

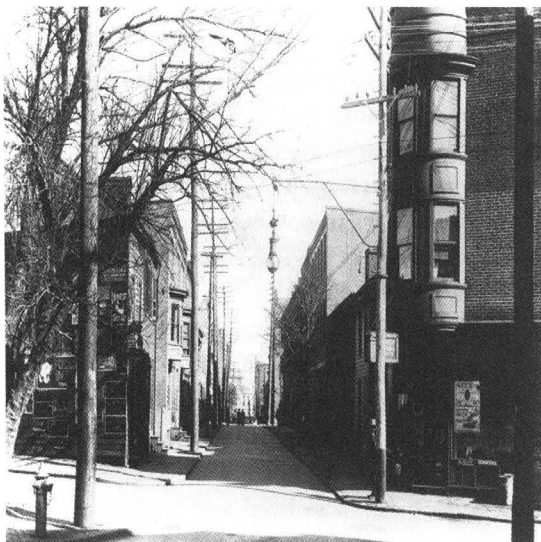
BAKERS AND CONFECTIONERS OF  
HARRISBURG'S OLD EIGHTH  
WARD, 1890-1917

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As a result of Harrisburg's *City Beautiful* efforts at the turn of the twentieth century, Pennsylvania's capital city underwent many progressive renovations.<sup>1</sup> New sanitation and water filtration systems, extensive street paving, and new parks and recreation facilities provided a healthier urban environment. These reforms influenced the state government as well, and the legislature approved measures to destroy the district once known as the "Bloody Eighth" to acquire acreage in order to create a park-like background for the grand, new Pennsylvania Capitol Building, which was completed in 1906.<sup>2</sup> The story of the demolition of the Eighth Ward consists of more than the toppling of brick and lumber structures; it is the story of the dismantling of a neighborhood and the displacement and relocation of thousands of people who once called it home.

Although populated by some of Harrisburg's lowest classes, the Eighth Ward seems to have been a vibrant and diverse quarter. Merchants of all sorts plied their trades within the Eighth,

and residents could find both the necessities and niceties they required without wandering far from their homes. Residents had perhaps the most contact within the ward with those merchants who dealt in food stuffs, especially baked goods. Just as coffee shops fit into people's daily lives in the early twenty-first century, bakeries fit into the lives of Americans in the early twentieth century. Bakers in Harrisburg supplied neighborhoods with a variety of fresh baked breads, crackers, biscuits, pies, and common cakes, such as ginger cakes.<sup>3</sup> Between them, the bakers who supplied the Eighth's bread would have had almost daily contact with every household within the ward. However, as the Eighth faded into history, so too did its local bakeries. Although some of those bakeries relocated to other parts of Harrisburg, mechanized bread factories forced many of the city's local bakeries to close by the 1920s.



**PHOTOGRAPH 1:** Lewis Silbert's Cowden Street confectionery, the corner store on the right, operated between 1909 and 1912. Signs in the window are written in Hebrew.

*Source:* Historical Society of Dauphin County

During the same period that corporations were pushing out Harrisburg's local bakeries, their sister stores, confectioneries, were on the rise. Refined sugar, although limited to more affluent classes earlier in the nineteenth century, had become affordable to every American by the 1870s due to the industrialization of the refinement process.<sup>4</sup> Because of this, confectioneries were multiplying throughout the United States during the late 1800s. Even residents of the

Eighth Ward, whose homes had the second lowest mean value of any neighborhood in Harrisburg city, could satisfy their cravings for sweets at local confectioneries within the ward up until its last years.<sup>5</sup>

Early on, American confectioners dealt mostly in exotic fruits and nuts, but confectionery shops at this time period sold ice cream, candy, cakes, or some combination of these. Their goods could be homemade on the premises, purchased from wholesalers, or both. Soda fountains, where concoctions of carbonated water, ice cream, and flavorings were served, also fell into the category of confectioneries. By far, the most common type of confectionery was the candy store, which targeted young, working-class adults and children with penny candy.<sup>6</sup> While bakers supplied sustenance for the bodies of the Eighth's residents, the confectioners provided nourishment for their souls, offering treats designed to delight their senses.

As the residents of the Eighth relocated, the bakers and confectioners did the same. Using *Boyd's Harrisburg Directories* and *United States Federal Census* records, this paper attempts to recount the lives of Eighth Ward bakers and confectioners during the last three decades of its existence, specifically focusing on the years between 1890 and 1917.<sup>7</sup> Although there were probably other residents of the Eighth employed as bakers or confectioners, only those bakers or confectioners appearing in the business section of the *Boyd's Directories* as having their own shops were included in this study. Sadly, many of the Eighth's bakers and confectioners remain simply names and addresses at this point despite attempts to make them otherwise. However, small portraits of these artisans' lives could be reconstructed in some cases, and Sections I and II will provide a listing of those bakers and confectioners (and their families). Section III will provide analysis.

Christian F. Gohl was a baker who lived and worked at 511 Walnut Street from 1890 to 1899. At the time of the 1870 census, German-born Christian Gohl resided in Ward Twelve of Philadelphia with his parents, Gotfried and Mary, and his brother, Louis. Twenty-three-year-old Christian worked as a printer, while his father worked as a "carter" in a graveyard. Sometime between 1870 and 1880, Christian moved to Harrisburg, married, and learned the skills required to become a baker. By 1880, Gohl was a baker living with his German-born wife, Mary, and their three small children at 511 Walnut Street in the Eighth Ward. Also living with the family were teenaged, domestic servant Annie Plack and two young bakers, Frederick Kuebler and Jacob Stager. Both Kuebler and Stager had German-born parents.

## I. The Lists: Bakers

TABLE 1: Bakers of Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1890-1917\*

<i>Name</i>	<i>Business Location</i>	<i>Starts</i>	<i>Ends</i>	<i>Previous Occupation</i>	<i>Subsequent Occupation</i>	<i>Ethnicity</i>
Christian Gohl	511 Walnut	1890	1899	Printer	Baker @ 219 S. 2 <sup>nd</sup>	German
Frederick J. Miller	500 State	1890	1913	Barber	Baker @ 523 N. 16 <sup>th</sup>	2-German
George W. Orth	435 State	1890	1891		Baker living @ 1831 N. 6 <sup>th</sup>	2-German
Frederick Wagner	433 State	1892	1914			
Henry F. Wagner	511 State	1890	1907		No profession in 1908	German
Charles M. Eissner	511 State	1893	1894	Baker Appt.		2-German
Iber L. A. Bruner	520 Filbert	1893	1893		Baker @ 1637 N. 7 <sup>th</sup>	2-German
William Davidson	511 State	1898	1898		Baker @ 39 Sassafas	White
National Baking Co.	435 State	1898	1898		Baker @ 1637 N. 7 <sup>th</sup>	Russian Jew
Charles F. Bolt	618 State	1899	1899			
Harry Towson	617 Walnut	1899	1902		Not listed in 1903	n/a
Isaac Weisman & Abraham Rosenberg	121 Short	1900	1903		Widow @ same in 1904	German
Giuseppe Chiara	511 Walnut	1901	1903		Laborer @ 1853 Berryhill	White
Louis Rashinsky	511 Walnut	1906	1907		Weisman not listed in 1908	Russian Jew
Gretono Vitanza	618 State	1907	1909	Fruit Dealer		Italian
Samuel Miller	504 Cowden	1910	1910			
	511 Walnut	1909	1912		Baker @ 923 6 <sup>th</sup>	Russian Jew
	618 State	1910	1912		Not listed in 1913	Italian
	511 Walnut	1913	1913			?

\* Under ethnicity, "2" in front of an entry indicates an American-born child of foreign parents of the ethnicity listed.

Source: Boyd's Harrisburg Directories, 1890-1918, and United States Federal Census, 1850-1930.

Although still housing his business at 511 Walnut Street in 1899, Gohl had moved his family out of the Eighth Ward to 219 South Second Street. Harry, Gohl's son, was working as a clerk in his father's bakery business in 1899 and was still living at 511 Walnut. However, Gohl's bakery moved to 219 South Second Street in 1900 as well. By 1920, Christian had retired from his profession and resided with his wife, his daughter, Grace, and his son, Robert, at 1003 North Second Street.

Frederick J. Miller ran his bakery from his home at 500 State Street from 1890 to 1913. In 1870, Frederick Miller was the eleven-year-old, Pennsylvania-born son of Charles and Margaret, who lived in the Eighth Ward. Both Charles and Margaret were born in Germany, and they had five other children at home. By 1890, Frederick Miller operated his bakery at 500 State Street and had been married for nine years to his wife, Sallie. Frederick and Sallie were listed as the parents of Eva, age ten, in the 1900 census. In 1914, two years after the Pennsylvania legislature approved the Capitol Park Extension, Miller moved his family out of the Eighth Ward to 523 North Sixteenth Street, and he continued to practice baking as his profession but did not own his own shop. By 1915, Miller no longer appeared in the city directory.

Frederick Wagner emigrated from Prussia to the United States in 1855, and he began his Eighth Ward baking career on the corner of State and Cowden around 1863. Forty-five-year-old Wagner's home and bakery were located at 511 State Street in 1880. Wagner's wife, Margarit, and four children resided with him. Wagner's eldest son, Henry, served as a baker's apprentice at that time. Also living at this address was another baker's apprentice, German-born Albert Koenia, and another baker, John Kindley. By 1900, Wagner and his wife had been married for forty years, and their household included his divorced daughter, Minnie, and a baker, Samuel Wenrich, whose parents were born in Germany.

Wagner had a continuous presence as a baker at 511 State Street for forty-four years. Both his longevity in the same location and his ability to employ other bakers speak to his apparent success in his profession. He seems to have had at least one other baker or baker's apprentice in his household continuously throughout the period. Wagner's business on State Street ended in 1907, and a year later, advertisements for his property and business equipment appeared in the real estate pamphlet *Facts and Figures*. His property was advertised at \$4500 and included a "2½ story double frame building with store room—In dwelling portion 11 rooms—gas—water in kitchen. Large brick bake house in rear—plenty of storage room and coal bins."<sup>8</sup> Wagner's

equipment was advertised separately. Two-hundred dollars purchased the "Stock and fixtures of baking establishment at 511 and 513 State Street. Bread troughs—pans—sieves—scales—bread boxes—stove—counter—shelving—show cases."<sup>9</sup> Despite the suitability of this property for baking and the success that Wagner had during his years in business, no other bakery occupied this location before the ward was demolished.

George William Orth had his bakery and residence at 435 and then 423 State Street in the Eighth Ward from 1890 to 1914. According to the 1870 census, eight-year-old George Orth lived in the Fifth Ward of Harrisburg with his family, which included his baker father, George, his mother, Mary, and three siblings. Although George, his mother, and his siblings were all born in Pennsylvania, his father was born in Germany. As a teenager in 1850, George senior had lived with a baker, to whom he was probably eventually apprenticed. By 1880, Mary Orth was a widow and operated her husband's bakery on Broad Street, where George and his two elder brothers were also listed as bakers by the census.

By 1890, George Orth lived in the Eighth Ward with his wife, Annie. In 1915, Orth moved out of the ward to 1831 North Sixth Street and was still a baker even though he was not listed as having his own shop again until 1917. Orth was the last bakery owner to leave the Eighth Ward, according to the city directories. In 1917, Orth had two bakeries, one at 518 Primrose Avenue and one at 1831 North Sixth Street, and resided at 1720 North Sixth Street. In 1920, Orth's profession was still listed as a baker in a retail shop, and he and his wife lived at 526 South Sixteenth Street in Harrisburg.

Charles F. Bolt operated his bakery and lived at 121 Short Street from 1900 to 1903. Twenty-five-year-old, German-born Bolt worked as a baker in 1880 at 520 Filbert Street in the Eighth Ward, where he lived with his Irish-born wife, Rosanna, and a bakery apprentice named Jonathon Bale. In 1898 and 1899, Bolt lived outside of the ward at 103 Hanna Street. According to the 1900 census, Bolt had immigrated to the United States in 1873 and lived with his wife and six children, ages five through sixteen, on Short Street. Bolt apparently died in 1903 because the next year's directory identified his wife as a widow still living at 121 Short Street.

John Gaitor was the first confectioner to appear in the Eighth Ward during the 1890s, and he did so in 1894 at 435 State Street. Although apparently only operating his own business for one year, Gaitor was still listed as a confectioner in the city directory in 1895. Living with him was Joseph Gaitor, Jr., who was perhaps a brother. In 1893, Gaitor was a janitor, and in

## II. The Lists: Confectioners

TABLE 2: Confectioners of Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1890-1917\*

<i>Name</i>	<i>Business Location</i>	<i>Starts</i>	<i>Ends</i>	<i>Previous Occupation</i>	<i>Subsequent Occupation</i>	<i>Ethnicity</i>
John Gaitor	435 State	1894	1895	Janitor	Porter @ 414 South	Black
Helen F. Jackson	108 Short	1896	1899		Dressmaker @ same	Black
Jabates/Rolles/ Sempeles	433 State	1899 1909	1906 1913		Confectioners @ 409 Market	Greek
Amelia Ruby	514 N. 5 <sup>th</sup>	1899	1899		Cigars @ 211 S. 2 <sup>nd</sup>	?
Philip Levinson	502 Walnut	1901	1911		Confectioner @ 2134 N. 6 <sup>th</sup>	Russian Jew
Nathan Freidburg	420 Walnut	1905	1916	Bottler	Confectioner @ 126 S. 2 <sup>nd</sup>	Russian Jew
Christopher Jackson	433 State	1905	1909		Not listed in 1910	?
Mary Saffrin	121 Short	1907	1908		Not listed in 1910	?
Lewis Silbert	124 Cowden	1909	1912	Cigar Store	Confectioner @ 1540 6 <sup>th</sup>	Russian Jew
Mary Smith	414 Walnut	1911	1911		Candy @ 1301 N. 3 <sup>rd</sup>	2-German
Philip Broude	516 State	1913	1916	Grocer	Confectioner @ 1007 Capital	Russian Jew

\* Under ethnicity, "2" in front of an entry indicates an American-born child of foreign parents of the ethnicity listed.

1896, he was a porter. There is a strong possibility Gaitor was black, based on ethnicity information of other Gaitors living in the Eighth Ward at the time of the 1880 census.

Helen F. Jackson operated a confectionery business out of her Eighth Ward home at 108 Short Street from 1896 to 1899. In 1900, Jackson practiced dressmaking at the same address. Jackson was born in Washington, D.C., and lived with her husband, George, and his two daughters, Lizzie and Mary, according to the 1900 census. George, who was born in Virginia, was a waiter at that time. By 1920, forty-eight-year-old Jackson was still a dressmaker and lived outside of the ward at 1004 Seventh Street with her two adult step-daughters, who were both “mulatto” according to the census.

Philip Levinson lived at and operated his confectionery at 502 Walnut Street in the Eighth Ward from 1901 to 1911 (Photo 2). Levinson had been married to his wife, Rosa, for twenty-eight years in 1910, and the couple had emigrated from Russia in 1894. Levinson purchased a display ad within the *Boyd's Directory* in 1912, perhaps to publicize his move to 2134 North Sixth Street that same year. In this ad, Levinson described himself as a “manufacturer of ice cream, soda and mineral water” and mentioned that “free delivery in the city” was available. By 1920, Levinson still lived on North Sixth Street but had a second wife, Fannie, with whom he lived along with her two children. Levinson's occupation was still confectioner at that time, and his step-daughter worked as a saleslady in his shop.



**PHOTOGRAPH 2:** Philip Levinson's Walnut Street confectionery, the corner store to the right, operated between 1901 and 1911. The store window advertises ice cream, which Levinson manufactured himself.

Source: Pennsylvania State Archives



Various brothers from a Greek-born family operated a confectionery at 433 State Street in the Eighth Ward between 1899 and 1906 and again between 1909 and 1914. The brothers, listed as having the surnames of Jabales, Rolles, and Sempeles, operated a second location at 409 Market Street as well. Initially, the Jabales Brothers ran the State Street confectionery but were identified as the Rolles Brothers between 1901 and 1906. The brothers, John, Joseph, Michael, and Peter, were candymakers. John Sempeles, who could be John Rolles, took over the operation between 1909 and 1913. In 1914, Sempeles moved to the 409 Market location, where he worked as a clerk.

In 1920, thirty-eight-year-old Michael Rolles resided outside of the Eighth Ward at 2124 Derry Street and was a carpenter at a confectionery store. Living with him were his young wife, Athea, and his four-year-old son, George. Also living within the household were his brother, Joseph, a proprietor of a confectionery, his sister-in-law, Sophia Janavarra, a clerk in a confectionery, and their son, George Sempeles, aged two. At 2122 Derry lived thirty-five-year-old John Sempeles, who managed a confectionery store, most likely that of Joseph Rolles. Living with Sempeles were his wife, Erin, and his twenty-eight-year-old cousin, George, who was a clerk at a confectionery, which is again, most likely the Rolles Brothers on Market Street.

Lewis Silbert resided at and operated a confectionery at 124 Cowden Street in the Eighth Ward from 1909 to 1912 (Photo 1). In 1910, Silbert owned a cigar store at the same address. His household contained his own family as well as thirteen other people, including four southern-born blacks and four mulattoes. By 1913, Silbert had moved his residence and business to 1540 North Sixth Street, which was outside of the Eighth Ward. Forty-eight-year-old Silbert was a real estate agent and lived at 1921 Second Street in 1920. Living with Silbert were his wife, Bella, and his daughter Helen. All three of the Silberts were Russian born and spoke Hebrew. Helen's husband, Charles, also lived in the household and worked in men's clothing.

Mary T. Smith only operated her confectionery in the Eighth Ward for one year, 1911, but her involvement with confectionery retailing did not begin or end at that 411 Walnut Street location. In 1880, four-year-old Mary lived on Third Street with her father, Frederick, and her mother, Kate. Frederick was born in Prussia, but his wife and children were born in Pennsylvania. By 1900, Mary Smith resided with her mother and stepfather, John Drexler, as well as her two full siblings and one half-sibling. In 1910, Smith's widowed mother owned a confectionery store at 1301 North Third Street, where Smith helped her. According to the 1920 census, Smith was a candy merchant at the

same address, and her chauffer half-sibling, George, lived with her. Smith was living alone and still operating her own candy store in 1930.

Philip Broude was the proprietor of a confectionery at 516 State Street between 1913 and 1916, where he also resided. Broude had emigrated from Russia in 1890 and had been a butcher and a grocer in the Eighth Ward before becoming a confectioner. He was the last confectioner to leave the Eighth Ward. After leaving the ward, Broude lived at 1007 Capitol Street, where he also operated a confectionery. Fifty-five-year-old Broude was a wholesale merchant for confectionery stores in 1920, and his household at that time included his wife, Mary, and his two grown children, veterinarian Harry, and cigar clerk Florence.

### III. Analysis

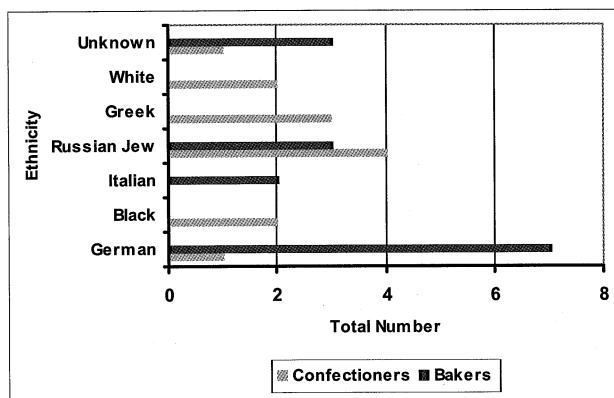


FIGURE 1: Ethnicity of Bakers and Confectioners in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1890-1910

Overwhelmingly, the bakers throughout the period studied were German born or American-born sons of German parents. Only after 1899 did bakers of other ethnicities, Russian Jew and Italian, appear within the ward (Figure 1).<sup>10</sup> All of the bakers throughout the period were male, and the average number of years spent in business within the Eighth Ward was just over six. The State Street German bakers, Frederick Miller and George Orth, were the most stable, staying in business from 1890 until 1913 and 1914, respectively. In fact, Orth was one of the first bakers listed in the ward in 1890 and the last baker listed in 1914. On average, approximately four bakers per year operated their own shops in the ward throughout the study period. Most bakers were in business between 1899 and 1903, and this could indicate a peak in population within the ward at that time (Figure 2).

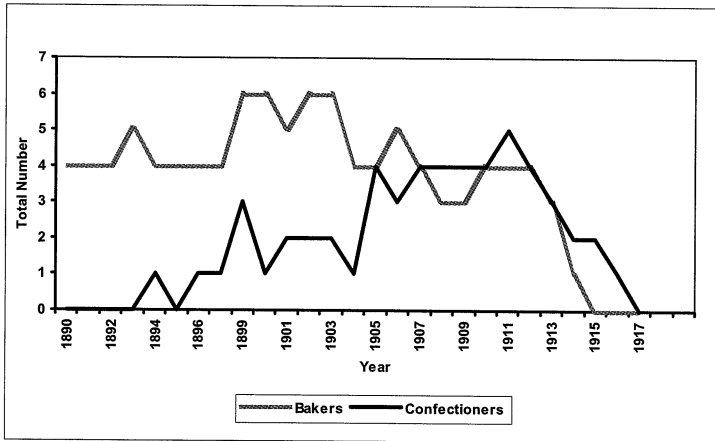


FIGURE 2: Frequency of Bakers and Confectioners by Year in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1890–1917

Although one can assume that the decision to demolish the Eighth Ward led to the decline of bakers within that neighborhood, individually-owned bakeries Harrisburg wide were declining throughout the period, and corporately- or partner-owned bakeries were on the rise. While there were forty-one individually-owned bakeries in Harrisburg in 1890 and zero that were corporately owned, there were only seventeen individually-owned bakeries in 1917 and fourteen that were corporately owned. Local neighborhood bakeries within the city were being replaced by corporate entities, such as Acme Baking Company, Standard Baking Company, and National Biscuit Company. The peak year for bakeries in Harrisburg was 1900, when fifty-one bakeries were serving 50,167 people. This averages to one bakery for every 983 people.<sup>11</sup>

In contrast, the number of individually-owned confectioneries increased during the study period. In 1890, no confectioners existed within the Eighth Ward, but nineteen total were operating in Harrisburg that year. Confectioners appeared in the Eighth in 1894 and increased until 1913, when the effects of the Capitol expansion plan started to impact local businesses (Figure 2). In 1917, all confectioners had left the ward, but fifty-five total were operating in Harrisburg and only seven of those were corporately owned. The peak year for confectioneries in Harrisburg during this study was 1916, when fifty-five confectionery shops were serving approximately 70,051 people. This averages to one confectionery for every 1273 people.<sup>12</sup>

Overall, the ethnicities of confectioners in the Eighth Ward were more diverse than those of the bakers (Figure 1). The first confectioner to appear within the ward in the era studied was John Gaitor, who was most likely black. The next confectioner operating in the community, Helen F. Jackson, was also black. Along with these African-Americans, Greeks, Russian Jews, and Italians were all represented within the confectioner profession within the ward. Certain groups of European immigrants, such as Italians and Greeks, had food traditions that especially suited them to becoming confectioners once in America.<sup>13</sup> At least four confectioneries were operated by women between 1890 and 1917, which is very different from the male-dominated bakeries. Because of the availability of confectionery literature and the affordability of manufacturing equipment, candy making could be "self taught," which could have allowed these women to break into the mostly male profession.<sup>14</sup>

On average, 2.5 confectioners were operating each year of the twenty-two year period that confectioners remained within the Eighth Ward. The highest concentration of confectioneries, four, existed between 1907 and 1912 (Figure 2). This period immediately follows the peak years of bakeries within the ward. The average number of years in business for confectioners was 5.3, and this indicates that the confectionery business may have been less stable than that of bakeries, which averaged 6.3 years. Because confectioneries could include businesses which sold only products manufactured by others, such as candy, the ease of entering into business could have hampered the success of this type of merchant. An entrepreneur needed little investment capital and no employees other than the owner to start a candy business in the late nineteenth century, according to Wendy Woloson.<sup>15</sup> Presumably, baking required more skill than the simple shop-keeping of a candy peddler, so more confectioneries than what the population of the ward could support could have been opened and quickly put out of business, which seems to have been the case.

The confectioners having the greatest success, Philip Levinson and Nathan Freidburg, operated within the ward for twelve years each. Both went on to operate confectioneries outside of the Eighth, and Freidburg was one of the last confectioners listed within the neighborhood in 1916. Both Levinson, an ice cream maker, and Freidburg, a former bottler, appear to have been engaged in the actual manufacturing of confections, indicating that confectioners who actually manufactured sweets had the most success. Supporting this is the fact that the Jabales/Rolles/Sempeles brothers, listed as candymakers in the ward between 1899 and 1913, were still operating their confectionery on Market Street in 1930.

Certain addresses associated with bakers and confectioners within the ward remained almost constantly occupied with the same sort of businesses throughout the period (Figure 3). At 423, 433, and 500 State and at 511 Walnut Street, either a baker or a confectioner was in business for a majority of the era studied. These addresses most likely possessed the facilities required for manufacturing breads and/or sweets, making them attractive to potential bakers and confectioners upon their vacancy. Also, these locations would have had an established customer base, helping newcomers break into the business. The highest concentration of bakers and confectioners was on the 400 and 500 blocks of State Street. Because State was the ward's main thoroughfare and ran through the middle of the district, it was an ideal avenue for business locations. Nearly all of the Eighth's bakers and confectioners operated their businesses and housed their families within the same buildings. When bakers and confectioners left the ward, their most popular destinations were South Second Street, North Sixth Street, and North Sixteenth Streets.

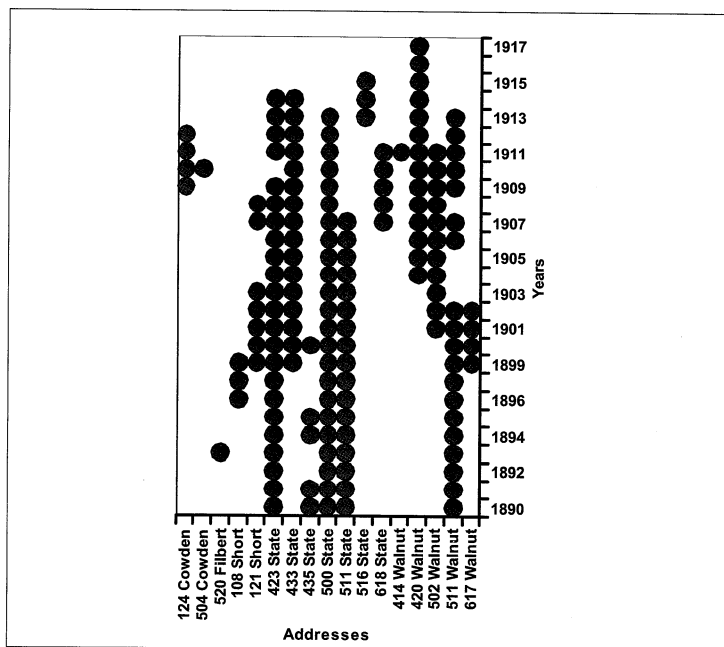


FIGURE 3: Occupation of Old Eighth Ward Addresses by Bakers and Confectioners, 1890-1917

To better understand the bakers and confectioners within the Eighth Ward, more research is necessary. Immigration had a profound impact on the

ward's population of bakers and confectioners and needs more careful scrutiny. In addition, the movement and relocation of people and businesses from the Eighth into greater Harrisburg need inspection in order to understand the true impact of the Eighth's destruction on the people living within it. Settlement patterns, especially, would indicate whether people attempted to re-establish their traditional neighborhood networks or were left to build new ones.

In order to appreciate the lives of the bakers and confectioners within the ward, the technologies they employed and the goods they produced require examination. In addition, the role of mechanization through industrialization and its impact on these occupations need further investigation. Obviously, the broader Harrisburg community of bakers and confectioners must be consulted to truly understand the broader impact of industrialization and corporatization on neighborhood food suppliers.

As suggested here, studying a population as small as the baking and confectionery community of Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward reveals a complex and diverse story, which encompasses many of the forces impacting late nineteenth-century American urban environments. Most especially, the Eighth Ward exposes the effects of progress on a working-class community. The State Capitol Building and the Capitol Complex surrounding it still stand as material evidence of the modernizing forces which doomed the Eighth Ward to demolition.

The most vital understanding gained in this type of study, however, is on a smaller level, and it is gained through using records to uncover the hidden histories of individuals. Although only a glimmer of the vitality which once existed in the Eighth can be recaptured through scholarship, work such as this ensures that the Eighth Ward and its inhabitants are not forgotten.

## NOTES

1. This paper was completed during spring 2004 as part of Professor Michael Barton's Nineteenth-Century America seminar and was expanded in May 2005.
2. Michael Barton and Jessica Dorman, eds., *Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward* (Charleston: Arcadia, 2002), 20.
3. Various Harrisburg bakery advertisements from W. H. Boyd, *Boyd's Harrisburg Directory: Names of Citizens, Map, and a Compendium of Government and of Public Institutions* (Boyd's Cousins, 1870-1917).
4. Wendy A. Woloson, *Refined Tastes: Sugar, Confectionery, and Consumers in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 5.

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5. This refers to figures from around 1900. William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 136.
6. Woloson, *Refined Tastes*, 33.
7. All personal data used within this paper was acquired from the Boyd's Directories of Harrisburg available at the Historical Society of Dauphin County and from the United States Federal Census of 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930 as indexed and made available by Ancestry.com. For the sake of readability, the author has chosen not to individually footnote each piece of information but refers all readers to the two sources mentioned above for further study.
8. *Facts and Figures: A Journal That Stands for Progress* 2, no. 1 (1908), 18.
9. *Facts and Figures*, 18.
10. For Figure 1, individuals who were native-born Americans but had at least one foreign-born parent were considered foreign born. Individuals who were Pennsylvania-born are listed as white.
11. Bakery total derived from the business section of the Boyd's Directories of Harrisburg. Harrisburg city population taken from Campbell Gibson, "Population of the 100 Largest Cities and other Urban Places in the United States: 1790–1990," United States Census Bureau website, found at <http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0027.html>, accessed on 30 May 2005.
12. Confectionery total derived from the Boyd's Directories. Harrisburg city population derived from Gibson; however, the population had to be approximated by adding half the difference between the 1920 total and the 1910 total to the 1910 total.
13. Woloson, *Refined Tastes*, 105.
14. Woloson, *Refined Tastes*, 164.
15. Woloson, *Refined Tastes*, 38.