THE DEVELOPMENT OF STANDARDS OF LIVING OF MIDDLE CLASS FAMILIES IN THE EAST NORTH CENTRAL STATES

THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF M. A.

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Cost + standard of living

A DEVELOPMENT OF STANDARDS OF LIVING OF MIDDLE CLASS FAMILIES IN THE EAST NORTH CENTRAL STATES

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THESIS

Contents

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Four points of view from which American scales and standards of living may be approached are from the amount of income, the occupation, the country of origin or race and lastly, geographic sections of the country.[1] The fourth is the view from which standards of living have been viewed in this study of the East North Central States, or the Middle West.

> In the Middle West, the most homegeneous and by consequence the most democratic part of the United States, the standard of living has a certain tentative character. The Middle Westerner also emphasizes the material side of life, but more because of lack of experience than because of conviction. He has the least institutionalized of all American standards of living. (2)

Definition.

The term standard of living has two different connotations. One, a meaning which has come into current usage merely pertains to the actual apportionment of income for commodities and services and is termed by Eliot the "Plane of Living".[3] The other meaning of standard of living includes all the values which we consider essential to our well being. It differs from a plane of living in that it embraces those goods and services which we believe necessary or insist upon having.

With these two ideas prevalent, it is necessary to state

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(1) Elizabeth Ellis Hoyt, The Consumption of Wealth, p. 288.
(2) Ibid., p. 299
(3) Thomas D. Eliot, American Standards and planes of Living, p. 1.

which meaning is intended by the phrase in this study. It covers more than a plane of living although the standard of living can to a considerable extent be deduced from the plane of living. Consequently it is necessary to choose a definition which covers standard of living in the broader and, to the home economist, more valuable sense of the term.

> A standard of living, then, is a set of attitudes toward certain values, -- goods and services, economic or non-economic. It is made up of those values which are taken for granted or are insisted upon, and for the securing or maintenance or restoration of which active efforts and sacrifices will be undertaken. (4)

When people find their standards are about to be lowered, that is, that they are going to have to do without some things which they consider essential, they will put forth a vigorous effort in order to maintain their existing standards. These standards are kept dynamic largely through emulation. People are constantly swayed by the higher standards of others, which they see displayed about them. The desire to attain or approximate these higher standards results in the dynamic nature of standards of living.

> The standard of living is but a plan of life which makes the best adjustment to the situation, to the resources which are at hand and within the control of the group in question. (5)

Scope.

The group in question in this study embraces those states which comprise that section of the country previously termed by historians as the Mid-West territory. The

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(4) Thomas D. Eliot, op. cit., p. 3.
(5) Hazel Kyrk, A theory of Consumption, p. 209.

present terminology, as listed by the 15th Census of the United States, 1930, Volume I, Population, is the East North Central States, namely: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. The states were admitted to the union as indicated: Ohio, 1803; Indiana, 1816; Illinois, 1818; Michigan, 1837; Wisconsin, 1848. It is from these dates that the development of standards of living in this study begins. Although they entered statehood at diverse periods, each has under gone like experiences.

Each state went through a stage of exploration and in the course of time was inhabited by the frontiersmen or early hunter pioneers. Later a period of intensive settling was experienced. The span of time covered is about a century and a third, from the early nineteenth century up through the present era.

Purpose.

It is the purpose of the study to show a development of the standards of living of middle class families in these specific states from their pioneer periods up to the present; explaining how the conceptions of these people changed as to what constituted necessities and what paths were taken by these changes. Finally note is made of the trends now evident. As a basis for this study the phases of home life dealing with food, clothing, shelter, fuel and light, furnishings, household equipment, education, recreation, hospitality and religion are covered. It is recognized that a study of these factors does not constitute a complete

picture of a standard of living, but they are vital elements in all standards. This study shows how each period has been superseded by the one following; the pioneer, by the days following the pioneer time up to the twentieth century continuing through the present. In the present situation trends may be found.

More emphasis is placed upon the pioneer days than upon the middle and present periods as this has certain features of home life peculiar to the section. After the first era, these characteristics were influenced by outside forces and gradually assumed a more or less universal aspect.

Existing standards of living are the result of previous standards. This fact is indicated by the following quotation:

> American standards are dynamic; they include (paradoxically) the gradual raising of the plane of living and even of the standard itself. We expect to improve our lot and our prospects and those of our children; children expect, if not to start where their parents left off at least to finish ahead of them. (6)

Thus, it is shown that a basis for present standards of living can be obtained through a study of the evolution of the previous standards of the group. It is in such manner that this study is related to the general study of standards of living.

Method.

The work has been carried on by the historical method,

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(6) Thomas D. Eliot, op. cit., p. 11.

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due to the fact that it portrays the origin and development of standards of living in the above named locality. Histories of the states, collections of the State Historical Societies of Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin, letters of early settlers, reminiscences, newspapers, records and novels were read. Personal conversation with people interested in, and versed on pioneer living condition, likewise, have been valuable. From the portions of this material dealing with home life, the information has been gathered.

The most important sources of the aforementioned material were The John Crerar Library in Chicago, Illinois, The Rockford Public Library, Rockford, Illinois, The Freeport Public Library, Freeport, Illinois, Wisconsin Historical Library, Madison, Wisconsin, Michigan State College Library, East Lansing, Michigan, Michigan State Library, Lansing, Michigan. Two historical collections, one, the Pioneer room in the State building, Lansing, Michigan, and the other, Grants' home in Galena, Illinois, were visited.

Since no like study has been found, it may prove of interest to students of standards of living and especially to home economists. It may be of interest to students in standards of living, because its aim is to give a historical development of standards in this section;to the home economist, because in this study the economic choices of these people are shown and the development of their choices. From the home economists' standpoint, these two items are

of major interest.

Preliminary Statements.

Preceding the consideration of their standards it seems essential that we observe briefly the geographic origin of the inhabitants, their motives for coming to this new unsettled region of the East North Central States, where they settled and why. The earliest immigrants to this section came from the eastern and southern states of our country, the majority of these being of native New England stock. These people were imbued with the idea of going west from picturesque accounts related in the newspapers, letters from earlier adventures to the scene, and by word of mouth from travelers. To them this vast area was an "El Dorado" where they would be able to make their fortunes. Those who first dared to venture into the wilderness, settled along the waterways and on the fringe of the forests. Thus they were afforded travel and transportation facilities and materials for fuel and shelter. Meaningly, the prairies were left uninhabited for the first years of settlement, as they were thought to be of little value.

At a later date immigrants from Northern Europe very rapidly came to the United States, due to economic difficulties in their native lands. Great numbers of these foreign immigrants moved westward with the rest of the throng; in fact in groups so large that even to-day we find German Communities, Sweedish settlements, Dutch colonies, a

Swiss colony, English settlement and the like, scattered here and there through our country. The influx of Southern Europeans followed some what later.

These people of the early pioneer period, on the whole, suffered their standards of living to be lowered. It is rare for an individual or a group voluntarily to lower the standard of living. Of those who do lower their standards -

> Generally, they fall into two classes, those who expect the departure from the accepted standard to be only temporary, and those under the influence of some strong religious or other emotional appeal. (7)

The people of these states, with whom we begin our study, are clearly represented by the first of these. There was always a drive there which urged them on to a higher standard then the temporary one under which they were living. Those standards existing were dynamic and have led from one stage to another in a gradual upward trend.

It is to those pioneers who first built homes in this new land that we now turn to begin a study of the development of standards of living in these states.

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(7) Hazel Kyrk, op. cit., p. 181

CHAPTER II

FOOD

In tracing the development of the standards of living of the East North Central States, it is requisite that the early settlers of these communities and their living conditions be studied. Since it was noted before that existing standards are the results of previous standards, there will follow the consideration of living of earlier days and a like consideration of each successive period, in order to show this relationship.

PIONEER PERIOD

Attention is first directed to the study of the foods of this group. Of primary importance in any study of standards of living is the item of food. The pioneers, upon first arriving in a community, would find their food supply limited, until they were settled in their permanent homes.

> But food --- was the severest want of the pioneers. True, the woods were full of game, but venison, turkey, and bear-meat all the time became tiresome enough. There was no bread or salt. The scanty salt-springs were therefore precious. The Indian corn, when once started, was the chief reliance for man and beast.(1)

> Aside from wild game, of meats salt pork was the staple, and many of the people rarely had any other, but all had wheat or corn bread and potatoes, and a hearty appetite need crave nothing better. (2)

Nevertheless as soon as ground was cleared and crops were

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(1) Rufus King, Ohio, pp. 298-299.
(2) Thomas McIntyre Cooley, Michigan, p. 241

raised, there was an abundance of foods. Although the early settlers had few articles in their diet,

> Bread and potatoes and salt pork were the staples and constituted the noon meal in many homes. On Sundays or on special occasions the men would bring in rabbits, squirrels or possibly turkeys for dinner. The dinner table generally held a large platter, heaping or piled high with steaming potatoes and boiled pork. Bread a plenty was there and the bowl of hot flour gravy, made of flour and water seasoned with salt, cooked occasionally with a little grease gravy from a piece of meat.(3)

This gravy proved another means of varying the diet. It was from such early use of gravy that there is found, no douot, the great amount of gravy used in this section to-day.

The menus of these early settlers show the little variety of foods available. The following extract from a letter indicates this repeated use of meat, potatoes, and so forth, three times a day. "As far as eating is concerned I am an American already. Besides above, meat and potatoes, bread and butter and toast, in the morning there is coffee and in the evening tea."(4) Menus for another day include breakfast of milk porridge, coffee, bread and butter, and pork; dinner, of pudding, pork and potatoes; supper, the same as breakfast, with tea instead of coffee.(5) Another common diet was salt bacon and "greens" with corn bread and thin coffee. Milk and butter were available for the farmer.(6) This sameness of diet was relieved during the

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(3) Henry Ormal Severance, The Story of a Village Community, p. 45.
(4) Dinsdale Papers, Letter, September 14, 1844.
(5) Edwin Bottomby, An Old English Settler in Wisconsin, p.41.
(6) William Edward Dodd, Expansion and Conflict, p. 208.

spring, and summer by the inclusion of growing things. Cultivated fruits were a luxury.

> Many orchards were planted but few, as yet, were bearing, and fruit was a rare luxury ---. They were forced, therefore to be content with the wild fruits of the country.(7)

In season, much use was made of wild fruits, the most important of which were crab apples, wild plums, thorn apples, grapes, black berries, raspberries and strawberries. In summer, any vegetables raised gave variety to the foods served. Those most commonly used by the housewives were potatoes, turnips, carrots, cabbage, beans, pumpkins, corn and greens.(8) These foods were called "roughness".(9) It is of interest to note the usage of the term "roughness" when referred to vegetables. Probably "roughage" bears direct relationship to the term "roughness" so long ago instituted. The many methods of preparing corn show the importance of this foodstuff in the diet, the use of which was taught to them by the Indians. The most famous of these corn dishes were hoe-cake, ash-cake, johnny-cake, doger or pone, hominy-samp, pop-corn and succotash. If flour and breadstuffs became a scarce item, then corn would be ground up in a wooden mortar.(10) The fine would be used as meal and the coarse for hominy.

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(7) Thomas McIntyre Cooley, op. cit., pp. 241,-242.
(8) William Edward Dodd, op. cit., p. 208.
(9) William Lewis Nida, Story of Illinois and Its People p. 102.
(10) Charles Richmond Tuttle, Illustrated History of the State of Indiana, p. 484.

During the butchering season all the families of the immediate vicinity would butcher at different times and share with the others the fresh meat, thus increasing the length of time this delicacy could be enjoyed by all. This season was commonly referred to as "hog-killing time" and meant that fresh meats were abundant.(11) Honey, maple syrup and maple sugar and molasses were used in place of sugar.(12) Coffee and tea were luxuries, but had substitutes; for tea, sassafras, sage and mint; for coffee, parched rye, barley and other grains.(13) Milk and butter were plentiful as a rule.

Most of the foods listed above were raised by the pioneers. Very little was bought out right, because of the high prices and the scarcity of money.(14) Barter as a means of obtaining certain commodities was practiced to some extent.(15) Honey, coonskins and beeswax were used largely in exchange of goods.(16)

These foodstuffs were prepared in simple style. In spite of the fact of simplicity of style, the task was difficult due to the lack of equipment with which to work. The food was prepared entirely over an open-fire place,

> Corn bread and johnny-cake were baked in the Dutch oven, the hoe cakes and pan cakes baked on the

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(11) Wm. Edward Dodd, op. cit., p. 208.
(12) Mable E. Richmond, Centennial History of Decatur and Macon County, p. 72.
(13) Ibid., p. 72
(14) Illinois State Historical Library Publication, No. XXI, p. 145.
(15) Elmer Baldwin, History of LaSalle County Illinois, P.175.
(16) Illinois State Historical Library Publication, No. XXI, p. 145.

> griddle, the hasty pudding, the hulled corn and the hominy boiled in the pot with all the savory meats cooked in a dozen different ways.(17)

As noted from this quotation, some of the foods were boiled; those suitable for the procedure were baked in the ashes.

> For a while bread was baked on 'johnny' or journey boards, hence, johnny cake. These boards were smooth, two feet long by eight inches wide. Corn meal was mixed with water, the dough spread out on the board and then turned up to the fire. After one side was baked, the dough was turned and baked on the other side.(18)

Later than the use of the johnny boards, bread-stuffs and corn mixtures were baked in the Dutch oven or by means of the reflector.

The preservation of food was the most important method for making the food supply more constant. The foods which could not be stored dry or packed in vegetable cellars were preserved by drying, smoking and pickling. The equipment for this purpose consisted of an amazing variety of ingenious baskets, buckets and jars. This equipment, which is unknown to-day was used in arts lost to home makers of this age, who use foods which come from the factory. With this equipment, even the poorest homes of that time had an abundance of food, though it may have been coarse and monotonous.(19)

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(17) Illinois State Historical Library, Publication , No. XXI, p. 146.
(18) William Lewis Nida, op. cit., p. 102.
(19) Ralph Borsodi, This Ugly Civilization, p. 63.

Drying of food was the most popular method of preservation practiced among the early settlers. When one entered a home, many drying or dried products could be seen hanging from the rafters.(20) On the floor of the loft, very frequently, more food would be placed to dry.(21) Fruit, corn, meat, beans and pumpkins were among those foods commonly dried. Meat was salted and smoked as well as dried. It was an ordinary sight to see pieces of meat hanging in the fire place.

> We used to lay by a good deal of dry venison. We'd first salt it down for a few days, and then hang it by the kitchen fire to dry. The dried meat was called jerked venison.(22)

Preserves were made of the wild fruits(23) and vegetables.

> Do you know what pumpkin butter is? We made it by boiling the pumpkins in a big kittle,(24) then squeezing the juice out in a press, and straining and boiling it down. Perhaps it would be thickened some with apples. You spread that on a piece of bread, and you'd think it was the only thing in the world.(25)

Some foodstuffs were pickled.

Fruits and vegetables for winter use were buried in the ground in a pit dug for the purpose.(26) Milk and cream were kept in crocks set in a spring. This practice very early led to the building of a spring house, specifically

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(20) Howard S. Rogers, History of Cass County, p. 106.
(21) Michigan Pioneer Collections, Vol. V, p. 540.
(22) Clifton Johnson, Highways and Byways of the Mississippi Valley, p. 240.
(23) Thomas McIntyre Cooley, op. cit., p. 242.
(24) "Kittle" spelling used in quote.
(25) Clifton Johnson, op. cit., p. 341.
(26) Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. VIII, p. 293.

for this purpose.

Thus we see that these people who dared to come into this new country had food in plenty as a rule, but in no great variety. The people in the period following the pioneer period up to the twentieth century show some interesting relationships to this previous group in regard to food practices, and to these we now turn our attention.

MIDDLE PERIOD

Food still was found in great abundance and the variety was increasing. Following the pioneer, more kinds of food were served: for breakfast not only fruit, coffee and rolls, but steak, chops or ham and eggs, and often fried potatoes. Oatmeal was included as a breakfast dish and many had to have a stack of buckwheat cakes; for dinner, the mid-day repast, most thought that two dishes of meat, or one of meat and one of fish none too many, and a half a dozen vegetables were frequently served; supper was not such a hearty meal.(27)

> The farmers had a greater variety of things to eat. If a family of eight or ten had dropped in to dinner, the housewife would have been prepared, the larder was always full. Salt pork, hams, sidepork, potatoes, beans and bread and butter and lots of flour for hot biscuits, preserves, canned fruit in its season, apple pies and the like, were available most of the time.(28)

There was still a lack of balance in ration(29) in the early part of this period. Too much meat and too few vegetables were served.(30) It was not until the latter nineteenth

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(27) Allen Nevins, A History of American Life, p. 210.
(28) Henry Ormal Severance, op. cit., p. 44.
(29) Carl Russell Fish, The Rise of the Common Man, p. 140.
(30) Ibid., op. cit., p. 140.

century that much attention was given to the kinds of food to include in the diet. Then vegetables were served in season in greater numbers, and in winter canned vegetables and relishes were used.(31) An abundance of meat still was included as late as 1890.(32) At the outset of this period the three meals of the day were practically identical.(33) As time went on they were gradually changing. Tea and coffee were almost universally used as beverages now in place of the substitutes used before. Tomatoes, asparagus and rhubarb were new foods. Apples, peaches, pears, cherries and quince were found in orchards(34) and there was less dependence on the wild fruits as the fruit trees began to bear. Oatmeal was added as a breakfast dish, but still on the breakfast menu were found meat, potatoes, eggs, coffee, rolls and fruit.(35) In the summer season the variety of foods was much greater, because of the use of vegetables and fruits grown. Foods were being shipped in from outlying districts.(36) This practice was destined to be an important factor in later years and lent variety to the menu, and also made the season for some foods longer.

Most of the vegetables and fruits were raised by the

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(31) Carl Russell Fish, op. cit., p. 140.
(32) Robert S. Lynd, Middletown, p.156.
(33) Carl Russell Fish, op. cit., p. 140.
(34) C. B. Johnson, Illinois in the Fifties, p. 39.
(35) Allen Nevins, op. cit., p. 210.
(36) Ibid, p. 76.

family.[37] Meats were obtained from the family's own supply at first, but later were purchased from markets, which frequently were supplied from a meat packing concern.[38] Through out the whole period all the baking of breads, cakes and pastries was carried on in the home.[39] Barter, as a means of obtaining food was practiced through out this period. Nevertheless, it was rapidly becoming a less important means of securing foods than before.

> Fifty years ago the farmer's wife strained the milk, set it in a cool place for the cream to rise, skimmed it, churned, 'worked' the butter by hand; then took it to town with horse and buggy and traded it for coffee, sugar and calico.(40)

Hunting was becoming a much less important means of obtaining foods than it had been in the pioneer period. The animals were becoming scarce, and other foods were available. Hunting assumed more the role of a sport. There was an increase in purchase of foods, especially of canned goods, and such commodities as sugar, coffee, tea, dried fruits, condiments,[41] and the like.

A great deal of time was still spent in the preparation of food.[42] Very early the fire-place ceased to be used, and stoves were found in the homes. The same fundamental methods of cookery of the pioneer period continued to be used as is shown in a statement made in "Middletown"

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(37) Rexford Guy Tugwell, American Economic Life, p. 88.
(38) Ibid., p. 78.
(39) Robert S. Lynd, op. cit., p. 155
(40) Claude S. Larzelare, The Story of Michigan, pp.416-417.
(41) Forrest Crissey, The Story of Foods, p. 12.
(42) Robert S. Lynd, op. cit., p. 156.

on the types of food served. These included: steaks, roasts, potatoes, fried apples, stewed tomatoes, pudding, cake and pie.(43)

> There he observed his grandmother's meals in preparation - all the food characterized by his mother as unwholesome: potatoes in a black spider, frying in a quantity of bacon fat until they were brown; head cheese and the crackling of rendered lard; platters of leathery eggs; saturated pies; and baking-powder doughnuts so rich that they stained one's fingers.(44)

At the beginning of this second period, canning was just in its early stages.(45) By the end of the nineteenth century, most of the summer was spent in canning fruits and vegetables. "A half-century ago the house-wife canned, dried, and preserved much fruit in her kitchen.(46) Pickling was an important method of preserving.(47) Apple-butter, peach-butter and preserves were made in the fall by the house-wife in large quantities; also, apple cider.(48) To replace the smoking and curing of meats in the homes, special smoke houses for curing meats were built.(49) Through out the period we notice, however, a decrease in the amount of meat being cured, due to the fact, as before noted, that fresh meats were available. The drying of foods had become

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(43) Robert S. Lynd, op. cit., p. 156.
(44) Glenway Wescott, The Grandmothers, p. 6.
(45) C. B. Johnson, op. cit. p. 18.
(46) Claude S. Larzelere, op. cit. p. 418.
(47) Robert S. Lynd, op. cit. p. 156.
(48) C. B. Johnson, op.cit., p. 29.
(49) Henry Ormal Severance, op. cit., p. 43.

of less importance than before, because of the canning, Also, fresh foods were obtainable in the stores.

In this period following the pioneer days up to the twentieth century, it was observed that there was an increased use in varieties of foods due to the fact that they were more available. Canning had had its start, and by the end of the period reached great heights in the preservation of foods in the home. Drying of foodstuffs decreased in importance. In the obtaining of goods barter was of diminishing importance and outright purchase of commodities not raised at home was becoming the method largely used to obtain such items. It was obvious that, as yet, little thought was paid to the balanced diet by the housewife. We shall turn our attention now to the period beginning with the twentieth century.

PRESENT DAY

To the middle class families, there is an abundance of food available. The staple foods have carried over in much the same form as in the previous period.

> Staple foods are, for obvious reasons, less susceptible of violent changes in volume of consumption than many other commodities, though diversification of diet and new emphasis on scientific diet have affected some of these staples. The decline of grain products and the increase in milk and dairy products are the principle changes noted here. Declines in corn meal and wheat flour have been principally responsible for the fall in cereal foods.(50)

Other changes apparent in the diet of this period are reflected in the following ---------: far less cereal foods

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(50) Recent Social Trends, Report of President's Committee, Vol. II, p. 902

are being eaten, less beef and mutton, more pork and dairy products, more fruit and vegetables. There has been a decline in the consumption of tea (51), and an increase in the use of coffee and carbonated beverages (52). In 1920 there was a sharp increase in the use of confectionery (53). This increase in the use of confectionery and carbonated beverages was linked with the passage of the eighteenth amendment.

Many foods come from every part of the globe (54). There was a greater diversity in food products (55). Until just recently, the foods of the farmer were limited almost entirely to what they raised, but now they can to a greater extent, have what is available to those living in the city (56). The use of fresh fruits and vegetables has been greatly increased, use being made of these in the winter as well as in the summer (57). This increase is due to the fact (largely) that in 1920 the vogue of vitamins and energy foods was started (58). Improved shipping conditions and refrigeration, the growth of certain food habits, such as fruit juice and tomato juice habits, and the mass advertising all have aid-

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(51) Recent Social Trends, Report of President's Committee, (Vol. II, p. 902.
(52) Ibid., p. 903.
(53) Ibid, p. 903.
(54) Forrest Crissey, op. cit., p. 14.
(55) Ibid., p. 14.
(56) Rexford Guy Tugwell, op. cit., p. 68.
(57) Robert S. Lynd, op. cit., p. 157.
(58) Recent Social Trends, Report of the President's Committee, Vol. II, p. 903.

ed in this increase.(59)

Foods in the cities are secured now for consumption almost entirely by purchase. There are only small gardens in which foods are raised for the family's own use. In the farm homes of to-day much of the foodstuff is raised for the family's own use. Barter, which was being abandoned in the previous period, is used as a method in procuring food by this group of people to some extent. They bring their produce to the stores and in exchange they receive commercial products. Hunting, which during the second period was rapidly becoming a means of obtaining food only for sport, has reached that stage in this period.

In the preparation of food, cooking is a shorter task(60) because most articles come to the housewife nearly ready for the table, or entirely so, in tins and sealed boxes,(61) And because of the modern conveniences with which she has to work. This abbreviated time spent to-day in preparation of food also results from the increased use of baker's bread and the corresponding decrease in home baking.(62) The housewives of to-day can supplement the meals they prepare with foods from the restaurant or delicatessen shops.(63) More salads and various combinations of foods are used in this present period than before. Cakes and pastries are

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(59) Recent Social Trends, Report of the President's Committee
(60) Robert S. Lynd, op. cit., p.155. (Vol. II, p. 903.
(61) Rexford Guy Tugwell, op. cit., p. 85.
(62) Robert S. Lynd, op. cit., p. 155.
(63) Rexford Guy Tugwell, op. cit., p. 85.

still inclusions in the diet and for the majority are prepared in the home although the bakeries are offering an increasingly large number of such goods.

Preservation of foods is leaving the homes.(64) Now only tomatoes and fruits and particularily jellies are still "put-up" in quantities by house wives - mostly of medium and smaller income groups.(65) "To-day fruit raising and handling are conducted on a commercial scale."(66) This decrease in canning is the result of several factors, one, smaller storage space; another, increasing confidence of consumers in the non-harmful character of commercially canned and prepared goods.(67) In the last period we saw that drying foods in the homes was becoming a duty of lesser importance. As a means of preservation of foods in the home drying of foodstuffs is an obsolescent practice. With the benefits of refrigeration, it is possible for the house wife to keep fresh food more easily and for a longer time than was ever possible before. Pickling and preserving still form one means of preserving foods in these homes. Much stress is laid upon balanced meals, vitamin and mineral content of the foods served. Larger varieties are offered the year around, making it possible that fresh foods can be obtained in the winter as well as in the summer.

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(64) Rexford Guy Tugwell, op. cit., p. 353.
(65) Robert S. Lynd, op. cit., p. 156.
(66) Claude S. Larzelere, op. cit., p. 418.
(67) Report of the President's Committee. Recent Social Trends, Vol. II, p. 902.

In summary, foods were few in kinds at first, meat (pork) being a staple along with bread and potatoes. These main foods have carried along their influence into the present age. How often the remark is heard that " I don't feel as if my meal is complete without potatoes." And many a time a similar remark is made of bread "I can't eat a meal without some kind of breadstuff." As yet it is the rule to serve meat once a day with the majority. For variety 's sake, people in the pioneer period included "roughness" in their diet. Gradually, more vegetables were used, and people began to realize their value in the diet. They have developed from a seasonal food into a year around food. In the earliest homes practically all the preparation of the foods, even to the making of the flour, very often, was performed in the home. As commercialization of industry took place, more of the duties were taken away from the home, until at present, the task of preparing foods is minimum in comparison with the earlier groups studied.

CHAPTER III

CLOTHING

In the study of standards of living of these states, the development of foods was followed from the pioneer period up through the present. Along with food, clothing ranked as a necessity which had to be supplied from the first. Therefore, it is fitting that due consideration now be given to this item.

The first period had clothing characteristics which were typical of this section, but by the beginning of the middle era, the clothing of the West had lost its distinctive qualities. Style had become a universal factor. Therefore, it has been deemed necessary to stress only the first period, which is representative of this section. The clothing factors of the other periods are more adequately treated in books on costume than could be possible in this study.

PIONEER PERIOD

During the pioneer days, articles of wearing apparel were not very numerous and were constructed in the plainest styles for comfort and utility.(1) "And the dress of the people necessarily partook of the same absolutely rustic simplicity"(2) A few people had brought clothes from their

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(1) Illinois State Historical Library, Publication, vol.X p.39.
(2) Rufus King, Ohio, p. 299

previous homes, the best of which were saved for special occasions. As these wore out, they had to be replaced. This replacing the pioneers did by using the materials available. The result was that the dress of the period assumed a varied nature. "It was of the most heterogeneous styles of form and material that imagination or necessity could invent."(3) "There was not much effort at style, clothes were just cut, made and put on, and that was about the whole of it."(4)

A typical costume for the men of this period consisted of garments made from the skins of animals. The usual outfit was composed of a tunic, breeches, mocassins and a coon skin cap.(5) "The deerskin, dressed and undressed, was very much used for clothing, and the skins of the racoon and rabbit formed a favorite head-gear"(6) The skins were used for clothing until they could raise other materials and supply their needs.

Upon their arrival, they began to raise sheep and flax from which products they manufactured their own cloth.(7) "Wood and flax soon abounded, and spinning wheels and looms became standard articles in every house."(8) "The home-made

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(3) Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collection, Vol.14,p.438.
(4) Ibid., Vol. 14, p. 492.
(5) George Washington Smith, A Students' History of Illinois p. 169.
(6) Rufus King, op. cit., p. 299.
(7) Michigan History Magazine, Vol VI, p. 295.
(8) Rufus King, op. cit., p. 299.

tow linen and woolens, or mixed flannels, linseys and jeans, constituted the chief materials for clothing."(9) Calico, blue-jeans, butter-nut colored jeans and linsey-woolsey were used for outer clothing.(10)

With these goods of home manufacture, the early settlers were able to supply the needs of their wardrobes until such goods would be offered for sale in their vicinity and priced reasonably enough so that they might afford to purchase them.

Linsey and jean, two materials which were used extensively by these settlers, are not known today. Therefore in order that some conception may be had of the types of materials used a description of these is given.

> Linsey was made of cotton warp and woolen filling, in equal proportions, and used for dresses, skirts and sometimes aprons. Jean was made by using a fine cotton warp, and in such manner that the filling nearly covered it, making a thick, firm cloth, strong and durable, which was used in common every-day wear by both men and boys.(11)

The dying of these materials was an added duty of the housewife. She used such dyes as were obtainable for the process.

> For dyestuffs the hulls of the walnut and butternut and a root of bright yellow first answered, but were superseded by indigo and madder, which became almost uniformly the colors of the hunting-shirt and the warmus.(12)

Women generally wore the home-spun for every day; the

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(9) Rufus King, op. cit., p. 299
(10) Illinois State Historical Library Publication, No. XXI p. 144.
(11) Howard S. Rogers, History of Cass County, p. 105.
(12) Rufus King, op. cit., p. 300

linsey-woolsey with the printed muslin or calico being reserved for Sunday.(13) The cotton cloth worn by the women was colored brown with oak bark. It was a one piece affair gathered at the waist by means of a cord run in a shirring."(14)

The sun bonnet was the head covering for the ladies in the summer; in winter, a shawl.

The men's clothing, as the use of skins was being abandoned, was made up of Kentucky jeans.(15)

The dress of the settlers was of a primitive style as to material and fashion. With the men, the old time hunting shirt had given way to a garment called mamus, a loose blouse with narrow binding at top in place of a collar with a single button at the throat, the skirts reaching the hips when loose, or to the waist when tied by the corners as it was frequently worn; the material was linsey. Pantaloons were of jean, blue or butter nut, with different shades of color as the different skeins of yarn took on a light or dark blue in dying.(16) For work his outfit consisted of a plaited rye, oats or wheat straw hat; shirt and pants of cotton, flax or tow-linen cloth. These were fashioned in the simplest and plainest manner for comfort and utility.(17)

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(13) Illinois State Historical Library, Publication, No. XXI, p. 144.
(14) Ella Champion, Berrins Beginnings, p. 16.
(15) Thomas McIntyre Cooley, Michigan, p. 243
(16) Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 642.
(17) Illinois State Historical Library Publication, No. X, p. 39.

As was noted above, the greatest proportion of the cloth was made in the homes. However, there was one important exception, upon first settling in the country, there were none of the sources of goods available, so until these could be raised, materials were purchased for those garments not made of skins.(18) These materials were very durable.

> Few pioneers had brought their spinning-wheels with them, for as yet there were but few sheep in the state, and by the time wool had become abundant, the old ways of working it up had passed away. For a while the material for garments, which in rural New England and New York were home-made, must be bought; but cheap, course cloth answered the purpose, and the wives and daughters made it up for use.(19)

Barring this exception, little material was bought and then only at infrequent intervals. Nearly all goods were obtained by barter.

It is of interest to notice garment construction and utilization among the pioneers. Most of the clothing was of home-manufacture entirely. The mother often aided by the daughters, performed the whole task from preparing the fiber for spinning up through the making of the garment. "My mother spun, wove, colored and made up the wearing apparel for her whole family ---"(20) Every garment was utilized and many times made over for younger members of the family as clothing during this time was most difficult to obtain. This frugal use of clothes was required of the settlers, as mater-

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(18) Thomas McIntyre Cooley, op. cit. p. 243.
(19) Ibid., pp. 242-243
(20) Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 413.

ials were so scarce and the time necessarily spent in making the clothing so great that they could not allow any to be wasted. All sewing was done by hand.

> The pioneers could not be particular about other qualities of their clothes than those of wear and comfort, and nobody would criticise the style or the fit. Silks for the woman and broadcloth for the man were rare extravagences; many a bridegroom destined to become an important personage in business and political circles went to the altar in Kentucky jean, and received his bride in calico. (21)

Shoes were not worn in the summer, and moccasins were used in the winter in the earlist of the homes.(22) Later, the pioneers began to wear shoes, and these were all made at home by the father - "--- her husband, though not a shoemaker by trade, made all the shoes"(23) However, it was not long before this job was removed from the household. "The footwear was made up by itinerant shoemakers who went from house to house, each family buying a small stock of leather"(24)

Stockings were almost never worn, and those found were always of wool, home knit and generally white, gray or dyed with walnut, grape or some other vegetable dye.(25)

As the period drew to the close, new materials were becoming more available, and we find the home-spun cloth being replaced by calico, gingham and other goods bought from stores.

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(21) Thomas McIntyre Cooley, op. cit. p. 243
(22) The pageant of America, Vol. II,
Ralph Henry Gabriel, The Lure of the Frontier, p. 20.
(23) Mrs. Trollope, Domestic Manners of the Americans, p.70.
(24) Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol.XXXVIII, P. 363.
(25) Illinois Historical Library, Publication, No. XXI, p.144.

Summary.

These clothes of home made materials were substantial and were intended for long wear. The members of these homes soon became accustomed to the limited wardrobe of home-spun. In these early days "clothing was always in style no matter what we wore"[26] and there was little class distinction. The main difference which appeared in the latter part of the period was that between country and city folk.[27] The difficulties in obtaining clothing which resulted in a limited wardrobe were not vital matters in the lives of these sturdy people, for these deprivations were just another step in the realization of their ultimate aim for a better life.

MIDDLE PERIOD

In passing from the pioneer period into the post pioneer period we note:

> Previous to 1820 the dress was mainly of buckskin, cap of fur, such as the raccon and moccasins on the feet. Then came the period, of jean and linsey-woolsey, dyed blue or copperas-colored; then what I may call the calico period, when young women were considered to be beautifully dressed in plain dotted or striped colored calico patterns, with sun-bonnets to match. This was followed by a step nearer the city fashions, and ginghams and delaines were introduced here and there; but the silk and lace period didn't dawn on the smaller towns of the West till the war suddenly scattered bank-notes broadcast through the land and brought in its train tumult, movement, money, and the latest fashions.(28)

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(26) Michigan Historical Magazine, Vol. VI, p. 293.
(27) Carl Russell Fish, The Rise of the Common Man, P. 331.
(28) Francis Grierson, The Valley of Shadows, p. 110.

Truly this period following the pioneer may well be called "the calico period", because universally calico was the most popularly worn of all materials for dress. For going "to meeting" -- " a new pink calico dress and sun-bonnet" [29] for the lady was the height of fashion.

At this time, clothes began to be more influenced by the styles of older communities, a direct result of the increased influx of population, the greater accessibility of goods and money, and increased ease of communication. These influences brought about a certain uniformity of costume through out the country.

The sewing machine "had lightened the burden of the house-wife" and made possible more clothes. This fact, combined with the increased amount of materials offered, helped meet the expanding desire for more clothing. What was worn in New York was worn, likewise, in the West. "Fashion must be obeyed." [30]

On the whole, from this time hence, men's clothing was made out of the home by tailors, especially the man's best suits. [31] For everyday, suits were of commercial make. The making of men's clothing, was oneof the first duties which was taken out of the house.

There was this definite tendency towards a larger number of clothes, although wastefulness or extravagance

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(29) Francis Grierson, The Valley of Shadows, p. 6.
(30) Katerine Morris Lester, Historic Costume, p. 195.
(31) Allen Nevins, A History of American Life, p. 76.

were avoided. All discarded garments were made over, if possible for younger members of the family. Shoe and hosiery manufacture had left the home.

From the past description of clothing, it is shown that, from the limited wardrobe of the pioneers, the articles of clothing became more numerous in the days following. Dresses began to assume definite styles and every one had to have her clothes made to conform to these. The simplicity, which had so definitely marked the first period we considered, gave away to elegance. These people had a greater variety of materials from which to choose, and they did not have to depend upon their own labor for the making of the cloth.

With the advent of industrialism, more goods were placed on the market, and the prices were within the range of those to whom they were offered.

This availability resulted in a greater frequency of purchase. Almost all of the garments were made in the home. The sewing machine was the influential boon to the housewives in the making of their clothing, and was promising a greater future. Very few garments for ladies were made commercially.

Dressmakers were employed to a large extent during the latter part of this period.

PRESENT DAY

At the beginning of this period, most of the clothes for ladies and children were made in the home. Within the

last few years there has been an increase in the consumption of commercially made garments. The expansion in demand for ready made garments indicates that there is less home production.

> A half century ago clothing was made by dressmakers. Since women have gone into business, home sewing has nearly disappeared because women have a feeling that they can buy their dresses ready-made for less than the cost of materials at retail. Hence, there has developed the great business of making and selling women's ready made clothing.(32)

> Statistics show that until 1920 the sales of ready-to-wear merchandise were about equal to the sales of goods by the yard; but since 1920, the buying trend has been decidedly in favor of the ready-made and decidedly against the piece materials.(33)

"Home sewing is chiefly devoted to certain garments -- house dresses, summer wash dresses, aprons and night-gowns."(34) It is resorted to when economy must be exercised. On the whole, there is less home sewing in the cities than in the rural areas or smaller towns. The two most vital factors influencing the continuance of home-made garments are size of income and size of family.

Clothing has developed into an industry which is being taken out of the home. At one time the entire process was carried on within the household. With increased production and transportation, the cloth was bought rather than made, but the clothing was still made in the home. Ultimately a great part of garment construction was com-

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(32) William H. Dooley, Clothing and Style, p. 327.
(33) Ibid., p. 327.
(34) Ibid., p. 327.

mercial and was removed from the home. The trend was ever towards a more complete removal of the art from the household.

The home itself, in which these changes in food and clothing habits have been studied, has been subject to some interesting, as well as, important changes and these are considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

SHELTER

The study of shelter, which constitutes the third item in this treatment of standards of living, necessitates a reversion to the pioneer period for an examina- of early types of structure.

PIONEER PERIOD

> The first thing to which the early settler gave his attention, on arriving at his destination in the new country, was a habitation for himself and family.(1)

Previous to the building of his cabin, a temporary home was made with neighbors,(2) if such happened to be near. Many times an improvised home in the wagon, or "open camp" served until the cabin was built. In open camp, the corners of the hut were notched to-gether. The roof was of thatch or bark, and was supported on poles. The open side served for window, door and fire-place.(3)

After the clearing of the land and the cutting of the logs for the cabin had been completed, all the people in the surrounding country would come and help with the raising of the house. If the day were made known when all was in readiness for raising the cabin, "no invitation was necessary, as the friendliness and generosity of the early

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(1) Howard S. Rogers, History of Cass County, p. 85.
(2) Henry Ormal Severance, The Story of a Village Community, p. 36.
(3) William Lewis Nida, Story of Illinois and Its People p. 99.

settlers was of such a spontaneous nature that all that was needed was to have it known that a new comer was in want of help and it was speedily forthcoming."(4)

These log houses were at first, the rudest kinds of / structures. No floors, windows with greased paper instead of glass, doorways with skins of animals or blankets serving as a door,(5) unchinked walls and covered with shakes, aptly describe the earliest cabins.(6) Soon puncheon floors(7) would be laid, windows put in, a door hung and the walls chinked.(8) The cabins were one story high with a loft reached by means of a ladder.(9) The cellar was merely an excava-

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(4) Howard S. Rogers, op. cit., p. 86.
(5) Shakes - a type of shingle used on the early log cabins. They "were made from some rifty, free splitting timber - usually white or red oak - cut three feet long and split from four to eight inches wide and one inch thick." Howard S. Rogers, History of Cass County, p. 88.
(6) Wisconsin Historical Collection, Vol. VI, p. 474.
(7) Puncheon floors - pieces of wood split from trees, one side hewed to a plane surface for the floor of the room, while the underside was notched to the log sleepers upon which the floor rested. This process resulted in a very solid and as durable a floor as could be made.
(8) Chinking or filling up the crack between the logs, came next. Chinks were usually made from the hearts of the bolts left in making the shakes for the roof. These were placed in the cracks, thin edge out, and held in place by pins, thus making an even surface on the inside, while the outside was daubed from the nearest clay bank ---"
Howard S. Rogers, History of Cass County, p. 95.
(9) C. B. Johnson, Illinois in the Fifties, p. 11-18.

tion under the center of the house. Later, as need arose, another cabin would be built not far distant from the first; the space between was floored and covered with a roof very often.

> The father built another cabin the size of the first and ten feet distant from it. The space between the cabins was floored and in the warm weather served as sort of a porch and a place for the dining table. Later he raised the roof of both cabins and extended this over the space between and closed it in -- result, a six room house. Later, for lack of room, he added a dining-room and kitchen at the rear of his house, each with upstairs.(10)

Thus would the original one story cabin become a larger house, out of necessity, or as prospects brightened.(11) These one room cabins were built on small dimensions. They were rarely over twenty-two feet by eighteen feet; and frequently, only fifteen feet square. "The standard house was twenty-two feet by eighteen feet"(12)

Very little light was admitted through the small windows. As for ventilation, there was pleanty. The ill-fitting shakes on the roof afforded far too much during the cold weather.(13)

The only means of warmth was given by the large fireplace at the one end of the room. During the cold weather, it was difficult to keep warm unless close to the fire-

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(10) C. B. Johnson, op. cit., p. 27.
(11) Randal Parrish, Historic Illinois, p. 209.
(12) Henry Oramal Severance, op. cit., p. 37.
(13) Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. VI, p. 474.

place. This position proved uncomfortable because of the intense heat faced. During the summer quite the opposite was true. Since it was necessary to keep the fire burning all the time, because of the inconvenience of starting fires, the house as a result, was too warm. Many persons remedied this to some extent by building a fire-place out of doors, or later by building a cook-house. "Sometimes a man who wanted tc help his wife, especially during the hot season, built her an oval oven of clay and sticks, or lime and sand, on a log platform near the back door."(14)

An important step in the evolution of the dwellings occured when the original log cabins were covered with clap-boards. This change and the gradual enlarging of the cabins, heralded the next general types of architecture to be considered.

MIDDLE PERIOD

The years following the pioneer period and up to the twentieth century mark a distinctive era as far as shelter is concerned. The practice of covering the logs with clap-boards was followed by the construction of clap-board homes. The first settlers built new clap-board houses and used the log-cabin for storage purposes. New comers to the country at this time erected clap-board houses too. Some of the earliest of these houses were merely one room

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(14) George N. Fuller, Historic Michigan, Vol. III, Frank N. Turner, Ingham County, p. 77.

structures with lean-tos. The lean-tos were added to the main part of the house as the family could afford more space. They served the purpose of kitchen, bed-room, wash-room, summer-kitchen or wood-shed and consisted of one or more rooms.

> Beginning with about 1850 perhaps half the people had abandoned their log cabins for frame houses, many of which were one room structures with a shed or lean-to at the back of each.(15)

> In 1863, --- in part owing to the wealth accumulated during the war, new departures in architecture were constantly inaugurated, and now every year marks an increase of elaboration in both stores and residences, and the streets grow increasingly attractive.(16)

This increase of wealth was the cause of the building of the types of homes which followed. The social position of the occupants measured by their homes and so, pretentions and elegant homes were the rule.

Thus as time progressed, larger houses were raised. As a rule, they were two stories high and well constructed. Brick, stone and clap-boards were the materials used for building. The general size for these dwellings was from six to eight rooms and some had cellars.(17) Some what later, with an increase in means, a more pretentious structure was built; one which was durable and which followed the general structure of the homes of their previous habitation. This is exemplified by the following

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(15) Illinois State Historical Library, Publication., No. 17, p. 51.
(16) Silas Farmer, History of Detroit and Michigan, P.376.
(17) Edith Louise Allen, American Housing, p. 63.

quotation from Edith Louise Allen in "American Housing",

> The first houses on the open prairies of Illinois were well constructed, and some were quite pretentious and conformed in architectural style to those being built in the east.

"The style of architecture used by these early builders was copied from buildings in eastern or New England states."(18)

By 1850 permanent homes were being erected; these were of a more commodious nature than any homes heretofore generally built. Much labor and time necessarily were expended in their building.

> Some of these dwellings have been wrecked during the past five years (1919-1924) to make room for modern houses. We have studied the materials taken from them, and find siding and interior finish of white wood, ash and black walnut, with some pine. All this material was taken in a rough state and fashioned by hand labor. --- The builders had to use, in frame work, round timber hewed on one side for joists in the first floor of their dwelling, and small poles hewed on two sides for studding for the frame. We find these in old dwellings that are being wrecked now. Rafters for roofs were made in the same way. The frame of all buildings in those days was heavy square timber; large sills and corner posts, plates and studding hewn out of oak or some durable timber.(19)

This description gives some information on the materials used in construction of the homes and is an indication of the types of homes being built in this post pioneer period. The people were moved by the idea of building houses which would last for generations, much as had been done in the East.

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(18) George N. Fuller, Historic Michigan, Vol. III, Frank N. Turner, Ibid., p. 93.
(19) Ibid., p. 92.

These homes of this section can be divided into three classes: Homes of workmen; those of comfort or middle class, and homes of the wealthy.

> The first were almost always built by the workman. They were usually one story or one story and an attic set with one gable facing the street. There was nearly always a shed roofed kitchen attached to the rear of the cottage. The inside arrangement was front room, dining and sitting room, with one or two bedrooms and kitchen and pantry. The second type was two stories with a one-story addition set at right angles and attached to one side of the main building along the front of this addition was a stoop or porch, and the main entrance to the house was from this porch. The third, the type was the aristocratic colonial style. It was the most expensive and in days of hand labor the most striking in size and outline. The building was nearly always a square, two and a half storied building with dormer windows in the roof, a pillared porch at the front entrance. Sometimes there would be two wings to the main part. They were of the same height, and as long as the main part was wide. These wings were set back from the front of the main building, so the outline was the shape of a Greek cross. The interior of the latter was as follows; Wide hall, extending through the building, open staircase to second or third floor; on one side of the hall were one or two large living rooms with folding doors, a library and parlor, bedroom, on the other side were kitchen, dining room, closets and sewing room, etc. Heating of these houses was done with large, air tight stoves with the stovepipe through the ceiling and drums on the second floor. Some had fire-places, but these were used more for ventilation than warming. --- The walls were hard finished and ceilings were decorated with artistic designs in plaster of paris.(20)

A description of another house of the large type destined to be so popular, is given. A home of Ohio, which was lived in during the pioneer period but which was destined to be a typical variety of the following period is herewith described.

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(20) George N. Fuller, Historic Michigan, Vol. III, Frank N. Turner, Ibid., p. 93.

> Our house was of weatherboard inlaid with brick so that the walls were very thick and the window sills very deep. It was a two-story structure above the cellar kitchen. In the middle of the house, opening on to the porch that faced the street, was the main entrance. This porch had a railing around it and a seat against the railing, all the way around. ---- The front door opened directly into the big living room with its huge fireplace. Back of this were kitchen, across the way the best room, - we never called it parlor, - upstairs the sleeping rooms.(21)

From the early types of homes there was a gradual trend towards the larger homes. The middle class, ever were aware of the fineness displayed by the third type of house previously described, and thus the era of the large house was brought about. The log cabin was abandoned and was replaced by these finer houses.

In the rural communities frame houses and barns with out buildings were being erected in large numbers. These were of similar architecture of those found in the East. In the cities of this western section of our country in about eighteen-seventy, there developed a house of a type of architecture known as the "baloon-framed" wood house that is, constructed of all small timber. It rapidly changed in appearance and therefore never became a land-mark in architecture. Because of this type of house, it has been necessary to rebuild the Western cities.(22) The owner had it adorned

> with all sorts of 'ornamental' devices in wood-work -- open-work scrolls under and above its gables, jig-sawed crestings on its ridges, and wonderful frost-

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(21) Harriet Connor Brown, Grandmother Brown's Hundred Years, 1827-1927, p.26-27

(22)Homes in the City and Country,
John W. Root, The City House in the West, p. 37.

> ings and finials on its gables. The architraves about its windows were no longer content to be of simple boards, but were decorated by rosettes, star shaped ornaments, and all kinds of forms. --- The clapboards or matched ceiling covering it were laid in all directions, sometimes horizontally, as often diagonally in one or two directions, or else in basket fashion, the joints being at right angles with each other. The verandas of these houses offered best opportunity for such display, and here jig-sawed railings and curiously turned or chamfered frosts ran riot.(23)

This decoration continued for many years.

> In wood, it was applied with great freedom to cornices and porches of houses built otherwise of stone, when such ambitious structures first began to appear; and forms thus originated in wood were afterward continued in metal, or even in stone itself.(24)

This fashion, which at the time, was thought to give the houses an up to date appearance, tended to make them have a gayer and less durable semblance than those which they copied from the East.

In the construction of homes, stone and wood were combined frequently. The homes boasted double front and vestibule doors with transoms and a narrow hall-way. Bay windows were a common feature in the western homes. Their use was almost universel. Each house tended to be individual.

In the evolution of these homes, the hall-way is an important feature. At a later date it was expanded and and formed a reception hall. Similarily, the parlor, which at one time was so important, was yielding its

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(23) Homes in the City and in Country, John W. Root, The City House in the West, p. 38.
(24) Ibid., p. 38.

place to the living-room and dining room. These became larger and of more importance than the parlor and reception rooms. The living room assumed an important role in the family life and[25] the parlor, with its shut doors was passing. The dining-room, like wise received more careful attention as to its size and shape.

A room included in the homes in the later part of this period was the den. It was a small and intimate room, shut off from the rest of the house, and was frequently used as a study by the man of the family.

> A small room has intruded itself upon many Western city houses, which should be lamented equally by the occupant and the architect. This is a kind of office or den, where the master of the house keeps a desk and a few facilities for the transaction of business after hours are over in which business should be transacted; for in the enormous pressure of events about him the Western man, perhaps even more than his brother in the East is compelled in the evenings to carry something of his business across the threshhold of his house.(26)

The openness of the buildings was evident. The windows were large and very numerous; bay windows and oriels were used to a great extent. The doorways were wide and as a rule no doors were found between the rooms.[27] With the emphasis on numerous windows, these homes as a result were better lighted than previous homes. Ventilation could be

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(25) "-- In most of these pretentious homes, there was a distinctive room; the door was kept closed, -- and the shades drawn." Henry Ormal Severance, The Story of a Village Community, p. 44

(26) Homes in the City and Country, John W. Root, The City House in the West, p. 51.

(27) Ibid. pp. 38-55.

controlled. The homes were well constructed and warm. At first, in many of the homes, the only heating available was by the use of fireplaces. Very soon, air tight stoves were accessible to all,and the fireplace was replaced. At the end of the century furnaces were coming into general use, and heating was becoming less of a problem. These dwellings were not very costly. They were not all of one type, but represented rather the personal tastes and whims of the owners.(28)

A type of construction which was started in the latter part of this middle period was that of the building of tenement houses. These were erected in the cities in order that the mass of working people might be housed. They were intended for the poor who could not afford other homes. These brought into existence the slums or blighted areas of our country, as they were maintained under low housing standards. Later, a development arose out of these, which was to take the form of the modern apartment.

The large mansions bespoke a period of hospitality. Entertainment was one of the main functions of the households.

> The large roomy mansions so desirable before 1880 developed as a result of open hospitality extended to every wayfarer as a sort of a religious duty. Improved transportation aided week-end and holiday visiting. The more pretentious homes were the goals most frequented by merrymakers. Eventually the cost and burden of free visiting began to be felt and a reaction

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(28) Homes in City and in Country,
John W. Root, The City House in the West, p.·45.

> took place against it, and then, except in the sparely settled far western states, the keeping of the casual visitor no longer continued to be considered a duty.(29)

This lessened degree of hospitality and entertaining had an effect on the house - fewer rooms needed, and thus came the trend back to the smaller homes. This trend is noticable in the present era.

PRESENT DAY

In the third period or that of the present era, several notable changes were made in shelter over the preceeding period. The three storied mansions of the late nineteenth century, which were built to last for generations, were being erected by a few, but, on the whole there was a definite movement away from this type of house. The following citation is an indication of this trend.

> My parents were advised by a member of the faculty of the University of Illinois, as late as 1900, to build a mansion that would last for several centuries. However, my father hesitated because his ideal of a comfortable home was being changed so rapidly with the coming of the telephone, furnace, water system and the prospects of electric current, even in rural places, that the building of a monumental structure intended to endure through many centuries, which not only would be difficult to divide among his heirs, but could not be easily changed to admit modern improvements, began to look like a cumbersome liability. (30)

Another influencial factor in the movement for decreasing the size of the homes was that of the improved transportation facilities. How this factor had an in-

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(29) Edith Louise Allen, op. cit., p. 136-137.
(30) Ibid, p. 89-81

fluence on the size is shown by a quotation: "Houses first began to contract in size as transportation became rapid enough to permit guests to come for a visit and return to their own homes in the same day. To-day there is little need for guest rooms."(31)

An additional reason for the advent of the smaller buildings was the removal of a greater portion of the entertaining from the home. In these new homes the living room was changed from a room of reception and entertaining to a haven of comfort for the family. The dining room was being replaced by the dinette and the kitchen, by the kitchenette. All space was utilized. Store-rooms, attics and closets, filled with goods and articles rarely touched, lost their places in the home.(32)

The house of 1900 usually consisted of two stories with seven rooms and a hall-way; the upper floor of which was given over to the sleeping rooms.(33) Outside of larger cities, the houses were still mostly built of wood, and so constructed as to be warm and well lighted.

As stated above, the materials used in the construction of these houses was in the main, wood. Brick and

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(31) Edith Louise Allen, Op. cit., p. 145.
(32) Ibid, p. 157.
(33) Improving the Convenience and Comfort of the Farm Home, United States Department of Agriculture, Experiment Station Work XLV, Farmer's Bulletin, No.317 (p.6.

stone were used to a small extent. A later development in building was the increased use made of cement; also, the use of metal for the frame work in many of the modern homes.

The most important point in the construction of a home now is not to have spacious rooms and halls, but to have the home equipped, or so arranged, so that modern conveniences may be utilized to the greatest extent.

> American houses may be divided into a number of present day types, as the city residence, the country house, the suburban house, the cottage and the bungalow, to say nothing of the apartment house. Each may have any style. By far the most common type in the matter of numbers is the suburban house of rather small proportions which may be either formal or informal. The formal house is symmetrical and prim, while the informal is unsymmetrical and rambling.(34)

During this last period, there was an increase in two family dwelling.(35) Lynd states that there have been more two family houses built since building costs have risen.(36)

> The two family (sometimes called duplex) type of dwelling reaches its greatest popularity in the smaller cities and in locations removed from the immediate centers of large cities. In the smaller communities, many local investors favor this type of structure, considering that rentals will compensate for the investment and provide an adequate return. The more general use of such a structure, however, is the purchase by particularly thrifty individuals, who have in mind the idea of providing comfortable and satisfactory living accomodations, the cost of which is minimized by renting part of the premises.(37)

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(34) L. Eugene Robinson, Domestic Architecture, pp. 37-38.
(35) Recent Social Trends, Report of President's Committee, Vol. I, p. 474.
(36) Robert S. Lynd, Middletown, p. 93.
(37) The President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, Vol. IV.
Home Ownership, Income & Types of Dwellings, p. 41.

The duplex home is still on an upward trend. Apartments are becoming more important and are the "result of the effort for more completed utilization of house space".(38)

> During the past few years a new type of multi-family housing unit, the apartment house, has been introduced into American cities. It is distinguishable from the older forms of multi-family dwelling known as the tenement house chiefly because of the better class of construction, the modern conveniencies, and the high class character with which its promoters indowed it, and because, instead of being erected in the older sections of the city, it invaded the better type of single family dwelling districts and theoretically thereby became thoroughly sound and respectable. Actually it possessed many of the deficiencies of the tenement house, particularly in the matter of overcrowding the land.(39)

These apartments, which as observed above, invaded the residential districts, are trying to incorporate all the benefits of a home. They are built with all rooms having outside windows; there are courts, amusement rooms, and gardens. It is this type of building which is replacing the old tenement homes. A more recent development from the apartment is the cooperative housing , i.e. individual ownership of apartments. In this manner home ownership is fostered at more reasonable rates.

The following figures show the recent trends in housing.

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(38) Edith Louise Allen, op. cit., p.169.
(39) Harland Bartholomew, Urban Land Uses, p. 43.

Statistics compiled by the United States Bureau of Labor from recent building permit figures from 257 American cities with over 25,000 inhabitants, showing the present situation and trend as to dwelling types.(40)

	1921	1928	1929	1930
In single-family houses	58.3	35.2	40.2	45.7
In two- family houses	17.3	11.1	11.2	12.1
In multi-family houses	24.4	53.7	48.6	42.2

Up until 1928 there was an increase in the number of apartment houses, but since then there has been a definite decrease.

The suburban homes which are the result of many people still clinging to the idea that a home involves a house, play a very important role in our present housing conditions.

> Our main triumph is in the development of the suburban house, in which we have practically abandoned all precedents. There have been many innovations in the way of conveniences, so that the American house is the most livable in the world.(41)

Improved means of transportation was the most important factor in making possible this retreat from the crowded urban areas to a section of country where the benefits of outdoor life could be enjoyed.

> This tendency toward country life - the 'back to nature' movement - has produced, in a way, a new architecture which is very direct in its expression, and

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(40) The President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, Vol. IV.
Home Ownership, Income & Types of Dwellings, p. 193.

(41) L. Eugene Robinson, op. cit., p. 37.

> which is endeavoring all the time to eliminate the superfluous and fanciful. This new type of home has utility as its fundamental principle.(42)
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> With the introduction of street cars in 1863, the suburbs of the city began to build up rapidly and all property on the outskirts greatly increased in value.(43)

These suburban homes were built in order that, as was indicated before was the tendency, all modern improvements could be utilized, and they were economical in their general make-up. Modern improvements have helped to change the general character of the American home, making the plan of the house a very flexible and interesting composition. This has led to the building of individual homes, which means an escape from the poorer types of tenement and apartment houses.(44)

In the homes, lastly viewed, more thought is given to the inclusion and placement of the windows. This results in better light and ventilation. With the present day improvements of building materials, it is possible for these homes to be better constructed than formerly. If use is made of these available materials, in the future the homes will be improved to a great extent. The evolution of shelter in these states has been rapid in the span of time considered. From the meager cabins to the large

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(42) H. V. von Wolst, Modern American Homes, Preface.
(43) Silas Farmer, op. cit., p. 376.
(44) H. V. von Wolst, op. cit., Preface.

homes of the latter nineteenth century ever on ward to the homes of the present day, which are build compactly and for convenience progression has been made. The account of these homes stimulates in one an interest in the type of furnishings, equipment, recreation and certain factors of the life in the home, which might be found in these various groups.

CHAPTER V

MISCELLANEOUS

A group of unrelated items, which were potent factors in standards of living of these people are to be considered in the present chapter. Furnishings, household equipment, fuel and light, education, recreation, hospitality and religion are those to be described as they occurred in the homes. Since furnishings, household equipment, fuel and light are material aspects of the home associated with standards of living, they were selected for discussion. Education, recreation, hospitality and religion were chosen because they are four of the seven factors of standards of living considered by Eliot as essential to a normal life.(1) These four have a direct relationship to the life within the home. They are to be viewed in the order listed above.

FURNISHINGS

Pioneer Period.

Furnishings were as scarce as clothing was in the early settlers' cabins; and, not unlike clothing, were of home manufacture of materials such as those used for the building of their homes. There were occassional pieces of furniture highly cherished, which the pioneers had

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(1) Thomas D. Eliot, American Standards and Planes of Living, p. 18.

brought with them.(2) The hand made pieces of furniture were constructed of riven logs put to-gether with wooden pins. A cupboard of smoothly dressed walnut boards for silverware and dishes often stood at one side of the fireplace. A shelf was built in one corner for the water bucket. The tables, following the usual type of construction, were made of boards fastened to-gether with wooden pins, or sometimes they were formed so as to fold down against the wall when not in use. A candle stand ordinarily was found in these pioneer homes. For chairs, rough slab stools, three legged affairs and splint bottomed chairs were used universally. "Primitive was the home-made furniture within them (the homes). We catch a glimpse of a table split from a large log, a bedstead made of poles interlaced with bearskins, a spinning wheel in the corner, --- three legged stools, and splint-bottomed chairs ----."(3) A more complete description of the bed-stead, built in the corner, will give a clearer idea as to its construction and appearance.

> In the primitive, or one-posted bedstead, the post was first made of the required size, shape, etc., and two holes bored through it at right angles at the proper height for the base, and two more in the walls of the house to correspond with these, one in the side log and one in the end log, and in each of these a pole was inserted reaching to the hole in the post, forming the side and foot rails to the bedstead. A row of holes was now made in the side logs of the house at the same distance from the

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(2) Joseph Schafer, Agriculture in Wisconsin, p. 70.
(3) Harriet Connor Brown, Grandmother Brown's Hundred Years 1827-1927, p. 16.

> floor as the others, in each of which was inserted the end of a short pole, the opposite end resting on the side rail and serving the purpose of cords or slats.(4)

The trundle bed was ever present and, when not in use during the day, was rolled under the larger bed. Nearly every home boasted a few pieces of furniture from their earlier homes, as before mentioned. These usually consisted of a chest of drawers, a chair, a stand or the like and were the pride of the home.

Towards the end of the period, with the new type of homes being built, there was an introduction, gradually of more elegant furniture into the homes, replacing the crude, home-made pieces. This newer furniture was the forerunner of that which was to follow in the next period.

> What kind of furniture did we have? Well, in the best room the chairs were of the kind called Windsor - the bottoms solid, the backs round. In that room too was one large rocking-chair with the most beautiful cushion on it. I think the chairs must have been of cherry - perhaps mahogany; they were red. And in one corner stood a large bureau - the most beautiful work on it! - big claw feet, glass knobs. ---- The floor had a rag carpet. At that time, all window shades were made of paper, green paper. We had thin white curtains over the shades. No pictures. In our living room we had no carpet.(5)

Middle Period.

In this era, the furnishings of the log-cabin days were vanishing along with the cabins. The people had a

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(4) Howard S. Rogers, History of Cass County, p. 98.
(5) Harried Connor Brown, op. cit., p. 27.

greater quantity of furniture than previously, and its manufacture had been taken out of the home.

> The furniture in these houses was made in village cabinet shops or Daniel Buck's shop in Lansing. The styles of furniture were copies of eastern (pattern) with some changes. Every cabinet maker had some ideas of his own in regard to artistic effect, comfort and utility which stamps individuality on every piece he made. It was the age of the cord bedstead, high back, split bottomed, and of the rush or flag bottomed chairs, the high spindled back settee with movable front and rockers. The last was used for a cradle for babes, and as an extra bed for the visitor and a hospital bed for the sick or invalid. In houses of the rich we find the haircloth chair and sofa, the black walnut corner whatnot with its companion piece, the high walnut corner clothes press. The cradle of white wood or black walnut with high head piece and cut away sides with morticed hand grips and rockers ---. (6)

The day of cabinet-made furniture was followed by the epoch of commercially made furniture. The amount of goods in the home increased, "but its character had already begun to deteriorate with the employment of factory-made products."(7)

Allen Nevins in "A History of American Life" describes the interior of a typical urban home of the early part of this period. The description depicts the increased use of furniture at this time. The home was somber, crowded and deficient in simple refinement, but quite comfortable to occupants. Floors were covered to the edge with carpets nailed down tight with straw beneath and swept with heavy brooms until worn out. These carpets were poor in quality and design. The furniture was elaborately decorated. Port-

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(6) George N. Fuller, Historic Michigan,
Frank N. Turner, Inghan County, Vol. III, p. 99.
(7) Carl Russel Fish, The Rise of the Common Man, Vol. VI, pp. 330-331.

iers,[8] lambrequin, the whatnot, the antimacassar,[9] Berlin wool work and plush albums were owned by every one.[10] Window curtains, wall paper, and the replacement of rag rugs by carpets were inclusions in the furnishings at this time.

The parlor, previously mentioned as a characteristic room of the early part of the period, used only on special occasions, always had a certain type of furnishing which set it off from any other room. It was, whether little or big, a stiff and stately room closed and dimly lighted. In the middle of the parlor there was usually found a table, with a lamp on it and books laid exactly across the corners. Other pieces of furniture were: slippery chairs and sofa with stiff springs, and a secretary. On the mantle stood a clock which was wound for state occasions only and a set of vases. Still other articles commonly found in these choice rooms were: footstools, checker table, walnut frames on steel engravings, and mirrors on the gilded walls. Rep or plush was used for the upholstering on the "sets" of parlor furniture, unless the set was of stuffings and puffings covered with brocade. Carpets laid out in geometric pattern or strewn with garlands, hassocks, bronzes and corner cabinets and richly illustrated volumes of standard history, and poetry also, graced the room.[11]

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(8) Lambrequin - an ornamental drapery.
(9) Antimacassar - covering used to protect the back and arms of chairs or sofas.
(10) Allen Nevins, A History of American Life, p. 205.
(11) L. H. Tryon, Speaking of Home, p. 33.

The over-crowded, dimly lighted and little used rooms were doomed to a short existence. The potent factor in the elimination of the room and its furnishings was that it was of little practical use.

Present Day.

Along with the other phases of home life, furnishings of the mid-west have lost distinguishing styles. They have become typical of the whole country, rather than of one section of the country. Nowadays rugs, wall-paper, lamps, chairs, tables, curtains and pictures are used to a greater extent than previously. The furnishings are assuming plainer lines. These conform with standards of taste set up by the women.(12)

Living room furniture of to-day is sufficiently standardized for Professor F. Stuart Chapin, to base upon it a rating scale for classifying families. From a study of more than 1,000 homes of all classes throughout the United States, he rates a family as upper middle class, "if a living room contains such items as hardwood floors, large rugs, a central heating plant, library table, book cases and books, table lamp, general newspapers and magazines, piano, radio, and telephone".(13)

The furnishings stress the factor of utility, as well as durability. Increasingly, the over-crowded rooms of the

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(12) Charles Austin Beard, The Rise of the American Civilization, p. 722.

(13) Freeport Journal Standard, Freeport, Illinois, December 28, 1932. "Ascertaining Neighbor's Social Standing", Professor S. Stuart Chapin.

foregoing century are becoming obsolete.

In summary, the furniture of the pioneers was almost entirely of home manufacture and made of materials found at hand. The styles were crude. In the next stage, furniture manufacture had been removed from the home and was performed by local cabinet makers with some variations in local styles. Later in this same period, the making of such articles was taken over by commercial concerns. This practice has continued to develop, until to-day it is almost the only method used. The furniture has assumed a universal style.

HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT

Pioneer Period.

Household equipment was limited in quantity. A sparsity of dishes was found; the settlers had only those pieces which had been brought with them and those which they had hollowed out of wood called "noggins"[14] or those made of clay and baked. Tin and pewter were the most common materials of which the dishes were made. Spoons were formed out of wood. "Steel knives and forks were the common table cutlery."[15] Of the cooking utensils, the Dutch oven was the most relied upon.

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(14)Mable E. Richmond, Centennial History of Decatur and Macon County, p. 42.

(15)Ella Champion, Berrien's Beginnings, p. 17.

> One of the necessary accompaniments of pioneer housekeeping was the bake kettle, or Dutch oven, holding half a bushel and standing on legs three inches high, (made of cast iron, with a tight fitting cover of the same material). This formed an implement of no mean pretensions, and in this was not only the bread, biscuit, and johnny-cake baked, but the roast of venison and beef, or the spare-rib of pork made ready for the table, and to use it successfully required a skill of no common order.(16)

Then followed the rise of the reflector for baking, made of tin, the cooking being accomplished by the radiation of heat. Still later was the building of the cut oven -- this was improved and used well into the next period. The collection of cooking utensils included a kettle, a skillet and a frying pan, a "spider" which was a frying pan with three legs and a cover, a tea kettle and a coffee pot. A wooden churn and water bucket with a gourd for drinking cup were utensils found in every home. Another convenience was the wooden yoke, carved to fit the shoulders and neck, with a piece of rope on each end for carrying buckets of water from the river. The mortars for pounding corn were hollowed out of wood. About 1850 improved cooking and heating stoves came into use,(17) before this time they had been luxuries owned by only a few.

For cleansing, the equipment was only the most necessary and then of crude style.

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(16) Howard S. Rogers, cp. cit., p. 101.
(17) Illinois State Historical Library Publication, No. XVII, p. 51.

> A broom was one of the first requisites. This was made from a small hickory sapling, by commencing at the butt end of the stick and running the splints, which were started with a knife, upward, until they were long enough for the brush of the broom. This was continued as long as the stick would run, when the small heart was sawed off, the splints turned back and the upper end run in the same manner, commencing far enough up to make the length of splint required, and when down to the proper size for a handle, the balance of the stick was finished up to correspond, and with a tow string to hold the splints together, the implement was complete, and as effective as it was simple in construction.(18)

The cleansing agent most commonly used was the soft-soap which was made in the home by leaching ashes, thereby, making lye, to which was added fat. This was boiled down, and the resulting product was the soft soap.(19)

One of the tasks which was difficult to perform, and for which there was no equipment was laundering. "Mrs. Hartzell's laundry was a rough plank hewn from a log, supported by two legs and run out a few feet into the river. She had no wash board, but got the clothes clean by rubbing them between her hands. She had no clothes line but a few low bushes about the cabin and the green sod served nicely in lieu of this."(20) Washing machines were not considered a success when first introduced in the early part of this period, but, they were destined to be a factor of importance.

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(18) Howard S. Rogers, op. cit., p. 96.
(19) Ella Champion, op. cit., p. 17.
(20) Illinois State Historical Library Publication, No. XVII, p. 69.

Middle Period.

In the beginning of this era, many of the pieces of household equipment were as yet crude. Those of the previous period, very often, were used for many years.

> Her kitchen looked as cool and solid as a room built of stone. There were things in it which, though they had been made in the old days, were still useful: a copper kettle, dented and discolored here and there by verdigris, which served as a foot bath; a great green flour barrel ---; a sugar barrel with a handle; and two hand-hewn chests ---. In one corner a short pump brought up rain water into a sink from a cistern under the floor.(21)

Types of household equipment became increasingly more numerous and available. Tin was used for kitchen utensils, and they were cheaper. Certain labor saving devices were found early in this period, such as the coffee-mill, patent sausage mills, apple parers, flat irons, and many others. These were the forerunners of later labor-saving devices. Other valuable pieces of equipment brought into the home were the cooking and heating stoves which came into use during the early days of this era. Instead of iron pots and Dutch ovens, the air tight cook stove was used for the open fire, the wood stove and then the coal stove was substituted. Though at first these stoves were constructed poorly, improvements were made quickly.

> The round and square heating stoves, with elevated oven cooking stove replace the fireplace with its tin outdoor oven. This heating and cooking arrange-

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(21) Glenway Wescott, The Grandmothers, p. 5.

> ment was a new style then, and farmers and their wives were not slow about adopting any labor saving device.
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> The old-fashioned elevated oven cooking range with its long legs, the various uses it served in domestic economy deserves to be mentioned. We found it in the kitchens of farmers' houses and city resident. The space under this style of stove was utilized for raising bread, drying fruit, as an incubator for young chickens, young household pets, dogs and cats, drying small articles of clothing, wet footwear and a good place to put a young patient with a bad ague or congestive chill. This style of cooking and heating stove is gone from the farmers' kitchens. Substitutes have taken their places. We doubt if any of these substitutes will be useful or take the place of the old elevated oven wood stove. (22)

Improvements produced the base-burner which became a characteristic of the home. The furnace was a later development and by the close of the century had gained great importance. By the close of the century, numerous devices had been invented and perfected, so that the task of housekeeping was being lessened. Numerous cleansing agents were offered. The washing machine was begining to attain a position of great importance by the end of the period. The carpet sweeper made its appearance now.

Present Day.

Although household equipment of the present era is not discussed in this study, its most important development should be mentioned. The increased use of electricity for household devices is a most remarkable trend. Its limits are inconceivable.

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(22) George N. Fuller, Historic Michigan,
Frank N. Turner, Ingham County, Vo. III, p. 99

In summary, the earliest homes had only a meager supply of household equipment. At the beginning of the second period, there was a universal introduction of many articles known as "Yankee notions", offered for use in the home. This number of devices has been steadily increasing until to-day, the amount of household equipment is great in comparison with the pioneer days. The most significant feature of the devices is the use of electricity in the manipulation of them.

FUEL AND LIGHT

Pioneer Period.

The homes were lighted by the burning pine and by the lighted twisted rags with one end coiled in a saucer of tallow or lard. Many early lamps were improvised by dividing a large turnip in half, scraping the turnip until only the rind remained, and then filling that with lard, the wick being furnished by a piece of tow linen or flannel wrapped around a stick.(23) This was superseded by a lamp modelled of clay in form of cups fastened on a plate, filled with bear's grease, and the wick was made from cotton which the pioneers had raised.(24) A lard lamp, a glass bowl on a metal base, standing on a marble slab was a luxury and an innovation for this type of light. Then came into existence the tallow candles which were dipped or molded in the home. These were the general methods of lighting for this period.

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(23) W. H. Smith, History of Indiana, p. 38.
(24) Julia Henderson Levering, Historic Indiana. p. 68.

The fuel used was entirely wood. The only means of heating the house or of cooking was by means of the fireplace, until nearly the close of the period. At this time a few were the possessors of stoves, but as yet they were in minority. Matches, as yet, were not common.

Middle Period.

During the first years of this period candles or whale oil lamps were used for lighting. Kerosene lighting came in about 1861.

> The homes of the rural inhabitant as well as dwellings in village and city were lighted by candles. There were some whale oil lamps, of glass or metal with no chimney. The farmers' wife moulded or dipped her own candles. Before winter commenced the good wife made a supply to last during the short days of December, January and February. Candle making days were as much noted as house cleaning. The supply was kept in a square box with a sliding cover. The grocery store supplied the people in villages and cities. Candles were as much a staple in 1855 as sugar is today. --- It would be difficult to determine when the first candles were used or made. Illumination by kerosene came in with the Civil War.(25)

As the middle of the period was approached many places were using gas for illumination. Gradually the kerosene lamps were replaced by the use of gas. In the latter part of this era electricity was used by a few for lighting. Wood, as in the pioneer days, was the fuel used. After the middle of the period, it was replaced by coal. Towards the close of the century gas was the fuel used for cooking. Matches had become common.

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(25) George N. Fuller, Historic Michigan,
Frank N. Turner, Ingham County, Vol. III, p. 99-100.

Present Day.

Electricity has developed into the most important means of lighting and has replaced kerosene and gas for that purpose. Coal is the most commonly used fuel. There is a trend towards the use of oil for heating, and electricity for heat for cooking.

In summary, lighting has reached great heights in its development. These heights are realized when the light from the pine knots in the first log cabins is contrasted with the light of the incandescent bulb. Each step was progressively an accomplishment of note. The pine knot, the saucer of grease with a knotted cloth in it, the lamp for grease, kerosene, gas and lastly electricity each had their merits. Fuel in the early days was entirely wood. Coal gradually came into use and assumed the most important role. Oil and electricity are assuming an important place in heating, and the tendency is towards a greater use of these.

EDUCATION

Pioneer Period.

> The pioneer outran education --- in his movement to the West,(26) and education and the refinements of life were denied to him.(27)

As a result in these early times education in the home played an important role. Before schools were established, this was the only means of learning the children were afforded. The boys were taught to hunt and farm; the girls

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(26) Theodore Calvin Pease, The Story of Illinois, p. 138.
(27) Frederick Jackson Turner, Rise of the New West, p.88.

to do the tasks of the household.[28] If the mother and father were not educated or had little interest in the matter, this is as far as education in the home went. Frequently, however, in the evenings the children were taught reading, arithmetic and writing - by the light of the fireplace or a tallow-dip.[29] In all of these homes the Bible was read regularly. The children learned to get along with people and ccoperate -- they had to - living in such small houses with so many people around. The training of highest importance was that of learning special skills. Very early in life the girls were taught to spin and weave, and cook and sew. Each person had to keep busy because of the number for whom to prepare and the very fact that everything, practically, had to come completely of home manufacture. The boys, too, had their tasks to learn and perform about the house, such as, the care of the fire and bringing in the wood, but in the main their duties were without the realm of the household. Formal education was short lived within the home as schools were built and assumed the task relatively early.

Middle Period and Present Day.

Formal education, as before noted, had been taken out of the home, and the duty had been assumed by the school. Household duties were still taught the children in the home, but by the end of the middle period, many of these

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(28) The Pageant of America, Vol II,
Ralph Henry Gabriel, The Lure of the Frontier, p. 20.
(29) William Lewis Nida, Story of Illinois and Its People, p. 103.

were being taken over by the school. The inclusion of household arts course in the schools substantiates this fact. To-day much of the care of the children even is taken out of the home. Their training in ccoperation is consciously stressed by outside agencies.

RECREATION

Pioneer Period.

Recreation in the family was limited especially in these earliest of pioneer homes. There was too much work to be completed to give much time to fun. As a consequence, certain types of work were made a part of recreation. The most common of these types of work converted into pleasure were house-raising, corn-shelling, quilting and apple-paring. These people had many so called bees in which several families would gather at a home and perform some task. At night they would be served a large supper, after which a dance would be in order. A list of these bees proves interesting: shucking bee, after the corn harvest, raising bee, when a new house was to go up, quilting bee, carpet-rag sewing, apple-paring, and pumpkin-peeling bees. The people gathered at a home, performed the work, and later supper would be served. The remainder of the day would be spent in dancing or playing games. In these bees sides were chosen, and the spirit of competition was an added incentive to the workers. This gave zest to the gathering and more enthusiasm resulted.(30)

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(30) William Lewis Nida, op. cit., p. 103.

> The quilting party also was a thing of joy in feminine circles. Here the housewife made a gala day for her friends by collecting them around her frame to put to-gether one of those decorative works, a pile of which, to the pioneer mother, was esteemed of more honor than all the shawls of her modern granddaughter.(31)

In the fall other bees for the purpose of the gathering of winter green, sassafras, mandrakes, wild strawberries, and huckle-berries formed pastimes. With this inclusion of work in pleasure, more time it can be said, was given to amusements.

The small children in their play performed household duties as well as the older people, and, in this way, were acquainted very early with many of the duties of the home as a result of their play. Frolics of quilting, carpet-rag-sewing, apple paring, and pumpkin peeling were performed by the girls and matrons.(32) "Of the childhood of the future pioneer little may be said except that it was barren of the pleasures which are the inherent right of the young. --- He grew up without toys - not even a jack-knife ever rattled significantly with a medley of nails in his pockets. ---- During his early boyhood he worked upon his father's farm -----"(33)

The form of recreation was not apt to be individual,

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(31) Rufus King, Ohio, p. 300.
(32) Illinois State Historical Library Publication, No. 23, p. 39.
(33) Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. XXX, p. 192.

in general it was social, whole families or groups of families participating.(34) The housewives were afforded their recreation in the afternoons in the home(35) in the visits made them by neighbors, if any lived near enough. These visits were accompanied by the performance of household task. The visitor always brought some work along, and as the women talked they worked. Incidently these visits were not calls, but lasted all afternoon and perhaps, even into the evening.

The outstanding social event in every community was the wedding. This was always performed in the home. People were invited from miles around. Usually such an event was started early in the morning, lasting until the next morning. Great feasts always were served, and dancing was the feature of the evening. Both young and old were active participants. To note the importance of the event,

> A wedding, among people of the better sort, was a three days' festivity. The gathering on the first day included a variety of the sports (such as races, shooting matches and the like) according to taste and circumstances. Next came the nuptials, the invariable dance, and the feast. The infari closed the third day with an escort of the bride to her new home, and the ride was not unlike that to Canterbury in style. The house warming ended with another dance, in which there was no modern stiffness or dawdle.(36)

Sleighing parties coming in for the evening, story telling, reading, singing and roasting nuts and pop-corn were forms

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(34) Francis Grierson, The Valley of Shadows, p. 109.
(35) Illinois State Historical Library, Publication No.10, p. 38.
(36) Rufus King, op. cit., pp. 300-301.

or recreation in which all participated. The latter, when well browned and ground, was served in a bowl of milk. Today, much popcorn is served, and in some instances people eat it in milk. This custom is a result, doubtless, from the early practice of serving the corn in milk.(37) Very few of the pioneers' amusements were of commercial origin. Cards were indulged by those who were not too religously inclined. Checkers were the most universal game, and chess was indulged by many.

Middle period.

At the beginning of this era, amusements were still few and simple. Many of the amusements of pioneer days remained in vogue. The house-raising, corn-husking and other bees with bountiful dinners, were important methods of getting people to-gether in rural sections. Another means of getting a group to-gether resulted from the formation of "The Ladies' Sewing Society". The organization met in a home and sewed men's shirts, which they sold. The profit went to the church. They would sew until supper time, and then the husbands and sons would come for the meal. The evening was spent in social intercourse, reading the paper or singing songs.(38) As one amusement for youngsters at night, balls of candle-wick would be soaked

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(37) Illinois State Historical Library Publication, No. XIV, p. 206.
(38) C. B. Johnson, Illinois in the Fifties, Chapter II.

in turpentine and then lighted. These balls were thrown at each other, but because of the slow flame, they were not too dangerous.(39) To show that even in amusements outside influences were beginning to affect local customs, in the early part of 1850, an epidemic of "spirit-rappings," "table turnings" or "table-rappings" swept over Illinois from New York.(40) Racing was popular and likewise, croquet and cricket. The phonograph, a product of the latter part of the century, was destined to be influential in keeping amusements in the home at a later date. Another factor which counteracted this tendency was the increasing importance of the stage. The films, now in their early stages, were to play an important part in the removal of recreation from the home. Parks, bathing beaches, playgrounds, tennis courts, clubs, new roads (for travel) camp grounds, and dramatic entertainments were becoming important at the end of the era showing a definite trend of amusement and recreation away from the home.

Present Day;

In this period recreation is more completely removed from the home than previously. One influence which has tended to keep recreation within the home during the period is the radio. Nevertheless much recreation and amusement

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(39) C. B. Johnson, Illinois in the Fifties, ChapterVII.
(40) Ibid, Chapter VII.

have been commercialized. In pioneer days, all recreation was within the home. Gradually it was taken out of the home through the formation of clubs and the introduction of outside amusements in the middle period. In comparison, at present, very little recreation is offered in the home.

HOSPITALITY

Pioneer Period.

One of the most interesting phases in this early life deals with hospitality. "In those days a 'new comer' was hailed with delight. There was enough and to spare of everything but money. Land was plenty and cheap, and the few pioneers, tired of seeing only each other, always extended a cordial welcome to new settlers."(41) While these new comers were getting their land, they were housed by neighbors whom they had never seen before. When they were ready to build, the community turned out for the raising of the house. "It was a standing rule of the country to entertain all travelers regardless of accomodations, for necessity compelled it."(42) Supper was given, bedding divided among all. The floor, innumerable times, had many beds made up on it. In the morning, the traveler received a breakfast before he continued his journey. The latch-string was always out for the traveler.

Out of few supplies came limitless hospitality. It

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(41) Charles Richmond Tuttle, Illustrated History of the States of Indiana to 1879, P.370

(42) Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. I, p. 140.

was customary to have to go to some distant town and barter a load of grain for the few necessary groceries needed. Upon returning, if the neighbors were out of these commodities, the family would keep only enough for their own use and share all the rest with those needing them. Visitors came for visits of all day and were urged to take meals. One visitor more or less feared was the Indian. He often demanded all of the baked goods, which he usually received as the house-wife was afraid to offend him. This hospitality was universal. They were always willing to share everything they had with any one who would stop.

Middle Period and Present Day.

The spirit of hospitality was carried over into the middle period. It was evinced by the large homes which, as mentioned in the chapter on housing, had many rooms for entertaining. Hospitality was a social duty; the greater the amount, the higher it placed the people in the esteem of others. This great amount of hospitality often taxed the people financially and thus brought about a reaction against it. There was a decided drift away from hospitality in the last of this era. Like recreation, hospitality has been taken from the home to a great extent at the present time. As noted in the chapter on housing, there is reflected in the building of houses this trend away from entertaining and hospitality.

In summary, the hospitality of the pioneers was a

universal quality - every one, stranger or neighbor was welcome. In the following stage this attitude carried over, but toward the last was losing its spontaneity. In the present century, the hospitality of the home is very limited.

RELIGION

Pioneer Period.

At the outset the religion, in these communities was apt to be at low ebb. "As to religion, the first westward push outran it."(43) Very soon, the settlers felt the need for religion, and it became firmly imbeded in their lives. The Bible was read daily and there were the family prayers. Sunday was spent in reading the Bible in the home if a meeting house were too distant for the pioneers to attend services. In some cases several families would meet together and hold worship. The religious element of their lives was not neglected and many of the settlers devoted much time to it.

> The first church organization in our city was Methodist. In 1846 a small band of Methodists met and formed a society with four members, Joab Page, Abigail Page, Orcella Pease and Eliza Lester.
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> Lansing was a village and three women and one man, realizing the need of religious interest to their families and the difficulties of getting it from the outside world through lack of roads and other means of communication, resolved to help each other, hence the formation of this church society. The first meetings ---- held in family residences. (44)

The wives of the early settlers were noted for

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(43) Theodore Calvin Pease, The Story of Illinois, p. 133.
(44) George N. Fuller, Historic Michigan,
Frank N. Turner, Ingham County, Vol. III, p. 108.

> their morality, intellectuality and spirituality. ----- They were ---- moral and religious instructors. (45)

Middle Period and Present Days.

Very similar to education, religion was removed from the home at an early date. The practice of the family prayers and the reading of the Bible however, carried over into the middle period. Practically all religion is now made a part of the church. Family worship is rapidly passing into the realm of the unknown. An interesting note on religious practices of families as found in more than 100 case studies from this section of the country is that in less than one half dozen of these families are there any religious services carried on within the home. Grace at the table is excepted.

Religion, beginning in the home of the pioneer, very soon ceased to be a phase of the home life. In the middle era, it was gradually taken over by the church. Family prayers and the reading of the Bible remained until the close of the century. At present, the amount of religious ceremonies found in the home is negligible.

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(45) George N. Fuller, Historic Michigan,
Frank N. Turner, Ingham County, Vol.III, p. 80.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

From the review of the material previously given, some generalizations are drawn. There was growth in the various elements of standards of living included in this study and these standards, which were lowered temporarily during the pioneer period, were of a dynamic nature. They were depicted through the plane of living and as the plane was raised and as the newer inclusions became customary the standards were raised. They gradually assumed characteristics which were common to other communities. In addition, there were the quantitative and qualitative aspects of standards, and a change in the concepts of these people in regard to the items which constituted necessities. With the changing standards, the pioneer group became the middle class families. The people of the East North Central States were set apart from those in other states by their geographic location. Therefore, in the pioneer days, certain definite characteristics were peculiar to their life as a result of the materials with which they had to work - the land, the wood and the animals.

This chapter is divided into three parts: first, changes in standards; second, emergence of middle-class families from this early pioneer group; and third, geographical factors which made the study one characteristic of the East North Central States.

CHANGES IN STANDARDS

The early settlers, when they came from the East or their previous homes consciously lowered their standards and planes of living with the thought in mind that the lowering would be temporary and a means of attaining the goal which they had set up for themselves. These reduced standards were revealed in the food practices of the families. For example, the pioneers brought tea and coffee with them to their new homes, but these foods were saved for special occasions and substitutes were used until tea and coffee became available in the community. Clothing practices, likewise revealed this lowering of standards and planes. The extent of this reduction is better pictured when it is realized that fine silks and broadcloths were often among the garments brought along with the early settlers and that these materials were replaced with clothes made of animal skins. In housing the same lowered standards and planes were exhibited in the building of the one room log cabins. The pioneers, when replacing the cabins with new structures followed the type of architecture of their previous homes. The home made furniture and equipment, crude wooden pieces, were definitely of a lowered standard. The few pieces of furniture and pewter which the settlers brought along with them, bear out this fact, in as much as they show the type of articles used previously by by the owners.

In the pioneer days the quantity and quality of the elements of family life considered - food, clothing, shelter and other phases were affected. There was a diminished vari- of food. The staples were pork, potatoes and corn. Little variety was added for some few years. The quality of the foods which the settlers had was lowered, too, but not to such a great extent as was variety. As to clothing practices, there was a limited number of garments owned by each member. Due to the scarcity of materials and the large amount of time necessary to make the garments, the wardrobe was necessarily meager. Furnishings and household equipment were few in a- mount and the quality very often poor. The few pieces of furniture were home made of crude style. Equipment too, was of a limited quantity.

The dynamic nature of standards is a potent factor in any consideration of standards. This dynamic force is no- ticeable in all of the phases listed in the study. To the staple diet of foods of the early settler, many new foods were added until today the variety has increased to many times that of the pioneer. In clothing, the early use of skins for garments was soon replaced by the use of home- spun materials. There was no style as yet. The fact that style was disregarded in these early days is shown in that the materials were just cut and sewed up into garments of simplest form for comfort and utility. The style of cloth- ing worn was of a varied nature. Style was the accompani-

ment of material bought by the yard, the first of which was calico. From this time on, there has been an increase in the numbers and a higher emphasis placed on style. At present, to have clothes in style is the important matter. There was also a truly dynamic nature about furnishings and equipment. The simple pieces of furniture, of home manufacture, were replaced with articles made by a local cabinet maker and a greater number were owned. Very soon this state of affairs was superseded by the introduction of commercially made furniture, good and bad. An increase in the amount of goods was the result and many homes were, there by, furnished more completely. By the beginning of the second period, it was evident that household equipment was becoming argumented by the numerous articles found on sale for the home. Now, the use of electricity for these pieces of equipment has proven a boon to the house keeper. In addition, fuel and light were of dynamic character. Wood alone was used for both in the early days. Gradually coal, gas and oil became important and replaced the use of wood. Electricity, as a source of heat and light, superseded the latter and is heights beyond all expectations. In these changes mentioned above, there was a phase of development which was important - that of assuming characteristics of other communities. The marks of distinction of the local community were gradually minimized. The availability of goods at a price within the means of the people and increased transportation, were factors aiding in

this movement. Very early in the pioneer period influence was felt from outside in clothing practices. Materials were received from the East, and the styles, after which the garments made, were copies of those fashions popular in New York and Paris. At present fashion is universal, and the type of materials used are available to all. Of foods and furnishings the same is true. The furnishings and diet of a typical middle-class family came to be almost identical with those of any other section.

The change in concept of necessities has been a progressive thing. The demands have increased from the most meager amounts in every line up to a most complex list of necessities. In the pioneer days necessities constituted only those articles which were absolutely essential for life. Gradually, new goods were introduced as luxuries. After their use for a short time, they were felt to be indispensable in the standard, and thus the list of necessities increased. For example, in food practices tropical fruits were luxuries and were obtainable only for very short period of the year during the early days of pioneer life. Gradually they have become more available until at present they are considered a necessity in the diet the year around by many. Another example - electricity has come to be an accepted means of lighting. In the earliest homes the only light used was that of the pine knot in the fire place; later, the burning of a knotted cloth in a saucer of grease. Next,

candles were molded for use, and then one of the greatest advances in lighting - the kerosene lamp which in turn was replaced by the use of gas. Electricity superseded gas for lighting and today is considered a necessity by the majority.

EMERGENCE OF MIDDLE-CLASS FAMILIES FROM THIS EARLY PIONEER GROUP OF THE EAST NORTH CENTRAL STATES

The development of typically middle-class rather than higher standards is shown most objectively in housing conditions and furnishings. First in housing, each pioneer replaced his cabin for some improved type of dwelling. These first replacements were small, but very soon, larger homes were built by this class of people who were emulating the structures of the few wealthy. The smaller homes, in the second period depicted lower class standards. Furnishings of these early people, of crude home manufacture, were soon replaced by a grander type of furniture, that constructed by the cabinet maker. During this period there was a large increase in the amount of furniture used. The inclusion of the furniture for the parlor was another mark of the middle-class. With the introduction of factory made products, more goods were available. The style, perhaps, was not as good as that of the cabinet makers, but it led to the increased use of goods which marks this class of people. In the other phases of standards, this evolution is not as observable and not as apparent.

Some observations may serve to reinforce this idea of the evolution of the pioneers. In the first place, from these earliest pioneer families, the greatest share of business men arose. The pioneers were progressive and searching for advancement. Many business men - doctors, lawyers, and other professional men, artisans and merchants wanted a new start, and a chance for success which they hoped to attain in this new country. Later, these men were prominent in county and state. And still another observation - in any community, the names of prominent middle-class people very often can be traced to the pioneer settlers. These people are those who have influence and command esteem in the community. Often the fact that the pioneers formed the prominent middle-class is substantiated while talking with some elderly person of a locality. Mention is made of a certain family, and he remarks that the family is a fine one. The elderly person then relates the sterling qualities of the family from the earliest days in the community as he has heard the tales passed on to him of the great-grand father, and personally of his experience with the grandfather and father.

GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS WHICH MAKE THE STUDY ONE CHARACTERISTIC OF THE EAST NORTH CENTRAL STATES

The geographical factors of the study which entered into the making of the standards characteristic of this section, were in the form of materials available for use

by settlers. The animals of these states - bear, deer, raccoon, and the like and game - were used for food. The skins of the animals were dressed and used in making of wearing apparel. The bear grease, very often, was the only means of illumination many of these families had.

The abundance of wood led to certain definite practices among the pioneers. Their homes were universally built of crude logs, and the furniture fashioned from unhewn timber. Frequently the only dishes and utensils were fashioned of wood. Another important use of wood was for the making of dyes for coloring the cloth which they made. Thus it was found that they had the butter-nut colored jeans, and the like.

Corn was found by the settlers to be a product largely used by the Indians from whom they learned the use. It was one of the staples of the early settlers diet. In connection with corn, there is always associated the foodstuff pork. This likewise, formed one of the staples of the pioneers' diet. The importance of these two articles of food is without a doubt related to type of land found in this section of the country. It is suitable for the raising of these products, and as a result these foodstuffs flourished, and the settlers could depend upon them as the source of their food-supply until other goods were available.

In summary, it was shown that the standards to some extent and the planes of living to a greater extent of these

pioneer families were lowered when they established their new homes. This lowering, however, was only temporary. The settlers found the variety of material goods very limited, and the quality was very often poor. The standards of this group were of a dynamic nature, which early led to the abandonment of their temporary standards. They also assumed the characteristics of standards of other groups. The pioneers' idea of what constituted necessities was a changing one. As new items were brought into their standards, they were very readily adopted as necessities. The trend is towards an increased inclusion of items necessary to make up a standard.

SUMMARY

The standards of living of the middle-class families of the East North Central States, from the early pioneer days up through the present, have been viewed. Food, clothing, shelter and miscellaneous items including furnishings, household equipment, fuel and light, education, recreation, hospitality and religion were the elements of the standards chosen for study.

A first finding was that in most cases, a lowering of standards and planes of living was tolerated for a short period of time, but very rapidly the pioneers began to improve their living conditions. In the earliest homes, there was a meager amount of material things, but very rapidly the goods became more available, and these homes were better supplied. As food, clothing, shelter, furnishings and the rest of the elements assumed characteristics of other sections of the country, the distinguishing marks of the group were lost. Thus it was shown that the standards of these families, although marked by certain characteristics in the pioneer period, were influenced by practices of other communities and gradually assumed in their standards a universal nature as they were raised. A second finding, as was revealed in the housing and furnishing of these people, was the evolution of the middle-class standards from the pioneer group. The last finding was that certain characteristics of the standards of this group were

typical as a result of certain geographical factors. The use of the materials - wood and animals and land for the raising of the products corn and hogs, led to certain definite practices which were peculiar to this section.

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