-central Pennsylvania with a range of distribution that extends from Dauphin County, through the northern part of York County, and southwest toward Adams County and north-central Maryland. Based on this narrow, isolated range, Glass propositioned that the Pennsylvania farmhouse type was an independent development of the Pennsylvania Culture Region.²

Despite the house type's long lasting popularity and scholarly recognition, there remains no consensus over its development. Glassie has maintained that the Pennsylvania farmhouse type developed in the mid-eighteenth century as builders from the Pennsylvania-German community erected symmetrical façades even as they continued to build the asymmetrical interiors of a familiar Continental plan. Four, rather than five, windows were used in order to "accommodate the three-room plan inside." From a different perspective, Henry Kauffman argued that the Pennsylvania farmhouse type evolved from a center-passage Anglo-American house type. According to Kauffman, as the nineteenth century progressed the central passage gradually diminished in size, eventually disappearing altogether. This resulted in a four-room interior plan with an enclosed staircase in the rear of the house and the four-bay fenestration of the Pennsylvania farmhouse. These two contrasting viewpoints lead to different explanations of the type's development. One tells the story of a south-central Pennsylvania-German farmer who combined traditional interior architectural preferences with an exterior style that had become popular in America. The other story requires a farmer with a progressive outlook, who had already accepted the dominant architectural ideals of America but opted to reduce the cost of construction of the farmhouse in an increasingly competitive economy.³

Manchester Township provides evidence that both developmental processes were taking place. Builders were altering the outer appearances of the Continental plan at the same time other builders in the region were reevaluating the popular Georgian plan. The four-bay façade—not a dominant part of any regional American architectural landscape at the time—offered a culturally anonymous choice for the builders of south-central Pennsylvania’s architectural landscape. The unique rural façade permitted a slow and controlled exchange of noticeable ethnic alliance, or defiance, for a new union with regional and national identities. The Pennsylvania farmhouse type grew from its outer skin inward, permitting an observable regional cohesion among south-central Pennsylvania’s farmers while accommodating a variety of interior spatial arrangement preferences.

Location, time of settlement, and the cultural background of its settlers shaped Manchester Township’s nineteenth-century architectural patterns. Originally laid out in 1742, the township included lands running southwest from the western bank of the broad Susquehanna River, bounded on the north by the Conewago Creek and to the south by the Codorus Creek, to Bermudian Springs. A survey taken in 1748 revealed that the township contained over 300 inhabitants, as well as a remaining Native American population, and that the more recent settlers had created “a number of cleared and cultivated tracts.” Population grew rapidly as new immigrants established farmsteads on every part of the township. Quakers occupied a small area in the north and a handful of Scotch-Irish settled throughout the township. The majority of the settlers, however, were German immigrants or their descendants. For many, York County was not their first home in America. Most had previously settled

on lands to the east of the Susquehanna River before purchasing new lands to the west, continually pushing the borders of Pennsylvania's frontier and inland development.⁴

As the area around the township changed during the eighteenth century, Manchester's sparsely settled rural appearance changed as well. Situated between the Susquehanna River and the growing urban areas of York, Harrisburg, and Carlisle, the township quickly developed a network of roads to handle the trade from the interior of the state to the ports of Philadelphia and Baltimore. The township was never very isolated. Ultimately, increases in population split the one township into three. For most of the nineteenth century, Manchester Township included what is today East Manchester Township and Manchester Township. For this study, "Manchester Township" refers to both of these townships, a large plot of fertile valley lands, running southwest through the northern part of York County, from river to city, and settled by a population already twice removed from Continental European influence.

Over fifty houses constructed before 1860 remain standing in Manchester Township (Fig. 3). A comparison of Shearer's 1860 map of York County with recent 7.5 minute series United States Geologic Survey maps and information from Historic York, Incorporated, revealed the locations of these extant dwelling houses (See Appendix). Most of these buildings managed to weather the years thanks to brick or stone construction, both of which were considerably more expensive than log or wood-framed construction. Gone from the landscape are the log dwelling houses that were part of the mixture in 1800. The Federal Direct Tax of 1798 shows that of Manchester Township's 273 dwellings, 197, or nearly 73%, were constructed of wood or log. Only a few of these survive, and many more log and wood houses constructed between 1800 and 1860 have certainly disappeared.⁵

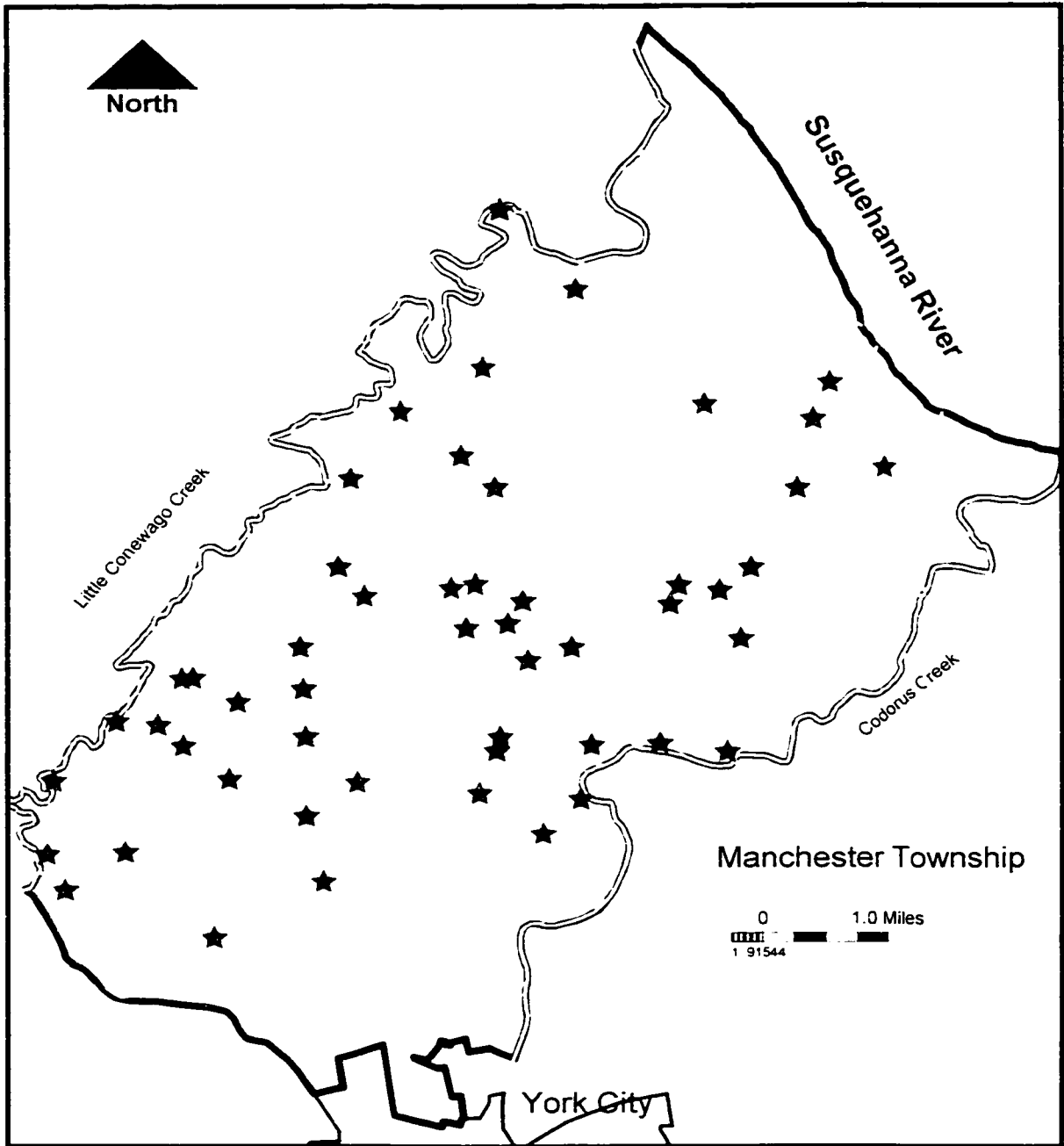


Figure 3. Map of Manchester Township. Stars indicate locations of surveyed dwelling houses. Map created by Barry R. Rauhauser.

Partly a result of survival rates, all but a few of the early nineteenth-century dwelling houses that survive in Manchester Township share a common trait. Nearly all of the extant houses from this period were built and occupied by the wealthier inhabitants of the township. Only a few extant houses appear to have functioned as tenant houses. The necessary reliance on a potentially non-representative sample may be the Achilles heel of all studies of extant structures. But although the reliance on extant structures skews our views of the past's architectural landscape, focusing on the mass of houses may undercut the enormous influence that larger and more expensive houses would have had on the development of the area's vernacular architecture. The substantial size of many of these houses, as well as their ability to remain standing year after year, earned a spot for them as part of the symbolic landscape. According to the United States census, 429 dwelling houses existed in Manchester Township in 1850. Of those houses that have survived, over half were owned by the township's wealthiest ten percent in 1850 and nearly all were owned by the township's wealthiest quarter.⁶ The bulk of the housing that still exists are the farmhouses once owned and occupied by prosperous farmers or millers.

The extant structures of Manchester Township may not be representative of the entire body of Manchester Township's nineteenth-century architectural types, but they are representative of the scale and architectural types that led to the development and acceptance of the Pennsylvania farmhouse. The builders of Pennsylvania farmhouses in Manchester Township rarely inhabited small log structures before the construction of their larger farmhouses. Most grew up in stone or brick mansions or in enlarged and modified log dwelling houses. Although they may have occupied smaller structures for a brief, transitional period, the majority

exchanged their childhood dwellings for newly constructed farmhouses. Prior to the second decade of the century, the architectural landscape most familiar to the future builders of Pennsylvania farmhouses included two divisions of dwelling houses, those with Continental European origins and those whose origins lay in the Georgian aesthetic.

After he moved from Lancaster County to York County in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Peter Good constructed a one-story house for his new family (Fig. 4). Banked into a hillside, the house appeared to be two stories tall when viewed from the front, due to its exposed cellar level. A porch provided access to the single front door. The house's square footprint, thirty feet by twenty-eight feet, and its central chimney indicated the owner's cultural background (Fig. 5). With its three rooms surrounding a central hearth, the plan of Peter Good's house descended from Continental European traditions. In 1798, Peter Good's farm ensemble also included a sixty-foot by twenty-eight-foot stone and wood barn and 282 acres of land.⁷

This Continental plan consisted of a large, long room called a *Küche* that functioned as kitchen, entry hall, and social space and that occupied nearly one half of the dwelling's space. Adjacent to the *Küche* were two rooms, the *Stube* and *Kammer*. In the eighteenth century, the *Stube*, or stove room, contained a five-plate stove. Fed through a hole in the wall that connected hearth to stove, five-plate stoves allowed for maximum heat transferal with minimal smoke.⁸ This created a more specialized social space that often featured a table and benches. By the nineteenth century, the free-standing ten-plate stoves replaced the older five-plate jamb stoves, but the function of



Figure 4. The Peter Good House, circa 1790. View facing northwest. The log Peter Good house originally stood only one story high. A kitchen was added to the northern gable end and the house raised to two stories in the first decades of the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century, the kitchen was raised and the entire structure placed under one roof.

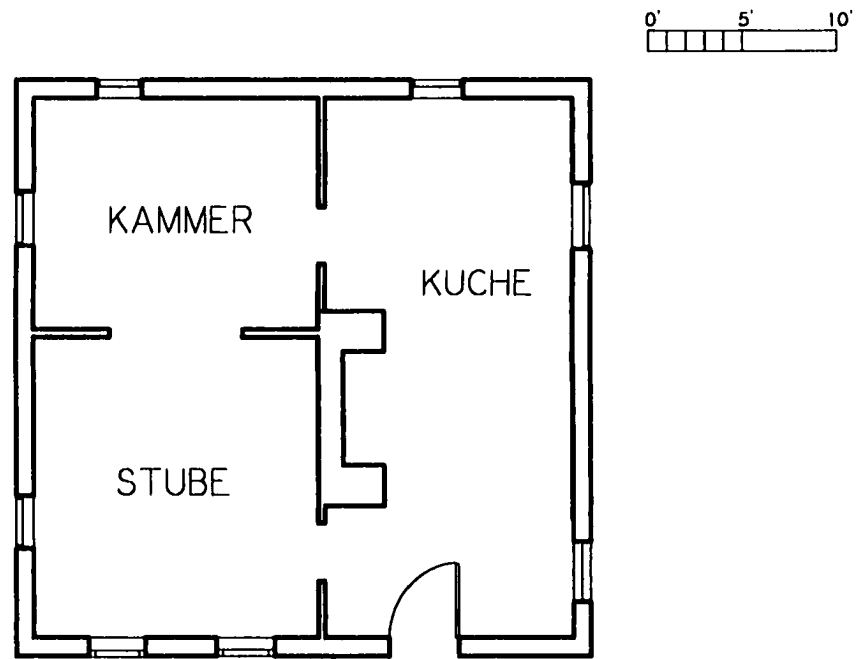


Figure 5. The Peter Good House, First-Floor Plan, as Originally Constructed. Drawing by Barry R. Rauhauser, based on measurements by Mark Brickner and Barry R. Rauhauser.

the room remained consistent. The *Kammer* served a variety of purposes in the Continental plan, including bedroom, workroom, and casual social gathering space. Depending on the need for space at the time, a thin wall between the *Kammer* and *Stube* could be removed. In two-story dwellings, or if more space was needed for social activities, the two spaces became one large room offering even more flexibility. The partial wall that exists today in the Peter Good house continues to connect these two spaces in much the same manner.⁹

Although the three-room Continental plan has been the most studied example of Pennsylvania-German architecture, four-room Continental plans were also an option for builders. This four-room plan divides the *Küche* into two parts, the larger of which retains its original function while the smaller fourth room could function as bedroom, workspace, or pantry. Although not built originally as a four-room house, a fourth room evolved in the Peter Good house with the addition of a second story and larger staircase.¹⁰

Other houses with a Continental plan exist in altered form within the township. Constructed in the first decade of the nineteenth century, Samuel Gross's more costly stone house organizes space in a similar manner (Fig. 6). Unlike the Peter Good house, however, the Samuel and Elizabeth Gross house began life as a two-and-a-half-story mansion. By varying the construction material and selecting between three- or four-room arrangements, the plan accommodated design demands placed upon it by family size, needs for production space, and the owner's desire to display status. In the extant landscape, this range is still visible when comparing the Samuel Gross house with the expanded house of Peter Good and the diminutive house of



Figure 6. The Samuel and Elizabeth Gross House, circa 1807. View facing southwest. The wood-framed portion of the house is a twentieth-century addition.

George Reneberger (Fig. 7). Despite this versatility, however, many owners chose to alter their Continental plan houses in the early part of the nineteenth century in order to gain more space, to reflect changes in taste, to symbolically communicate the owner's status to the surrounding world, or any combination of the above.¹¹

Peter Good chose to transform his family's house in the first two decades of the nineteenth century (Fig. 8). The first of these modifications added to the northern gable end a one-and-a-half-story stone ell that functioned as a kitchen. This transferred the cooking space from the center of the house to the new service wing. Removing this function meant that the older *Küche* now functioned primarily as an entrance and passageway to other parts of the house. The new wing featured a much larger workspace, as well as two doorways to the outside, providing better ventilation and ease of movement. Perhaps at the same time, Peter Good also raised the original log house another story.

The new additions altered underground production space, as well. Banked into a hillside, the house initially contained a cellar that extended below the *Stube* and *Kammer*. This allowed for a cold storage area that also offered direct access to the outside. When the Good family added the new kitchen wing, they chose to extend the cellar, providing a larger underground space with a hearth (Fig. 9). Common in the area, the cellar hearth occasionally replaced the first-floor central hearth. Several examples in Manchester Township, however, exist in which both a first-floor and cellar hearth were included in original design and construction. With convenient access to a cold storage area, an outside area sheltered from the elements by the



Figure 7. The George Reneberger House, circa 1800. View facing southwest. The George Reneberger house was originally constructed as a single-story log dwelling house with a three-room Continental plan.

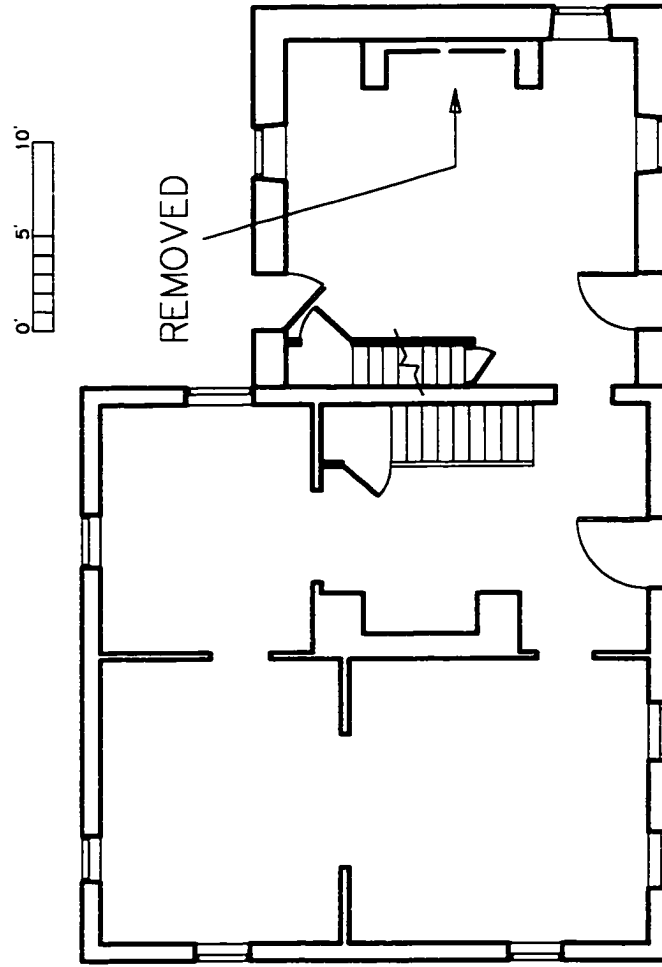


Figure 8. The Peter Good House, First-Floor Plan, after 1820. Drawing by Barry R. Rauhauser, based on measurements by Mark Brickner and Barry R. Rauhauser.

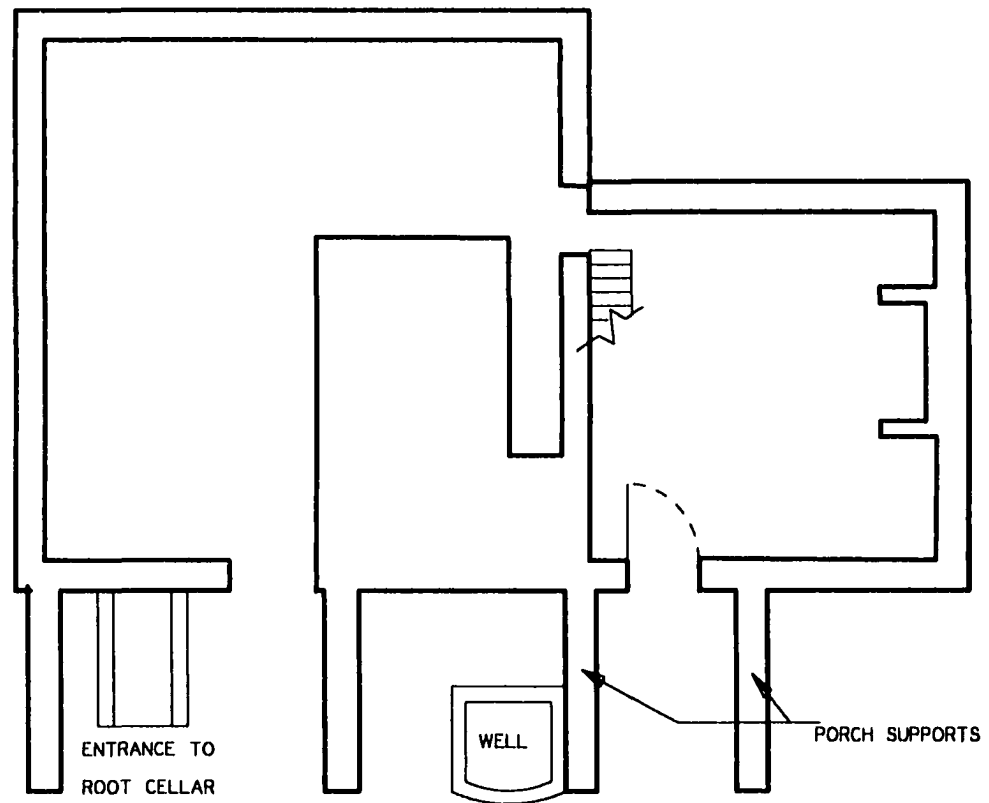


Figure 9. The Peter Good House, Cellar Plan. Drawing by Barry R. Rauhauser, based on measurements by Mark Brickner and Barry R. Rauhauser.

requisite entrance porch, and convenient access to fresh water, the banked house efficiently served as an instrument of domestic production.¹²

The addition of the wing did more than increase the living and production space for the Good family. It also altered the symbolic presentation offered by the exterior of the house. With two extra openings across the front of the first floor, the dwelling house now had five bays—three windows, one centrally located door, and one that opened into the new wing. This created a roughly symmetrical façade, at least on the first floor. Almost at the same time, Peter's son, Henry, constructed a five-bay stone house just 350 yards to the west of his birthplace. Although partially destroyed by fire in the twentieth century, enough survives of the original Henry Good house to connect it to both his father's converted log dwelling and to the conventions of five-bay, center-passage plan dwelling house construction. Like his father's house, Henry's new home was a single-story dwelling set into a hillside so that the front of the house would appear as two stories. Peter's house, after its stone ell was added but prior to the construction of the second story, would have appeared nearly identical to Henry's stone structure. Both son and father were out to symbolize their status with dwelling houses that emphasized the same cultural values pursued by other wealthy individuals at the time.¹³

More commonly known as "Georgian," the symmetrical five-bay, center-passage plan arrives in America through English pattern books and craftsmen in the early eighteenth century.¹⁴ The type appears in Manchester Township at least as early as 1743, the date of the William Willis house in the southwestern corner of the township (Fig. 10). The popularity of the type in Manchester Township began in the adjacent city of York as urbanites, of all ethnic backgrounds, built country houses in



Figure 10. The William Willis House, 1743. View facing northwest.

the surrounding rural area. Wealthy farmers at the turn of the century, however, constructed the majority of extant dwelling houses with a Georgian plan in Manchester Township. They built them out of brick and stone, but rarely of wood. More often than not, the farmer located the house in the center of the property so that it provided a view of the family's agricultural success: meadow, field, and woodland.

Unlike open plans, which have a front door that permits access directly into a room of the house, the closed Georgian plan features a passage immediately behind the front door. Although passages could be quite wide and function as usable social spaces complete with furniture, the central passages found in Manchester Township were relatively narrow. From this corridor, a host could welcome and direct traffic into and within the house. Beyond this hallway were rooms with specialized functions: formal and casual parlors, dining rooms, workrooms, and studies. The Georgian plan house represented the "agricultural success and polite society" that only a few householders could enjoy or emulate. Their symmetry, plan, and location within the property, all point to the private, ordered, and individual ideals that arose at the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹⁵

Jacob Hake arrived in America in 1748. The following year saw the arrival of his father, younger brother, and sister. The family purchased several plots of land in different locations throughout York County but soon became a permanent fixture of Manchester Township. After his father passed away in 1770, Jacob purchased his father's 200 acres along the Little Conewago Creek in Manchester Township, as well as surrounding plots of land. Jacob married within a few short years of his arrival in America and he and his wife, Susan Dorothea, would have five children including two sons, Andrew and Frederick. The large estate gave Jacob and

his family a more prominent position within the community. He filled several official positions after 1770 including assessor, constable, and overseer of Manchester Township. This commitment to nation and community greatly affected his oldest son, Andrew. Having been born in 1754, Andrew was twenty-two and already married at the outbreak of the American Revolution. He enrolled in the spring of 1777 with the German Battalion of the Continental Army. Muster rolls show that he served at least some of his time at Germantown Camp and Valley Forge. Although he signed up for three years of service, he returned to Manchester before 1779. His last muster roll was from a hospital in August of 1778, perhaps suggesting a reason for his early return.¹⁶

Even before his participation in the American Revolution, Andrew purchased plots of land surrounding his father's original acreage. By 1783, he possessed 130 acres of land, three horses, four horned cattle, and six sheep. One of the largest additions to his estate came in 1802 when his father divided and sold his land to his two sons. This added another 233 acres to Andrew's estate, although it is clear that Andrew had assumed responsibility for this tract long before this date. Each son received the title to that part of the estate on which he had already constructed a house and maintained a productive farm. The Hake family constructed four dwellings on this collection of plots in Manchester Township before 1802. The legal transfer of the property required Frederick Hake to care for his father in the house that Frederick built for himself, a forty-foot by twenty-foot, two-story stone house. A forty-foot by thirty-foot wood, single-story house, in which the father had lived, possessed a footprint identical to Andrew's house. A third house, described simply as small and constructed of wood, housed a tenant, Conrad Frey, who just happened to be a house carpenter.¹⁷

The largest and most valuable of the four Hake family dwelling houses, due to its size and sandstone construction, was Andrew Hake's dwelling house (Fig. 11). Although its painted date stone reads 1807, Andrew Hake constructed his five-bay, center-passage stone house many years before this date.¹⁸ The 1798 Federal Direct Tax lists Andrew "Hoke" as the owner of a two-story house, forty feet by thirty feet with nineteen windows; a small stone kitchen; a stone still house, twenty-two feet by nineteen feet; and a stone and wood barn, sixty feet by twenty-five feet. Of the 273 dwellings found in Manchester Township in 1798, Andrew Hake's house was one of the ten largest and most valuable homes. The symmetrical fenestration and segmented flat arches add a sense of order to the very random colors that accompany the masonry. Dressed stones run in courses in the front, while the gables, rear wall, and the spacious, one-and-a-half-story ell that extends from the central rear of the house, were constructed of unfinished sandstone. Large, tan sandstone quoins finish off the corners of house, barn, and still house.¹⁹

Manchester Township was by no means the heart of stone construction in the Pennsylvania Culture Region, or even of York County. Houses built with red sandstone quoins can be found throughout most of south-central Pennsylvania. The core of stone construction in York County appears to lie to the north and northeast of Manchester Townships in Conewago and Dover Townships. In both townships, the construction of sandstone farmhouses continued well into the twentieth century. A large quantity of red sandstone remains above ground in these townships, visible along the roadsides and among the trees of undisturbed woodlands. The state courthouse in Harrisburg used stone quarried from Philip Crone's land in Dover Township. From the base of the Conewago Hills came furnace stones as large as sixty cubic feet.²⁰



Figure 11. The Andrew Hake House, circa 1795. View facing northwest. Some evidence of early masonry restoration appears on the second-story front façade.

The massive alternating blocks that form the corners of stone structures, the lintels, and the sills were composed of the deepest red sandstone. Builders purchased and transported these large red stones from the quarries in Conewago or Dover Townships. Local stone obtained on site shaped the walls of the houses. In most cases, only the front face of the house was constructed with dressed stone while the remaining walls were constructed of rubble. Often the higher quality lintels and quoins are of the same color stone while the walls contain a random mixture of colors ranging from light tan to dark red. The variegation of coloring is due to the very deliberate actions of the stonemasons. The John Wogan House, a Georgian plan farmhouse in the eastern part of the township, depicts what might occur if the stonemason does not seek out random order (Fig. 12). Constructed between 1800 and 1805 for John Wogan, of Scotch-Irish descent, the masons laid the stones as they were quarried and the dark red color of sandstone at the foundation slowly gives way to the light tan and gray color of limestone near the vertical center of the house.²¹

The durability, cost, finish, and color of stone construction suggested the status of the Hake family to the surrounding community, even from a great distance.²² The interior ornament and plan of the house reaffirmed this implied status. Behind the front door of the Andrew Hake house lies a central passage that contains an open staircase to the second floor and doors that lead to the four side rooms and kitchen (Fig. 13). With this access to the rest of the house, the central passage operated as a transitional space within the house. Visitors entered into this staging area before being directed to a particular space within the house. The central passage implied order. The closed plan marked and encouraged the specialization of spaces found in the five rooms that surrounded the passage.²³

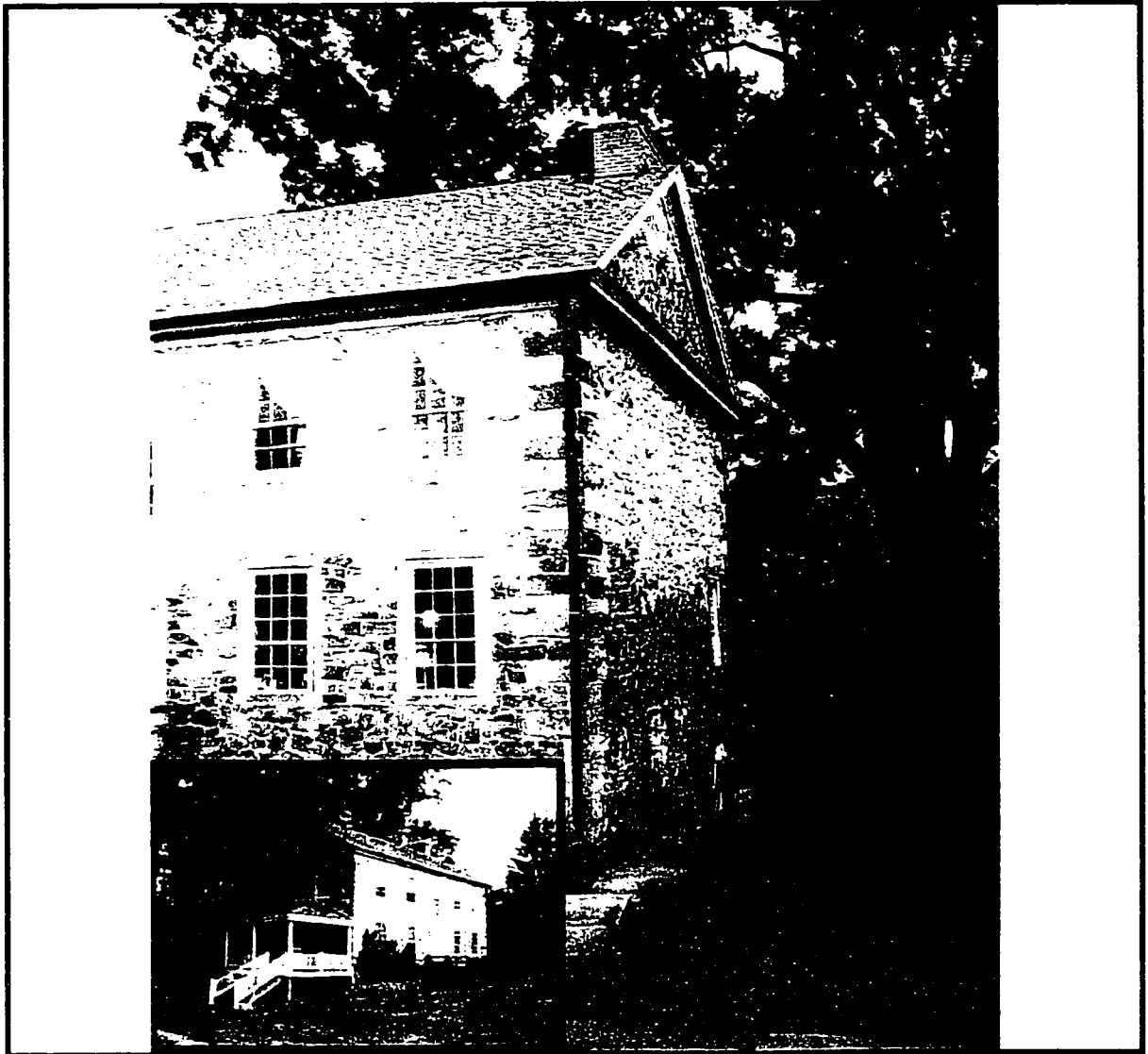


Figure 12. The John Wogan House, circa 1805. View facing southeast. Inset, rear of John Wogan house, view facing south.

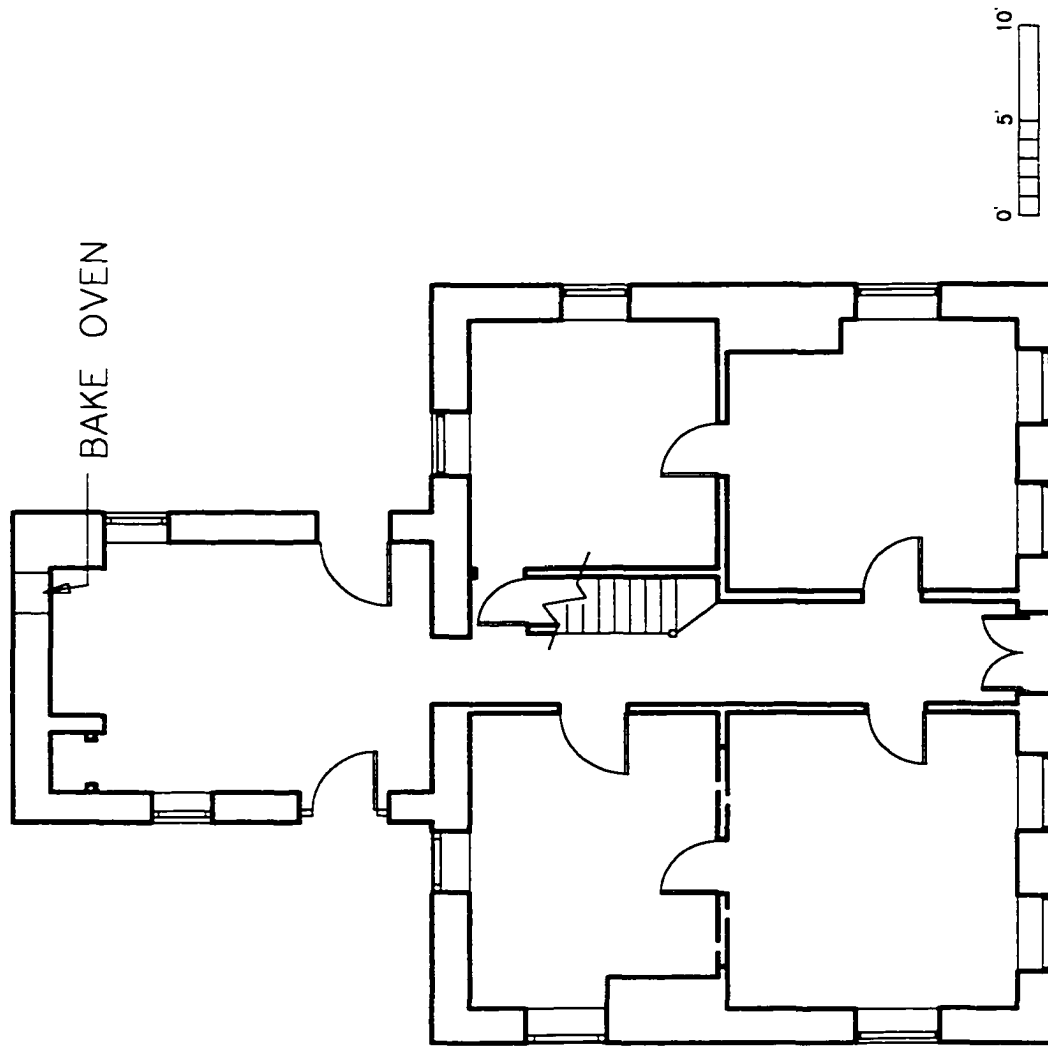


Figure 13. The Andrew Hake House, First-Floor Plan. Drawing by Barry R. Rauhauser, based on measurements by Mark Brickner and Barry R. Rauhauser.

The Andrew Hake house epitomizes Georgian interior architectural ornament in rural Pennsylvania (Fig. 14 and 15). The four rooms and kitchen on the ground floor form a hierarchy of formality.²⁴ The two front rooms are the most formal, with the room to the east ornamented and functioning as the formal parlor. The eared architraves of windows and fireplace, the paneled window openings, and complex chair rails state the public and formal nature of the room. Slightly less ornamented, the front room to the west of the passage was reserved for more casual family affairs. Although this room lacks a fireplace, Andrew Hake's inventory reveals that he owned two ten-plate stoves at his death in 1832. The ten-plate stove warmed the room and pointed to a cultural preference for heating styles. A requisite feature and symbol of home and domesticity for the Pennsylvania Germans was the *Stube*. Regardless of the central passage, this casual parlor with stove was effectively, the Hake family's *Stube*. The rear rooms and kitchen were the least ornamented, with no window trim and plain chair rails and base trim. These rear rooms were far more versatile than the rest. Used for work, sleep, family dining, office, or for entertaining guests during special events, their functions changed seasonally or even daily. Although the Georgian plan and ideal encouraged specialization, rural agricultural dependency often required flexibility.²⁵

The visual contrasts between Peter Good's house in its original form, and Andrew Hake's house would have been remarkable. Even a comparison of Samuel Gross's large stone Continental plan mansion house to the Georgian plan houses being built at the same time would quickly reveal the distinctions between the two types of houses. In the late eighteenth century, gentlemen from Philadelphia traveling through Pennsylvania's interior would occasionally make note of this differentiation in their



Figure 14. The Andrew Hake House, Interior, Formal Parlor.

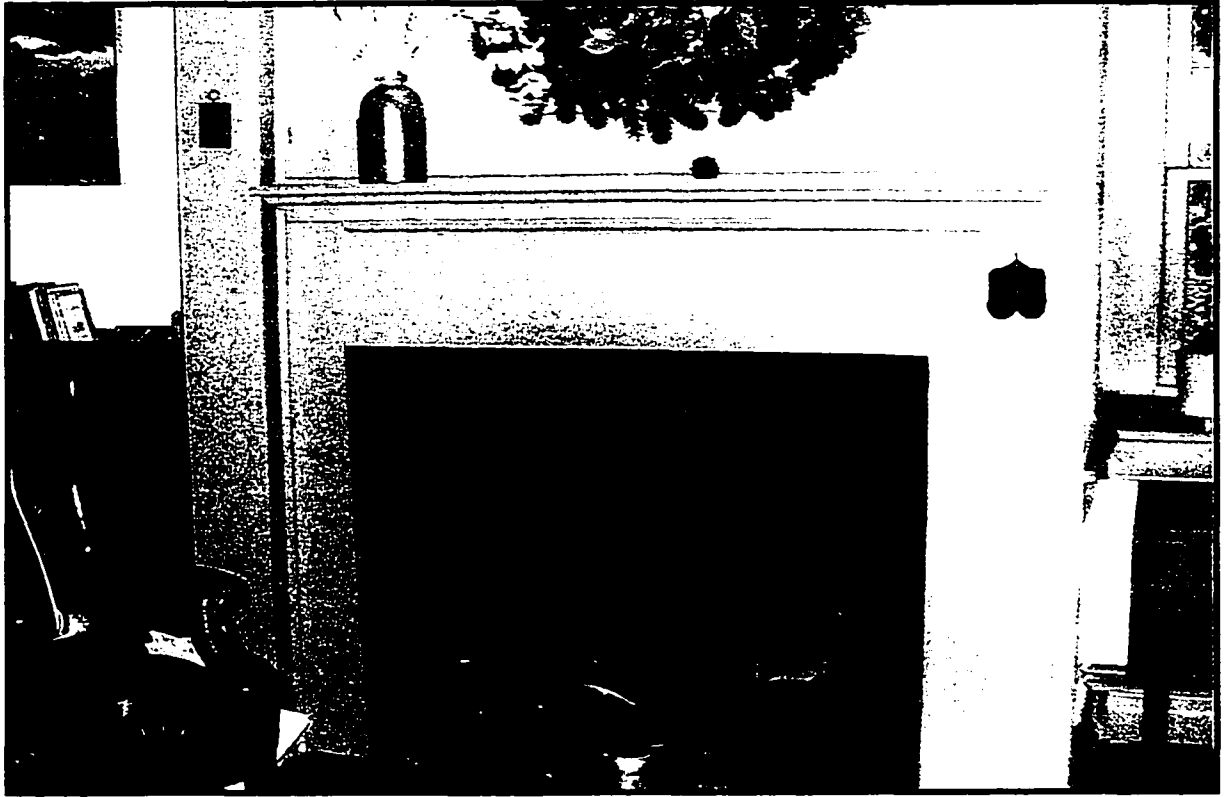


Figure 15. Andrew Hake House, Interior, Rear Room.

travel accounts. Noting construction material, lack of ornament, compact size, central chimneystacks, and the preference for stoves over fireplaces, these contemporaries recognized the architectural and cultural distinctiveness of the houses constructed by those of German descent.²⁶ Over time, however, the relationship between architecture and an owner's ethnicity grew vague. This is particularly true among the group of wealthy farmers who would eventually adopt the Pennsylvania farmhouse type.

As Cynthia Falk has pointed out, the façade of a house may mask an entirely different interior way of life. Falk's research showed that the Georgian exteriors of some houses of Chester County were really status masks for houses that still relied on an interior Continental plan. Members of the community selected exterior layouts that could display their status to a wide audience. The interiors of their houses, however, reproduced open, familiar spatial arrangements.²⁷ John Brillinger, an owner of a mill and several farms, would erect such a house in eastern Manchester Township. The exterior of Brillinger's house, its fenestration and use of stone, proved Brillinger's awareness of popular Anglo-American styles and their ability to convey status (Fig. 16). The interior spatial arrangement of his house and his occasional use of the German language confirmed his cultural background.²⁸ More than a passive reaction to changes in the surrounding culture, the exterior appearance of the Georgian plan actively offered messages of status and progression in the never-ending battle to control the agriculturally productive landscape.

Peter Good did not suddenly become less Pennsylvania German when he added two bays to the exterior of his Continental plan log house. The same is certainly true for those who constructed new styles of homes in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Although there appears to be a large rift between members of the community



Figure 16. The John Brillinger House, circa 1835. View facing north.

who accepted the Anglo-American Georgian plan and those who continued to construct the traditional Continental plan, there really is no way to conclude this from examining the form of one's house alone. Even the early nineteenth-century houses in Manchester Township that strictly adhered to the Anglo-American Georgian plan contain an emphasis on the qualities of ampleness, sturdiness, and comfort—cultural ideals inspired by Pennsylvania Germans.²⁹

The material world of the Pennsylvania Germans in the nineteenth century is difficult to reconstruct. Most museums and scholars focus on the interpretation of the mid- to late-eighteenth century Pennsylvania-German material existence. This results in rooms full of brightly colored objects with forms and ornamentation that reveal their Continental influence. Yet the rise of consumerism in the nineteenth century, the same rise that increased the number of Pennsylvania-German objects, would have also provided a greater availability of, and demand for, objects that displayed no signs of Continental origin. The ascent of the port of Baltimore after the American Revolution created a challenge for Philadelphia. The two cities would work for decades to dominate the trade to areas west of the Susquehanna. A clockmaker, such as Godfrey Lenhart in the city of York, could obtain watches from peddlers out of Philadelphia and textiles and ceramics out of Baltimore through merchants in Frederick. This created a broad range of available material objects for the inhabitants of south-central Pennsylvania.³⁰

The Abraham Frantz house, a Georgian plan house located near the Andrew Hake house, was constructed in 1816. A small segment of the kitchen walls have remained intact revealing a painted stencil design (Fig. 17). A red and green, tulip and twelve-pointed sun pattern once covered the walls of the kitchen. In 1819,

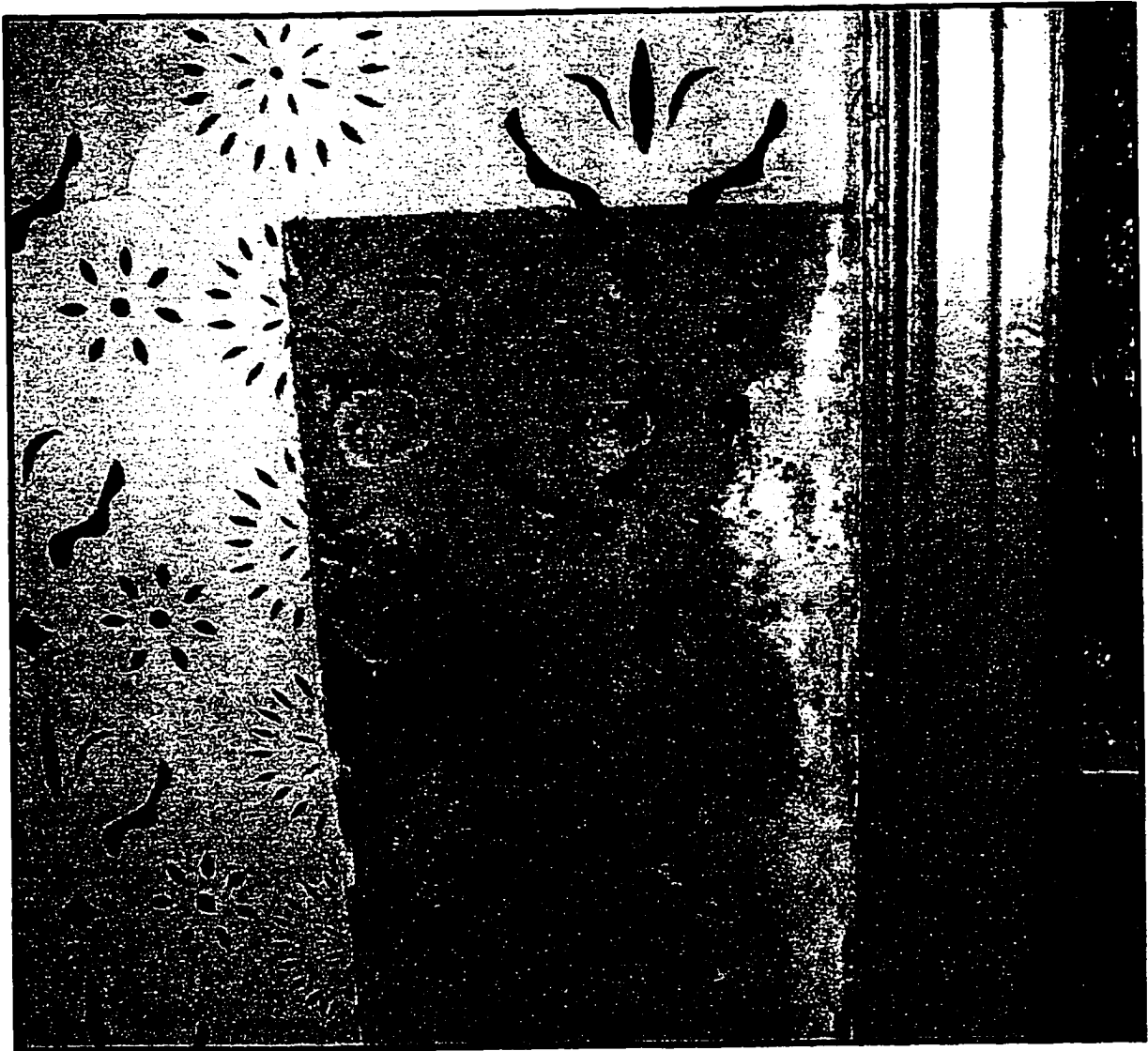


Figure 17. The Abraham Frantz House, Interior, Kitchen Wall Treatment.

only a year after the first advertisements for wallpaper appeared in York's newspapers, Augustus Uz advertised his ability to mimic the appearance of wallpaper with paint. The design's similarity to Pennsylvania-German motifs found on gravestones and painted chests may have been the product of the craftsman or of the owner. Manchester Township's inclusion in the national marketplace not only made the Georgian plan house a viable option for Abraham Frantz, it may also have offered him access to the means of maintaining ethnic and regional preferences.³¹

The variety of material goods in the homes of nineteenth-century south-central Pennsylvania Germans and their often-conflicting symbolic messages complicates the theory of Scott Swank. Swank suggested that individuals labeled as Pennsylvania Germans really fell somewhere on a continuum between total rejection of Anglo-American culture and its complete acceptance. A "significant minority" of individuals fell somewhere in the middle of this continuum, carefully controlling their family's acculturation into the national culture.³² The concision of Swank's argument masks the unusual ownership of goods that resulted from people attempting to determine their own place within the continuum. Particularly in the first quarter of the nineteenth century in Manchester Township, when few alternatives were available, a person controlled their ethnic presence by buying into both ends of the continuum. A member of the community may have purchased a very Anglo-American set of wine glasses, a French pocket watch with a classical scene upon it, perhaps a painting of George Washington, yet this same member of the community may have been among the few that remained attached to a house with a Continental plan and a five-plate stove. Although people fell somewhere on a continuum of acceptance and rejection of the dominant culture, objects often did not.

This “controlled acculturation” accounts for the mixture of architectural types and architectural ornamentation constructed as the eighteenth century ended and the nineteenth century began. Placing an open-plan interior into a five-bay, central door symmetrical exterior was simply a way, by buying into both ends of the continuum, that members of the community accommodated their desire to display status with their preference for a familiar spatial arrangement. This is a visible process throughout the decorative arts of the Pennsylvania Germans. American eagles were painted on pine chests, images of George Washington scratched into redware, willows and urns carved into grave markers with *Fraktur* lettering.

Often, however, Continental forms disappeared, replaced by those acquired intact from the dominant culture. “Controlled acculturation” often became nothing more than controlled assimilation. The architectural combination of the Georgian exterior with the Continental interior never enjoyed enough longevity to make it a highly visible part of the landscape in York County. By the nineteenth century, the Georgian façade was no longer new and the Continental plan was no longer as familiar to the inhabitants of south-central Pennsylvania. In order for a new form, such as the Pennsylvania farmhouse, to develop and maintain an existence, it needed to be a far more dynamic part of the landscape. Faintly reminiscent of more traditional types, with subtle hues of popular styles, but altogether different from anything in the past, new forms allowed one to disassociate from the past while still keeping it within view. This is particularly true when other changes in economy, style, or demographics influenced the conception of these new forms. Enormous flexibility was required to span the diverse ideals of the eighteenth century and the progressive ideals of the nineteenth century. The result was a house type that emphasized cohesion

among the community by combining the influences of tradition, the larger community, and the nation.

As Manchester Township entered the third decade of the nineteenth century it saw rapid changes that interconnected the various rural areas in the county with the cities of York, Harrisburg, Carlisle, Lancaster, and Frederick. Even more roads developed across the rural landscape, connecting important river points to the towns and cities that were sprouting up in areas once dominated by field and wood. Of the 371 taxables in 1826 there were fourteen coopers, twenty-four people engaged in some form of alcohol manufacture, nineteen people engaged in milling, and fourteen weavers. With the formation of the towns, others were also entering the economic world of Manchester Township: board merchants, tavern owners, storekeepers, peddlers, potters, doctors, and lawyers. Entrepreneurial spirits, often those who could already claim sizable amounts of property and valuables, successfully extended their fortunes. Several towns arose in the early nineteenth century, some by economic or trade necessity, others by speculation. The development of these towns shaped a significant point of view for the contemporary inhabitants. Many saw Manchester Township's future landscape not as a site of long-held, isolated family agricultural enterprises, but as a suburban landscape whose rural nature and economic life were enhanced by its close proximity to town and city (Fig. 18).³³

Although determined to produce and manufacture more goods, the inhabitants of York County struggled with the possibilities of exporting those goods to larger cities and ports. Many inhabitants of the township dedicated the first two decades of the century to the construction of canals and the navigation of the Susquehanna River. An English Quaker named Frederick Day formed New Holland,

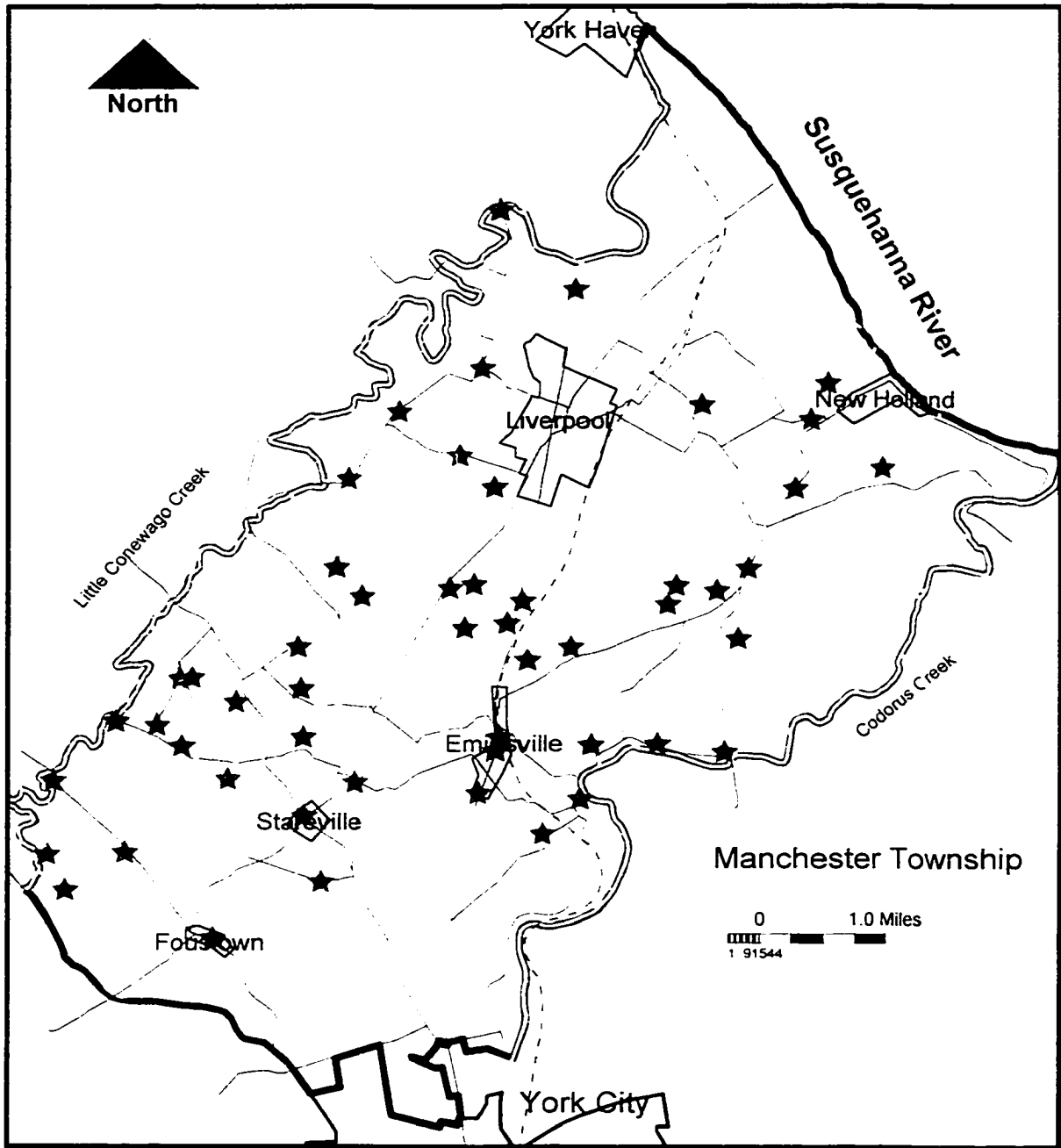


Figure 18. Map of Manchester Township Indicating Town, Road, and Rail Locations. Map created by Barry R. Rauhauser.

now called Saginaw, in the northeastern part of the township along a branch of the Conewago Creek in 1804. This intersection of two waterways became an important lumber town, a distribution center for pine shipped downstream along the Susquehanna. The busy town inspired the construction of hotels, mills, three lumberyards, and a tannery. Nearby Eib's Landing along the river was also pine dependent. Three hotels in the town accommodated 'Yankees' who rafted logs down the Susquehanna. Teams would line up at the landing in the morning, waiting to load lumber to distribute to merchants in York, Hanover, Abbottstown, East Berlin, and Frederick, Maryland.³⁴

William Reeser developed the town of Liverpool. Reeser purchased the land in 1814 with the hope of capitalizing on area trade. The recently completed York and Conewago Turnpike, which offered passage from the city of York to New Holland, created a local economic boom spurred by the lumber trade and the nearby shad fisheries. Prospering through the lottery of one hundred lots, Reeser built a five-bay, center-door brick home at the corner of the town, now called Manchester, for \$5000. Although it no longer exists, an early twentieth-century photograph displays Reeser's use of Federal details (Fig. 19).³⁵

At times, the Susquehanna River functioned as the region's primary trade route. At other times, it was an impassable and destructive burden. Despite the unpredictability, the river remained a viable trade route long after news of the invention of the railroad had reached York County. Throughout the 1820s, the York Recorder published news accounts, descriptions, and images of railroads and their successful introductions in England and America while the people of York County



Figure 19. The William Reeser House, 1814. Courtesy of York County Heritage Trust, PA.

continued to debate the benefits of river and rail. With the debate over the viability of the railroad came the rapid acceptance of technology, innovation, and progress. The community began to question the economic viability of older traditions and more readily adopted new ideas and technology that promised greater returns.³⁶ .

Peter Good passed away in 1823, leaving behind no will to manage the dispersal of his estate to his wife and ten children. He possessed three houses, which included his enlarged Continental plan house and Henry's stone Georgian plan house. Also on the 350 acres that he had accumulated over the years were two barns and several outbuildings. All of the children were adults by the time of Peter's death. His four daughters were already married; his six sons had already taken over the labor and management of the farm or had already purchased estates of their own. Dividing an estate into eleven parts was not an easy job nor did it prove to be very practical. The York County Orphan's Court selected seven men from Manchester Township to assess and subdivide Peter Good's lands, dwellings, and barns. Eleven men, as well as the sons of Peter Good, would eventually meet to determine the best division of the estate. The eleven men were all prominent, knowledgeable men of Manchester Township. Several of them were good friends of Peter Good, some were relatives, and others were neighbors. Men like William Reeser and the township's Justice of the Peace, John Quickel, attended because the court and community recognized their positions within the community. Men like Samuel Gross and Andrew Hake's oldest son, Jacob, attended because they wanted to protect the borders of their own property or propose a future purchase from the heirs. Everyone in the region would have recognized these men, or would have been acquainted with their surnames, and the men were certainly aware of each other and their incredibly different houses.³⁷

As the eleven men surveyed the estate of Peter Good in late autumn of 1823, they probably spoke German with one another. Yet, it would be a mistake to identify these men, including Peter Good, by their ethnicity. Certainly, they were products of their inherited Continental traditions. They were also products of nineteenth-century progressive ideals. It would be just as accurate to describe the eleven men as entrepreneurial land developers, influential pre-industrialists, or aggressive agricultural capitalists. They were wealthy landowners, farmers who could claim substantial fortunes. Their wealth existed not in cash or furniture, however, but in the means of production. These men accumulated land, cultivated orchards, built huge distilleries, and established entire towns. Although considerably more wealthy than most of their neighbors, an analysis of their accounts reveals that their wealth was growing in the ground, walking their pastures, or resting in barrels in the cold storage rooms of their distilleries. Nonetheless, as they surveyed the estate of Peter Good and his three houses that autumn, the men would have spoken German with each other, even though all of the men, for reasons of economic benefit, probably spoke English fluently.³⁸

Given the date on the stone, construction of the John and Elizabeth Quickel house, the earliest dated Pennsylvania farmhouse in Manchester Township, had already begun before Peter Good passed away (Fig. 20). With the exception of its off-center door, the two-and-a-half-story sandstone house is symmetrically arranged with four bays and two chimneystacks located inside either gable end. The house faces a bend in Canal Road, named for its northern terminus at what was once the Conewago Canal. From the north, the double-pile house and its kitchen wing appear as a fifty-foot long expanse of multicolored sandstone. Viewed from the south

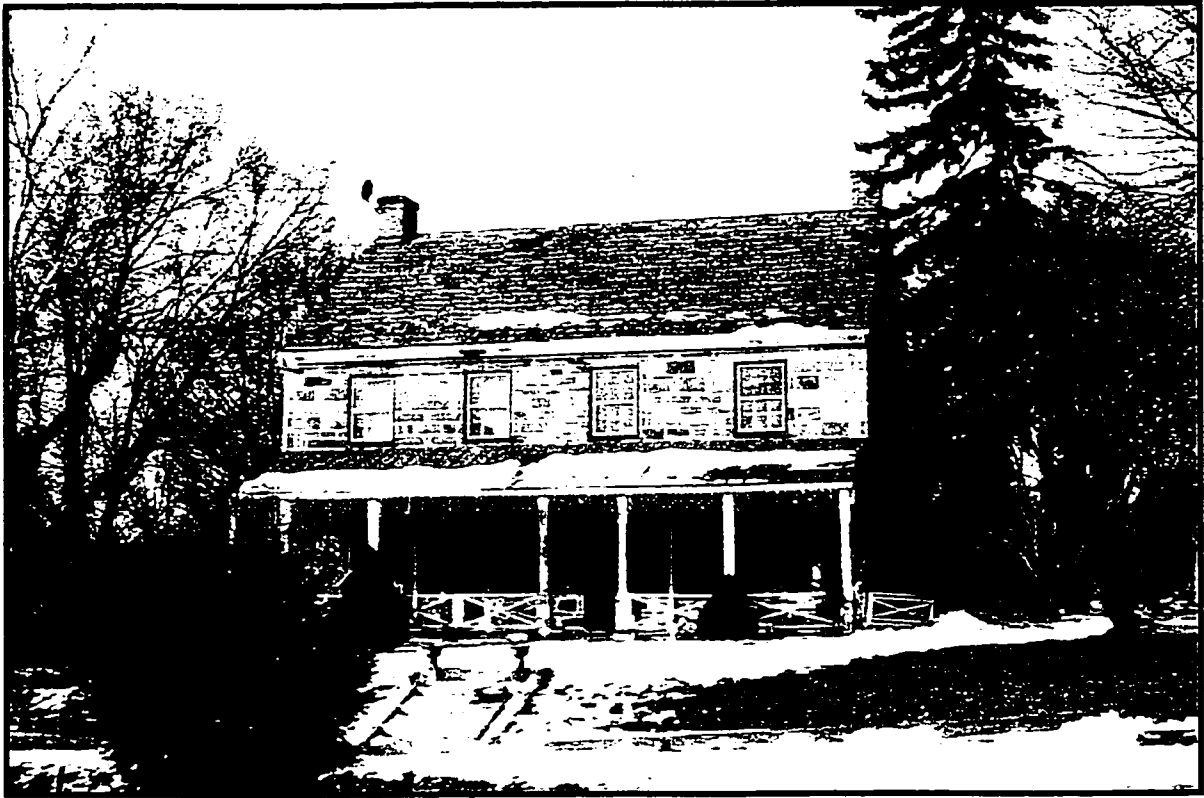


Figure 20. The John and Elizabeth Quickel House, 1824. View facing northwest.

however, the long front porch, the extended roof of its kitchen wing, and its date stone with its deep, clean carving become visible (Fig. 21). Under a centered design consisting of a vase with three tulips and two twelve-pointed suns, the date stone reads in *Fraktur* lettering, “*Gebauen von Johannes Quickel und seiner ehefrau Elizabeth – 1824.*” Directly under that the stone also reads, “Built by John Quickel and Elizabeth his Wife – 1824.”

The interior of the house illustrates the remarkable mix of influences and symbolic messages found in the early nineteenth century. One might expect an interior more in tune with the “folk art” that appears on the date stone, but the interior trim, with fluted fireplace surrounds and applied columns, draw from classicism (Fig. 22). With only four bays, and an off-centered front door, one might also expect an open plan in which one enters directly into a main room of the house. Stepping inside reveals a center-passage plan, much like the Georgian plan of Andrew Hake’s house, with two small rooms to each side (Fig. 23).³⁹

John’s father, Michael Quickel, arrived in America with his two older brothers in 1736. He was only fourteen at the time. The three brothers settled in Lancaster County until all three purchased plots of land in Conewago Townships in 1762. John Quickel, or Johannes Quickel, was born in Conestoga Township, Lancaster County on June 9, 1762. Within the year, his parents had moved to the 200 acres they had purchased along the Little Conewago Creek. The family’s commitment to the welfare of the community was recognized soon after his father set up residence. In 1770, Michael Quickel donated over two acres “to and for the use and purpose for a place of worship.” This church and its accompanying cemetery, still known as Quickel’s Church today, became the center of worship and final resting spot for many



Figure 21. The John and Elizabeth Quickel House, Datestone.

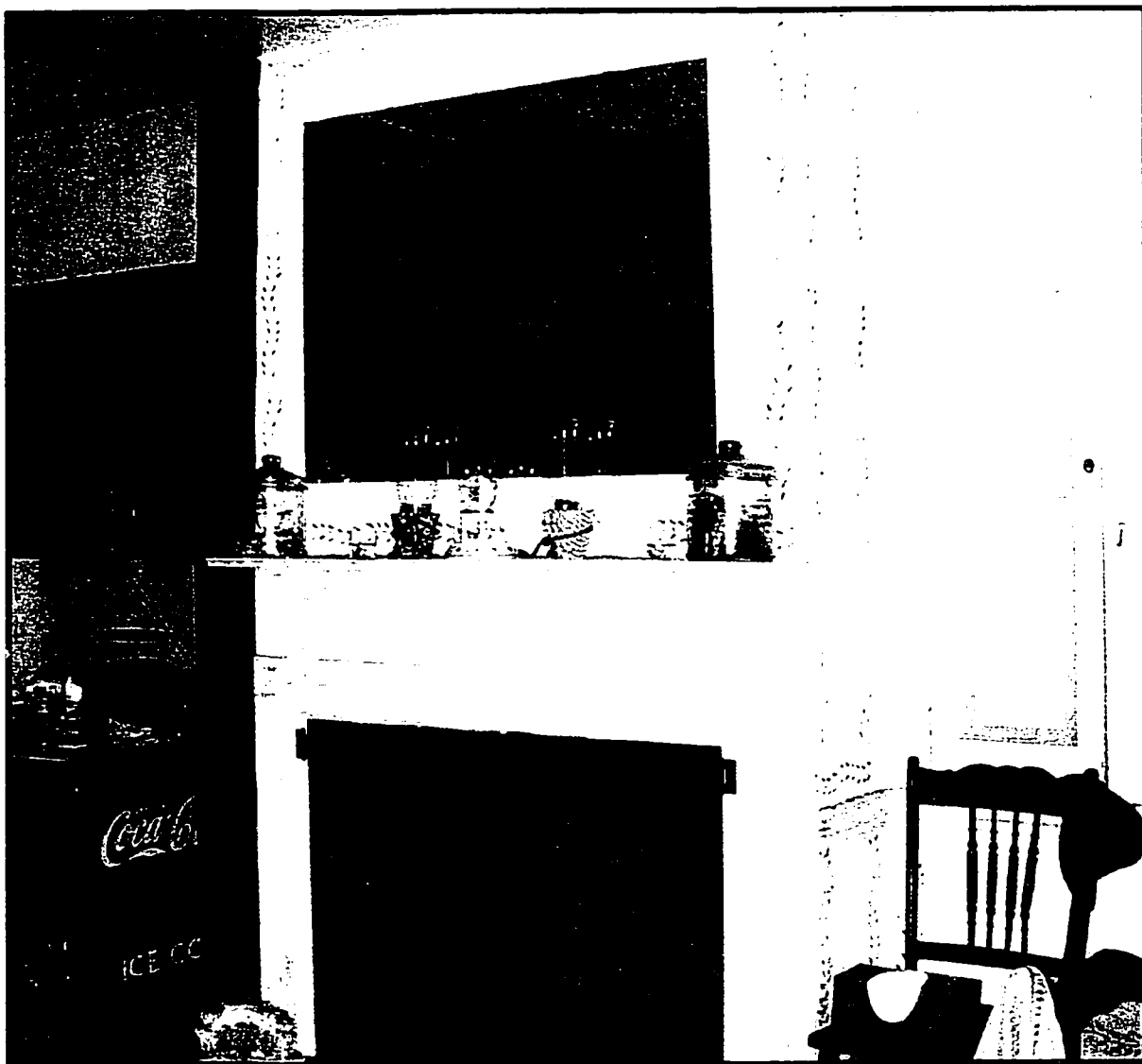


Figure 22. The John and Elizabeth Quickel House, Interior, Parlor.

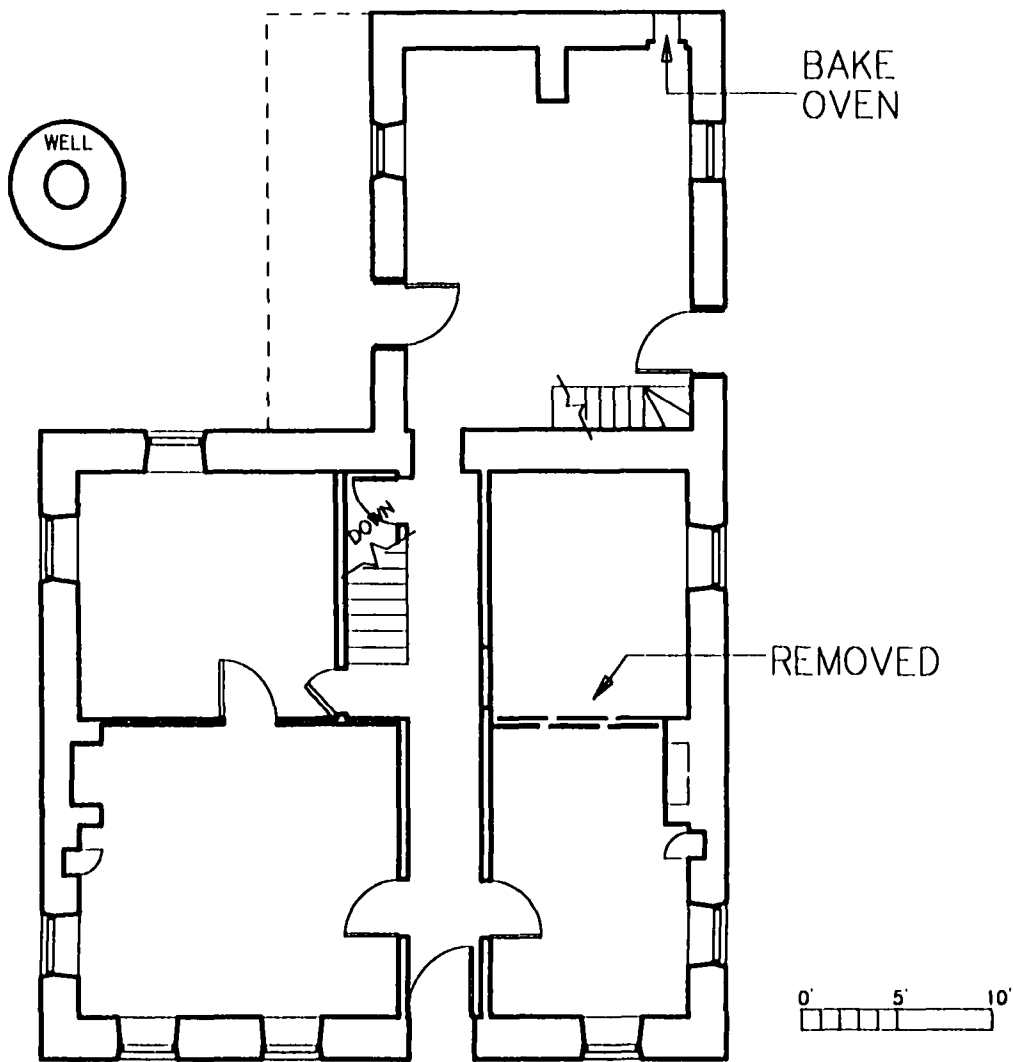


Figure 23. The John and Elizabeth Quickel House, First-Floor Plan. Drawing by Barry R. Rauhauser, based on measurements by Jeffrey E. Klee, Bernard L. Herman, and Barry R. Rauhauser.

of the Lutheran and Reformed inhabitants of north-central Manchester Township. In August of 1776, Michael Quickel displayed his dedication to both community and nation as he led a group of volunteers to assist the fight for revolution in Philadelphia. With his father, who was designated a captain, John Quickel traveled alongside the volunteers as far as Lancaster County where he then stayed with relatives.⁴⁰

John Quickel's father died on December 18, 1787, a date marked by a tombstone located in the back corner of Quickel's Church Cemetery. Michael left 111 acres to his son with the stipulation that John compensates his siblings for the property. John had already purchased his own land several months before his father's death, however, and did not accept the property. John's first house no longer stands, but the 1798 Federal Direct Tax lists the original structures on the property. At the turn of the century, three primary structures stood on the seventy-five acres of land: a twenty-nine-foot by twenty-four-foot single-story log house, which John and his family occupied, an eighteen-foot by sixteen-foot single-story wood structure, occupied by Daniel Meyer, and a forty-five-foot by twenty-foot wood barn.⁴¹

This land would become John Quickel's homestead for the next forty-four years. Throughout most of this time, John Quickel served as Manchester Township's Justice of the Peace. The position required frequent public interaction with both the German and English speaking communities. All legal documents were to use English and John Quickel recorded each case in English in the same notebook that his father had recorded, in German, the names of the volunteers that marched to Philadelphia in 1777.⁴²

Quickel's inventory reveals that he occupied his four first-floor rooms much as other center-passage owners had used theirs. His inventory, arranged by

object and not by room, includes “one dining Teable” and a “writing desk.” The desk may have been used in one of the small rear rooms, creating an office for the Justice of the Peace, where he would also store his “Seven Law books and presertents,” his “ink stand”, and perhaps even his “lot of Himm and prayer Books.” The other rear room possibly functioned as a dining room, a relatively new form in the 1820s. Other objects include “three Teables”, a “Clock and Case,” “Corner Covert,” and “ten chairs.” These objects filled the forward rooms creating both a formal parlor and a more casual sitting room. In many Pennsylvania farmhouses, the fireplace served primarily as a decorative front for the ventilation of a ten-plate stove.⁴³ John Quickel’s inventory included two ten-plate stoves and one seven-plate stove, which were used in lieu of the fireplaces. John Quickel’s “Stone Cuting tooles” and “weaver loom and geers with all the apparatus” were stored in outbuildings along with a variety of other tools and farm implements mentioned in the inventory.⁴⁴

Very little precedent existed for the plan of the John Quickel house in America at the time. In fact, the four-bay façade, whether masking a closed or open plan, never claimed much popularity before it began to dominate the towns and rural areas of south-central Pennsylvania. There was, however, one very important house in Philadelphia that did possess a four-bay façade. For ten years, while Philadelphia served as the temporary national capital from 1790 to 1800, the President’s House served as the executive mansion of the United States, housing both Washington and Adams for parts of their terms. Constructed in brick between 1767 and 1769, the house displayed four bays across the forty-five-foot façade that faced Market Street. The house’s short period of occupancy, its neglect after 1800, and demolition in 1832 imply that the house never gained the iconic status that the White House would

achieve. Thus, it is not likely that the house served as an impetus for house design in the rural areas of Pennsylvania. Nonetheless, it does demonstrate that the four-bay façade conformed to urban and academic aesthetic ideals.⁴⁵

John Quickel's life and house epitomize the complicated nature of the Pennsylvania-German culture. His knowledge and use of English and his Federal-style interior did not signify an inevitable assimilation into America's dominant culture. While it is true that he held an occupation that required him to speak English, he was also a prolific gravestone carver throughout most of his life. Over a span of forty years, John Quickel carved gravestones for the surrounding community, examples of which can be found as far east as Lancaster County and as far west as southern Adams County. Quickel carved hearts and tulips and twelve-pointed suns into these sandstone markers, giving each one a distinctive and bold Pennsylvania-German appearance (Fig. 24). On the date stone of his house, Quickel chose a similar design, replacing the heart with a vase. John Quickel's cultural world descended from Continental traditions, gained inspiration from ideas out of England, and followed new trends maturing in the nation. In fact, for many Pennsylvania Germans in the early nineteenth century, the diverse cultural worlds of the region were quite complimentary and often blended together. Perhaps drawing from the details of his new fireplace surrounds, Quickel began to carve fluted columns on the sides of his gravestones after 1824.⁴⁶

John Quickel and Jacob Hake built their houses in the mid-1820's, both finishing within two years of Peter Good's death (Fig. 25). The datestone on the Jacob Hake house reads, "Built by Jacob & Anne Mary Hake 1825." The footprints of the two houses are nearly identical; both measure just over thirty-six feet in length and



Figure 24. Gravestone carved by John Quickel.



Figure 25. The Jacob and Ann Mary Hake House, 1825. View facing northwest.

differ by only five inches along their gable ends. Both have similarly sized service wings that were included in the house's original construction.

Jacob Hake placed his house on a slight elevation above the road that went from York, through William Reeser's town of Liverpool, and beyond to the canals and river towns. The house would have been a dominant part of the landscape for those traveling between city and river. Jacob, like his father, became a property owner and an entrepreneur in Manchester Township quite early in life. A few hundred yards to the west, Jacob Hake and his son, Daniel, built another stone Pennsylvania farmhouse only a few years after the construction of the family's 1825 house (Fig. 26). Between the two dwelling houses, nestled in a small valley with a stream, stood a large stone distillery (Fig. 27). The distillery, active until late in the century has since been converted into a house but remains as a reminder of the scale of operations available to Manchester Township's successful farmers.⁴⁷

Little is left of the house's original character. Both land and house were converted into a garden estate in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Jacob Hake's main dwelling was updated with dormer windows, a modern kitchen, an open staircase, and a porch that encircles the entire structure. The landscape around the house now features stretches of gardens to the side and rear of the house. Beneath these changes however, lie hints of the original house—a four-bay, double-door stone house. Stripping off the early twentieth-century renovations to the Jacob Hake house reveals a much simpler façade, one quite similar to John Quickel's house. The masonry consists of variegated dressed stone and false keystone jack arches on the front, red to brown large quoins at the corners, and rubble on the sides and rear. The house is banked a full story with narrow windows at ground level.



Figure 26. The Daniel Hake House, circa 1830. View facing northwest.



Figure 27. The Jacob Hake Distillery, circa 1825. View facing northwest.

Although greatly altered, clues suggest that the Jacob Hake house was an open plan containing three or four rooms on the first floor with a kitchen in the rear ell. Jacob Hake's inventory reveals less about his usage of rooms and far more about his wealth. In 1849, the year before his death, Jacob Hake would be assessed for eight separate parcels of land totaling 565 acres along with six lots of land in the town of Liverpool. This included not only the two houses that sat on his plot along the road that ran to Liverpool but also his father's estate and house, which he purchased after his father's death in 1832. Although it may have been possible for the Jacob Hake house to hold seven beds, it would not have permitted much room for the four cupboards and kitchen dressers, the two tall case clocks, the dining table, nor the numerous chairs, stands, and tables listed on his inventory. The inventory appears to include the objects from at least two of Jacob's houses with no indication as to which objects would have resided in his 1825 house. The inventory and orphan's court records, however, do indicate something revealing about Jacob Hake's relation with his 1825 house. Despite spending at least part of his life in his father's five-bay Georgian plan house, Jacob Hake did not choose a similar plan for his own house nor did he choose to occupy the older house after purchasing the estate in 1832.⁴⁸

The John Quickel house and the Jacob Hake house are important to the development of a new architectural type in Manchester Township not for what they contain, but for what they lack. Despite its center-passage Georgian plan, the John Quickel house contains only four bays. Despite being intimately familiar with the five-bay, center-passage dwelling house, Jacob Hake would choose to build and live in a four-bay, open-plan house. The two houses mark a dramatic shift in fenestration preference. Although both five- and three-bay houses appear in the township in the

eighteenth century, no four-bay houses exist that appear to have been constructed before the second decade of the nineteenth century. Of the thirty extant houses constructed between 1825 and 1850, however, over two-thirds have four windows across the second story of their front elevation (Fig. 28).

The Pennsylvania farmhouse type signaled a transformation in the architectural identity of influential Pennsylvania Germans. The asymmetry and central chimney of the Continental plan slowly disappeared as owners modified or replaced their houses. The Georgian façade, whether indicative of the interior plan or not, became widely accepted among the wealthier rural inhabitants of Manchester Township. As a result, the relationship between ethnicity and architecture eroded as the eighteenth century turned into the nineteenth. At the same time, many inhabitants of Manchester Township viewed their Pennsylvania-German community as a distinct entity, one tied to the region and that could maintain and should maintain its cultural pluralism, its semi-rural existence, and its agricultural wealth. By 1845, many of the Pennsylvania Germans of Manchester Township had become subscribers to the first printed history of the county.⁴⁹ These were not men who saw the region as a steppingstone to the West or to the South, but rather men who desired a community, one in which their fathers and grandfathers had helped to create. What the community desired in the mid-nineteenth century was a conservative element that could unite its rapidly changing environment. Unlike the Georgian façade, four-bay fenestration was not a dominant enough part of any architectural landscape to carry any relationship to a particular ethnicity. The community quickly adopted the Pennsylvania farmhouse type—a new, practical, versatile design that cohered with the countryside, town, and road.⁵⁰

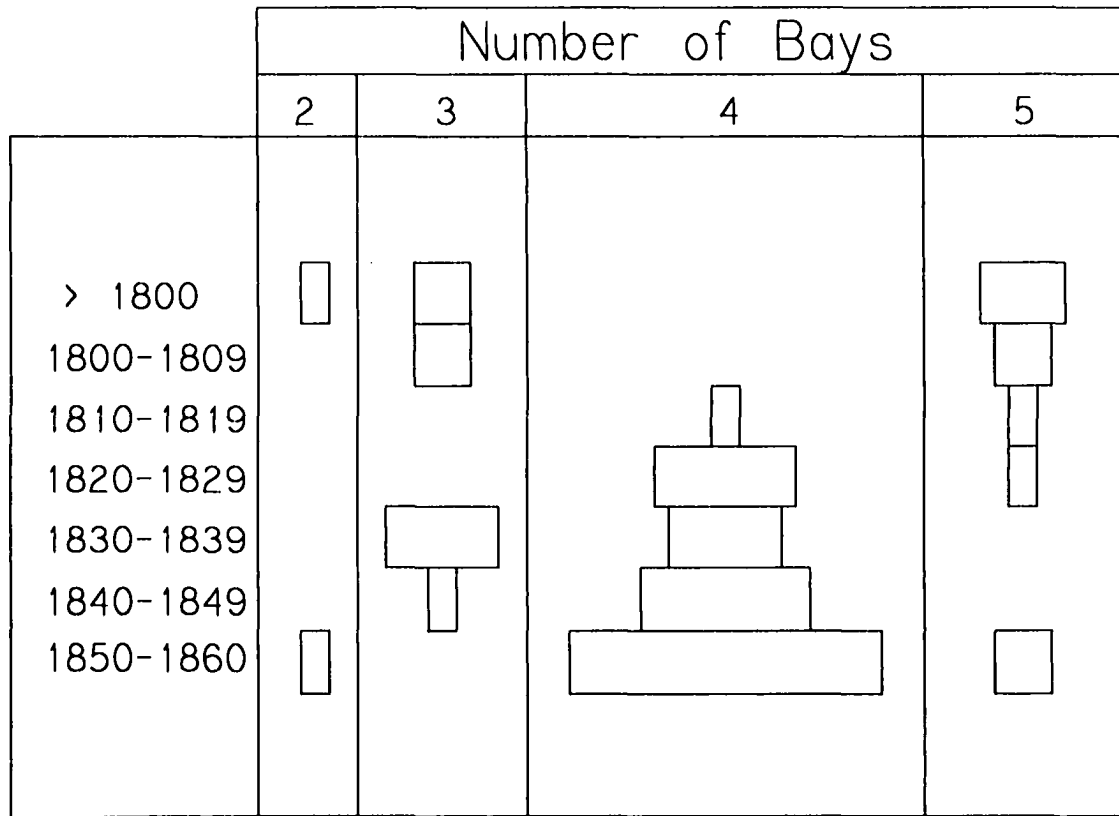


Figure 28. Seriation of House Types by Number of Bays. Only arranged by number of bays and does not differentiate between open and closed plans. Graphic by Barry R. Rauhauser.

Of the fifty-two houses included in this survey, twenty-two possess a four-bay façade and fit the definition of the Pennsylvania farmhouse type. The house type was introduced some time in the 1820s and its frequency increased greatly after 1840. All of the Pennsylvania farmhouses constructed before 1860 were built of stone, brick, or a combination of the two. Examples in stone exist throughout the period; the quality of the finish, however, deteriorates after 1840. The Pennsylvania farmhouse type was highly compatible with brick construction and its use increases in Manchester Township after 1840. The eight Pennsylvania farmhouses constructed of brick used stone as a foundation and wooden lintels. Front walls were most often laid in Flemish bond, side and rear in common bond. Many log and wood-framed examples can be found throughout the township and county. Most of the existing examples, however, were constructed after 1860 (Fig. 29). It is assumed that the similarities between stone and brick farmhouses of the type would also be found within log and wood-framed examples.

Scholars have rarely discussed the Pennsylvania Farmhouse as it relates to the ideals of progressive farming that arose in the nation during the middle of the nineteenth century. One reason for this may be that the house type's most efficient feature, its banked cellar, can be found in the region long before the movement supposedly begins. Just as the efficiency and practicality of the banked barn has allowed the form to maintain its existence to the present day, the Pennsylvania farmhouse also functioned as an efficient domestic workspace. Another reason could be that the Pennsylvania farmhouse appears to go against the advice of rural advice books. In particular, rural advice books often recommended for both a central passage within the house and a central location of the house within the farm property. In both



Figure 29. Example of Wood-Framed Construction and the Pennsylvania Farmhouse Type in Manchester Township. Common on the landscape, log and wood-framed Pennsylvania farmhouses were constructed in the last half of the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century.

cases, the farmers of Manchester Township appear to have a tendency to move away from this advice in the second quarter of the century.⁵¹

The farmers of Manchester Township may have been paying close attention to these rural advice books. The concept of locating the farmhouse in the middle of the farm was certainly considered a practical, commonly accepted practice in Manchester Township up to the first quarter of the nineteenth century. By mid-century, new builders constructed their homes within a few yards from the road. Locating the farmhouse, barn, and other outbuildings at the center of the property generally assumes that the farmer is in possession of, and handles the produce of, a single plot of property. Many of the more successful farmers of the region owned several non-adjointing properties. Although farmers attempted to assemble large singular estates by purchasing the lands of those around him, too often this was not possible and newly purchased plots could be separated from the main estate by over a mile. Placing the farmhouse and buildings by the road ensured the connection between these various plots of ground, as well as to the marketplace.

The slow disappearance of the central passage also seems to ignore the recommendations of rural guide books, which inform their readers that “every entrance, except to the kitchen, should be through some entry or hall, to prevent the abrupt ingress of cold air, and for proper seclusion.”⁵² Although the advice appears sound it may not have applied to a culture that once heated their houses in a very different way. Although by 1830 and 1840 a broader variety of rural people used stoves for both heating and cooking, there remained different preferences for the temperature and placement of these stoves. If preferences in heating differed from one culture to the next, then the interpretation of this advice differed as well.⁵³

Builders often banked their Pennsylvania farmhouses a full story on at least one side. Occasionally, only one gable end was exposed allowing a single cellar door at ground level. The most dramatic examples, however, have an extra cellar level exposed in the front, or occasionally the rear, of the dwelling (Fig. 30). This visually created a tall and narrow, three-and-a-half-story dwelling house that accented the popular Federal style of the early nineteenth century. Of course, having the front door or doors raised nearly ten feet above ground level necessitated a porch or landing to allow access into the structure. This porch also created a sheltered area at cellar level. This cellar level, typically with more than one door and two or three windows, was often visually separated from the main house by a coat of white paint over stone, brick or stucco.

The *Vorhof*, *Vorkich*, or *Vorplatz*, as William Woys Weaver has called the sheltered exterior space of a dwelling house, was an essential part of the Pennsylvania farmhouse in Manchester Township. Like the sheltered area created under the forebay of the Pennsylvania barn, the space below the porch of banked houses functioned as a work and storage space. In many cases, such as John Quickel's house, the *Vorhof* was simply an extension of the roof of an ell that functioned as a kitchen. In other dwellings, the *Vorhof* consisted both of a porch and of an area beneath the porch in the front or rear of the building. Shaded from the hot summer sun, sheltered from driving rains or snow, this large area connected with the constant cool temperature of the cellar and its hearth to form a very practical year-round work environment. Although often quite small, white paint and ease of access to the interior and yard created an aesthetically pleasing sensation far from the claustrophobic atmosphere one might expect.⁵⁴



Figure 30. The Abraham Croll House, circa 1840. View facing west. The Abraham Croll house contains several hallmarks of the Pennsylvania farmhouse type: a banked cellar, symmetrical four-bay fenestration, large domestic production space, double front doors and simple exterior architectural ornament.

These areas, whether serving primarily as work or social spaces, functioned in a variety of ways to link the relatively private character of the dwelling house with the public nature of the road and surrounding landscape. That this space so often occurs on the side of the house most visible from the road implies its semi-public nature. One could not only watch for passersby, but were in turn watched by road travelers. When not occupied, the entry porch functioned as an intermediary space between the outside and the inside. Like the passageways of a closed plan house, the porch acted as a staging area for visitors. Undoubtedly, this was a necessity on rainy days as visitors to a double-door Pennsylvania farmhouse determined the appropriate door on which to knock.⁵⁵

The double-house subtype solved the problems created by a flatter topography and satisfied the demands for more space. The *Vorhof*, both its social and workspace components, are attached to the side of the house, rather than in front and below the house. The *Vorhof* becomes a large part of the visual mass of the house, circumscribed by the house's main walls and protected by a single roof. Issues of space determined this subtype of the Pennsylvania farmhouse, but builders accommodated their needs with the basic four-bay unit. John Rutter fulfilled his need for this *Vorhof* space with the construction of two four-bay units under one roof (Fig. 31). The house stretches out over seventy-five feet in length and over thirty-four feet along its gable end. The recessed side of the house, undoubtedly devoted to domestic production, is a double-door Pennsylvania farmhouse with three rooms on the first floor. The larger side of the house, which used a four-room plan, accommodated the family's entertaining and social functions (Fig. 32).



Figure 31. The John Rutter House, 1840. View facing northwest.

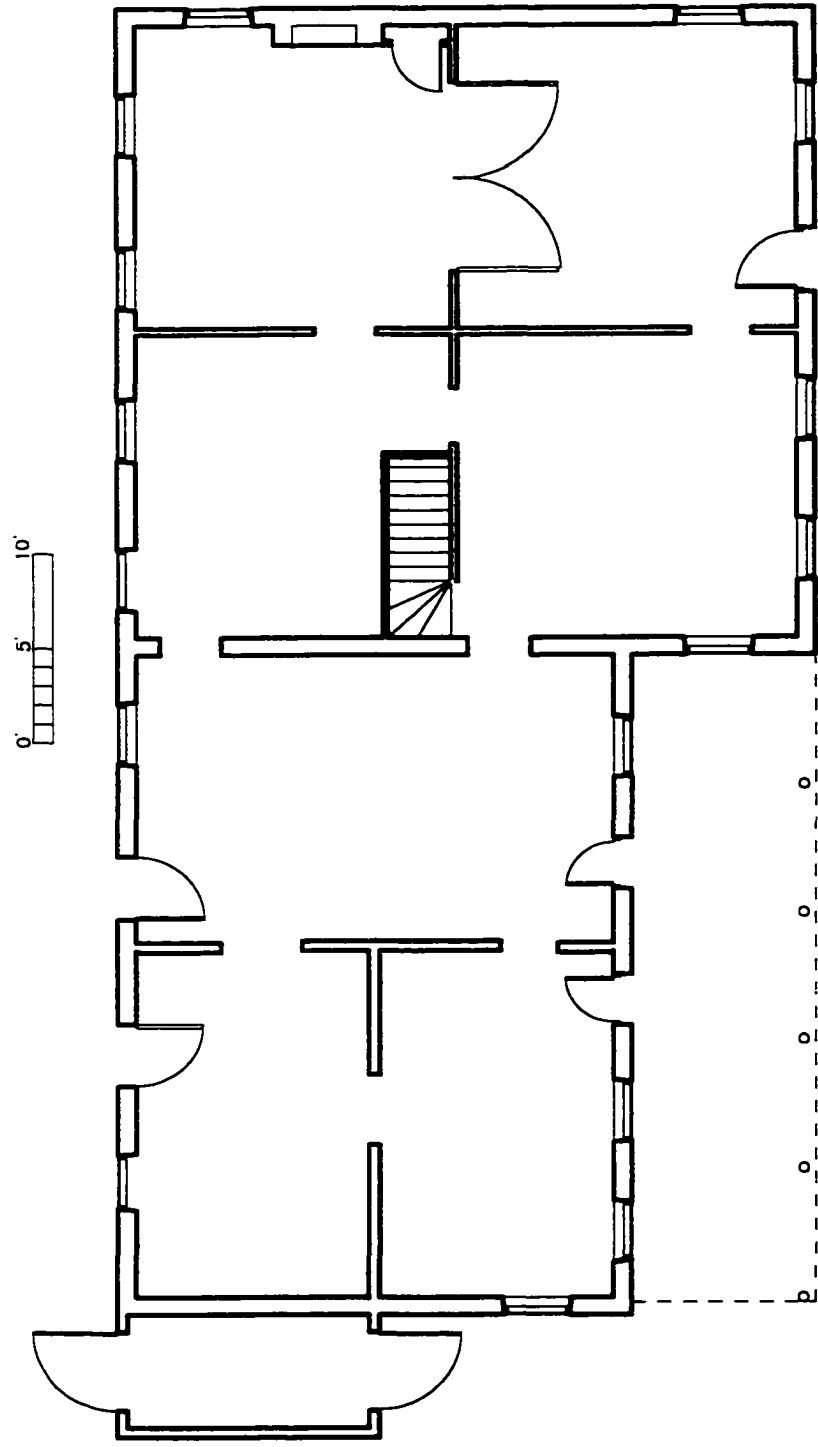


Figure 32. The John Rutter House, First-Floor Plan. Drawing by Barry R. Rauhauser, based on measurements by Mark Brickner and Barry R. Rauhauser.

George Gross, the son of John Gross and grandson of Samuel Gross, built a double house in 1852 (Fig. 33). Located at the edge of Liverpool, the exterior of the house is very similar to the many Pennsylvania farmhouses throughout the county with four bays, symmetrical fenestration, and a low-hipped roof. Like the house of his grandfather, the house's off-center chimneystack provides a clue that the house contains an interior room arrangement influenced by the Continental plan. The very common Federal-styled fluting and bull's-eye trim surrounds nearly every opening in the four-room interior. In the middle of the house sits a chimneystack with trim suggesting a hearth in the entrance room and a fireplace in the adjacent front room (Fig. 34). Neither are functioning units. Throughout its history, the central stack of the 1852 George Gross house functioned only as ventilation for a ten-plate stove or other forms of heating devices.

Both room arrangement and method of construction originated in the Continental plan houses of the previous century. Upon entering, one encounters a large room similar to the *Küche* of the Continental plan. Like other examples of the Pennsylvania farmhouse constructed after 1840, the front and rear rooms can easily be combined into one room by a set of enormous double doors, a feature very similar to the thin, movable walls that separated *Stube* from *Kammer*. That George Gross's 1852 house should resemble both his grandfather's house and the double house of John Rutter is not surprising; George Gross and John Rutter's daughter, Elizabeth, were married in 1848. Their new house recalled the ways in which previous generations organized and used the interior dwelling space, even though the rooms no longer functioned in the same manner.⁵⁶

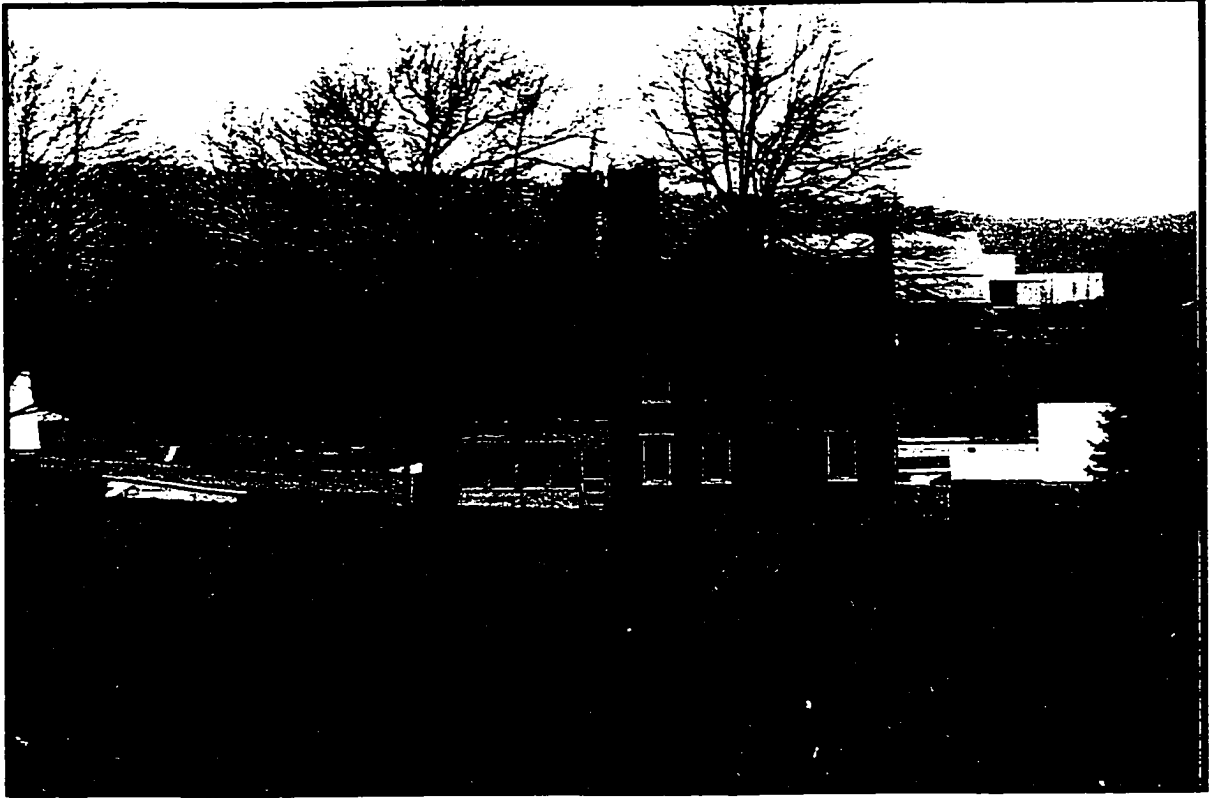


Figure 33. The George and Elizabeth Gross House, 1852. View facing north.

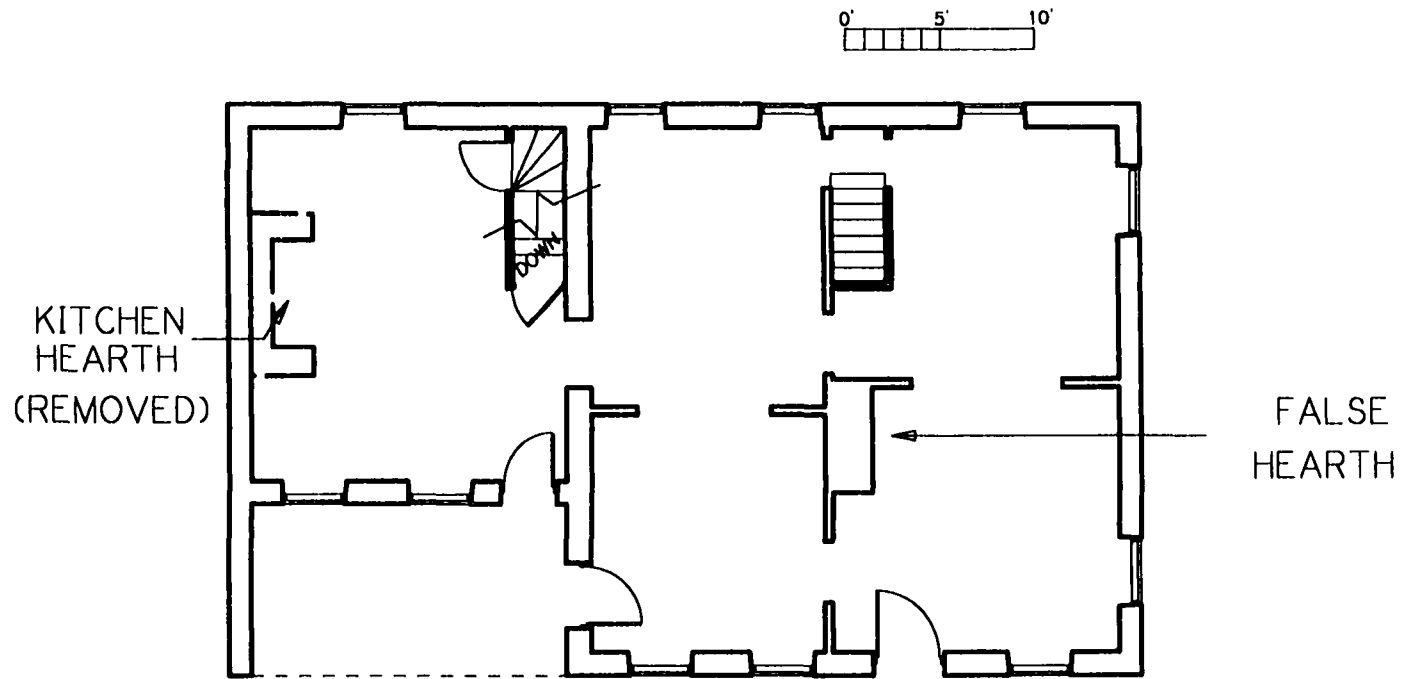


Figure 34. The George and Elizabeth Gross House, First-Floor Plan. Drawing by Barry R. Rauhauser, based on measurements by Mark Brickner and Barry R. Rauhauser.

Only a few years later, George Gross would construct another sub type of the Pennsylvania farmhouse, one with double front doors (Fig. 35). Explanations for the evolution of the double-door Pennsylvania farmhouse, like the houses themselves, are numerous and varied. The first example in Manchester Township, the Jacob Hake house, is one of the few for which an inventory exists. Without knowing precisely how each of the rooms functioned in the double-door Pennsylvania farmhouse type, determining the purpose of the two front doors becomes a mystery. Scholars have proposed several theories concerning both the origins and functions of the two doors.⁵⁷

In Glassie's image of the type's evolution, the two front doors maintained the Georgian ideal by producing a symmetrical front elevation. Inside however, the house maintained the older three-room plan in which the familiar *Küche*, *Kammer*, and *Stube* were kept intact.⁵⁸ Kauffman declared that the two front doors were a social product with the doors entering into two socially different environments. "one used primarily by the family, the other used primarily on Sundays, holidays, and by guests." Both theories appear to be correct but describe different points in the evolution of the form. In this case, Kauffman's described function of the two doors may have been a product of two front doors, rather than their reason for being.⁵⁹

Other scholars have concentrated on the wider history and occurrence of two front doors. Fred Kniffen and James Shortridge linked the double-door subtype to the common practice of enlarging small rural houses. These expansions often have a second door, providing a model for future construction. Dennis Domer has introduced into the discussion the precedence of two front doors in Germany. No single theory could possibly cover the variety of reasons Pennsylvania Germans were placing two front doors on their farmhouses. The houses of Manchester Township offer evidence,



Figure 35. The George and Elizabeth Gross House, 1857. View facing northwest.

both for and against, nearly every one. In the world of vernacular architecture, single-front-door houses might not be in the overwhelming majority. Houses with multiple front doors span nearly two centuries and can be found in America throughout the South and the Midwest. Placing the double door in a larger context, the number of access points to the interior of a house increased in several different places throughout the nineteenth century as a way of organizing and separating the traffic through a house. Although the mystery of double front doors has received much attention, it remains only one subtype of the Pennsylvania farmhouse and relatively independent of the form's origin and acceptance.⁶⁰

By mid-century the form of the Pennsylvania farmhouse was firmly fixed in the landscape. People understood the social and economic benefits of the house type. They understood how to build a Pennsylvania farmhouse as quickly and efficiently as possible. They also knew how to build one that would resemble their neighbor's house while still allowing for infinite personalization within the design. Technological advances in transportation and the incorporation of agricultural were opening the rural landscape to new designs from outside the region. John Emig's house, built in 1850 was similar to other recognizable forms in the area, but its overt ornamentation and Italianate Revival style step out of the bounds of conformity and once again into the arena of status symbol (Fig. 36). John Emig, Jr. was one of Manchester Township's wealthier inhabitants. Nine years after inheriting the 200-acre family farm, the North Central Railroad laid its tracks through his property and Emig quickly began a successful mercantile business. By the end of his life, Emig owned as many as seven different farmsteads and built "about eleven houses in Manchester Township." He also engaged in the financing of Baltimore's building boom



Figure 36. The John Emig House, circa 1855. View facing west.

constructing “ten fine dwelling houses and two warehouses” in Baltimore. Despite the introduction of new styles, the Pennsylvania farmhouse remained a significant part of the landscape for another fifty years.⁶¹

Any discussion of the development of the Pennsylvania farmhouse must confront the opposing explanations offered by Henry Glassie and Henry Kauffman. Each explanation offers a valid observation of a particular point in the development of the house type. Yet, it is not enough to distinguish and accept the two explanations. The two theories must overlap and unite in order to explain the dynamics that led to the type’s long-lasting popularity and wide acceptance within the region. The element that defines the type, its façade, becomes this unifying factor.

Henry Glassie’s theory of the Pennsylvania farmhouse type’s development focused on the origin of the form. By concentrating on issues of space and acculturation in the eighteenth century, he found that Pennsylvania-German builders were often choosing to “Georgian-ize” the exterior appearance of their dwelling houses while they continued to construct more familiar room arrangements on the interior. Although the extant houses of Manchester Township can not verify Glassie’s theory, the work of Falk and Swank have shown that a similar process occurred in the eighteenth century in southeastern Pennsylvania. Manchester Township, however, offers two pieces of evidence which suggest that the process responsible for the creation of the form was not the same developmental process that led to the region’s nearly wholesale adoption of the form. Both the appearance of center-passage, four-bay dwelling houses and the construction of open-plan Pennsylvania farmhouses by those who had grown up living in Georgian dwelling

houses indicate that by the nineteenth century the four-bay façade possessed functions beyond the accommodation of varying architectural ideals.⁶²

Henry Kauffman's theory of the development of the Pennsylvania farmhouse type from the Georgian type explains the progression of house types found at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Attempting to account for the increase in the popularity of the house type after many had already accepted Georgian architectural ideals, Kauffman sought to explain the transition from the closed center-passage Georgian plan to the open four-room plan of the Pennsylvania farmhouse. Kauffman theorized that removing the central passage would have diminished the cost of construction for a prudent community.⁶³ Glass has dismissed Kauffman's theory, pointing out that construction costs were decreasing in the early nineteenth century.⁶⁴ Yet, to be fair, the fact that construction costs were decreasing does not necessarily compromise Kauffman's explanation. Regardless of relative cost, the elimination of the central passage lowered building costs, an important consideration as farmers competed in increasingly larger and more competitive markets. Other explanations exist for the nineteenth-century removal of the central passage. Glassie has suggested of housing in a different region that the reversal and enclosure of the staircase can be attributed to the increasing desire of separation and privatization of second-floor sleeping areas.⁶⁵ Another theory claims that the central hallway disappears after the revolution as people removed themselves from the styles and tastes of England—an unlikely theory given the construction dates of Manchester Township's Georgian farmhouses.⁶⁶

For Glassie and others, the understanding of vernacular architecture comes through a careful study of proxemic patterns, the ways in which people come to understand and shape the spaces about them. The designer mentally disassembles existing forms—takes them apart and abstracts the issues of space—and then reassembles the pieces into new forms. These abstractions form the grammar of vernacular architecture. Changes in form come about as a product of changes in preferences for spatial arrangements.⁶⁷

Curiously, the Pennsylvania farmhouse type has always been described and recognized by its exterior skin. Unlike the Continental plan, which has been defined by its spatial organization, and the Georgian type, which has been partially defined by its spatial organization, the Pennsylvania farmhouse type is only loosely defined by its spatial organization. Given the variety of interior spatial arrangements found in Manchester Township, it is safe to say that the Pennsylvania farmhouse could be distinguished from previous forms only by its exterior.

Builders never ignored preferences for spatial arrangements. By the third decade of the nineteenth century, however, the inhabitants and builders of Manchester Township's architectural landscape no longer shared attachments to similar interior plans. Many had grown up in closed center-passage plans while others had grown up in open Continental plans. The skin of the house became the common denominator, capable of enclosing several interior plans with little visible clue from the outside. Functions of the rooms in any of the plans often remained flexible enough that contemporary usage required the occasional connection of two rooms and this capability continued in the Pennsylvania farmhouse. Just as Peter Good could combine the *Kammer* and *Stube* of his three-room plan, the owner of a Pennsylvania

farmhouse would have had the same option. Often, two of the rooms on either gable side functioned as one room by the removal of a dividing wall or by opening a set of large doors. Despite this, most examples display a clear division, if only a small six-inch wall piece, to delineate the two rooms. Versatility through connection was also part of the vernacular grammar included in the conception of the Pennsylvania farmhouse type.

Theories that vernacular design is based solely upon abstracted ideas of space ignore the ability of the designer to include the façade of a house as a part of this grammar. The popularity of the Georgian house type had a long-lasting effect on the symbolic importance of the exteriors of houses. The Georgian house type taught the communities of south-central Pennsylvania that the skin of a house transmitted a variety of crucial symbolic messages, including status and ethnicity. In 1798, an average of 116 acres surrounded each house in Manchester Township. By 1850 this average had dropped to less than 47 acres. Given changes in town formation and the preference for roadside location, the true distance that separated one from his neighbor was probably much less than this average would imply.⁶⁸

As the number of houses in the region increased, a house's relationship to other houses became more apparent to the passerby, the neighbor, and to the owner. The Georgian type façade quickly became an option for many of Manchester Township's Pennsylvania-German population. The community accepted the form for a variety of reasons: fashion, aesthetic merit, its symbolic show of status, and enmeshment within a national culture. Although several inhabitants accepted the façade of the Georgian type, some opted to construct familiar, open-plan interiors. Many did accept some form of a center-passage plan to place in the interior of their

five-bay homes. The exterior difference between the Georgian type and those houses of only a few decades earlier would have only enhanced the awareness of the community that the façade of a house held symbolic power. By the time John Quickel built his house in 1824, the façade of the house had become an equally important part of the vernacular grammar.

There were several reasons for the wide acceptance of symmetrical four-bay fenestration. As Glassie theorized, the four-bay façade followed the precedence of the Georgian ideal. Yet, the process was not necessarily a linear evolution. The Pennsylvania-German inhabitants of Manchester Township fully understood the social meanings of the central passage. Indeed, many had already accepted the four-room center-passage plan, as Kauffman theorized. The four-bay façade did not arise as an adaptation of a Georgian exterior to a traditional interior, but merely from the abstraction of the basic tenants of the Georgian ideal. As such, the four-bay exterior could, and did, stand on its own in the region without sacrificing the symbolic implications of status attributed to symmetrical five-bay fenestration. These were still very big houses owned by very wealthy members of the community. Its cultural ambiguity severed any connections to ethnicity and actively grounded the type within the region. This was a necessary step in maintaining group cohesion for a community experiencing not only a dramatic change in ethnic identity, but also rapid transformations in their social, economic, and technological relationships with the rest of the world.

The eleven men probably talked about the weather as they walked over the fields that had once belonged to Peter Good. They likely talked about their own houses. John Quickel was putting the finishing touches on his own stone dwelling, a

four-bay house with a very fashionable interior that included a central passage and fireplaces in the front rooms surrounded by fluted trim. He would soon be carving the date stone for his house, decorating it with the same motifs that he had chosen for the many gravestones he had carved. Like Peter Good, Samuel Gross had built his stone, two-story house with a central hearth and no central passageway. At the other end of the spectrum was William Reeser's new house. His 1814 house was the most elaborate of all the men's houses— an enormous brick, five-bay house with wide, interior gable-end chimneys. It was one of the first things anyone would have seen when entering the town. It informed everyone of Reeser's optimistic belief in the successful future of the town.

Jacob Hake's two-and-a-half story, four-bay, double-door stone house would not be finished until 1825. Even as the walls were erected, he thought about the design of his house. He had watched the construction of the Quickel house and most likely employed some of the same masons and carpenters. Hake must have been impressed with the efficient workspace of Peter Good's cellar. The only disadvantage to Peter Good's plan was the obstacle created by the area below the first floor hearth, the large unexcavated spot required to support the heavy stone stack. Jacob Hake's house would have no such obstacle; his interior gable-end chimneys would be lighter and his first floor kitchen hearth would be located in an ell of the house, much like that of John Quickel's. But quite unlike Quickel or Reeser, Jacob Hake would not place a central passageway in his home. His two front doors would both enter into rooms. One room was used as a very formal parlor and only rarely opened; the other room was used as a more casual space for family and close friends. Jacob Hake did not invent the plan of the house. He may have seen a similarly designed house elsewhere in the

region or perhaps a house carpenter had described the plan. By 1857, when George Gross and his wife built the second house on their property, a large two-and-a-half-story brick house with two front doors and four windows, this house type would have been a common sight on the landscape.

Manchester Township has undergone changes brought about by settlement, trade, and transportation since its formation in 1742. The river towns of the early nineteenth century died with the coming of the railroad. The great estates disintegrated into small tenant plots. Inhabitants not only encountered groups of differing ethnic and religious backgrounds, but by the early nineteenth century were also confronting the assimilation and loss of their own distinct cultural identities. The architectural texture of early nineteenth century Manchester Township was a resulting product of this myriad of conflicting forces as well as a means of controlling the various influences. Builders kept their eyes on the future just as they also preferred the touchstones of the past. The nineteenth-century architectural landscape of rural south-central Pennsylvania identified its inhabitants as a relatively cohesive group whose mission was to cultivate and prosper from the land. Stepping inside more than one of these vernacular houses however, revealed an underlying variety based upon personal needs, preferences for the past, and practical inventiveness. Most of all, these varied interiors reveal that by the mid-nineteenth century, Pennsylvania Germans clearly recognized the symbolic power of houses and were using this power to create unity among their increasingly stratified and assimilated culture.

Like preferences for spatial arrangements, the architectural façade played an increasingly important role in the grammar of vernacular housing in south-central Pennsylvania. For many inhabitants of Manchester Township, abstracted ideas of

house exteriors were used to modify their architectural identity. Balanced between urban and rural, nationalism and ethnicity, this new identity meshed tradition with the new Federal style, an optimistic view of the future, and a sense that being inland did not mean being disconnected from the rest of the world. Although increasingly connected to the larger world, the inhabitants of Manchester Township, mostly Pennsylvania Germans, resisted the tendency to become indistinguishable from other cultures. This balancing act both created and popularized the Pennsylvania farmhouse type, an unmistakable structural component of the landscape with its unassuming four windows, its mysterious double-doors, and its varied interior.

NOTES

¹ Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), 48-62; Henry Glassie, "Eighteenth-Century Cultural Process in Delaware Valley Folk Building," *Winterthur Portfolio* 7, ed. Ian M. Quimby (Charlottesville: The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1972), 41-44.

² Joseph Glass, *The Pennsylvania Culture Region: A View from the Barn* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1971), 15-121. See also Richard Pillsbury, "Pattern in the Folk and Vernacular House Forms of the Pennsylvania Culture Region," *Pioneer America: The Journal of Historic American Material Culture* 9, no. 1 (July 1, 1977): 13-31; Wilbur Zelinski, "The Pennsylvania Town," in *Exploring the Beloved Country* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1994): 159-182.

³ Glassie's theories concerning the Pennsylvania farmhouse are most fully laid out in Glassie, "Eighteenth-Century Cultural Process," 41-44. Henry Kauffman's theory on the development of the Pennsylvania farmhouse type was first suggested in Henry J. Kauffman, "The Riddle of the Two Front Doors," *Pennsylvania Dutchman* 6 (Winter 1954/55): 27; and reiterated in Henry J. Kauffman, *The American Farmhouse* (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1975), 52, 97-100.

⁴ Early history of Manchester Township comes from John Gibson, *History of York County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago: F. A. Battey Publishing Co., 1886), 611-612; George R. Prowell, *History of York County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago: J. H. Beers, 1907), 1013-1015. For a description of the movement of people from southeastern Pennsylvania into York County, see James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore: The John's Hopkins University Press, 1972), 1-11, 75-77.

⁵ D. J. Lake, *Shearer's Map of York County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: W. O. Shearer and D. J. Lake, 1860). U.S. Federal Direct Tax, 1798 (microfilm, York County Heritage Trust). West Manchester Township was not annexed until 1799; therefore, the 1798 Direct Tax does not reflect the actual number of houses in the study area at the time. However, the statistics for the use of building materials agrees with those provided by Scott T. Swank, "The Architectural Landscape," in *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans*, ed. Catherine Hutchinson (New York: Published for The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum by W. W. Norton and Co., 1983), 20-34.

⁶ U.S. Census, 1850 (microfilm, York County Heritage Trust Library).

⁷ The Good surname appears as G \ddot{u} th or G \ddot{u} t until the nineteenth century. John Gibson, "Biographical Sketches," in *History of York County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago: F. A. Battey Publishing Co., 1886), 135. U.S. Federal Direct Tax, 1798.

⁸ Steve Friesen, "The Five-Plate Stove Revisited," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 41, no. 1 (Autumn 1991): 20-24.

⁹ The three-room Continental plan has been examined in many sources including Henry Glassie, "The Central Chimney Continental Log House," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 18, no. 2 (Winter 1968/69): 32-39; Arthur J. Lawton, "The Ground Rules of Folk Architecture," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 23, no. 1 (Autumn 1973): 13-19; Swank, "The Architectural Landscape;" William Woys Weaver, "The Pennsylvania German House: European Antecedents and New World Forms," *Winterthur Portfolio* 21, no. 4 (Winter 1986): 243-64.

¹⁰ Examples of four-room Continental plans can be found in Arthur J. Lawton, "The Pre-Metric Foot and its Use in Pennsylvania German Architecture," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 19, no. 1 (Autumn 1969), 40; and Weaver, 252, 261.

¹¹ Gabrielle M. Lanier and Bernard L. Herman, *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic: Looking at Buildings and Landscapes* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 4-7.

¹² Robert C. Bucher, "The Swiss Bank House in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 18, no. 2 (Winter 1968/69): 2-11.

¹³ Cynthia G. Falk, "Symbols of Assimilation or Status?: The Meanings of Eighteenth-Century Houses in Coventry Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania," *Winterthur Portfolio* 33, no. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 1998): 107-134.

¹⁴ Rachel Carley, *The Visual Dictionary of American Domestic Architecture* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1994), 76-90.

¹⁵ Lanier and Herman, 25-31, 125.

¹⁶ The history of the Hake family can be found in Amy Lemert Hake, "Hake and Robb Families of Pennsylvania" (photocopy, York County Heritage Trust Library, 1972); Gibson, "Biographical Sketches," 137-139.

¹⁷ York County Tax Records, 1783 (microfilm, York Heritage Trust); U. S. Federal Direct Tax, 1798. York County Land Deeds (microfilm, York County Archives), Book 2Q, 237-238. Although 1802 is the year of the legal transfer of the deed, Andrew and Frederick Hake appear on county tax lists as the owners of the respective properties nearly a decade before this transfer, see York County Tax Records, 1792-1794 (microfilm, York County Heritage Trust Library).

¹⁸ The painted date on the gable end of the Andrew Hake house is of modern origin. The source of the date remains a mystery. The date may refer to restoration or repair done to the second-floor masonry, which is visible in the front of the house, or it may refer to alterations elsewhere, or may have been one owner's best guess at the construction date of the house.

¹⁹ U.S. Federal Direct Tax, 1798.

²⁰ Gibson, *History of York County*, 960.

²¹ Gibson, "Biographical Sketches," 145.

²² Weaver, 243.

²³ Lanier and Herman, 30-31, 125.

²⁴ Lanier and Herman, 28.

²⁵ Sally McMurry, *Families and Farmhouses in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 6-7. Probate Inventory, York County Archives, Andrew Hake, August 4, 1832.

²⁶ Falk, 107-109.

²⁷ Falk, 107-134.

²⁸ Gibson, "Biographical Sketches," 144, 188.

²⁹ Hugh Morrison, *Early American Architecture: From the First Colonial Settlements to the National Period* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), 541-544.

³⁰ James Weston Livingood, *The Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry* (Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1947). Godfrey Lenhart Account book, 1786-1819, photocopy, York County Heritage Trust Library. Godfrey Lenhart was not only a clockmaker and storeowner, but also the surveyor for the U.S. 1798 Federal Direct Tax in York County.

³¹ Newspaper Advertisement, *The York Recorder*, 18 August 1818 and 20 April 1819.

³² Scott T. Swank, "The Germanic Fragment," in *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans*, ed. Catherine E. Hutchins (New York: Published for The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum by W. W. Norton and Co., 1983), 4-5.

³³ William H. Shank, *Three Hundred Years with the Pennsylvania Traveler* (York, PA: American Canal and Transportation Center, 1976). York County Tax Records, 1826 (York Heritage Trust, microfilm). Spiro Kastoff, "Junctions of Town and Country," *Dwellings, Settlements, and Tradition: Cross Cultural Perspectives*, ed. Jean-Paul Bourdier and Nezar Alsayyad (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1989): 107-135.

³⁴ Gibson, *History of York County*, 614.

³⁵ Gibson, *History of York County*, 615-616; Manchester Borough Photograph Collection, York County Heritage Trust Library.

³⁶ The debate over internal improvement appears consistently in *The York Recorder* from the first suggestion of rail construction on May 6, 1823 until the 1830s. Judith A. McGraw, "'So Much Depends Upon a Red Wheelbarrow': Agricultural Tool Ownership in the Eighteenth-Century Mid-Atlantic," *Early American Technology: Making and Doing Things from The Colonial Era to 1850*, ed. Judith A. McGraw (Williamsburg, VA: University of North Carolina Press, 1994): 328-357.

³⁷ York County Orphans Court Records (microfilm, York County Archives), Book O, 106, 194-201.

³⁸ See Scott T. Swank, "Introduction," and "Proxemic Patterns," in *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans*, ed. Catherine E. Hutchins (New York: Published for The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum by W. W. Norton and Co., 1983), ix, 35-60.

³⁹ Although the John Quickel house is one of only two center-passage Pennsylvania farmhouses in Manchester Township, a similar plan can be found in Carley, 47.

⁴⁰ David Quickel, *The Quickel History* (York: The Historical Society of York County, 1961). Except where noted, the history of John Quickel comes from this source.

⁴¹ York County Land Deeds (microfilm, York County Archives), Book 2D, 436; U.S. Federal Direct Tax, 1798.

⁴² John Quickel, "Notarial Accounts of John Quickel", York County Heritage Trust Library.

⁴³ Friesen, 20-24.

⁴⁴ Probate Inventory, York County Archives, John Quickel, March 19, 1831.

⁴⁵ Edward Lawler, Jr., "The President's House in Philadelphia: The Rediscovery of a Lost Landmark," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 126, no.1 (January 2002): 5-75. Lawler points out that debates over the original appearance of the house began as early as 1850. He also states that "fewer than a dozen" four-bay city houses were built in colonial Philadelphia, p. 11.

⁴⁶ Barry R. Rauhauser, "The Individual Behind the Folk Art: The Tombstones of Johannes Quickel," 1999.

⁴⁷ Hake; Gibson, 137-139.

⁴⁸ York County Orphans Court Records (microfilm, York County Archives), Book X, 204, 205-211, 216. Probate Inventory, York County Archives, Jacob Hake, May 31, 1850.

⁴⁹ This early history of the county includes a list of subscribers; see J. Daniel Rupp, *History of York County, Pa* (Lancaster, PA: Gilbert Hills, 1845).

⁵⁰ Swank, "The Architectural Landscape," 20-35. For a discussion on the Pennsylvania German relationship to place and progress see Glass, 2-4.

⁵¹ McMurry, 26; Lanier and Herman, 181.

⁵² S. J. Thomas, *The Illustrated Annual Register of Rural Affairs*, v. 1 (Albany, Luther Tucker and Son, 1886), p. 240.

⁵³ Friesen, 20-24.

⁵⁴ Weaver, 262-64. Robert Ensminger. *The Pennsylvania Barn: Its Origin, Evolution, and Distribution in North America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 3-5; Glass, 15.

⁵⁵ Weaver, 263. This function of the porch has also been suggested by other scholars in different contexts, see James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Doubleday, 1996), 216.

⁵⁶ George Paul Gross. *The Family of Samuel Gross (1749-1831) of Manchester in York County, Pennsylvania* (Morgantown, PA: Masthoff Press, 1996)

⁵⁷ For an excellent overview of the theories regarding the double-door farmhouse see Dennis Domer, "Genesis Theories of the German-American Two-Door House," *Material Culture* 26, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 1-35.

⁵⁸ Glassie, "Eighteenth-Century Cultural Process," 43.

⁵⁹ Kauffman, "The Riddle of the Two Front Doors," 27; Kauffman, *The American Farmhouse*, 97-100.

⁶⁰ Domer, 1-35. Herman, *Architecture and Rural Life*, 187.

⁶¹ Gibson, "Biographical Sketches," 34.

⁶² Glassie's theory is by far the most referenced in other discussions of the Pennsylvania farmhouse. Glassie's photos in "Eighteenth-Century Cultural Process" are actually of nineteenth-century houses but claims they illustrate ideas that were already in place in the eighteenth century, p. 35.

⁶³ "The Riddle of the Two Front Doors," 27; Kauffman, *The American Farmhouse*, 97-100.

⁶⁴ Glass, 115, 120.

⁶⁵ Henry Glassie, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia* (Knoxville, The University of Tennessee Press, 1975), 121.

⁶⁶ Glass, 115.

⁶⁷ Glassie, "Eighteenth-Century Cultural Process;" Glassie, *Folk Housing*, 114-116; see also the uses and explanations of Glassie's vernacular grammar in Swank, "The Architectural Landscape;" Thomas Hubka, "Just Folks Designing: Vernacular Designers and the Generation of Form," in *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, ed. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1986), 426-432.

⁶⁸ U. S. Federal Direct Tax, 1798; U. S. Census, 1850 (microfilm, York County Heritage Trust Library).

Appendix

METHODOLOGY

With so many changes in the landscape, old farmhouses can be found obscured by modern housing developments, behind aluminum siding, or hidden in roadless valleys. An 1860 map existed which showed the location of structures but proved to be inefficient as a true guide. Roads had moved or disappeared; many more had been constructed. In order to survey the township, a more accurate guide map was needed which could point out the possible locations of these old structures. This new map was created using a Geographic Information Systems (GIS) software package. GIS is a mapping program capable of producing several layered drawings consisting of lines, points, and polygons. GIS software also attaches user-defined data to any particular entity within a drawing. Since the program knows where all of the points, lines, and polygons are, and the connected data tells the program what the entity is, the program can analyze spatially arranged data.

The first step in creating a GIS database is to draw an accurate map. The United States Geologic Survey (USGS) 7.5 Minute Series Topographic Quadrangles proved to be an excellent base map for a digitally enhanced architectural survey. The maps show the locations of structures, topography, roads, streams, and boundary lines. Equally important, digital versions of these maps were easily accessible through the Pennsylvania Spatial Data Access (PASDA) Internet site. Once downloaded, the USGS maps served as the background for the creation of topology—all the points,

lines, and polygons that made up the new map. This created a basic map of all the features relevant to the survey.

Next, a layer was created containing all of the dwelling houses that appear on Shearer's 1860 map. Given the small amount of detail to the 1860 map, each point was often an estimate of its true location. Attached to this set of points was a simple data field. This field indicated whether there was a house at that same location on the current USGS map, whether there was one nearby, or whether there was most likely no existing house at that location. A color-coded version of the 1860 map, now with modern roads and other features, was then produced which assisted in the search for surviving dwelling houses.

While exploring the landscape during the field survey, each house deemed appropriate for the survey was then placed on a new layer. Attached to this layer, several data fields contained the requisite information for each dwelling. Data could be entered directly into the GIS program and later viewed as a database. At this time, the houses were also digitally photographed from a variety of angles. Later, with the overview provided by the large database, certain houses called for a second visit in order to obtain measured drawings and interior photographs.

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