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Pennsylvania **FOLKLIFE**



WINTER 1972



The Easton Bible Artist Identified

Contributors to this Issue

MONROE H. FABIAN, Washington, D.C., is the Associate Curator of the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution. He is a native of Northampton County, Pennsylvania, and a descendant of early settlers of upper Bucks County, the areas in which the fraktur artist he writes about in this issue lived and worked.

MARTHA S. BEST, Walnutport, Pennsylvania, is a teacher and administrator in the Lehigh County schools. A native of the area, she is conversant with Pennsylvania German culture in all of its aspects. Her survey in this issue, of Christmas customs in the Lehigh Valley, reveals a wealth of living Christmas traditions from every ethnic group of the area. It is an appropriate followup of her pioneer article, "Easter Customs in the Lehigh Valley," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XVII:3 (Spring 1968), 2-13.

KAREN M. SPITULNIK, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is studying for the Ph.D. degree in Folklore and Folk-

life at the University of Pennsylvania. Her contribution to this issue analyzes the key role played by the country inn in our regional folk-cultures of the past. Her research points up the value of the travelers' accounts for an understanding of the institutions of traditional regional culture.

LOUIS WINKLER, State College, Pennsylvania, teaches astronomy at the Pennsylvania State University. His article dealing with heavenly symbols on Pennsylvania German tombstones is one of a series on the astronomical knowledge and astrological beliefs of the Pennsylvania Germans.

DR. FRIEDRICH KREBS, Speyer, West Germany, is retired archivist of the Palatine State Archives in Speyer. In this issue he offers our readers a new list of 18th Century emigrants, this time from villages in the northern part of the Palatinate.

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Sketch of Easton, from "the Pictorial Sketch-Book of Pennsylvania," by Eli Bowen

THE EASTON BIBLE ARTIST IDENTIFIED

By MONROE H. FABIAN

Since the publication of Donald Shelley's classic work on Pennsylvania German fraktur, an artist who filled the borders of his certificates with engaging figures of musicians and partying ladies and gentlemen has been generally referred to as the "Easton Bible Artist". It is an appellation well chosen since the

two page dedicatory frontispiece which the artist lettered and decorated in the Bible of the First Reformed Church (now First United Church of Christ) in Easton,

¹Donald A. Shelly, *The Fraktur-Writings or Illuminated Manuscripts of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Allentown, Sch-lechter's, 1961), pp. 131 and 180. Illus. 46, 49 and 208.



Figure 1. Two-page fraktur presentation inscription on the fly leaves of the large pulpit Bible given to the Reformed congregation of Easton by the Reverend Michael Schlatter about 1755. The book itself was printed in Basel in 1747 and is one of 800 collected in Europe by Schlatter and his agents for the missions in Pennsylvania. This fraktur piece and all others illustrated in this article are here attributed to the schoolmaster John Spangenberg. The date of execution of this example is undetermined, but it was most likely after 1767.



Figure 2. Birth and baptismal certificate for Elisabeth Rössli, written sometime after her birth in May 1789. The signature of John Spangenberg is found at the lower right hand corner of the panel of text. Elisabeth Rössli was the niece of the Reformed pastor John Mann. The inscription in the lower panel is not in Spangenberg's hand and cannot be completely deciphered.

Pennsylvania, is the most perfectly preserved example of his work (Fig. 1).

At long last, however, a certificate has been found which is very clearly and unequivocally signed (Fig. 2). It is a large and elaborate birth and baptismal certificate prepared for Elizabeth Rössli, born in Lower Saucon Township, Northampton County, in May of 1789. In the lower right hand corner of the text block the artist has signed "Scripsit/Johannes Spangenberg." The Latin word is written in rounded script and the artist's name in pointed German script. An investigation in the areas where the fraktur was produced provided a positive identification of our heretofore elusive artist.²

As yet, no documentation has been discovered concerning the date and place of birth of John Spangen-

berg. Since the 1800 census lists him as over 45 years old we know that he was born before 1755. Two persons named Spangenberg arrived in Philadelphia in the years 1753 and 1754; it is possible that one was the father of our artist and that he, John, could have been brought along as a child.³

²Special thanks for assistance and encouragement must be given to Mrs. Jane Moyer and Miss Barbara Stemler at the Easton Area Public Library, Terry A. McNealy at the Bucks County Historical Society, the Rev. Frederick Weiser, and Gregory D. Coster.

³Ralph Beaver Strassburger and William John Hinke, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers* (Norristown, 1934), I, pp. 517-519, and pp. 601-603. Johann August Spangenberg arrived aboard the Ship *Queen of Denmark* and was qualified September 11, 1753. Johann Conrad Spangenberg arrived aboard the Ship *Adventure* and was qualified September 25, 1754.

In the Name of God Amen,
 The fourth day of June in the Year of our Lord One
 thousand Seven hundred and Seventy three, I Thomas
 Osterstock of Berks Township in the County of Northampton
 and Province of Pennsylvania, being of perfect Mind and
 Body, but of perfect Mind,
 unto God therefore, calling unto mind the mortality of my Body,
 and knowing, that it is appointed for all Men once to die,
 Do make and ordain my last Will and Testament, that is
 to say principally and first of all, I give and recommend
 my Soul into the Hands of God, that gave it, and for my
 Body I recommend it to the Earth, to be buried in a Christian
 Buriall, and do hereby
 being doubting but at the General Resurrection, I shall

Figure 3. Detail of the first page of the last will and testament of Thomas Osterstock, dated June 4, 1773.

In the Name of God Amen,
 The Ninth Day of November Thro' Divine
 Providence a Person hundred and Ninety five
 I Henry Moritz of Williams Township in the
 County of Northampton and the Commonwealth of
 Pennsylvania, a German, being of perfect Mind and
 Memory, Thanks be given to
 God, calling unto Mind the Mortality of
 my Body and knowing, that it is appointed for
 all Men once to die, Do make and ordain my last
 Will and Testament, that is to say principally
 and first of all, I give and recommend my Soul
 into the Hands of God that gave it, and for my
 Body I recommend it to the Earth, to be buried in a
 Christian Buriall, and do hereby

Figure 4. Detail of the first page of the last will and testament of Henry Moritz, dated November 9, 1795.



Figure 5. Birth and baptismal certificate for Michael Koplin, written sometime after the child's birth in 1782. The father, John Koplin, was one of the appraisers of the estate of Henry Moritz in 1795 and signed the inventory written out by John Spangenberg. The artist had lettered "Northampton" and corrected it in longhand to "Berks."



Figure 6. Birth and baptismal certificate for Anne Andreas, written possibly around the time of the child's birth in 1783. Aside from wills it is the only piece in English by John Spangenberg that has been located.

The first definite mention of our John Spangenberg is in 1767 in the records of the First Reformed Church, Easton. On December 27 of that year he stood as sponsor for John, the infant son of John Martin Ludwig and his wife Elizabeth. Sometime during the next year he married Elizabeth Blantz⁴ whose parents Leonard and Mary Margaret Blantz were living in Greenwich Township, Sussex (now Warren) County, New Jersey, in May of 1773 when they are listed as communicants in the church book of St. James Lutheran

⁴Information given by his son Frederick in a document dated in November of 1846 and contained in the pension application folder of Elizabeth Spangenberg (Pa. W 3196) in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

Church. Since the New Jersey congregation was served by the Lutheran pastor at Easton, Spangenberg could have met his wife either place as we will see.

The couple's first two children Michael and Elizabeth were born on October 13, 1769, and September 25, 1772, and were baptized by the pastor of St. John's Lutheran Church, Easton. From the record in the church book we discover that our fraktur artist's full name in German was Johannes Ernst Spangenberg. Their next child, John, was born July 9, 1774, and baptized by the Reformed pastor at Easton. The town at this time had a union church, the Lutheran and Reformed parishes sharing a building outside of the

Easton town limits proper at the foot of Morgan's Hill. Spangenberg availed himself of the services of pastors of both denomination since he was apparently in the employ of both congregations as their school-master.

When he began his life of work as an educator we do not know and only once do we find him referred to in a document as a teacher. On June 10, 1778, he bought town lot number 125 from Michael Butz and his wife for "ninety Pounds lawful Money of Pennsylvania."⁵ The lot, which evidently held a dwelling, was conveniently located on Pomfret Street (now South 3rd Street), north of Ferry, one block below the Courthouse and two below the Reformed Church built in 1775 and 1776.

John Spangenberg was a witness to five wills for residents of Easton and the Northampton County townships of Forks and Williams between 1773 and 1796. An examination of the originals of two of these, that of Thomas Osterstock of Forks Township, dated June 4, 1773 (Fig. 3), and that of Henry Moritz, a miller of Williams Township, dated November 9, 1795 (Fig. 4), show that not only was Spangenberg a witness, but that he had been the scrivener of the body of the document as well.⁶ He was also the penman of the inventory of Moritz filed after his death (Fig.

⁵Recorder of Deeds Office, Easton, Book C 1, pp. 401-402. The site of Town Lot number 125 is now a vacant lot.

⁶The originals are in the archives of the Northampton County Courthouse, Easton.

5). One of the items paid out in the final settlement of the Moritz estate is 16 shillings to John Spangenberg, presumably for his clerical services. As a skilled penman, John Spangenberg evidently supplemented his salary as a school teacher by executing writings both decorative and mundane.

The wills are inscribed in English in a script which matches that on two of the certificates which our fraktur writer penned for the children of Bernard and Mary Andres (or Andreas) of Greenwich Township, Sussex County, New Jersey. The father was one of the signers of the laws and by-laws of St. James Church in Greenwich Township when it was organized in March of 1772 and the churchbook of the congregation verifies the birth date of February 12, 1783 which appears on the certificates made for little Anne Andres (Fig. 6) and also tells us that she was baptized on April 20 of the same year. We say certificates because for Anne, John Spangenberg wrote out separate documents in English and in German (See Appendix). To date only a certificate in English has been discovered for her younger brother Martin, whose birth date is given as February 1, 1788.

Since there was traffic back and forth between Easton and Greenwich Township⁷ we do not know

⁷One such trip by a Jersey parishioner to Easton is of particular interest here. A miscellany page in the St. James' church book lists a payment of 7 shillings 6 pence on May 7, 1783, to "Christian Andreas for hauling to Easton for the minister's house."



Figure 7. School house of the Reformed congregation of Easton built in 1778. It is now the office of the congregation and is located behind the main building of the First United Church of Christ on North Third Street. It is probably one of the buildings in which John Spangenberg taught.



Figure 8. Two-page bookplate written for John Jungken, probably between 1786 and 1788 and the inscription on the back of the page following it. All three pages were removed by a previous owner from the front of a hymn book and a book of Gospel and Epistle readings for every Sunday, both printed in Marburg, in 1771 and 1773 respectively, and bound together.

where Spangenberg executed these particular frakturs. It could have been on either side of the Delaware.

John Spangenberg's teaching career was interrupted for some considerable time by his service in the Revolutionary War. The details of his military career are sketchy, but are more frequent and informative than those about his career as a schoolmaster. On July 11, 1776, he signed the Oath of Allegiance to the new nation⁸ and on July 17, 1776, nine days after the citizens of Easton had unfurled their own flag of red and white stripes and eight-pointed stars on a blue field, Spangenberg is noted as Sergeant Major in Lt. Col. Peter Kichline's battalion of Northampton County militia.⁹

The military unit to which he was attached was part of the Continental Army's so-called "Flying Camp," a supposedly highly mobile force of men that could be counted on to appear where needed to defend widely scattered areas of the new nation against invading British troops.¹⁰ It was a relatively short-lived and ineffective unit, gaining General Hugh

Mercer as its commander on July 3, 1776, and disbanding after its rout at the fall of Fort Washington, New York, on November 16.

John Spangenberg must have been with his unit at the battle of Long Island on August 27, 1776, because there is a record that he was to stand court-martial with Peter Kichline for "Cowardice and running away from Long Island when an Alarm was given of the Approach of the Enemy."¹¹ Evidently, they were both found not guilty of the offense for the pension application of John Spangenberg's widow contains a certified transcript—signed by the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania—of a report written at Easton on September 27, 1776, and signed by Spangenberg as adjutant of Kichline's unit, the same rank he had just before his scheduled court-martial. Sometime between July 17 and August 27 he had been promoted from enlisted man to officer.

He must have marched with his unit to New York a second time and would probably have been killed or captured at Fort Washington like the rest of his

⁸From transcript in the Easton Area Public Library of the original document.

⁹*Pennsylvania Archives*, 5th Series, VIII, 12.

¹⁰Mark Mayo Boatner III, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, (New York, David McKay Co., 1966), "Flying Camp," pp. 371, 373.

¹¹*Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, New Series, III: I, 31. In a transcript of a passage from an orderly book entry dated "Head Quarters, Sept. 7, 1776," Spangenberg and Lt. Hacklin (sic) are listed as members of "Coll. Hashlier's Reg't."

comrades had not family duties called him back home. His widow, in a sworn document dated August 18, 1825, tells us he—

escaped being taken prisoner with the rest of the corps, by his having obtained furlough for fourteen days on account of the indisposition of his family, during which time the disaster took place.²²

Spangenberg served various times in the Continental Army between 1776 and 1781 as adjutant and as a quartermaster,²³ both positions well suited to someone with good handwriting. We have seen previously that he was at home in Easton on July 10, 1778, when he bought a house from Michael Butz and we know he was there on April 17, 1780 when he witnessed the last will and testament of Frederick Reeger.²⁴ The second time he must have been at home already a month for the records of St. John's Lutheran Church tell us his son Daniel was born on November 30, 1780. If nothing else, his not unusual record of military service alternating with periods of residence at home, shows us that the patriotic fervor of the common man in the War for Independence was far from constant during the conflict.

After the war John Spangenberg probably settled back into his previous occupation of schoolmaster at Easton and may have taught in the small stone building erected as a schoolhouse by the Reformed Congregation in 1778 (Fig. 7). The federal tax lists for 1785 place him in "Easton Township" and assess him two shillings two pence for "1 cattle," an obvious necessity for his growing household. The records of St. John's Church report the birth of Margaret Spangenberg on February 12, 1785, and her baptism on the last day of the month. The three baptismal sponsors, who must have come across the Delaware River from New Jersey for the happy occasion were Christ. Andreas, Christ. Blantz and Catherine Andreas. The first sponsor is undoubtedly the Christian Andreas mentioned in footnote 7.

By the following year John Spangenberg and his family may have moved to Nockamixon Township, Bucks County, for our schoolteacher was a witness to the will of Michael Hoffman of that place in 1786. Two years later he witnessed the will of Jacob Ruff of Nockamixon Township,²⁵ and the records of the Lutheran congregation in the township inform us that on June 29, 1788, John Spangenberg, his wife Elizabeth and his daughter Elizabeth received Holy Communion.

The presence of the daughter on the list of communicants in 1788 is confusing and may be an error

²²The original document signed with Elizabeth Spangenberg's "X" is in pension application folder Pa. W 3196.

²³*Pennsylvania Archives*, 5th Series, IV, 349, and 5th Series, VIII, 137, and original document dated October 17, 1846, signed by the Auditor General of Pennsylvania in pension application folder Pa. W 3196.

²⁴Original in the archives of the Northampton County Courthouse, Easton.

²⁵Originals in the Bucks County Courthouse, Doylestown.



Figure 9. Title page of John Funck's "Leidger" written in Upper Bucks County in 1789.

for the same church book tells us that two of the young people being confirmed and receiving first Communion on June 5, 1789, were John Spangenberg [sic] and Elizabeth Spangenberg. These must be our schoolmaster's children who would have been 15 and 17 in 1789. Three other members of the confirmation group are listed as Nicholas, Michael, and John Jünkhen.

At this period of his life John Spangenberg executed the only four pieces of his work yet found which are truly dated. One of these is a simple inscription on the flyleaf of a psalter printed in Augsburg, Germany. It reads "Abraham/Jungken/1788" and was found still in place behind a two-page bookplate made for "Johannes Jungken" (Fig. 8a and b). Another is a small handwritten "Arithmetick Book For Abraham Youngken," dated 1788 on one title page and 1789 on another (Illustrated: *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Autumn 1971, p. 6). On the 1789 page the family name is spelled "Juncken." It is impossible to escape the conclusion that both of these pieces were executed in Nockamixon Township and that the Abraham for whom they were inscribed is the Abraham Jünkhen who according to the Nockamixon Lutheran churchbook records received his first communion in 1790. The other unavoidable conclusion is that our fraktur artist was now a school teacher in that area.

The third dated work we have from this period is a ledger title page made for John Funck, and dated "Im Jahr 1789" (Fig. 9). The small alphabet tabs at the edge of the ledger pages are also in John Spangenberg's characteristic lettering. The original owner of the book was most likely one of the Funcks living in Durham Township, Bucks County.

The fourth dated piece is also a bookplate and is found in a bible which belonged originally to Elizabeth Barbara Flichss. It is dated "Im Jahr 1791." It is probably a Bucks County piece and the name as lettered could be a corruption of Fluck although the name Flick was not unknown in the area. Then again, the name may be Fuchss.

John Spangenberg may still have been living in Bucks County as late as 1795 when he executed a birth and baptismal certificate for Michael Fackenthal of Durham Township (Fig. 10). In 1800 the federal census lists him as resident in Williams Township, Northampton County. If he was still a schoolmaster in his late years we do not know, but we do have

evidence that he continued making and distributing fraktur until very close to his death.

Many of his certificates show evidence of having been prepared ahead of time and filled in as sold. Two in fact show that they were prepared before the end of 1799 and not sold until the year 1801.¹⁶ The digit "7" has been changed to an "8" (Fig. 11).

John Spangenberg appears to have left no will, and no church record of his death and burial has been found. We do know that he died about the middle of November, 1814, because his son Frederick and several old friends testified to that fact in the signed affidavit which they submitted to the War Department in Washington, D. C., in 1846.¹⁷ Unfortunately, no one mentioned John Spangenberg's age at the time of his death. They stated, however, that he was buried in

¹⁶Catharina Wottring's certificate, Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum (63.50) and Catharina Beck's certificate in the collection of Colonel and Mrs. Edgar W. Garbisch (57.60).

¹⁷Original documents in pension application folder Pa. W 3196.



Figure 10. Birth and baptismal certificate for Michael Fackenthal, written probably shortly after his birth in May 1795.



Figure 11. Birth and baptismal certificate for Catharina Beck, written as a blank form before the end of 1799 and not filled in until after the child's birth in January 1801. The characters in the bottom of the heart at the top of the page are John Spangenberg's rendering of the Name of God in Hebrew.

Hay's cemetery. The cemetery was once in Williams Township, but is now within the city limits of Easton, being located south of the Lehigh River. There is no record of his grave site nor can a tombstone be found. Sometime after the 19th of September, 1812, he filled in a certificate for Margaretha Wottring who

was born on that date in Williams Township (Fig. 12). This and the weakly lettered certificates for Elizabeth Wagner born in Williams Township in 1802 (Fig. 13), and for Susanna Diel, born in Lower Saucon Township, Northampton County in 1803 (Fig. 14), may well be from among the final fruits of his pen.



Figure 12. Birth and baptismal certificate for Margaretha Wott-ring, written between September 1812 and November 1814.

All of John Spangenberg's fraktur are executed in the usual manner utilizing pen and ink for the outlines and watercolor for the solid areas of color. Words and lines of the drawing are found in both black and red ink. The fill-in color is limited to various shades of blue, green, red, and yellow. The sizes of the decorated book pages were determined, of course, by the size of the book in which they were contained. The single-sheet fraktur range from the unusually large 16 1/2 by 21 1/4 inch size of the Rössli certificate down to the 7 1/2 by 6 1/2 inch size of the Diel and the Wagner. Both vertical and horizontal formats are found.

If one examines all of John Spangenberg's extant work it is obvious that he used a very limited vocabulary of motifs in his decoration. There are several kinds of flowers, unidentifiable except for the tulip, equally vague birds, human figures, an occasional dog and on three certificates, very un-Pennsylvania looking houses with arched windows and pennants flying from the roofs.

The human figures are the most intriguing and there has been much speculation in conversation and a little in print as to what they are doing and what they mean. The lengthiest and most elaborate appraisal of any aspect of John Spangenberg's work is contained in an

article by the late Walter E. Boyer which was published posthumously in this magazine twelve years ago.¹³ In it there is a detailed analysis of the scenes in the bottom border of the Friedrich Reichard certificate in the collection of the Columbia County Historical Society, Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania. It is a border exactly like that on the Elizabeth Rössli certificate illustrated in this article (Fig. 2). Boyer finds every element of the drawing to be symbolic, even the color and patterns of the women's dresses as drawn by Spangenberg.

While it is quite possible that the artist and the recipients of his *fraktur* read the designs as Boyer thought, this author cannot believe that every element of one of John Spangenberg's certificates could have been as loaded with symbolism as Boyer and some other interpreters from our own time would have it. Granted, there are motifs in Spangenberg's work that are so strange that they must have had special meaning—the dark *klismos* chairs crowned with human heads seen on the Reichard and Rössli certificates are certainly not depictions of Pennsylvania household furniture of the 18th Century and must have had particular significance—but why cannot birds be birds and flowers be flowers? We are too far removed from the era which produced these certificates to speculate upon the meaning of the various motifs which decorate them unless we have satisfactory evidence upon which we can base our speculations. Some of the motifs

¹³Walter E. Boyer, "The Meaning of Human Figures in Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Art," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XI, No. 2, pp. 5-23.

doubtless had meaning to artist and client in rural Pennsylvania. Others were just as certainly used merely because it was traditional to do so. A thesis such as Boyer's may not hold up if applied to the full range of John Spangenberg's work rather than to only one example. We cannot deny that religious feeling and varying intensities of piety are what prompted the decoration of both hand-lettered and printed records of birth and baptism. The statement of important facts called for important looking documents, especially in an era when many owners of certificates could not even read what they possessed. Many of these illiterate rural people must have been aware of traditional meanings and stories behind certain symbols. Were they, however, so educated in this genre that every flower, every bird, and their positions on the certificate held meaning for them?

Since we do not know at this time whether John Spangenberg was born in America, or born and educated in Europe it is not possible to deduce the source of his highly individual design concepts. There are hints in his work, however, to the significance of some of the human figures when one examines them in connection with secondary inscriptions placed near them. On the Easton Bible pages (Fig. 1), for instance, the little man with a long trumpet is placed next to the inscriptions "Gloria in Excelcis Deo" and "Gott allein die Ehr." On the Michael Koplin certificate (Fig. 5) two trumpeters and two horn players flank a heart inscribed with the admonition, "Singet und preiset Gott den Herrn von ganzen hertzen." The



Figure 13. Birth and baptismal certificate for Elisabeth Wagner, written between September 1802 and November 1814.

musicians then are not symbolic, but indicative of a way in which God could be praised. This attitude needs no further explanation to anyone familiar with the history of music in the Lutheran Church.

If John Spangenberg was born in Europe and was of any age before he came to Pennsylvania, he may have remembered string and brass players from his original home. If born an American, it is still not impossible that he drew musicians he saw in Easton and nearby. Although there seems to be no relationship between John Spangenberg and Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg, famed bishop of the Unitas Fratrum, he, John, worked so close to the Moravian settlements of Bethlehem and Nazareth, Pennsylvania, and Sussex County, New Jersey, that it is not impossible his art work reflects impressions made on him by Moravian music and musicians.¹⁹

The other human figures on John Spangenberg's certificates are not so easy to explain, but they probably do represent the family of the infant. Whether the figures are as symbolic as Boyer would have us believe we cannot tell from any accompanying text. Rather than being some mystical act it is more likely that their merrymaking and eating and drinking are evidence of a christening party in progress.

The heart is prominent on most of Spangenberg's work, and when our fraktur artist draws a heart it is always as a frame for a text. When this heart appears at the top of a certificate, the text contained in almost always, "Mein hertz ich Jesu gebe, In Jesu ich stets lebe, Und Jesus ist mein hort, Jesus mein letztes wort." On the Fackenthal certificate (Fig. 10) he has added, "Jesus meus est meus Salvator." On several others, including the Beck certificate (Fig. 11) he has added the name of God in Hebrew. This would certainly indicate that John Spangenberg saw these hearts as symbols and not merely as traditional decoration. They probably symbolize the Christian owner of the certificate who, as a true believer, would keep God in his heart throughout his or her entire lifetime.

There remains only to point out the significance of the opening lines on each of John Spangenberg's certificates. On the Rössli, Reichard and Scheimer certificates the first line reads, "Vorzeiger dieses Tauffscheins, dass . . .", that is, "The presenter of this baptismal certificate [shows] that . . .," an introductory line the author has seen in the work of no other Pennsylvania German fraktur writer. Can it mean that these large, elaborate papers were special gifts from the artist? On all his other certificates in German his first line reads, "Verzeichnis dieses Tauffscheins, . . .," or

¹⁹Moravians must have frequently passed through Easton on their way back and forth between Bethlehem and their settlement at Hope, Sussex County, New Jersey. See: Henry Race, "Greenland in New Jersey," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, XXI, Whole Series, No. 4, pp. 197-204.



Figure 14. Birth and baptismal certificate for Susanna Diel, written between April 1803 and November 1814. It is the crudest of John Spangenberg's fraktur and may have been done very near the end of his life.

"This baptismal certificate signifies that . . .," and then the name of the child and the birth data are given. This is also a textual form apparently unique to Spangenberg and may reflect his parochial education or his constant intimacy with members of the clergy. If not original to him, it is evidence of an earlier text used in Pennsylvania, but of which no examples have come down to us. These opening lines also make it evident that Spangenberg found the baptism of the child, its spiritual rebirth, more important than its human birth, for he chooses to call his documents a "Tauffschein" rather than a "Geburts- und Tauffschein." It is a designation preferred by the Pennsylvania Germans to this day for in common parlance they almost always refer to these documents as "Taufscheins" or "Dauffscheins."

Discoveries of additional pieces of fraktur by John Spangenberg may enable us sometime in the future to formulate a fuller picture of his career and craft. In the meantime we at least know the name of a previously unidentified artist and can now do him some justice by cataloging his extraordinary artworks under the rightful name of their creator, for these fragile pieces of paper have proved to be a more durable monument to John Spangenberg than any that was raised of slate or marble.



Figure 15. Birth and Baptismal certificate for Rosina (Seipp) Scheimer.

APPENDIX

In preparing this study the author has noted and attributed to John Spangenberg the frakturs listed below. Family names are given as spelled on the documents.

Book pages:

1. Two page dedicatory frontispiece in a Bible. Date undetermined. First United Church of Christ, Easton. See Fig. 1.
2. Two page bookplate of John Jungken removed from a hymn book. Before 1788. Collection of the author. See Fig. 8.
3. Arithmetic book made for Abraham Jungken. Dated 1788 and 1789. Collection of Monroe County Historical Society. *Illus. Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XXI, No. 1, p. 6.
4. One page bookplate of John Funck in a ledger. Dated 1789. Rare Book Department, Free Library of Philadelphia. See Fig. 9.
5. Two page bookplate of Elizabeth Barbara Flichss in a Bible. Dated 1791. Collection of La Roy Troxell. Shelley, *illus.* 46.
6. Two page bookplate of Peter Seup removed from a small Bible. Not dated. Collection of Russell Hill.
7. Two page bookplate of a girl of the Scheimer family (the family name has the "in" ending, but the first name was never lettered in) removed from a psalter. Not dated. Collection of Russell Hill. The back of the psalter contained tables of Psalm readings for the year lettered in the hand of John Spangenberg.
8. Title page of the Lower Smithfield Lutheran and Reformed Congregation church book. Not dated, but probably executed before the entry of the first records in May 1798. Ownership unknown. *Illus. Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XXI, No. 1, p. 5.

Single Sheets (All are birth and baptismal certificates and are listed according to the year of birth of the recipient. They were not necessarily executed in the order they are listed):

1. Rosina Scheimer, b. 1739, "Gamelsbach in Berfeldter Amt in der Grafschaft Erbach in Europa." Annie S. Kemmerer Museum, Bethlehem. Both top and bottom borders of the certificate are missing. Originally it was most likely the same unusually large size as that done for Elizabeth Rössli, 16½ by 21¼ inches. The text tells us that Rosina was the daughter of Johann Jacob and Anna Elizabeth Seipp and was married to Edward Scheimer in Northampton County in 1765. By the time the certificate was made they had had six sons and one daughter.
2. Friedrich Reichard, b. 1773, Bethlehem Twp., Northampton Co. Columbia County Historical Society.
3. Michael Koplin, b. 1782, Colebrookdale Twp., Berks Co.

Collection of Bruce Koplin. See Fig. 5. Although Michael apparently was born in Berks Co., the certificate probably was made in Northampton Co. where the Koplin family was resident.

4. Anne Andres, b. 1783, Greenwich Twp., Sussex Co., N. J. In English. National Gallery of Art. See Fig. 6.
5. Anne Andres. In German. Present ownership unknown. *Illus. John Joseph Stoudt, Pennsylvania German Folk Art* (Allentown, Schlechter's, 1966), p. 223.
6. Martin Andres, b. 1788, Greenwich Twp., Sussex Co., N. J. In English. Sold at auction in New York, Nov. 18, 1972. *Illus. Sotheby Parke Bernet catalog of Sale No. 3438*, 169.
7. Elizabeth Rössli, b. 1789, Lower Saucon Twp., Northampton Co. Collection of Dr. and Mrs. George Hylander. See Fig. 2.
8. Catharina Seiffert, b. 1789, Lower Saucon Twp., Northampton Co. Metropolitan Museum of Art. *Illus. Marshall B. Davidson, ed. The American Heritage History of Colonial Antiques* (New York, American Heritage Publishing Co., 1967), p. 317.
9. Jeremias Hess, b. 1791, Williams Twp., Northampton Co. Formerly in the collection of Elma C. Bishop. *Illus. Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XI, No. 2, 6.
10. Michael Fackenthal, b. 1795, Durham Twp., Bucks Co. Bucks County Historical Society. See Fig. 10.
11. Maria Agnes Rensscheimer, b. 1795, Springfield Twp., Bucks Co. Collection of Joe Kindig III. *Illus. in exhibition catalog Pennsylvania German Fraktur and Color Drawings* (Landis Valley Farm Museum, 1969), plate 65.
12. Peter Seib, b. 1797, Forks Twp., Northampton Co. Collection of Donald Shelley. *Illus. Shelley, illus.* 208.
13. Catharina Beck, b. 1801, Nazareth Twp., Northampton Co. Collection of Col. and Mrs. Edgar Garbisch. See Fig. 11.
14. Paulus Röder, b. 1801, Nazareth Twp., Northampton Co. Northampton Co. Historical Society. *Illus. Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. XXI, No. 1, 6.
15. Catharina Wottring, b. 1801, Williams Twp., Northampton Co. Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.
16. Elizabeth Wagner, b. 1802, Williams Twp., Northampton Co. Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum. See Fig. 13.
17. Susanna Diel, b. 1803, Lower Saucon Twp., Northampton Co. Bucks County Historical Society. See Fig. 14.
18. Samuel Arner, b. 1806, Bethlehem Twp., Northampton Co. Collection of Richard Flanders Smith.
19. Margaretha Wottring, b. 1812, Williams Twp., Northampton Co. Formerly in the collection of Joe Kindig III. See Fig. 12.

CHRISTMAS CUSTOMS IN THE LEHIGH VALLEY

By MARTHA S. BEST

Christmas, in the Lehigh Valley, is a composite of fresh, vibrant, youthful concepts and the nostalgic, Currier & Ives memories of the 19th Century. Many educational institutions display fireproof aluminum trees as modern as to-morrow while their bulletin boards, in contrast, are decked with crepe paper trees with minute candles, strings of fluffy popcorn, striped candy-canes, schnitz (dried apple quarters), and a myriad of three-dimensional paper sculpture. The Christmas dinner may be an old-fashioned meal, turkey with all the trimmings, served at home or it may be a smorgasbord of lobster tail and exotic delicacies prepared by the chef of a hotel catering to a gourmet's palate. The family may be attired in their Sunday go-to-church finery or in slacks and pants suits. The religious service may include Handel's "Messiah" or a carol-sing by a youth group believing in "doing their own thing".

Before the tree was trimmed, the greeting cards mailed, or the refrigerator filled, our church goes

Altar decorated for Christmas, St. John's Episcopal Church, Palmerton, Pennsylvania.



were partaking of Advent Communion at the end of November.

One way of observing the Advent Season in the churches, Sunday Schools, and private homes is by the use of the Advent Wreath. Candles, in the wreath, are lighted consecutively week by week to symbolize the increasing brilliance of the prophecies regarding the Savior's birth, the growing light of faith, and the multiplying signs of the return of Christ.

During the Advent Season, five noontime services were held, for the downtown business community and shoppers of Allentown, in St. Paul's Lutheran Church.

The sixth annual Advent Breakfast, sponsored by the Bethlehem Council of Churches, was highlighted by singing of Russian Christmas carols by the choir of St. Nicholas Russian Orthodox Church, Bethlehem. The committee hopes to continue the practice of having the program developed by a different native language group each year.

Christmas concerts were presented each Sunday in December by the associated choruses of the East Stroudsburg State College music department. Included in the festival were the college concert choir, women's chorus, madrigal singers, clarinet choir, and the Pocono Boy Singers.

At this time, Coplay revived a Christmas carol program that had been discontinued 15 years ago. Under the auspices of the Coplay Recreation and Welfare Association, participating in the program were the choirs of Trinity United Church of Christ, St. John's Lutheran, and St. Peter's Catholic churches.

A nativity scene erected at Zion Lutheran Church was the site of Northampton's first outdoor Christmas program. Choirs of local churches were featured and borough residents joined in the singing of carols.

Three hundred fifty churches in and near the Lehigh Valley made known their schedule of services, pageants depicting the birth of Jesus, and musicales for the Sunday before Christmas, by bulletins, radio, newspapers, and television.

A cantata, "The Birthday of the King," by Norwood Dale, was recreated by the choir of St. John's Lutheran Church, Towamensing Road, Palmerton. This was the first cantata ever rendered in the historic edifice back in 1937. The church, built in 1796, still retains its original interior and exterior architecture.

Gian Carlo Menotti's story, "Amahl and the Night Visitors," was performed by the Opera Workshop of Zion United Church of Christ, Lehighton. Amahl, a cripple, and his mother are visited by the Three Kings making their way to Bethlehem. Amahl, penniless, although very dependent on his crutch, offers it as a gift to the Christ Child. For this act of kindness, Amahl is cured and he accompanies the Three Kings to pay homage to the Holy Family.

In St. John's Lutheran Church, Slatington, "The Christmas Story" as it dealt with the Prophecy, the Annunciation, the Nativity, and Jesus, King of Kings, was told by the three choirs with Lee Kreidler as lector.

A Christmas pageant, "The Traveler," was offered in St. John's United Methodist Church, Bowmanstown.

Members of Jacob's United Church of Christ, Weissport, enjoyed the timely selections by the carol, chancel, and chapel chorus.

The annual Candlelight Vespers was held in the Bethany Evangelical Congregational Church, Lehighton. The service centered on the story, "Why the Chimes Rang," by Raymond MacDonald Alden.

The Senior Choir of the Presbyterian Church, Catsauqua, sang portions of Handel's "Messiah" at the 10:45 a.m. service.

The fiftieth candlelight musical of Asbury United Methodist Church, Allentown, was presented by the five choirs, a mixed quartette, and brass ensemble.

A Christmas cantata, "The Night of Miracles," was given in the Macungie Church of the Nazarene for its own congregation and the general public.

An unusual service was held in the Northampton County Prison at Easton, where, for the first time, the girls choir of St. Francis Academy Glee Club entered the prison to carol the inmates, their guards and the officials in an hour-long concert.

The Allentown churches who broadcast their Christmas messages over local stations were: Evangel Fellowship, Christ Lutheran, and Calvary Temple.

The main streets of towns and cities vie with each other to bid welcome to the travelers and shoppers with their colorful lighting.

The Emmaus Moravian Church trombone choir played several Christmas tunes as Emmaus borough officials turned on lights on: a 20-foot tree, the manger, both in the triangle; and on the standards on Main and Chestnut streets and around the square.

Jo Ann Schaffer of Northampton, the 1972 National Easter Seal child, took part in the borough's Christmas lighting ceremonies on Main Street.

Carols were sung by the Children's Choir of St. Ursula's Catholic Church and Christmas music was played by the Broughal Junior High School Band during Fountain Hill's lighting program.

Easton officially began its celebration as the switch was thrown to turn on the Peace Candle in Centre Square. As the 115-foot red candle, with the four candles and pine trees with colored lights at its base, was lit, the church bells rang and the Brown and Lynch American Legion Brass Choir struck up "O Come All Ye Faithful". At the same time, people in the crowd used the candles which were handed out by representatives of Easton's Downtown Improvement Group, which also distributed candy canes to the children.

A 25-foot Christmas tree glowed as the Fogelsville Interfaith Organization held its first tree-lighting ceremony.

The Girl Scouts of Hellertown helped to usher in Hellertown's Yule season as the Chamber of Commerce conveyed greetings as the lights were turned on in Detweiler Plaza.

Youngsters listened attentively to the brass ensemble of the Nazareth Area Senior High School and then took a close look at the life-size Nativity scene in Nazareth Center Square after the trim was shining radiantly.

The Brenigsville hillside along Route 222 sparkled with a rainbow of colors when Terry Hill Mobile Home Court residents lit some 36,000 Christmas lights. Fourteen thousand feet of wire were used to illuminate the bulbs strung along 46 mobile homes, four houses, and the swimming pool at the park.

An elaborate putz, consisting of 17 figures, constructed of handpainted fiberglass, housed in a stable made to order by the tenth grade carpenters from the Bethlehem Area Vocational-Technical School, on the City Center Plaza of Bethlehem, created the setting for Mayor Gordon Payrow to trip the switch to light the city. Of special interest is the illumination of the Star of Bethlehem on top of South Mountain. The center mass, or five-pointed star, mounted on a steel structure



Christmas Putz at Kutztown Folk Festival.



Santa arriving in Slatington.

91-feet high and 25-feet by 5-feet wide at the base, is 20-feet in diameter. The main vertical ray is 81-feet in height and the main horizontal ray is 53-feet long. A total of 280 fifty-watt, special clear lamps are used, making the star visible from the Borough of Wind Gap, twenty miles to the north, while to the south, a few hills and the curvature of the earth are the only limits of the visibility. The entire structure, galvanized to prevent rusting, is built as a permanent display and years from now it will continue to show the way to Bethlehem, the Christmas City of the U.S.A.

Allentown became more and more a showplace at Christmas as the branches of the tree, erected in the Center Square, really long strands of greenery were aglow with holiday radiance. Hamilton Street's nightly sparkle had an added flare as the stars and bells trimming the midcity shopping district formed a constellation of lights surrounding a brilliant Christmas tree formed on the Pennsylvania Power and Light Company Building.

Less spectacular, yet noteworthy, out-of-the-ordinary lighting on standards along the streets included: red candles in colonial holders in Topton, alternating flickering red and green canes in Northampton, the English watchman's lanterns in the Crest Plaza Shopping Center and in Slatington, twin red bells encircled by a green wreath in Kutztown, and garlands of red bells across the thoroughfare in Hamburg.

It matters not where one lives in the Lehigh Valley nor how humble or stately his domicile, every family has a Christmas tree or a facsimile thereof. Beautifully trimmed trees take priority over the many garlands of holly and poinsettias, evergreens, wreaths, floral arrangements, and candles, as well as other motifs in keeping with the season.

Those who prefer the predominant odors of evergreens, may, in pioneer spirit, select and cut their own

trees at nearby farms or purchase them from shippers, florists, or supermarkets.

The artificial tree fanciers, not quite ready to discard the idea that a Christmas tree must be green or white, find bargains in easy-assemble varieties as: Canadian Fir, Mountain Fir, Alaskan Pine, Pennsylvania Pine, Vermont Pine, Scotch Pine, Spruce, and Blue Balsam. These range in height from 3 feet to 7½ feet and average from 66 to 269 individual branch tips. Other less popular types are the stainless aluminum trees with branches terminating in pompoms. As no strings of electric lights are permitted on these trees, revolving four colorbeam projectors are focused on them causing an ever-changing array of reds, greens, blues, and yellows.

The most talked about Christmas tree is the one at the plaza of the Hill-to-Hill Bridge in Bethlehem. The tree, which captures the eye of the motorists from any entrance of the bridge, is 51 feet high and 28 feet in diameter at its base. It is composed of 120 smaller evergreen trees, which are partly nailed and partly wired together and mounted on a wooden scaffold. Illumination comes from 3,000 multi-colored lamps.

Under the trees, on platforms raised about one foot from the floor, are scaled lay-outs of rural or urban communities with the inevitable railroad tracks along the perimeter. Every boy hopes that his father will eventually tire of playing with the train so that he can operate the Diesel set with its flat car, box car, hopper car, caboose, freight depot, crossing gate, and "piggyback" unloading dock. Perhaps the youngster waiting his turn, is spellbound by an ultra modern train hugging a figure eight single rail as it zips through a tunnel.

Instead of portraying only our mechanized world, the more serious minded families develop a religious setting, a putz, with a creche in the center. There are also putzes built for public viewing such as the community putzes in the Central Moravian Church of Bethlehem and in the Lutheran Home of Topton.

The Lutheran Home at Topton offers a picturesque putz, through religious and contemporary handiwork, the way it has done for 62 years.

In mid-November, the home's senior boys collected about twelve crates of moss to cover the base areas of the 15 by 30-foot putz; then Mary E. Belser, secretary of the home, and Elwood DeLong, the home's maintenance chief, spent three weeks to construct the putz and add the precious wooden figures carved in Oberammergau.

Miss Belser, who has narrated the story to visitors for more than 25 years, begins the Biblical account with a scene of Isaiah, the prophet, foretelling a coming Messiah; then moves on to the inn where Joseph and Mary sought shelter; to the strains of "Silent Night," proceeds to the manger; centers attention on

the angel choir; describes the olive orchard and the shepherds with 200 handmade sheep imported from Germany fifty years ago; notes the Wise Men bearing gifts; and returns to the manger over which the Church of the Nativity has been built.

Separating the religious part of the putz from the secular part, and towering over it, is a live, decorated evergreen tree. Here Miss Belser points out a replica of Radio City Music Hall, an amusement park, a circus, a zoo, Snow White watching the Seven Dwarves digging for treasure, a fishpond with real, splashing goldfish, and a church with a wedding recessional while dozens of guests are seated in the pews.

At the Christmas meeting of the Lutheran Church Women of St. Stephen's, Allentown, the Rev. and Mrs. Carroll O. R. Fritze told "The Story of the Chrismons". The Rev. Mr. Fritze, who is pastor of St. John's Lutheran Church, Whitehall, played the part of a little boy who couldn't fall asleep one night. Mrs. Fritze, who played the part of the mother, complied with the child's request to discuss the meaning of 40 varieties of white styrofoam ornaments on the Christmas tree in the Whitehall church.

The dialogue began with the explanation of the symbol, a hand in a cloud, depicting God's creative power, and continued with: the star with a rose for man's salvation through the Nativity; the angel with a trumpet heralding wonderful news; I H S, monogram of the first three letters of the name of Jesus in Greek; CHI, RHO, the first letters of the word Christ in Greek; the gold crown symbolizing His majesty and glory; the Tau Cross, shaped like a T, similar to the pole, in the wilderness, on which Moses had placed the brass serpent; the chalice and the wafer reminding us of the Holy Sacrament as does the symbol of wheat and grapes within the circle; the pelican, by legend allowing her young to peck at her breast to draw food for strength and dying that they may live, standing for Christ's atonement; the phoenix, an ancient bird which set fire to its nest and dies, only to be created anew and live for another five hundred years, representing the resurrection of Jesus; the Latin cross for the Crucifixion; the Greek Cross, with each of the arms adorned with crowns, while between each arm, the letters formed N I K A, the Greek word for "conquer"; the lamb with a banner symbolizing Jesus with His victory over sin; the shell with its three pearls, representing three drops of water, added to the eight-pointed star, announcing that we are baptized; the fiery chariot, indicating Elijah's ascent to Heaven, signifying the Ascension; the Cross Patee with four scrolls meaning our salvation as revealed by the four evangelists in the Gospels, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the flame referring to the Holy Spirit; the five-pointed Epiphany star, reminding us of the beacon

which guided the Wise Men to the manger; the six-pointed star, the Creator's star, telling us of God's gift of Himself in His Son; the seven-pointed star on which there is a gold book with open pages with the first four Latin words meaning, "The word of God endures forever," representing the Seven Gifts of the Spirit; the fish used to point out the meeting places of the early Christians; the Jerusalem cross, formed by four Tau crosses meeting at the center and thus making five crosses in all, for the five wounds of Christ; the circle, our symbol of God, with whom there is no beginning or ending.

Other Christmas trees were viewed at the Phoebe-Devitt Home of Allentown, St. John's Lutheran Church of Sellersville, Trinity United Church of Christ of Allentown, and the Moravian Church of Nazareth.

Mrs. Helen Arndt, an uprooted Moravian, a native of Nazareth, now residing in Kutztown, sets up a realistic putz under the tree in her apartment. She also displays an usual music box with pixies and reindeer who enjoy looking at the tall minarets as they listen to "Jingle Bells".

At the Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival at Kutztown, Mrs. Arndt explains how she created the immense putz in the Christmas House. She also draws from her scholarly background, the answers to questions about Christmastime in the Pennsylvania Dutch Country and calls attention to the Christmas tree in the herb and dried flower tent. Arranged by Cyrus Hyde, the tree is decorated with coxcomb, goldenrod, baby's breath, statice, pearly everlasting, and tansy.

The Rev. Harold W. Sell of Faith Lutheran Church, Whitehall, presented costume monologues to congregations and service clubs, related to seasons of the Church Calendar such as: John the Baptist (Advent), a Shepherd (Christmas), a Wise Man (Epiphany). These characterizations presented verbatim after extensive research and the employment of authentic costumes introduce a sense of reality to the portrayals and are well received by young and old alike.

It was common years ago among Sunday Schools to dramatize the Christmas event when young people would portray at their special programs; Mary, Joseph, the Wisemen, and the Shepherds. Of more recent years, however, pageantry along these lines has virtually come to a stand-still. At least one pastor, the Rev. Harold W. Sell, is doing something to fill the gap.

As an example of his many addresses, the one to the Food Industry Associates of Allentown, the Rev. Charles V. Naugle, pastor of Grace Lutheran Church, Macungie, spoke on the universality of Christmas. He said that the universality is shown in the many songs written by authors of different faiths and nationalities. He indicated that "Silent Night," by Franz Gruber, a Catholic priest; "O Little Town of Bethlehem," by

Phillip Brooks, a rector of an Episcopal Church, and "Hark, the Herald Angels Sing," by Charles Wesley of the Methodist movement, show this universality.

While all these festivities were going on, along came our jolly, red-suited Santa Claus to hear what the boys and girls want to find under the tree on Christmas morning.

Since Santa's sleigh wasn't ready and his reindeer were resting up for the big trip on the night of December 24, the genial gent with the snowy whiskers and the hearty ho-ho laugh made his rounds as he had done for 47 years as he landed at the Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton Airport and then made his headquarters at H. Leh and Company, Allentown.

At the Parkway Shopping Center and in Jim Thorpe [Mauch Chunk], Santa rushed in on a big, shiny, red fire engine, while at the Whitehall Mall, he arrived in a helicopter.

On the day, Santa came to the Almart Department Store, Bethlehem, The Fife 'N Drum Restaurant served a Pixie Breakfast (orange juice, tasty waffles with butter and syrup, and milk or hot chocolate) for the young customers who wanted to eat with Santa.

At Hess's, Allentown, a child could tell Santa her secret Christmas wishes and have her picture taken

Chrismon Tree, St. John's Lutheran Church, Whitehall.



by Hess's Photo Studio, as did Allyson Bittner, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. David Bittner of Nazareth. Then, too, the entire family could enjoy the fun-filled puppet show, "The Mouse Before Christmas," with Pip, the Mouse, in Hess's Hamilton Street window.

Typical of a smaller community in which Santa could remain only one day was Slatington. He arrived in town at noon, riding atop the sparkling Springside Fire Company engine, which picked up Santa and his Elf Helper at the Slatington Airport where Mayor Kenneth Eckhart welcomed them officially and joined them in their ride up and down Main Street. Then Santa held court in the former Kern's TV storeroom, next to the Slatington Post Office where he had free gifts for the children and lent a ready ear to their requests for other gifts.

Some Upper Perkiomen Area motorists shared the road with Santa, handing out oranges and chewing gum, while riding a pony-drawn sleigh whose runners sported little wheels, followed by the Biblical figures of Joseph beside Mary aboard a donkey. The tassled, bell-jingling procession, coursing from Red Hill to Palm, and then to Chapel, blending merriment and religious tone, is the work of Kurney Spaar of Palm.

The Beta Sigma Phi Sorority awarded prizes for neatness and originality for letters written to Santa by the Tamaqua children. Special boxes were provided for them at the Christmas Park, West and Nescopeck Streets.

Nearly 1,000 letters were addressed to Santa at two special mail boxes set up at the Fullerton public school building and at Hilbert's Pharmacy.

This year, more than ever before, there has been a noticeable increase in out-of-state letters to Santa turned into the Lehigh Valley postal facility. Postmaster Donald P. Fischer says their arrival cannot be explained except that perhaps the clerks who processed the letters figured they should be headed in the direction of Bethlehem.

A 12-year-old program conducted in the Nazareth exchange area, sponsored by the Nazareth Jaycees, made direct conversations to Santa possible. More than 321 calls were received by the three "Santa Clauses" on duty in one night—a record high for the week.

Believing that the spirit of Christmas is to emulate Christ by giving of ourselves and making life happier for others, hundreds of service clubs, other groups, and individuals helped the needy by providing food for the holidays. Thousands of children were guests at parties, were entertained, and received presents.

The jumbo Salvation Army kettles made their annual debut, attended by volunteers who urged shoppers to "keep the kettle boiling" so that the lonely and needy would not be forgotten. More than 200 Allentown families with 1,500 children would have had a bleak

Christmas without the cheer the Salvation Army shared among them. The Christmas food baskets cost between \$15 and \$20 each, depending on the size of the family. Large families received a turkey, single persons and married couples a chicken, along with canned goods, fresh vegetables, and desserts. Captain Willis Hewlett credited the upsurge in applications to "tight money, unemployment, and strikes".

The Golden Hearts Club delivered 160 gifts to the Allentown State Hospital to be distributed to the patients Christmas morning, along with stockings filled with candy canes and goodies for all the children there. They also delivered gifts and stockings to the children at the Mercy Day School and filled 20 food baskets for needy area families.

Christmas came early for 80 underprivileged children as they learned the joy of buying gifts for members of their families. The youngsters met with chaperones from the rank of the Allentown Jaycees and went to Hess' Department Store where they made their purchases at discount prices. After the shopping tour, they were taken to Holiday Inn West for a dinner provided free by the management. Santa gave them gifts of shoes, clothing, and toys donated by Hess's Helping Hands Foundation, Holiday Inn employees, and the Jaycees.

The Perkiomen Lions Club sponsored its fifteenth annual Operation Santa Claus, a mercy and cheer mission among the indigent, aged, and invalid. Baskets of food, cheer packages, and toys were distributed.

Similar good-will welfare projects were undertaken by the Tamaqua Lodge of Elks and the Youth Group of Trinity United Methodist Church of Allentown.

A Christmas party for 30 veterans from Valley Forge Hospital was arranged by Mrs. Ginny Geppert of Bethlehem who has spearheaded projects for veterans for several years. A country style ham and turkey dinner was served in the Woman's Club of Catasauqua and a Mr. and Mrs. Santa gave gifts to the veterans.

Allentown's Lentz American Legion Post had its "Operation Compassion" booth at the Whitehall Mall. The project provided 1,200 gifts to patients in Veterans Administration hospitals in Wilkes-Barre and Lebanon. Members also took gifts to vets at Allentown State Hospital and to Valley Forge Veterans Hospital.

Families of Bethlehem servicemen taped personalized holiday messages through the Living Letters Program of the Bethlehem Chapter, American Red Cross. The service was free and was available by making an appointment at the chapter house.

Freemansburg Marine Reservists, Colonel R. F. Mirth, commanding officer, working with more than 100 local business and civic groups, collected and then distributed 50,000 new and used toys to 32,000 needy children. The men of the Bethlehem YMCA Mora Club, which have been lending their assistance for



Music Box plays "Jingle Bells".

the past ten years in restoring second hand toys as dolls, games, and trucks, has been led by William Carver. (Average age of the Mora—Men of retirement age—is 70 years.) Toys were handed out to such institutions as the Good Shepherd Home in Allentown, the Sacred Heart Home in Coopersburg, and to families who apply through the Salvation Army.

The Christmas spirit is prevalent at the hospitals and all personnel and attachés are doing everything possible to make the patients happy. Every floor, every wing, every department, every office of the hospitals, is attractively decorated.

The Bethlehem Garden Club gave a festive air to Muhlenberg Medical Center along the theme, "Christmas Old and New". They decked the halls with holly wreaths and placed a large tree covered with pine cones and ornamented with flocked fruit in the lobby.

A highlight of the Christmas trim at Gnadon Huetten Hospital is the artistic work of Mrs. Valerie Butts, Coaldale, a laboratory technician. Mrs. Butts painted lovely scenes and motifs on many windows in the hospital and nursing home, but the painting that has proven the favorite showed Santa using a stethoscope to check Rudolph's chest after a long and tiring Christmas Eve while poor Rudolph has a hot water bottle on his head.

Santa arrived at the Palmerton Hospital with members of the West End Fire Company and its auxiliary to distribute candy and oranges to each patient in the institution.

Coaldale Girl Scouts from Brownies to Cadettes with leaders and assistants cheered patients at Coaldale State Hospital with Christmas carols and popular holiday songs. The girls gave reed baskets of fruit and candy to various wards.

The Catholic Daughters, Court Ryan 911, Jim Thorpe, spent an evening with guests at the Izzo Rest Home. Mrs. Irene Milan was the delightful Santa who presided over the Christmas party and handed out gifts.

The Lehigh County Medical Society Auxiliary entertained guests at Cedarbrook at a Christmas dinner at the Village Inn and bus tour of the city's lighting display.

Members of the Bethlehem Senior Citizens Center gave a party for the guests at Holy Family Manor, while the Parkland High School Key Club entertained the residents at the Phoebe Home.

Yule Vespers in local colleges were slated in Packer Memorial Chapel of Lehigh University, in Lees Hall of Cedar Crest College, and in Colton Chapel of Lafayette College. All these traditional and classical carols created joy in the hearts of the listeners, but when these songs were heard by candlelight in the gothic Egner Chapel of Muhlenberg College, emotions were strengthened manifold. Before the reading of the explanation of the mystery of the Incarnation according to St. John, three quarters of the way through the service, the other lights were dimmed, and only the altar candles beamed brightly. Then the ushers proceeded down the main aisle, kindled their candles at the altar and lit the candles held by the entire audience. The chapel was bathed in soft radiance spreading from person to person as the service concluded.

"Christmas in Old Lehigh," Parkland High School students' production, truly belongs to the Pennsylvania Dutch of Lehigh County. The late Dr. William W. Swallow, head of the Parkland art department, conceived the idea of portraying the events of the Nativity with scenes indigenous to the locale of the school.

Mrs. Royce Schaeffer, teacher of English and in charge of pageants at Parkland High School, collaborated with Dr. Swallow in preparing the script and the creation was presented for the first time in 1956.

The script follows the traditional story and the pageant separates into eight major sections: 1. *The Prophecy* takes place as Mary, in a plain blue dress, is visited by the angel Gabriel as she is knitting before the fireplace in her Pennsylvania Dutch farmhouse; 2. *The Journey to Bethlehem* shows Mary, Joseph, and Donkey on the road to Guthsville; 3. *The Birth of Christ* has a typical Swiss bank barn, with a beautiful barn-sign, as its setting; 4. *The Angel Appears to Shepherds*

shows farmers, in heavy winter clothing, to whom the revelation is given; *Shepherds Come to the Stable* reveals the Holy Family through open barn doors; 6. *Kings at the Stable* represents the leading men of the community appearing in high silk hats as they bring their gifts: gold (a basket of corn), frankincense (a basket of apples), and myrrh (a live chicken); 7. *Let All Come to the Stable* means that the villagers come to witness the beautiful story; 8. *The Village* depicts a Christmas of love, hope, and faith in God and all mankind.

The Pennridge High School a cappella and brass choirs performed sacred and secular music containing the contemporary work, "A Christmas Happening". The junior, ninth grade, and senior choruses, totaling about 275 voices of the Pen Argyl Area High School presented their program in the new Wind Gap Elementary School auditorium. Salisbury High School put on a Christmas Vespers service for parents and students as it has done in the past, but the chorus also caroled in the Merchant's National Bank, Allentown. The Jim Thorpe [Mauch Chunk] Area Junior-Senior High School concert, "Night of Christmas Music," included the chorus groups and the high school band. The pupils of SS. Peter and Paul Parochial School of Tamaqua offered a playlet which centered around the Mysteries of the Redemption; the Ten Commandments; the Seven Sacraments; the Virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and the First Three Articles of the Creed.

East Penn School District residents saw a reproduction of "The Christmas Star" in a two-day showing at Emmaus Junior High School planetarium. Mrs. Judith Kemmerer, planetarium director, reproduced the evening sky as it might have been the night Christ was born.

The audience gave a standing ovation to Mr. John Goodman, production director of Palmerton Area High School, at the presentation of the Christmas musicale.



Scene from "Christmas in Old Lehigh," by Parkland High School.



*Antique Cookie Cutters
with Pennsylvania
Dutch Motifs.*

Year after year, Mr. Goodman, assisted by Mr. Joseph Sweitzer of the art department, leads the students through programs, of indescribable beauty, which cannot be surpassed by productions on metropolitan stages.

For all its color and pageantry, the Christmas season is most remarkable for the good feeling it generates. What many people feel is the "real Christmas" is a few hours of peace between the hectic pre-Christmas preparations and the merriment of Christmas day. Love of man for his fellowman becomes not just a wishful platitude but a thing felt and expressed. This is never so true as on Christmas Eve when Christians of all denominations experience their religion and the goodwill it can inspire, in the Christmas Eve church fellowship.

Catholic churches, like St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, Jim Thorpe [Mauch Chunk], celebrated midnight Masses. The Byzantine Grand Compline Service with the blessing of bread, wine, wheat, and oil was held for the parishioners of St. John the Baptist Byzantine Catholic Church, Lansford. At midnight, there was a Low English Liturgy of Christmas for Father Emil's Intentions.

Protestant churches, like the Shepherd of the Hills United Church of Christ in Bechtelsville, Christ United Methodist Church in Easton, Chestnut Hill Lutheran Church in Coopersburg, St. Matthew's Evangelical Lutheran Church in Perkasio, and the Union United Church of Christ in Neffs, planned two to three meetings ending with 11 o'clock candlelight services.

In Bethlehem, the central Moravian Church's Love Feast, for the benefit of younger children, at 2:30 p.m. was the first in the religious services for the day. Except for an invocation by the pastor, the Love Feast, sung entirely, consisted of anthems, chorales, and hymns. Early in the services, sacristans, volunteer church workers, served chocolate milk, coffee, and buns. The

congregation, "gathered as a family," ate "the feast" in dedication to God and to each other. Very impressively, the children's choir rose, faced the choir loft and waited for Abigail Jones (daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Reese Jones of Bethlehem) whose designation for the solo is a church honor, to sing the Moravian antiphonal hymn, "Morning Star". As the last words faded away, sacristans entered bearing trays of lighted candles, and distributed the beeswax tapers to the one thousand one hundred persons in the congregation. These tiny candles with their red or green frills around the base and made especially for the occasion, symbolize the coming of Light into the world with the birth of the Christ Child. Only the light on the altar, the multi-pointed Moravian star above it, and the congregation's candles glowed in the darkness. The minister, by lifting his candle high in the benediction, gave the signal for all candles to be raised as everyone joined him through the last, "Amen, Hallelujah!" Many returned for the evening Vigils, where essentially the same services were given with less emphasis on children's participation. The boy soprano singing "Morning Star" at the 5:30 services was Charles Russell (son of Prof. and Mrs. Christopher Russell, Bethlehem), while Kevin Mack (son of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Mack, Bethlehem) was the soloist for the second Vigil at 8:00 o'clock.

In the Lehigh Valley, the customs and traditions of many nationalities and faiths have gradually blended into common usage forming a new tradition. Yet each group, retaining its own distinctive characteristics, joins the others each year in paying homage to the Christ Child.

To one of these ethnic groups, the Slovaks, the celebration of Christmas is primarily religious. Forty days of fasting are observed up to Christmas, with the day before Christmas a strict fast day in commemoration of the hardships endured by Mary enroute to Bethlehem.

On Christmas Eve when all members of the family should be home for a family reunion, a holy supper is served on the very best linen tablecloth, which symbolizes the swaddling clothes of the Baby Jesus. The first star in the sky announces the time for the first course, mushroom soup. There is *bobalky* (little pieces of leavened bread made of flour, yeast, and water—all mixed with ground poppyseed), sauerkraut, *pagach* (a pastry dainty with a filling of potatoes or sauerkraut), fish, lima beans, peas, assorted fresh fruit, mixed dried fruits or stewed prunes, salt (bread and salt being considered the most precious possessions of mankind), honey (representing the sweetness of the earth), garlic (representing the bitterness of this world), and *rozky* (a baked dessert, cooky-size, of refrigerated dough, with a nut, prune, or apricot butter filling).

Our Ukrainian families, according to time-honored custom, partake of a similar Christmas Eve supper. Bread (*kalach*) substitutes for a floral arrangement on the table. Three loaves of ring-shaped, braided loaves are placed one on top of the other, with a candle in the center opening, while small twigs of evergreen encircle the bottom loaf. The name *kalach* is derived from the Ukrainian word "kolo," meaning a circle,

Making Luminarias at Quakertown – David Weamer, Sr., and Mrs. William G. Moyer, Jr.



which is a very old symbol of good luck, eternity, prosperity, bountiful life, and general welfare.

The actual date for Holy Supper depends on whether the family follows the Gregorian calendar or its fore-runner the Julian calendar. The Julian calendar places Christmas 13 days later than does the Gregorian calendar. Although many Eastern Orthodox congregations observe Christmas on December 25 (Gregorian), 40,000 local members of the sect prefer Christmas on January 7 (Julian). Among the latter are: St. Mary's Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Allentown, Assumption of the Virgin Mary Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Northampton, and Holy Trinity Orthodox Catholic Church, Catasauqua.

Not everyone was fortunate enough to arrive early at the old homestead for the holidays. For the benefit of motorists along Route 22, Key Club members from the Lehigh Valley served coffee between 9 a.m. and 5 p.m. on the day before and the day after Christmas. The idea was to keep motorists alert to avoid accidents.

Being a teacher and receiving an abundance of cookies from the pupils, the author has come to the conclusion that the currently most popular Christmas cookies among the Pennsylvania Dutch people are simply known as the white Christmas cookies; crisp cookies which are somewhere between the paper-thin "sand-tarts" and the thick "A-P's".

WHITE COOKIES

2 cups granulated sugar
 Three-fourths cup butter
 2 eggs, beaten
 4 cups flour
 1 teaspoon baking soda
 One-fourth cup cream

Cream together the sugar and butter. Add the beaten eggs and blend. Sift together the flour and soda and stir into the creamed mixture. Moisten with the cream.

Chill dough overnight. Roll dough, to one-eighth inch thickness, on floured board. Cut out with special Christmas cooky cutters. Bake until lightly browned in a 350-degree oven.

Yield: depending on size of cutters, about 10 dozen.

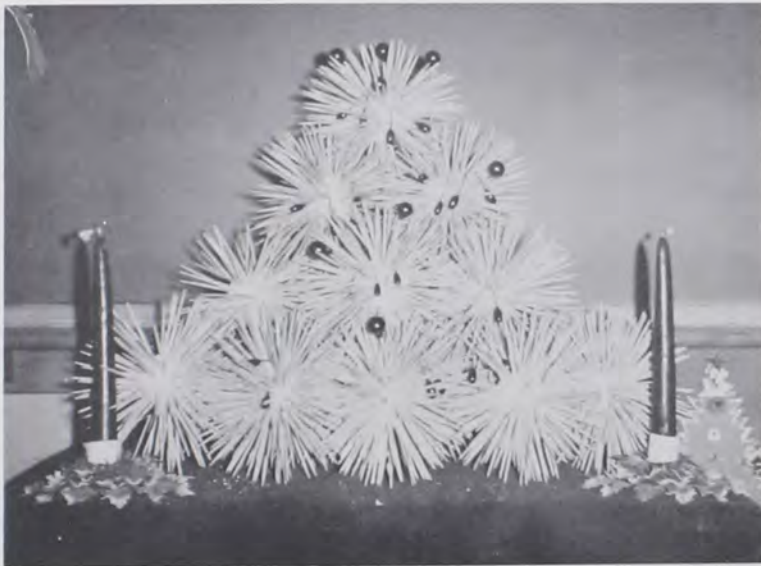
The cutters, in the shape of animals, birds, people, stars, and toys may be prized heirlooms made by a tinsmith or the plastic variety from the local department store.

If any of the cookies are to be strung on a Christmas tree or displayed with apples on a wooden pyramid, the centerpiece for a buffet supper, they are frosted.

Cooky Frosting: 1 egg white, 1 cup confectioners sugar, few grains salt. Add sugar gradually to the unbeaten egg whites. Beat until smooth and of a consistency to pour slightly. Divide frosting into two or three small bowls and color with vegetable flavor as desired.

Another Pennsylvania Dutch favorite is taffy. An old family recipe received from Mrs. Violen Behler, Slatington, reads: "To make taffy, combine 1 cup light molasses, 1 cup granulated sugar, 1 cup butter. Put on stove and bring to a boil. Then boil one-half hour. Test in cold water. If hard, add 1 teaspoon vanilla and 1 cup chopped black walnuts. Pour into buttered pans. When cold, crack into pieces".

A preview of the Christmas scene in the area prompted parents of small children to put off bedtime for an hour so that the moppets could see the magnificent decorations: bedecked outdoor evergreens, Santa and his reindeer on roof-tops, carolers and candles on porches, wreaths and canes on doors, and creches on lawns. It was a fine reflection on the part of the people showing that no matter how busy they were, they took time out to prepare for the coming of the holidays.



Christmas Tree Made of Toothpicks.

Perhaps grown-ups as well as children were attracted by the manger scene on the lawn with a background of a snow-white wreath in the center of the picture window or they may have stopped to admire the originality of matched decorations on the shutters and doors at the home of Mrs. Helen Stoudt, Kutztown.

Bidding welcome to visitors at the entrance of Slatington High Schools were life-size carolers. The figures were planned and executed by the pupils of Mr. Donald P. Jones, art teacher, and Mr. Francis K. Trettel, industrial arts teacher.

One custom, transplanted from New Mexico, is followed by families living between 11th and 12th Streets on West Broad Street, Quakertown. Here the porches, sidewalks, and flowerbeds are lined with luminarias—lanterns made of candles standing in paper bags.

Mr. and Mrs. William G. Moyer, Jr. and Mr. and Mrs. David L. Weamer started out in 1962 with 24 candles apiece. This year 2,000 candles, at two-foot intervals, shone along both sides of the street.

The luminarias are made by punching holes in the sides of a paper bag at about the height a candle's flame will reach, while the top edge of the bag is folded down about an inch to give the bag more rigidity. The base of the candle is formed by two to three inches of sand.

The Moyers and Weamers learned that the regular paper bags are too opaque, so they are using six-pound, thin, white bags in which candy is sold. Gay red poinsettias are painted on both sides of the bags. They also discovered a candle which burns for eight hours, making it possible that the candles are still burning when churchgoers come back from Christmas Eve services. As it takes most of the day to place the luminarias, the lighting problem is solved by having open house that evening and having all the guests participate in the task.

Mr. Carl A. Bauer, Allentown, set out one thousand luminarias at his Tilghman Street home. From a firm in Albuquerque, New Mexico, he ordered special luminaria candles which burn for 36 hours with a cool flame, which reduces danger of fire.

In the rural homes of Lehigh Furnace, Stony Run, and Danielsville, a dramatic effect was gained by a lighted candle in each window of the house. This was repeated on a larger scale in the old Moravian buildings near the Central Moravian Church, Bethlehem.

The making of unusual decorative pieces did not require a handsome investment in baubles. For instance, Christmas tree centerpieces were made of wooden toothpicks inserted in golf-ball size styrofoam, "snow" spray and strings of beads. More elaborate were the ceramic trees with miniature lights as the one made by Mrs. Franklin Smith, Walnutport. Wreaths were constructed of cotton balls while empty cardboard spools furnished the base for pine cone or macaroni trees.

Already the banks are suggesting that everyone be ready for the count-down next Christmas by joining Christmas Clubs. Money may be deposited at the rate of \$1 to \$20 weekly. Next November, the customers receives a check for the amount he has saved plus 4 1/2% interest. As an inducement, banks are giving free holiday candles, double S & H green stamps, and calendars imprinted on linen cloth.

Christmas is very special in the Lehigh Valley because as we gather together with friends and loved ones in our churches and our homes, we remember the real meaning of Christmas, God's love for us. As we celebrate Christ's birthday, it seems to instill in all of us, a feeling of friendship and love for our fellowman and we pray that we may keep some of this Christmas spirit in our hearts all year long.

THE INN CROWD: The American Inn, 1730-1830

By KAREN SPITULNIK



Conestoga teams and drovers at Fairview Inn three miles from Baltimore.

Courtesy Maryland Historical Society.

The evolution of the tavern and inn in the United States has reflected the changing methods of travel in this country. Local inns and taverns have also mirrored the character of the individual community, its needs and its development. As the country grew, the countryside and the small towns changed, the patterns of travel changed, and the inns and taverns changed in response to the new demands that were placed upon them and the new life styles that supported them.

The century approximately between 1730 and 1830 was an exciting one on the North American continent. It was during this century that a new country was carved out of a wilderness. In 1730, the thirteen English colonies hugged the Atlantic coast, and the European visitor truly found himself in a new world. By 1830, the territory of the United States, an independent country, stretched across the continent almost to the Pacific, and visitors from the Old World found life in the settled Eastern cities little different from life at home, at least with regard to available conveniences. However, life on the frontier and in the rural areas was still a new world, even to the Americans who lived in the Eastern towns and cities.

In 1837, Frederick Marryat believed that "to write upon America as a *nation* would be absurd, for nation, properly speaking, it is not."¹ He wrote about what he saw, and he considered each area through which he traveled by itself. His comments on hotels and inns are quite perceptive, and they describe very succinctly

the way in which these institutions developed in a country that seemed to have an ever-expanding frontier. Marryat wrote:

I presume that the origin of hotels and inns has been much the same in all countries. At first, the solitary traveler is received, welcomed, and hospitably entertained; but as the wayfarers multiply, what was at first a pleasure becomes a tax. For instance, let us take Western Virginia, through which the first irruption to the far west may be said to have taken place. At first everyone was received and accommodated by those who had settled there; but as this gradually became inconvenient, not only from interfering with their domestic privacy, but from them not being prepared to meet the wants of the travellers, the inhabitants of any small settlement met together and agreed upon one of them keeping the house of reception; this was not done with a view of profit, the travelers being charged the actual value of the articles consumed. Such is still the case in many places in the far west . . . The American innkeeper, therefore is still looked upon in the light of your host; he and his wife sit at the head of the table d'hôte at meal times; when you arrive he greets you with a welcome, shaking your hand; if you arrive in company with those who know him, you are introduced to him; he is considered on a level with you; you meet him in the most respectable companies, and it is but justice to say that, in most instances, they are a very respectable portion of society . . . The mania for traveling, among the people of the United States, renders it most important that everything connected with locomotion should be well arranged; society demands it, public opinion enforces it, and there-

¹Frederick Marryat, *A Diary in North America*, p. 14.

fore, with few exceptions, it is so . . . The continual stream of travellers which pours through the country gives sufficient support by moderated profits to enable the innkeeper to abstain from excessive charges . . . Where the road is less and less frequented, so do they (the hotels) decrease in importance, size, and respectability, until you arrive at the farm house entertainment of Virginia and Kentucky, the grocery or mere grog-shop, or the log house of the far west. The way side inns are remarkable for their uniformity; the furniture of the bar-room is invariably the same . . . there are no neat, quiet little inns, as in England. It is all the "rough and tumble" system, and when you stop at humble inns, you must expect to eat peas with a two-pronged fork and to sit down to meals with people whose exterior is anything but agreeable, to attend upon yourself, and to sleep in a room in which there are three or four other beds, most of them carrying double even if you do not have a companion in your own.²

Marryat's conjecture that townspeople agreed upon the necessity for establishing places for the entertainment of travelers is close to what actually seems to have happened. In 1656, the General Court of Massachusetts made communities liable to a fine for not keeping an ordinary or public house; a similar law was passed in Connecticut in 1644.³ Alice Morse Earle wrote that the sincere neighborliness of the Puritans was an important factor that led to this concern for the welfare of travelers.⁴ However, it was not only consideration for tired travelers that prompted this attention to hostelries. The earliest known tavern in the colonies was licenced by the Massachusetts General Court in 1634, and it was more than simply a convenience, because there was very soon a Massachusetts law that forbade any private individual to take a stranger into his home without giving a guarantee for the behavior of the outsider.⁵ This law worked, as was intended, to force travelers into taverns where the officials could observe them, curb unseemly conduct, and regulate the consumption of alcohol. Indians, particularly, were carefully regulated. In the later days of American settlement, it became illegal to sell spirits to an Indian at all, but there was a 1676 New York law which stated that if an Indian was found drunk, the tavern keeper responsible for his condition was fined; if it could not be ascertained where the Indian got his liquor, then every man on the street on which he was found was fined!

As the methods of travel and the elements of life in the communities changed, the inns changed too. In 1730, a visitor to Philadelphia or New York would have stayed in an inn or an ordinary little different from the inns on the country roads. By 1830 the city

hotels had grown to be much more like the kind of accommodation we know today. We will use the words "inn," "hotel," "tavern," "ordinary," and occasionally "hostelry" rather interchangeably, as did the travelers from whose journals we will quote. Actually, this entire paper is a definition of these terms. However, it can be specified for the sake of clarity that these terms refer to a public house in which travelers were lodged and fed in return for compensation. These public houses were small, usually accommodating fewer than thirty guests, rural in character, generally run by one family. They could be small because there were no land conveyances that carried large groups of travelers and a single stopping place was not, in day-to-day usage, called upon to entertain large groups all at once. These hostelries fulfilled certain functions in the community as well as providing entertainment for strangers. We shall see that this last condition is, aside from magnitude, one of the most important that distinguishes these early hostelries from our present-day Howard Johnsons and Hiltons. We can say that the Indian Queen in Philadelphia in the 1770's was an inn that fits this description, and that the Mansion House in the same city in the early 19th Century was not. We cannot define any further without specific discussion of the inn and the community, the innkeepers, private entertainment of travelers, and the actual accommodations at these inns.

THE INN AND THE COMMUNITY

Public inns came to the American colonies with the English, and they seem to have been in some ways modeled after the English public houses. Gradually, like the English country inns, the American houses became important centers for community life. The importance of the tavern to those dwelling in its neighborhood was far greater than to the most weary of travelers.

The temperance movement of the 19th Century wrought such a change in American life that it is difficult for us to realize that the Puritan fathers had no objection to drinking, only to drunkenness. Ale, beer, rum, brandy, and cider were common beverages. There was usually a limit to the amount one person was permitted to drink, but landlords were often subject to penalty if they did not permit a man to drink his legal limit. Local men were accustomed to gather in the taverns of an evening to drink, and, at a later date, to play games. Early New England laws required that the landlord allow any man to drink only half an hour at a time. However, unless the tavern was uncomfortably close to the windows of a selectman's house, or the tithingman had appeared, these laws were not scrupulously observed.

One would not have found much smoke in the earliest taverns, for public smoking was strictly for-

²*Ibid.*, pp. 373-378.

³Alice M. Earle, *Stage-Coach and Tavern Days*, p. 2.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁵Seymour Dunbar, *A History of Travel in America*, I, 209.

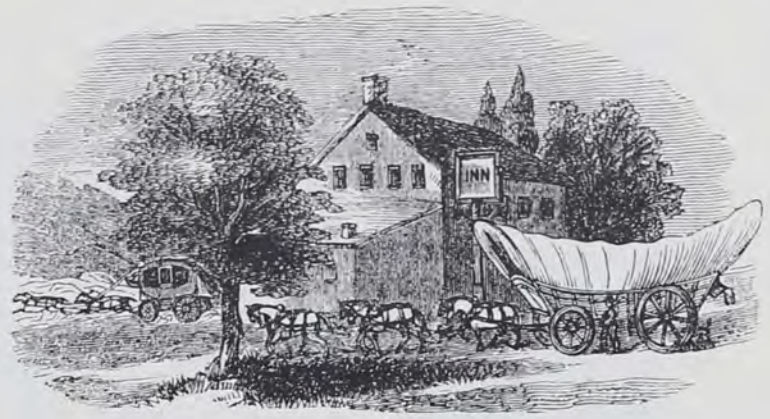
bidden, and heavily fined. By 1675, however, smoking was a common enough accompaniment of drinking in the public houses. Cotton Mather objected to the number of taverns in Boston on the grounds that the people were encouraged therein to cultivate dissipated habits. However, it was many years before one smoked in genteel private homes, and smoke soon came to be as essential a feature of the ordinaries as the distinctive tavern signs. In 1679, Jasper Dankaerts wrote that he mistook a building of Harvard College for a tavern because there were so many men smoking.

There are a number of possible reasons, but no one really knows why the custom of stopping for an evening drink in the local tavern was so widespread. Catherine Fennelly suggests that it may have been the tedium of daily life or the extremes of the New England climate that fostered the growth of this custom,⁶ but it was as prevalent all over the country where the climate was more moderate. Miss Fennelly quotes a local history of Harvard, Massachusetts, where the citizens came daily to the town's two taverns:

from all the districts of the town, on foot, or horseback, in every variety of vehicle—some bringing butter and eggs or other domestic produce to exchange for a few groceries and a jug of New England rum; some coming empty handed to kill time and soak themselves with toddy and flip. Especially in the long autumn and winter evenings would the sanded floors of the barrooms become the arena where a concourse of boon companions, in an atmosphere blue with tobacco smoke and profanity, wrangled about political questions, played practical jokes upon each other, told ribald stories, sang ribald songs, and guzzled until stupid or half crazed. About midnight, locked out by the landlord, these free American citizens would reel to their half-starved, shivering steeds tied nearby, and drive howling home to add to the discomfort and misery there.⁷

Johann David Schoepf, traveling in the Blue Mountains in 1783-1784, noted in his account, "It was a Sunday, and we found assembled at the tap house (according to the traditional German custom), a numerous company of the German farmers of the neighborhood making good cheer with their cyder and cyder oil. Cyder-oil is a pretty strong drink; it consists of the combustible spirits of cyder mixed again, in divers proportions, with cyder of the best grade."⁸

In 1704, another traveler was less agreeably inclined toward the pleasant custom of assembling for an evening of drinking. It may have been significant that the irritated journalist was a woman. She was looking for a guide for a trip from Boston to New Haven, and she went "to ye Tavern, where I hoped to get my guide, And desired the Hostess to inquire of her guests



Conestoga Team and Stage-Coach

whether any of them would go with me. But they, being tyed by the Lipps to a pewter engine, scarcely allowed themselves to say what clownish . . . [manuscript defective here]."⁹ Madame Knight was even more put out with the guests at Mr. Havern's inn, where she spent a night. Although she had a comfortable room near the kitchen, she was unable to sleep "because of the Clamor of Some of the Town tope-ers in next room, who were entered into a strong debate concerning ye Signification of the name of their Country, (viz.) Narraganset . . . They kept calling to tother Gill which while they were swallowing was some intermission; But presently, like Oyle to fire, encreased the flame. I set my candle on a Chest by the bed side, and setting up, fell to my old way of composing my Resentments in the following manner:

I ask thy Aid, O Potent Rum!
To Charm these wrangling Topers Dum.
Thou has their Giddy Brains possess—
The man confounded with the Beast—
And I, poor I, can get no rest.
Intoxicate them with thy fumes;
O still their Tongues till morning comes!

And I knew not but my wishes took effect; for the dispute soon ended with 'tother Dram, and so Good night!"¹⁰

Even the most respectable of citizens visited the taverns to celebrate public holidays with the drinking of healths and to take a night out for dinner. Cato's House, built in 1712 on the outskirts of New York, is one tavern which was especially popular with local diners out. Alice Morse Earle noted Cato's unusual history. "Cato was a Negro slave who had so mastered various specialities in cooking that he was able to earn enough to buy his freedom from his South Carolina master. Those who tasted his okra soup, his terrapin, fried chicken, curried oysters, roast duck, or drank his New York Brandy-punch, his Virginia egg-nogg,

⁶Catherine Fennelly, *Life in An Old New England Village*, p. 104.

⁷Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 105; source not given.

⁸Johann Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, I, 161.

⁹Sarah Knight, *Journal*, p. 2.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 17-19.

or South Carolina milk-punch, wondered how any one who owned him could ever sell him, even to himself."¹¹

New England tavern-keepers were compelled by law to remain closed during the hours of church services, but this law hardly indicated a strained relationship between ordinary and meetinghouse. In fact, it was deemed advantageous by all concerned for taverns and meetinghouses to be in close proximity. Licences to keep public houses were often granted with the condition that the tavern be near the meeting-house. Mrs. Earle records that "a Boston ordinary-keeper in 1651, was granted permission to keep a house of common entertainment 'provided hee keepe it neare the new meeting-house'."¹² The worshippers had undeniable need for a place of refreshment between services. The meetinghouse was unheated and literally freezing in winter, and hot and stuffy under the steady summer sun. The Elders, Deacons, and Selectmen of the Congregation met at the tavern to manage church affairs. Ordinations for new ministers were celebrated at local taverns, and we ought not to imagine these affairs as dry and sober in any sense. Mrs. Earle notes that religious services were sometimes held in the tavern rooms until a meetinghouse was built. Fitchburg, Massachusetts, and Providence, Rhode Island, were two communities where this occurred.¹⁴ Julian Niemcewicz, traveling in the U.S. between 1795 and 1797 wrote, "All settlements begin from guesthouses which are established because of the heavy traffic of wagoners and individual travelers."¹⁵ When this was actually the case, it is not difficult to understand why the tavern served a number of public purposes. One traveler even reports on a rather unusual wedding that he attended in a tavern at which he happened to stop.

¹¹Earle, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁵Julian Niemcewicz, *Under Their Vine and Fig Tree*, p. 112.



Country Inn dating from 1738, on outskirts of York, Pennsylvania.

The onset of the temperance movement was preceded by a growing separation between the clientele of meetinghouse and public house. In about 1800, John Davis, a young Englishman teaching in the United States, spent a pleasant Sunday afternoon at King's Tavern, next to a Presbyterian Church in New York. He and his friend "experienced an oblivion of care. From the jollity that resounded in every room on a Sunday, brought to recollection the proverb that 'the nearer to church, the further from heaven'. Here, however, we drank porter, smoked segars, and forgot that we were Tutors."¹⁶

The tavern was often the local post office. The stage left the mail there, and the landlord distributed it. At times the landlord even carried the mail. In 1818, Frances Wright visited Ithaca, New York, a town not twenty years old at the time. She recorded, "An inn-keeper here, at whose door fifteen stages stop daily, carried, eighteen years since, the solitary and weekly mail in his coat pocket from hence to Utica."¹⁷ The innkeepers were the local news media. Many travelers complained about the interrogation that had to be undergone at each stopping place. They did not realize that they were both sources of news and news in and of themselves in the more isolated communities.

In the more sophisticated communities, the innkeeper kept editions of various newspapers in the public rooms for the edification of his guests. Niemcewicz described an inn in Albany in 1795, "one of the most excellent inns in America . . . There there are five or six different newspapers and an American edition of Dabson's encyclopedia, which offers both amusement and instruction for any traveler."¹⁸ In 1822, William Blane, an Englishman traveling in the United States, was pleased to find a variety of informative reading material in the inns at which he stopped:

One thing that particularly struck me in the United States, and which cannot be sufficiently praised, is, that all the respectable inns, even in the little towns, contain a public reading room; where the paper are fastened to a long sloping desk, by means of a small iron bar down the middle of each file, so as to prevent individuals from taking them away. In the reading room of the Globe Tavern at Hagerstown (Md.), I found no less than ten different files of papers from different States in the Union . . . There were also in this reading-room several Reviews and Magazines.¹⁹

Doubtless, Blane was not referring to the one-room log houses on the frontier where the guest shared a room and perhaps a bed with the innkeeper and his

¹⁶John Davis, *Travels of Four Years and a Half in the United States of America*, p. 173.

¹⁷Frances Wright, *Views of Society and Manners in America*, p. 94.

¹⁸Niemcewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

¹⁹William N. Blane, *An Excursion Through the United States and Canada During the Years 1822-1823*, p. 84.



Cherryville Hotel

family. There, very few people had time to read, if, indeed, they were literate at all.

In addition to newspapers kept neatly in reading rooms, local news was communicated in another way at the inns. Schoepf found that it was "not always customary to hang tavern signs, but taverns are easily identified by miscellaneous papers and advertisements plastered on walls and doors. The more bills, generally the better the tavern."²⁰ Niemcewicz noted wryly that "All inns in Maryland have two kinds of placards—one offering stud service and the other advertising for runaway slaves."²¹

The principal local citizens gathered in the inns and taverns to hear the news over a glass of grog or flip. Thomas Cather reported, "The Village politicians assemble every evening under the piazza of the tavern, kick their heels together, swing themselves on their chairs, and discuss the news of the day."²² From these gatherings grew clubs and societies that sometimes took organized action in relation to business affairs. These societies later became merchants' exchanges and chambers of commerce, and the taverns in which they originated were natural meeting places. Niemcewicz mentioned such a merchants' exchange at his inn in Albany, N. Y.²³ In the same way, political groups began and grew in certain taverns. The Indian Queen in Philadelphia was a favored meeting place for men who were creating the plans for a new republic, and it was there that Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence. This was neither the first nor the last time that political caucuses and leaders of public opinion met in a tavern. Griffin's Tavern near Fishkill, New York, which is mentioned by the Marquis de Chastellux in 1780, was sometimes known as "the Rendez-vous"²⁴. It was frequented by Washington,

Lafayette, Putnam, Steuben, and both Continental and French soldiers. The New York Historical Society records that a famous meeting of the Committee of Observation for Rombout Precinct was held there on August 15, 1775.²⁵ The Liberty Tree Tavern was a headquarters for Boston revolutionaries, and the Green Dragon Inn was called "The Headquarters of the Revolution" by Daniel Webster. Mass meetings like those held at the Green Dragon were often held in front of or within prominent hostelries. Occasionally, these ordinaries also served as polling places at election time. Legal notices and government proclamations were fastened to the fronts of inns among all the other notices to be found there.

A large amount of official business seems to have been conducted in the taverns, which were sometimes the first, the largest, or the only public buildings in a town. It therefore seems natural that the court, and occasionally the assembly met in local taverns. Schoepf saw in Georgetown, "a case at law being decided at the tavern door. All sat on a bench before the door disputing and drinking. The costs were placed with the host for punch."²⁶ Janson quoted a newspaper advertisement which would also seem to indicate that a tavern was being used as a seat for legal process. The note is from a paper for Augusta County, Virginia, for October 4, 1800.

Elizabeth Laywell doth hereby give public notice to all whom it may concern that she will petition the next general assembly of the State of Virginia for a divorce from her husband Abraham Laywell . . . And she doth hereby give the Said Abraham Laywell notice that she will proceed on the 29th day of November next, at the tavern of James Edmundson, in the town of Staunton, to take the depositions of sundry witnesses in support of said petition, when and where he may attend to cross-examine such witnesses, if he thinks proper.²⁷

²⁰Schoepf, *op. cit.*, II, 30.

²¹Niemcewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

²²Thomas Cather, *Voyage to America*, p. 103.

²³Niemcewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

²⁴Francois Jean, Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America*, p. 86.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 265, n. 67.

²⁶Schoepf, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

²⁷William C. Janson, *The Stranger in America*, p. 361.

Even if the legislature or the Court did not actually sit on the rooms of the ordinary, chance visitors always found the inns full in towns where either of these bodies were meeting. Schoepf recorded that the inn at Richmond, Virginia, was full because the assembly was meeting. "Generals, Colonels, Captains, Senators, Assembly-men, Judges, Doctors, Clerks, and crowds of gentlemen of every weight and calibre and every hue of dress, sat all together about the fire, drinking, smoking, singing, and talking ribaldry."²⁸

As we have noted before, it was not only occasions of an official nature that made men gather at the local inns and taverns. In the South, one found the inns in the area of a race track full at race times. Latrobe, in 1796, found the inn at Petersburg, Virginia, crowded and noisy because of the races nearby.²⁹ Fordham, in 1818 also stopped at Petersburg, and he recorded that he dined at a tavern with about sixty farmers who had just returned from the race-course.³⁰

Although rain detained the entire crowd, Fordham does not report the same commotion that disturbed Latrobe when he met a party of race-goers. The noise of the gambling and fighting particularly bothered the latter, but he might have found some similar, if not quite as loud, disturbances at a less crowded inn on an ordinary day. Other travelers have reported bear-baiting, cock fights, and gouging matches for which they had front row seats on the tavern porches. Generally, these less civilized amusements were encountered only in the less settled, frontier areas. Alice Morse Earle gave a list of "the sports of the Innyard" to which the Puritan magistrates strongly objected. "Among the games which were named as forbidden in the ordinaries were carding, shuffleboard, quoits, dicing, loggets, ninepins."³¹ Needless to say, the magistrates did not draw their objections from the air, and this list includes the games which one might likely have seen being played in or around the ordinary. The most common games all over the country seem to have been cardplaying, dicing, and occasionally billiards. The reason for the popularity of the first two is obvious; they needed no more equipment than a man could easily carry in his pocket. In frontier areas, some inns became known as dangerous dens of unscrupulous professional gamblers.

Frontier taverns often witnessed scenes far more serious than sports of the innyard and more important than even the court and assembly meetings. John Reichel tells us that the Rose Inn of Nazareth, Pennsylvania, was used as a refuge during a 1755 Indian scare that caused an evacuation of several frontier settlements.³² The same inn also served to billet militia

men on similar occasions. Schoepf reported that Sebitz's, an isolated tavern about thirty-seven miles from Wyoming, Pennsylvania, was a militia outpost during the Revolution.³³ Taverns also served as recruiting centers first for the British and later for the Continental armies.

The gayest gatherings in the old bar-rooms were probably dances, held by the young people for a number of reasons. Schoepf found a group gathered at Orth's Tavern in a thinly settled area of Pennsylvania to cut and peel apples.³⁴ This kind of activity was an excuse for the young people to socialize with each other. Mrs. Anne Royall, in about 1829, described the dancing that accompanied a Thanksgiving fair at Reading, Pennsylvania.³⁵ There were two violins and dancing all day in the tavern. The ladies were forced to continue dancing because "In some parts of the United States a lady would think herself disgraced forever were she to sit down for a minute in a bar-room."³⁶ The party recessed for supper and then continued the ball in the dining room which was able to accommodate more people. Klinkowström wrote in his journal that he traveled with some friends to a tavern a few miles from Brooklyn. There they found a large gathering of farmers from the surrounding countryside, and a number of young people who had arranged an impromptu dance in the upper rooms. There had been few preparations made for the dance, but the young people seemed to enjoy themselves while their fathers gathered in a room below to enjoy grog and toddy.³⁷ In Kentucky, Thomas Ashe found a ball in progress in his inn. The dance broke up when a row began. Ashe was informed that these assemblies sometimes lasted for thirty hours at a time if no altercations developed.³⁸ Chastellux learned that it was customary for young folks and servants to go from tavern to tavern and to many other houses on New Year's eve to wish all within a happy New Year and to ask for a drink.³⁹ John Davis found MacGregor's Tavern on the Santee River filled with planters and young women celebrating Christmas with a dance, the music provided by an old Negro fiddler.⁴⁰ Fordham reported that the young men of Princeton, Indiana, gave a ball in the tavern to celebrate July 4. There was dancing at three, an open air supper at seven, and dancing again till ten. The young men were all of the most respectable class; the young ladies were alike

²⁸Schoepf, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 208.

³⁰Anne Royall in Warren Tyron, *A Mirror for Americans*, p. 71.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 71.

³²Baron Axel Klinkowström, *Baron Klinkowström's America*, p. 118.

³³Thomas Ashe, *Travels in America performed in 1806*, p. 100.

³⁴Chastellux, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

³⁵Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

³⁶Schoepf, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

³⁷Benjamin H. Latrobe, *Journal*, p. 23.

³⁸Elias P. Fordham, *Personal Narrative of Travels*, p. 48.

³⁹Earle, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁴⁰John C. Reichel, *A Red Rose from the Olden Times*, p. 12.

only in beauty, being of various births and levels of education.⁴¹

Other varieties of social gatherings also met at the taverns. One men-only affair was the annual Thanksgiving turkey-shoot that seems to have been customary everywhere from the most proper New England ordinaries to the wildest frontier tavern-outposts. In the more settled areas, sleigh-rides were popular in the winter time, and the well-chilled parties often ended the trip by a warm tavern fire with hot flip or mulled wine. Barbecues were also held at taverns, which often had better facilities for such things than did private homes. Janson copied into his journal an excerpt from a Pennsylvania newspaper of September 10, 1805:

The citizens generally of all parties in both town and country are respectfully invited to partake of a Barbacue on Saturday next, the 17th inst. at the spring on Monocasy, by Stoner's White House Tavern, two miles from Frederick, on the Lancaster Road. The candidates are all particularly requested to attend, as it is expected there will be a political discussion, that the people may have an opportunity of being fully informed on public subjects, by hearing both sides face to face in a fair and open manner.⁴²

For some, the local tavern was not only a center of public life, but it was also home. It was the custom for local bachelors to board, if not room, at the public houses, and some inns had as many as sixty or seventy regular subscribers for each meal. Latrobe complained that the traveler was at best a second-class citizen when he supped at the ordinary. "There are probably two or three clerks, young, permanent residents, farmers, physicians, etc., who, boarding at the house, have control of the waiters and of all the accommodations especially as to the hours of meals."⁴³ Henry Fearon remarked that "the mode of living for those who don't keep private houses is at hotels, boarding houses, and taverns."⁴⁴ He faulted the cozily settled boarders at an Albany inn where he stopped on a cold night. "All the fires were surrounded by gentlemen smoking segars and lolling back on chairs with their feet fixed against the chimney pieces. They did not disturb themselves to make room for a shivering stranger."⁴⁵ Morris Birkbeck's detailed notes recorded that "the daily number of guests at the ordinary in this tavern (and there are several large taverns in Petersburg) is fifty, consisting of travellers, storekeepers, lawyers, and doctors."⁴⁶ He wrote that he arrived in Lebanon, Ohio, with the supper bells and took a seat "among just such a set as I should have expected to meet at the ordinary in Richmond; travelers like ourselves with a number of store-keepers, doctors and lawyers—men who board at

the tavern and make up a standing company for the daily public table."⁴⁷ Francis Bailey, like Fearon, noted in his journal that "people in large towns who do not keep house board at the taverns and sit down with whoever happens to be in the house."⁴⁸ Mrs. Trollope found that the dinner bell at a Memphis inn summoned a miscellaneous assortment of fifty people, all male. The male inhabitants of the city, she was told, all breakfasted and dined there.⁴⁹ Other travelers found this to be true in other communities as well, even where more men were married. The reason for this was related to a point discussed earlier; not only was it convenient for business-men to dine near their work, but it also seems that a fair amount of business was transacted during these tavern dinners.

There is one little known fact that ought to be mentioned in a discussion of the inn in relation to the community. Few people realize that a small number of early American tavern-keepers issued metallic money for the convenience of travelers and the surrounding populations. Silver money was often scarce, and this tavern money was a useful part of the local economy. The value of the money, of course, depended on the reputation of the particular innkeeper.

It becomes obvious that inns or taverns or ordinaries, no matter what one calls them, were important institutions of the local community. They played an important part in local life on every level. The traveler who expected the action at his chosen hostelry to revolve around his needs and expectations could only be sorely disappointed.

THE INNKEEPERS

The innkeepers and tavern proprietors were men of consequence and social position. New England innkeepers had to be approved by the exacting Puritan magistrates. Very often the men who kept public houses did so only as a sideline or because an inn was needed on the road by their particular homes. Marryat discussed the fact that the innkeeper was considered the social equal of any of his guests, and the accommodations he offered were considered a favor as much as a service. The traveler often sat down to the table with the family of the host, and in this egalitarian society he was generally expected to behave more like a guest than a client. Birkbeck wrote, "your host is generally a man of property, the head man of the village, perhaps, with the title of Colonel; and feels that he confers rather than receives a favor by the accommodation he affords; and rude as his establishment may be, he does not perceive that you have a right to complain. What he has, you partake of, but he

⁴¹Fordham, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

⁴²Janson, *op. cit.*, pp. 359-360.

⁴³Latrobe, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

⁴⁴Henry Fearon, *Sketches of America*, p. 7.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 131.

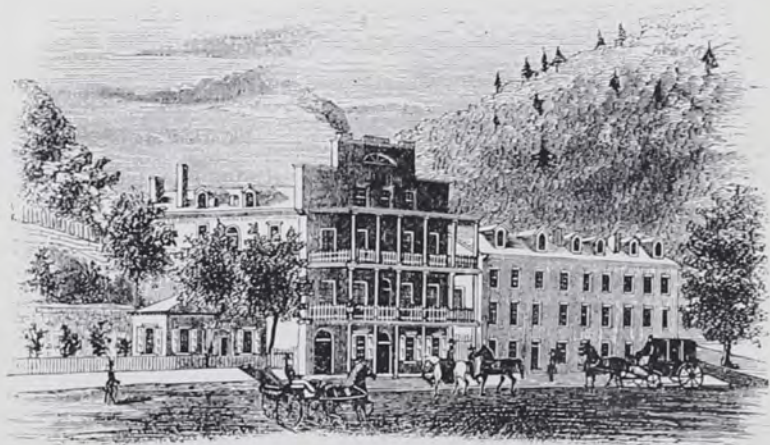
⁴⁶Morris Birkbeck, *Notes on a Journey in America*, p. 20.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁴⁸Francis Bailey, *Journal of a Tour in the Unsettled Parts of North America*, p. 100.

⁴⁹Frances Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, p. 20.

makes no apologies; and if you show symptoms of dissatisfaction or disgust, you will fare the worse; whilst a disposition to be pleased and satisfied will be met by a wish to make you so."⁵⁰ Barbé-Marbois noted a similar independence of spirit among country landlords. "We found it necessary to speak to innkeepers with restraint. An imperative tone would not be successful. Frequently they replied: 'You may demand, not command'."⁵¹ Frances Wright also observed that money will not buy servility in the United States. "I have never yet met with any incivility, though occasionally with that sort of indifference which foreigners, accustomed to the obsequiousness of European service, sometimes mistake for it. In the country, especially, service however well paid for is a favor received."⁵² Mrs. Trollope, with her usual clumsiness and bad luck, managed to offend her landlord in Cincinnati by wishing to take her tea privately rather than at the family table. He interrupted her domestic pleasure with an ultimatum, "We have no family tea-drinkings here, and you must live either with me and my wife or not at all in my house!"⁵³



Mansion House near Pottsville.

William Janson was inspired by the landlord at one uncomfortable inn to write an acid, albeit picturesque description of what the traveler in America might expect to encounter in the way of innkeepers:

Arrived at your inn, let me suppose, like myself, you had fallen in with a landlord, who at the moment would condescend to take the trouble to procure you refreshment after the family hour . . . he will set by your side and enter in the most familiar manner into conversation: which is pre-faced, of course, with a demand of your business, and so forth. He will then start a political question, force your answer, contradict, deny, and,

finally be ripe for quarrel, should you not acquiesce in all his opinions. When the homely meal is served up, he will often place himself opposite to you at the table, at the same time declaring that 'though he thought he had eaten a hearty dinner, yet he will pick a bit with you.' Thus while he sits, drinking out of your glass, and of the liquor you are to pay for, belching in your face, and committing other excesses still more indelicate and disgusting. Perfectly unattentive to your accommodation and regardless of your appetite, he will dart his fork into the best of the dish and leave you to take the next cut. If you arrive at the dinner hour, you are seated with 'mine hostess,' and her dirty children, with whom you have often to scramble for a plate, and even the servants of the inn; for liberty and equality level all ranks upon the road, from the host to the hostler. The children, imitative of their free and polite papa, will also seize your drink, slobber in it, and often snatch a dainty bit from your plate.⁵⁴

Janson's is a very unflattering picture of the landlord, and it is only fair to state that many travelers were much more favorably impressed with their hosts. The Marquis de Chastellux was usually delighted with the innkeepers that he met during his travels. He could hardly praise enough the Dorrance family who kept an inn at Volunstown, Rhode Island.⁵⁵ At Courtheath's Tavern he remarked that the inn was one recently established by young people without fortune; "consequently, the best parts of the furniture are the owner and his family."⁵⁶ In Thomas' Inn at Rhinebeck, he was pleased to be detained by bad weather because there was a good fire and his host was "a hunter, a horse dealer, and disposed to chat."⁵⁷ Chastellux took the pleasant opportunity to learn about horse-trading, Benedict Arnold, agriculture, hunting, and politics. In fact, Chastellux was always interested in the past histories of his many talkative landlords, and a sizeable part of his detailed, conversational journals are filled with chatty gossip and shrewd characterizations of various innkeepers who were formerly booksellers or Italians or natives of Ulster, or simple gentlemen farmers before opening public houses.

Chastellux was not the only traveler to be pleased with his hosts, but few were as articulate as he. William Blane thoroughly appreciated the landlord who received him just after he had gotten thoroughly wet while crossing the muddy River. He was dosed with the man's personal remedy of whiskey mixed with pepper. "This extraordinary draught, which is probably not to be found in any Pharmacopoeia, made me feel as if I had swallowed liquid fire; but by throwing me into a violent perspiration, prevented me from experiencing any harm from the accident."⁵⁸

⁵⁰Birkbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁵¹Francois, Marquis de Barbé Marbois, *Letters during his Residence in the United States*, p. 100.

⁵²Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

⁵³Trollope, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁵⁴Janson, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

⁵⁵Chastellux, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 186.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 193.

⁵⁸Blane, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

European travellers sometimes made perceptive comments about the reasons for the kind of receptions that they received. Chastellux sometimes reports that he was received with indifference. He wrote that this "often happens in inns in America where they are not in much frequented situations. Travelers are there considered as bringing more trouble than money. The reason for this is that the innkeepers are all of them well to do farmers who do not stand in need of this slight profit: most of those who follow this profession are even compelled to it by the laws of the country, which have wisely provided that on any road there shall be 'a public house,' as these taverns are commonly and appropriately called, every six miles."⁵⁹ Hodgson discussed the fact that the landlord literally behaves as host and joins the meals and conversations of his guests. "The landlord usually comes in to converse with you, and to make one of the party; and as one cannot have a private room, I do not find his company disagreeable. He is, in general, well informed and well behaved; and the independence of manner which has often been remarked upon, I rather like than other-wise when it is not assumed or obtrusive but appears to arise naturally from easy circumstances, and consciousness, that, both with respect to situation and intelligence, he is at least on a level with the generality of his visitors."⁶⁰ Those travelers who were not too puffed up with their own importance to appreciate sincerity seemed to enjoy the American experience of civility without servileness.

Travelers were often surprised and sometimes disconcerted to hear innkeepers addressed as Colonel or Major. It does seem, even to the casual reader of these journals, that every second tavern proprietor must have been a high-ranking army officer. It would be intolerant to remark that these titles may frequently have been only complimentary, and we don't know that for certain. It would be nearly impossible to track down each passing reference to Col. X who kept a tavern at X-town, although Howard Rice who edited Chastellux's journals, made an impressive effort to do just that. Most travellers noted their surprise at finding the country roads so heavily populated with commissioned officers who had retired to keep taverns, and a few were thoughtful enough to consider why so many Colonels and Majors were to be found behind the bars of country tap rooms. Some of the speculations are rather far-fetched, but they are all interesting. Baron Klinkowström was rather embarrassed to have General Staunton serve his breakfast in a Connecticut town, although the editor reports that, according to *The Record of Service of Connecticut*, Staunton was

probably only a captain. Klinkowström's driver reported that the General had commanded a brigade of two thousand militia troops during the War of 1812. Klinkowström observed that public responsibilities are looked upon as emergency duties to society, and in no way do they prevent an officer's return to earlier occupations. The General was the landlord of an inn, and a farmer and country storekeeper as well.⁶¹ His logic is quite sound, but Klinkowström does not appear to have wondered, as did other European visitors, how a country storekeeper-innkeeper-farmer got to be a general in the first place. Niemcewicz's theory is quite imaginative. As he put it, "In the time of the Revolution, the government gave this class of men much consideration and gave them military patents."⁶² When his driver addressed an innkeeper engaged in feeding his pigs as "Colonel," Niemcewicz observed that General Washington gave almost all innkeepers an Army rank in order to keep their adherence in light of their great influence in coming in contact with so many people. The editor here hastened to Washington's defense and noted Washington's emphasis on ability in the selection of officers. He included a reference to Henry Wansey who wrote that military rank was bestowed as a reward for a man's service to his country. Thomas Cooper quoted an anonymous letter wherein the writer noted, "In America, it is extremely common to find taverns on the road kept by Captains, Colonels, and Majors. When the American Army was reduced at the close of the war, many of the officers had no means of subsistence, and therefore recurred to the business in question. Let it be remembered also, that no species of honest industry is disgraceful in that country of good sense."⁶³ Chastellux, who was in a fair position to know what he was talking about, wrote, "Nothing is more common in America than to see an innkeeper a colonel: they are in general militia colonels, chosen by the militia themselves, who seldom fail to entrust the command to the most worthy and most esteemed citizens."⁶⁴ His report is echoed by Blane: "In Western States, the tavern keepers are all considerable landed proprietors; and as they have generally a great number of friends and acquaintances, are men of considerable influence. Now the militia have the privilege of choosing their own officers, and consequently the election very often falls upon the tavernkeeper of the neighborhood. Indeed, I have rarely stopped at a tavern in Kentucky, Indiana, Ohio or Illinois without finding that the landlord although clothed from top to toe in buckskin, and not remarkably clean, was at least a captain, and generally a

⁵⁹Klinkowström, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁶⁰Niemcewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁶¹*Some Information Respecting America*, gathered by Thomas Cooper, p. 111.

⁶²Chastellux, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

⁵⁹Chastellux, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

⁶⁰Adam Hodgson, *Remarks During a Journey Through North America*, pp. 98, 99.

major or colonel . . . a man of considerable information and abilities."⁶⁵

Next to the high incidence of army officers among innkeepers, travelers perhaps commented most on the inquisitiveness of innkeepers. Janson mentioned, in his little tirade, that the landlord might be expected to demand to know your business. He also mentioned that Connecticut landlords were "more troublesome to their guests, by prying into their business, than persons of any other description."⁶⁶ At Queens, Schoepf recorded a general questioning by his landlord and commented that no people in the world are more curious than American innkeepers. He also related the well known story of Benjamin Franklin who journeyed from Boston to Philadelphia and tired of the tavern catechism. At one tavern, he assembled the entire family, told them all the details of his present life and business and then felt that he could expect to be free from questioning.⁶⁷ Schoepf was also questioned by the landlady at Brunswick, who would not give him any service until her questions were answered. She made every effort to keep the curiosity waiting until her absent husband could return to interrogate the stranger in turn.⁶⁸ Knight reported that she arrived at a tavern between Boston and New Haven and was closely interrogated by the eldest daughter of the family.⁶⁹ The travelers probably did not realize as we do that they were veritable newspapers from the larger world, and that the innkeeper's inquisition was actually only part of his job as the local newsman. Furthermore, the New England tavern keepers were operating in the honorable tradition of the old tithing man whose duty it was to observe and question all strangers to make certain that their intentions were harmless and that they would not become a charge upon the community.

Dunbar wrote that the early inn reflected the character of its proprietor.⁷⁰ This is certainly true; if the innkeeper was slovenly and shifty, then the inn was probably dirty and haphazard. If the landlord was honest and clean, then the inn was probably cheerful and well-kept. However, the proprietor of the early inn also reflected the character and function of the local institution that he ran.

PRIVATE ENTERTAINMENT OF TRAVELERS

Not everyone who entertained travelers was a licensed innkeeper, and we ought not to go on to consider the inns themselves without mentioning an interesting social phenomenon of travel in the frontier regions of the United States. Marryat mentioned that, at first, travelers were received and welcomed by anyone who had

settled in the area. His statement definitely seems to have been borne out by the testimony of travelers visiting frontier or thinly settled areas. Many refer to the custom, and some describe specific instances of entertainment in private homes.

In the South, there were few public houses to be found until well after the Revolution, and those that did exist were in towns. Therefore nearly every habitation on the roads was supposedly open to wayfarers. In fact, an early Virginia law stated that a traveler could not be charged for his entertainment in a private home unless he offered the money himself.⁷¹ Supposedly, some planters stationed slaves along the highways to invite travelers in. This custom had certainly fallen into disuse by the time Frederick Law Olmstead traveled through the slave states in the 1850's; he frequently reported great difficulty in finding a place to stop for the night. However, Olmstead's experience might have been different forty years earlier. Cooper's anonymous letter writer observed, "Hospitality is relative. From Massachusetts to Maryland, inns are plenty, and strangers frequent them when they travel. From the south boundary of Pennsylvania to South Carolina, taverns are more scarce and dear, and hospitality is on the most liberal scale."⁷² This was written before 1811. In 1822, Blane reported that, in Illinois and Indiana, "A traveler enters without scruple any house near the roadside and breakfasts or stays all night, even if the owner does not profess to keep a tavern: for everyone is glad to have a stranger stop with him, as it gives him the opportunity of hearing some news, and also brings him in a dollar or so, if he chooses to accept anything for his hospitality."⁷³ Chastellux tells of being sent to lodge with a Mr. Penchas Lewis at Farmington, Vermont, and explains this by adding that Mr. Lewis' relative who sent the Marquis to Lewis' home "Assured me I should be well received, without inconveniencing anyone, and without inconveniencing myself, for I would pay my reckoning as at an inn. In fact, when the taverns are bad, or when they are so situated as not to suit the convenience of the traveler, it is the custom in America to ask for hospitality from some well-to-do individual, who can spare room in his house for you, and give stabling for your horses: the traveler and his host then converse together as equals, but he is paid as an ordinary innkeeper."⁷⁴ The Marquis observed at another point, "This distinction between a real tavern and private hospitality for which you pay is greatly to the advantage of travelers, for in America, as in England, innkeepers pay heavy taxes and indemnify themselves by their exorbitant charges."⁷⁵

⁶⁵Blane, *op. cit.*, pp. 134, 135.

⁶⁶Janson, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

⁶⁷Schoepf, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*

⁶⁹Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁷⁰Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, p. 220.

⁷²*Some Information Respecting America*, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

⁷³Blane, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

⁷⁴Chastellux, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, p. 414.



Valley Green Inn, formerly on outer edge of Philadelphia, now in Fairmount Park.

It appears that it was really up to the host whether or not the traveler was charged for his accommodation. Hodgson reported that "in these newly settled countries, it is the custom for almost every family to receive travellers and to make a charge, this being, in many cases, the only way of disposing of the surplus of their Indian corn. The few families, however, on this road, seemed not to like the plan, and to be afraid of making a beginning, lest they be overrun . . . In the state of Mississippi towards Natchez, strangers are received generally without charge; but this custom, of which we have heard so much, is disappearing fast, and is, in fact, congenial only within a particular stage of society. Where houses are thinly scattered, and there is too little travelling to afford encouragement to an inn, strangers may be taken in either with or without charges; and the latter may frequently be incompatible with the circumstances, though agreeable to the wishes of the owner; in this situation, persons are obliged to keep houses of entertainment in self defence, however much the practise may infringe on their family comfort, and a habit will be acquired of expecting admission to private houses, even when necessity can be no longer pleaded. There is something pleasing enough in the reflection that every house on the road is open to you as your home; but on the other hand, it is neither agreeable nor desirable for families to feel that their retirement may be broken in upon, at any hour, by any noisy fellows who happen to be passing by."⁷⁶

Captain Hall discussed the question of charges in another light. He observed, "In that part of America, where there is no regular travelling, and indeed little travelling of any kind, no taverns, properly so called, are kept up. But in their stead, some houses near the road are always open to anyone who calls . . . Of course, a charge is made, which varies, as might be expected, inversely as the quality of the entertainment. For where the difficulty of providing the means of subsistence is considerable, a greater sacrifice is made by parting with any portion of what has been provided,

than in places where there is abundance. A traveller must accordingly expect to pay for his curiosity if he visits thinly peopled districts, remote from cities, or even villages."⁷⁷

Latrobe mentioned that hospitality declined as civilization and towns grew. As the towns drew near there was less desire for new company.⁷⁸

Schoepf and Fordham both describe houses of "private entertainment" which seem to fall somewhere between actual inns and private homes that extend hospitality to passersby. Fordham described the house of M. N. who kept a house of private entertainment "in which travellers are received but neighbors are not allowed to drink. These houses are more comfortable than the inns, and are generally a little cheaper. You take your meals with the family, retire into the stranger's room as soon as the meal is over, and generally the master of the house follows to chat with you. You are not expected to call for liquors; which, indeed are often not kept in the house."⁷⁹ Schoepf did not seem particularly pleased with the Southern custom of lodging travelers, where no tavern was kept, for a price and calling it "Private Entertainment." "This distinction between taverns and private entertainment permits people to avoid the tax for permission to dispense drinks and avoid noisy parties; one eats hominy with the family and drinks water. He has no right to expect what he wants, is not free to demand, but pays as much as where he lives as he pleases."⁸⁰

Blane and Bayard both noted that they were given clean sheets when they were lodged in private homes. Blane's case was particularly unusual, because his host lived out beyond Vincennes, Indiana.⁸¹ Bayard believed that this singular mark of respect was shown his family because they were foreigners.⁸² Obviously, accommodation varied according to the resources and inclination of the host. Baily described the home of a "filthy Dutchman" from whom he bought lodging and with whom he shared a common bowl at the dinner table.⁸³ In Kentucky, Hoffman walked into a one-room log cabin, seated himself at the dinner table, dropped a spoon in the common bowl, and later shared the sleeping loft with four members of the family.⁸⁴ Barbé-Marbois described the complete hospitality that was sometimes offered. His party stopped at a farmhouse which was not closed. The master and servants were all out, but the travelers found all the necessary provisions, and prepared a dinner which was just ready

⁷⁶Basil Hall, *Travels in North America*, III, 272.

⁷⁷Latrobe, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁷⁸Fordham, *op. cit.*, pp. 158, 159.

⁷⁹Schoepf, *op. cit.*, II, 35.

⁸⁰Blane, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

⁸¹Fernand M. Bayard, *Travels of a Frenchman in Maryland and Virginia*, p. 36.

⁸²Baily, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 137.

⁸³Charles J. Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, pp. 140-145.

⁷⁶Hodgson, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

when the master of the house returned. The host, far from being surprised, asked to join the party as if he were himself a guest!⁸⁵

The open hospitality of the South continued to be proverbial even after it had virtually ceased to exist. Schoepf was rather critical of the myth. "It seemed to be a contradiction when Mr. Whitefield, our host, (still defending the hospitality of his countrymen generally) confessed that travellers often had to go twenty miles and more to reach his house, often having knocked in vain at other doors. The much-praised hospitality is confined, it seems, to acquaintances and those recommended."⁸⁶

It does appear that the custom of receiving travelers into private homes was widespread, as Marryat implied, in the frontier areas of the United States. As traveling increased and the population increased, personal inconvenience and isolation decreased. Hospitality was no longer economically possible, nor did passing travelers any longer add anything to the lives of individual families. The custom therefore declined, and more commercial inns began to be more widespread. Given the pattern of settlement in America it would appear that all stages of this development would have existed in different places as the frontiers moved westward. In these days of burglar alarms, it is difficult to imagine what it would have been like to be able to knock on any door for a night's lodging.

THE INN AND THE TRAVELER

In settled areas, the traveler looking for a place to stop would have had no trouble finding an inn. There were many of them, and they were well marked. Frequent stopping places were needed along the well-traveled roads for watering coach horses and for refreshing the stage driver and passengers. Travel was slow, and if a particular road was a main artery of communication, a surprising number of taverns by its side might have been full and over-crowded every night. There was a wagoners' toast that named several inns on the Lancaster Turnpike just before Paoli. "Here is to the Sorrel Horse that kicked the Unicorn that made the Eagle fly; that scared the Lamb from under the Stage for drinking the Spring-house dry; that drove the Blue Ball into the Black Bear, and chased General Jackson all the way to Paoli." All ten of these inns were within five miles of each other.

The names mentioned in the wagoners' toast refer to pictures on the signs that clearly marked each inn. Montulé wrote that inn signs "are very apparent, not only by their size, but also because they are supported by two posts twenty-five or thirty feet high, in front of the house and at the edge of the road."⁸⁷ Schoepf

described the signs in more detail. "The taverns in the country are recognizable, even at a distance, by a sort of gallows arrangement which stands out over the road and exhibits the patron of the house. So far we have observed many times the counterfeit presentation of Frederick the Second, King of Prussia, hung up in this way. We still found a few Georges, let hang, perhaps out of sympathy, but of Queens of England, we saw a good many. We have as yet seen no king of France, but a number of Washingtons and still more numerous Benjamin Franklins—the latter makes a particularly alluring sign if everything else is well kept."⁸⁸ Of course, there were other representations besides human patrons. Several traditional ones are mentioned in the wagoners' toast. The Indian Queen and Man Full of Trouble were two well-known Philadelphia hostelries. The Green Dragon and the Liberty Tree were two Boston taverns known for their connection with the Revolution. Chastellux described the animal signs of Mr. Rensselaer Williams' inn. "The sign of this inn is a philosophical, or, if you will, a political emblem. It represents a beaver at work, with his little teeth bringing down a large tree, and underneath is written 'perseverando'.⁸⁹"

The traveler alighted at the verandah that very often ran across the front of the larger inns. One generally had to stable his own horse if that was his means of travel. Travellers were normally expected to arrive by stage, on horseback, or on foot, and it was therefore rare to find adequate stabling or storage for vehicles. There was little of the innyard flurry that one associates with English inns. Cather wrote, "On arriving at a tavern in this country, you excite no kind of sensation, come how you will. The master of the house bids you good day and you walk in."⁹⁰ In some inns, slippers were provided for the convenience of the travelers who wished to shed their wet and muddy boots.⁹¹ The traveler entered a large public room which, depending on the situation of the inn, might be one of several public rooms in addition to several sleeping rooms, the only room in addition to a sleeping loft, or the only room, period. The usual pattern for an average-sized town or rural inn in a settled area was much like the plan for a larger house. The kitchen was in the basement or at the back of the ground floor. A public room or tap room was found on the ground floor with perhaps a smaller parlor or reading room next to it, and three or four sleeping rooms might be found on the one or two floors above the ground level. The larger inns were, of course, more complex, and frontier inns were very often single-room log houses where the traveler shared bowl and bed with the

⁸⁵Barbé-Marbois, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁸⁶Schoepf, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁸⁷Edouard de Montulé, *Travels in America*, pp. 138-139.

⁸⁸Schoepf, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

⁸⁹Chastellux, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

⁹⁰Thomas Cather, *Voyage to America*, p. 119.

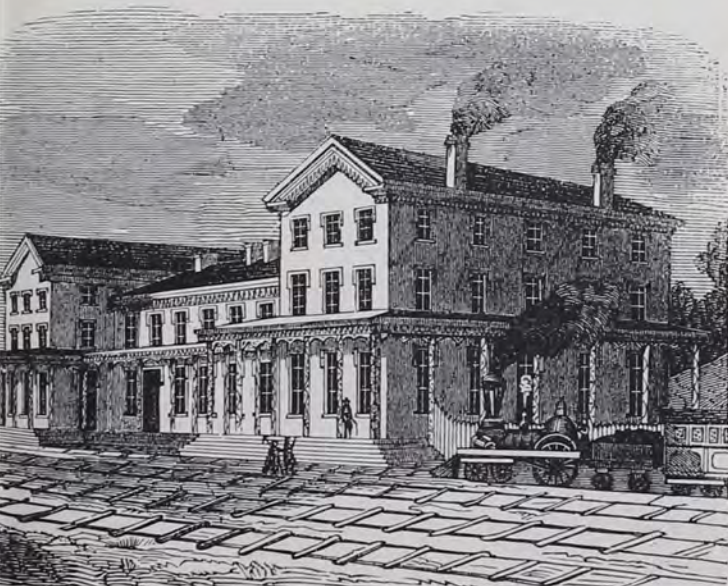
⁹¹Schoepf, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

proprietor's family. In the average sort of inn, the large public assembly room contained chairs and tables, and an open fireplace. Liquors were sold in the public room behind a partition or counter called the bar. The wooden bar was topped by a wooden cage on three sides, so that the barkeeper was protected from theft or any other threat. A variety of accessories were normally found about the room, varying according to the wealth and prominence of the inn—pipe-racks by the fireplace, punch bowl and posset pots at the bar, pewter utensils on the tables. Marryat wrote that the furniture of barrooms at wayside inns was invariably the same, "a wooden clock, map of the United States, map of the State, the Declaration of Independence, a looking-glass with a hairbrush and comb hanging to it by strings 'pro bono publico'; sometimes with the extra embellishment of one or two miserable pictures."⁹² Mrs. Hall remarked that there were two prints, at least one of which was to be found in every inn: "The one is General Washington holding in one hand a roll of paper and in the other, extended in a position which indicates what the Americans would call a very lengthy speech. The other is General Lafayette in a brown wig and greatcoat, looking like a farmer on a cold day."⁹³ Other prints might have included a series illustrating some biblical story such as the "Prodigal Son".

Marryat was rather disgusted by the comb and brush supplied for the use of the general public. Montulé was even more disturbed by something he saw at Frankfort, Kentucky, in an otherwise good inn. "In the bar-room, where drinks are dispensed, I saw an immense glass of beer from which anyone might drink according to his thirst. It was the first time I had noticed this

⁹²Marryat, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

⁹³Margaret H. Hall, *The Aristocratic Journey*, p. 50.



The Mountain House, Hollidaysburg, Pennsylvania.

custom. I had already seen Americans drinking carelessly one after another from the same glass, but not yet to this point."⁹⁴ Fearon, in Louisville, found at the bar a tub of water with a ladle which customers could use to help themselves.⁹⁵ If one wished to perform any ablutions, the only facility offered was the pump, or perhaps a trough in the innyard, and a towel that was used by all.

Guests were summoned to dinner by bells in the larger taverns but no matter how the company was gathered, there were some aspects of mealtime that were almost universal in any American public house where travelers were entertained. The entire company ate together, and they ate at fixed hours. There was no ordering of private meals at one's own convenience. If a traveler arrived after the stated dinner hour, he often found it difficult to get anything to eat at all. Furthermore, even those fortunate souls who got to the table at the proper time often had to compete to get any food. The other boarders ate so rapidly, and the table was so quickly cleared that unsuspecting travelers were often left dizzy and hungry. Hodgson reported that Americans never spent more than ten minutes at the table and that a meal at a tavern was more "a schoolboy's scramble than a social repast."⁹⁶ Klinkowström stayed at the best inn in Baltimore where there were forty slaves. There, ten or eleven courses were served in such rapid succession that one could hardly be sampled before another was served in its place. The Baron later discovered that the slaves got the left-overs from the table d'hôte, and the less the guests had time to eat, the more there was left for the slaves!⁹⁷ Montulé warned that in American hostelries "one must get to the table at the first stroke of the bell. At that signal a legion of boarders rushes the door. It will be hard for you to imagine the voracity with which people who are, after all, decent and well-dressed, can throw themselves on the food. In spite of its volume, it has soon disappeared. Americans think it an honor to be the first to leave the table."⁹⁸

Breakfast was eaten at or before 8:00 A.M., dinner at about 2:00 P.M., and tea or supper at about 6:00 P.M. At taverns where coaches stopped for the passengers to dine, meals were usually served to accommodate them, but it was not unusual for a hungry traveler to find himself called back to the coach just as his meal was placed steaming before him on the table. The food that was served and eaten so rapidly varied, of course, with regional resources and customs. Marryat, as usual, captures the entire picture:

Of course, as you advance into the country, and population recedes, you run through all the scale

⁹⁴Montulé, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

⁹⁵Fearon, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

⁹⁶Hodgson, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

⁹⁷Klinkowström, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁹⁸Montulé, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

of cookery until you come to the 'corn bread and common things' (i.e. bread made of Indian meal and fat pork) in the far west. In a new country, pork is more easily raised than any other meat, and the Americans eat a great deal of pork which renders the cooking in small taverns very greasy—with the exception of Virginia farm taverns, where they fry chickens without grease in a way which would be admired by Urde himself; but this is a state recipe handed down from generation to generation, and called chicken fixings.⁹⁹

The Pennsylvania German inns had their own specialties and the travelers stopping at one of them might expect to find such delicacies as mock turtle soup, sauerbraten, schmorbraten, spannferkel, (suckling pig stuffed and roasted), hammelsbraten (roast mutton), kalbsbraten (roast veal filled), kuttelfleck (soused tripe spiced), hinckel pie (chicken pot pie), apfelkloss (apple dumplings), sausage, apple cake, and coffee cake.¹⁰⁰

This menu differed in more than name from the menus at even the best of other taverns. Vigne wrote, "I am speaking of traveller's fare when I say that the tavern tables are always well and plentifully supplied; but no viands are thought so palatable as those that are swimming in melted butter."¹⁰¹ A survey of the menus offered in most decent taverns becomes lengthy and repetitive. Even the most cryptic journalists seem to have included some account of the food they encountered in their travels. In fact, most travelers waxed more eloquent on food than on any other subject. And this was the one subject on which very few could offer any new facts or original observations. Grease, beefsteak, corn bread, and indigestion can be described in only a limited number of ways. Beefsteak and ham were the invariable meats. Venison and other game were sometimes added when there was game available. Along the coast, oysters were a common accompaniment of any meal, and a frequent snack. Fish was served frequently where there was a supply, but it was obviously not available, in the days of no refrigeration, at any point very far from a body of water. Cornmeal mush and cornbread in its various forms were served throughout the country; in fact simpler meals were sometimes made up entirely of mush. Bacon, butter, cheese, tea, and preserves were sometimes served with cornbread for breakfast and supper. Corned-beef and cabbage was a northern favorite, and southern breakfasts were not complete without hominy. Eggs were universal—everyone everywhere seems to have kept poultry. Molasses was used as sweetening, and coffee was served with everything. Tavern menus in early America actually differed little from domestic menus in all but quantity.

⁹⁹Marryat, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

¹⁰⁰Julius Sachse in *Proceedings and Addresses of the Pennsylvania-German Society*, XXI, 5.

¹⁰¹Godfrey Vigne, *Six Months in America*, I, 178.

Various wines were available in the cities, but the most common drinks were rum, brandy, ale, beer, grog, cider, and corn whiskey. The mint julep seems to have been a favorite drink in the South. Northerners enjoyed a few mixtures that had less enduring popularity. Alice Morse Earle lists the ingredients for a few of the drinks that are often mentioned in tavern descriptions.¹⁰² Mimbo was made of rum, loaf sugar, and sometimes water. Flip was a very popular drink in America, "more popular in America than in England, and much superior in America — a truly American drink"¹⁰³ American flip was made in vast pewter mugs or earthen pitchers, two thirds full of strong beer, sweetened with sugar, molasses, or dried pumpkin, and flavored with rum. A red-hot iron loggerhead was thrust into this mixture to make it foam and to give it its characteristic burnt, bitter taste. English flip was not as simple, and it was made in a sauce-pan. Punch was a drink that originated in India and its name is from "panch," the Hindu word for "five," referring to the five ingredients — tea, arak, sugar, lemons, and water. In colonial taverns it was drunk from the bowl, which was passed from hand to hand. Whiskey or rum was often substituted for the arak in American versions. A famous New England recipe called for twelve lumps of sugar, hot water, lemons, old Jamaica rum, brandy, porter or stout, and arak. Small wonder that it foamed.

The tavern-lodger did not dine alone, he did not drink alone, and he did not even sleep alone. Birkbeck discussed the taverns to be found in the eastern towns. "At these places, all is performed on the gregarious plan: everything is public by day and by night—for even night in an American inn affords no privacy. Whatever may be the number of guests, they must receive their entertainment en masse, and they must sleep en masse. Soon after the meal (supper), you assemble once more in rooms crowded with beds, something like the ward of a hospital; where, after undressing in public, you are fortunate if you escape a partner in your bed, in addition to the myriads of bugs, which you need not hope to escape."¹⁰⁴ One could not expect clean sheets, for, as Bayard explained, "since Gentlemen are all alike, people do not see why they could not sleep in the same sheets. When some of them have the itch, a very common disease in the North, it happens that others catch it by sleeping in the bed where a person with the itch has slept; in this way the disease is spread; this fact is well-known, but that does not cause an additional pair of sheets to be bought."¹⁰⁵ Michaux observed, "Seldom do you meet with clean sheets. Fortunate is the traveller who arrives on the

¹⁰²Earle, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-137.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, p. 108.

¹⁰⁴Birkbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹⁰⁵Bayard, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

The Bolton House, Harrisburg, Pa.



The Bolton House, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, erected 1872.

day they happen to be changed, although an American would be quite indifferent about it."¹⁰⁶ Americans, indeed, seem undisturbed by the extreme communality of the sleeping arrangements. Montulé commented wryly, "American travelers hardly ever talk to each other, but they make no objection to sleeping in the same bed . . . Bed clothes are considered clean when they have been used by only two or three men."¹⁰⁷

Of course, it was sometimes possible to obtain more private accommodations. Montulé and others noted that one could often secure a bed to his own solitary use if he asked beforehand. Captain Hall recorded that he and his family never had to share a room with anyone not of their party. Some travelers who could not secure a private room or bed preferred clean air and moonlight to stuffy rooms and human or verminous bedfellows. The vermin, unfortunately, seem to have been omnipresent—one journalist called them measles with legs.

Montulé described the most spirited resistance that any traveler seems to have offered to unwelcome roommates and bed partners. At the inn at Frankfort, Kentucky, he found a well-dressed traveler. "After supper, at which, as usual, we had sat down among the wagoners and day laborers—he led me into the only bedroom in the house. Although narrow and very low, it contained four or five beds probably destined for our gentlemen. As my comrade did not care for their society, and feared some of them might place them-

selves in our beds, he locked the door . . . They contented themselves with rapping for some time; and after murmuring a few 'God damns,' went off peacefully enough to sleep in the barroom, each wrapped in his blanket."¹⁰⁸ Hardly a republican action.

It was probably no new experience for the wagoners to sleep wrapped in their blankets on the barroom floor. Wagoners and drovers normally either camped out or slept by the fireplace in the tap room. Respectable inns sometimes would not receive them at all, and even the less respectable ones often did not admit them to their sleeping rooms.

The prices charged for the accommodations offered at these taverns seem to have been fairly uniform. Where provisions were difficult to find, prices were apt to go up. Whatever was abundant tended to be cheap. Some prices were regulated by the government, and all were at least subjected to the review of public opinion. "The amount of money needed to produce a unit quantity of any ordinary kind of food and place it before the consumer in the market-place was a matter of common notoriety, or easily ascertainable if desired, and the legal prices of such commodities were based on that knowledge. Articles of food and other things requiring systematic labor for their production were cheap because they normally passed directly from the producer to the consumer."¹⁰⁹ Prices for a night's lodging, two or three meals, and stabling and feed for a horse seem to have been about the equivalent of two or three dollars for most of the period under discussion.

¹⁰⁶F. A. Michaux, *Travels to the West of the Alleghany Mountains*, p. 32.

¹⁰⁷Montulé, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 141-142.

¹⁰⁹Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

It is obvious that the type and quality of accommodation that a traveler might reasonably expect depended on the degree of settlement in the surrounding area. Traveling in the new country was an adventure, and only those who accepted it as such could enjoy it. Two Europeans who best understood this principle were John Davis and William Blane. Davis wrote in his journal:

I pity the traveller who takes umbrage against America because its houses of entertainment cannot always accommodate him to his wishes. If he images no other happiness to himself in travelling, but what is to be obtained from repasts that minister to luxury, and beds distinguished by softness, let him confine his excursions to the cities of polished Europe. The Western Continent can supply the Traveller an employment more noble than a minute attention to the casualties of the road, which are afterwards to be enlarged upon with studied declamation. The world is called upon to sympathize with the sufferer; he who at home had been accustomed to the luxury of a bed groaned the night out in America on the rack of a mattress; and for this the country is to be execrated, and the beautiful scenes of nature beheld with a jaundiced eye.¹¹⁰

William Blane seems to have been infected with the tolerant and forward-looking frontier spirit when he wrote the following:

Many of my countrymen, because they have not met with much comfort in these out of the way places, have, upon their return home, most unjustly and ridiculously imputed the same want of comfort to every part of the United States . . . Let us consider that from Vincennes to Louisville is a distance of 120 miles, and that from thence to Washington by the ordinary route . . . is 731 miles; so that one of these delicate travellers would be equally entitled to abuse the whole of Great Britain, because he might meet with bad accommodation in the Orkneys. Moreover, woods are not cut down, and good inns established in a day, nor even a year; and he who cannot put up with some inconvenience will do well to avoid travelling in a new country. In many places where I have met with execrable accommodation, future travellers will find good inns; for the whole country is so rapidly improving that what is true of the Backwoods one year ceases to be so the next.¹¹¹

WHAT HAPPENED BETWEEN THE INDIAN QUEEN AND HOWARD JOHNSON'S?

Blane would not have credited his eyes could he have seen the accommodations that future travelers actually would find. The town tavern and the local inn in which the traveler stopped between 1730 and 1830 has disappeared. It is obvious that these institutions depended on several factors, and these factors provide a clue to the radical difference between the Indian Queen and Howard Johnson's Motor Lodges.

¹¹⁰Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

¹¹¹Blane, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

The local inn lost its importance as a central factor in community life because the life-styles of the community and the individual changed. The temperance movement began to dry up the tap-rooms in the early 19th Century, and the taverns fell into disrepute as places of assembly. Efficient and rapid means of communication developed that made people less dependent on neighbors and strangers from outside the community for news. Communities spread out and became decentralized and there was less need for a single community center. The population lost its homogeneity, and people no longer considered themselves members of a group with their neighbors just because they lived together. The tradition of local taverns, if it survives at all, lives on in small neighborhood or ethnic bars in ethnic community areas and in small towns.

Methods of travel changed, and the methods of providing lodging for the travelers had to change with them. Wayside inns died as the stage coach gave way to the railroad. Turnpikes on which slow-moving horses traveled gave way to superhighways on which automobiles could travel fifty or even seventy miles an hour. "Out of the way place" became an almost meaningless phrase, and those who entertained travelers had to be prepared to accommodate large and ever-increasing numbers of guests. The standard of living changed, and the expectations of travelers rose. Blane's tolerant warning was lost in the kind of uniformity spawned by mass production. The new inn or hotel had to be devoted to satisfying the demands and insuring the comfort of growing ranks of ever more exacting transients. It could no longer afford to be rooted in the community.

Travelers have certainly profited from this change in the area of soft beds, clean linens, and homogenized, pasteurized food. However, there is no doubt that both travelers and community have lost one of the very pungent spices of life in this bargain.

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Pennsylvania German Astronomy and Astrology IV: Tombstones

By LOUIS WINKLER

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Sun and star motifs are indeed popular depictions in folk art. Common ways of representing the sun in quarter, half, or whole form can be seen in Figures 1, 2, and 3 respectively. Common ways of representing five- or six-pointed stars can be seen in Figures 2-6. In general it is difficult to interpret these depictions in any other way other than as decorative. In the case of tombstones, however, the celestial objects often have specific interpretations since they are associated with death.

The association of death with celestial objects has been a widespread phenomenon throughout the history of man. At the dawn of history in the third millennium B. C., depictions of the sun, moon, and stars were found on Egyptian sarcophagi. In Article III of this series a number of dire associations were made with death, and comets and meteors too. While comets and meteors do not appear on any tombstones known to this writer, many tombstones do have depictions of the sun, moon, stars and probably of Venus.

As association of death and astronomical objects is understandable if one assumes that a life hereafter is presumed for the deceased. If the celestial objects symbolize the environment of the life hereafter perhaps the association with the dead will help them achieve this journey to the other world. It is certainly a very old idea that Heaven is located in outer space.

The immortal or perpetual properties of the celestial bodies which may be associated with an immortal or perpetual life hereafter, are evident. If precise measurements are not made over very long periods of time the relative positions and brightnesses of the stars are always the same. The moon always goes through its cycle of phases and always completes a circuit of the signs of the Zodiac in about four weeks. The perpetual periodic motion of all the bodies is quite striking. The sun and stars always rise and always set each day. While some stars are always visible at night, if it is clear others can always be seen in the course of the year.

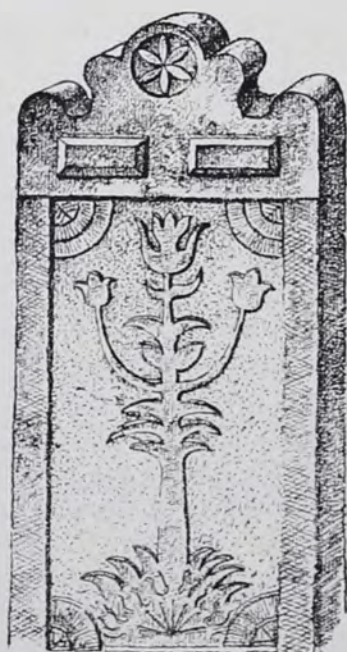


Figure 1



Figure 2

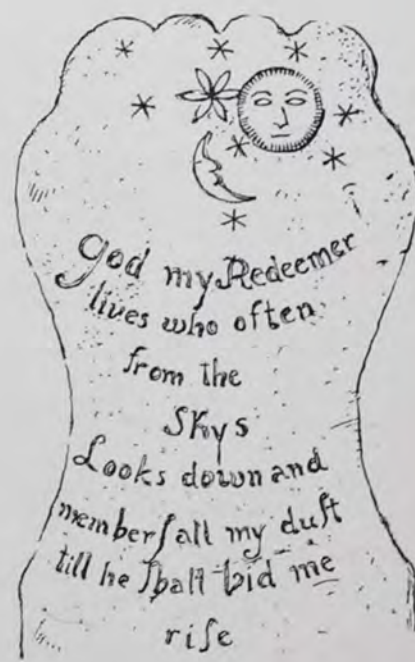


Figure 3

When an isolated star in lobed form is found on a tombstone it is not always clear that it is of the celestial type rather than simply decorative. In Figures 2-5 chances are good that these are celestial stars since they appear with other celestial objects. It may be that Heaven is depicted in these cases.

When the sun is depicted by itself, the interpretation is questionable. A quarter or whole sun by themselves do not appear to connote death. A half sun might be construed this way if it were setting rather than rising. The suns in Figures 2 and 3, however, appear to be part of a collection of celestial objects and probably help connote Heaven.

One of the most interesting features of the collection of celestial objects shown above is the depiction of the crescent moon. The cusps of nearly all depicted crescent moons on tombstones point to the right as one faces them. This corresponds to a waning moon as one sees it from Pennsylvania and is quite appropriate on a tombstone. The sombre face, of course, is also appropriate to a death scene.

What makes the crescent moons so interesting is that they are only symbolic rather than a true depiction. Indeed the topographical features on the surface of a full moon quite readily show a face of a man in crescent form as is shown in Figure 7. This crescent always has the cusps pointing down because we always see the same side of the moon the same way. The point is, however, illuminated crescents of the moon (also shown in Figure 7) never agree with the topographical crescent. If a face in a crescent moon is depicted no matter

what the orientation of the cusps (even as in Figure 5) it is symbolic.

One reason an artist might choose a crescent with a face is that it is a convenient way to differentiate the moon and sun with a simple set of lines. The real full moon and sun as seen from earth appear, by accident, to be the same angular diameter and our discrimination arises from brightness, color, and time of day. Brightness, color, and time of day are not particularly easy to convey with simple depictions.

Whenever the sun, moon, and stars are depicted simultaneously they are unquestionably symbolic. The moon can be seen both day and night but the sun and stars cannot be seen simultaneously. In Figure 3 we not only have the sun, moon, and stars but a fourth type of object which might be interpreted as an exceptionally bright (lobed) object. This may well be the morning or evening star since this object can be far greater in brightness than any of the surrounding points of light. The object which best exhibits the character of the morning star is the planet Venus. While Venus is not really a star, at times it is far brighter than any of the stars. Because Venus is so close to the sun it tends to rise and set with the sun. When Venus rises before the sun and is the last point of light to be extinguished in dawn Venus becomes the morning star. Undoubtedly many farmers have been awed by this scene more than once in the early morning in the East. Since scripture indicates that Christ's coming was heralded by a star in the East, and Christ has often been referred to as the morning star in Scripture and



Figure 4

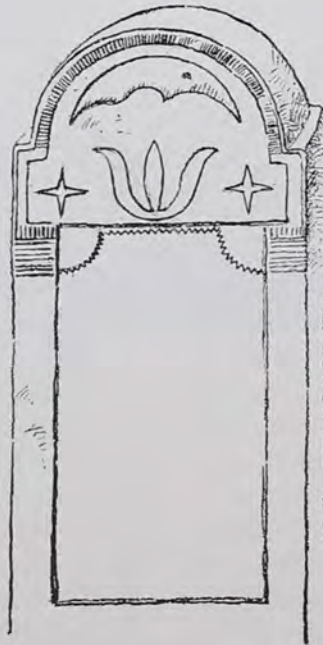


Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7

hymns, a religious connotation is not difficult to see. Of course, a religious symbolism is also quite appropriate on a tombstone.

A Fraktur depiction which is quite similar in character to the depictions in Figures 1 and 2 is found in "Pastor Schumacher's Admonition" (see Figure 7). In the inscription under the clock, reference is made to death in the "last hour". The celestial objects are also quite appropriate in depicting time. As was

suggested in Article I of this series, many of the fundamental units of time are intimately related to motions of the celestial bodies.

The face of the clock in Figure 7 is so peculiar in nature that this writer can not resist calling attention to it even though it does not seem particularly related to death or celestial objects. First the Roman numerals are not only non-uniformly spaced but there are some errors. There is no number VI, but there are two

number VII's, and the V in VIII is inverted. Schumacher did an equally peculiar thing to the clock depicted in his work "Pastor Schumacher's Spiritual Hour Clock" (a faded Fraktur not shown here). Again the numerals are non-uniformly spaced but now the top half is the mirror image of what the bottom half should be, and vice versa. This type of unusual presentation is not unique to his Fraktur works on clocks. What his motivations were is not clear. However, there is evidence in Schumacher's life to indicate that he was eccentric.¹

Another class of astronomical depictions found on tombstones is the *Urbogen* shown in Figure 8. According to Barba² the tree of life is growing out of the *Urbogen*. A literal translation of *Urbogen* is origin-curve, and refers to the shortest arc that the sun travels in the sky in the course of a day during the year. This occurs on the first day of winter, around December 21.

¹F. S. Weiser, "Daniel Schumacher's Baptismal Register", *Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society*, 1968, pp. 185-208.

²P. A. Barba, "Pennsylvania German Tombstones," *The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, XVIII, 12.

³Figures 1-6 and 8 were taken from Barba's work mentioned in reference 2. Figure 7 was taken from John Joseph Stoudt, "Pennsylvania German Folk Art," *The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, XXVIII. Figures 1-6, 8, and 9 were reproduced with the permission of the Pennsylvania German Society.

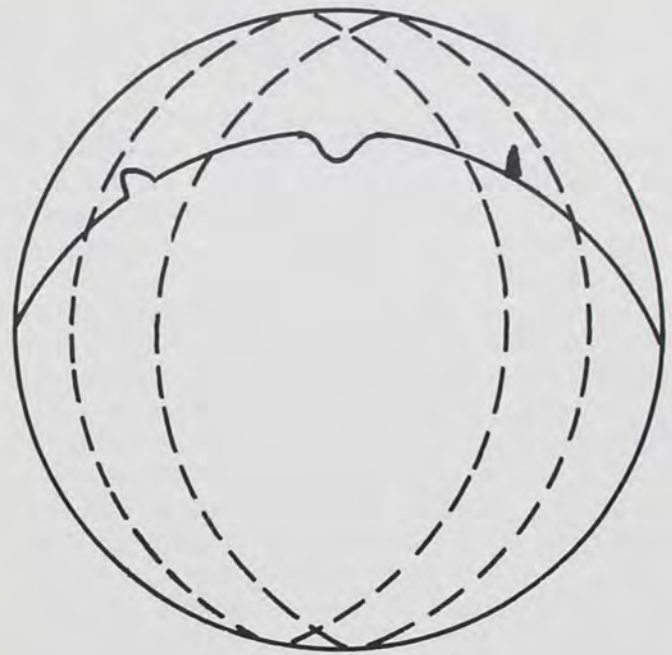


Figure 9

This is a clever way to depict the first day of winter visually because, normally, it is defined abstractly. The astronomical or abstract definition of the first day of winter involves the apparent passage of the sun through an imaginary point now lying between Ophiuchus and Sagittarius and called the winter solstice. Since the sun can't be seen to lie there because of the glare it creates in the atmosphere we all consult the calendar to determine the first day of winter, or any other season.

Why the *Urbogen* appears on tombstones is somewhat speculative also. It could represent the end of one year and the start of a new year, or the end of one life and the beginning of a new life. While December 21 is not precisely the beginning of the Gregorian Calendar year it makes more sense astronomically to start a new year at the moment the sun appears to pass through the winter solstice. In any case in a number of the ancient societies the first day of winter and the new year were one and same day, as well as a day to commemorate the dead. For example, in the first millennium A.D. the Celts of the British Isles held a post-harvest celebration on about November 1. This was their first day of winter, New Year, a time to commemorate the dead, and a time to conduct numerous other activities. Commemorations to the dead were so prominent that the Catholic Church even adopted November 1 as All Saints Day. While there doesn't appear to be any direct relation between these Celtic or Catholic practices and the *Urbogen*, the *Urbogen* does appear to be an unusual depiction, especially on tombstones.

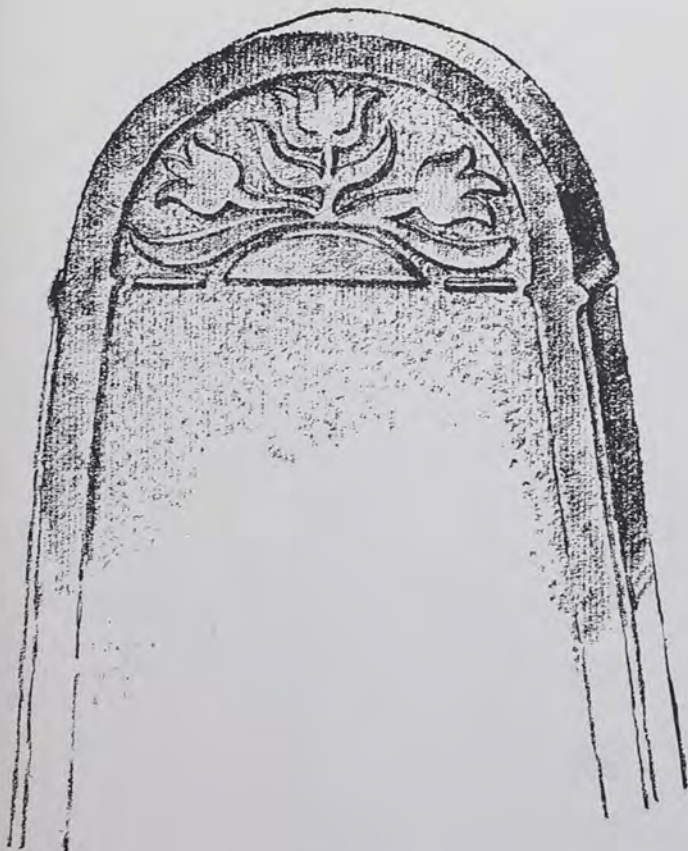


Figure 8

Emigrants of the 18th Century from the Northern Palatinate

By FRIEDRICH KREBS

Translated and Edited by Don Yoder

[The materials included in this contribution of Dr. Krebs to our knowledge of the 18th Century emigration to America and its German background are translated from the article entitled, "Amerikaauswanderer des 18. Jahrhunderts aus der Nordpfalz," in *Nordpfälzer Geschichtsverein*, XXXV (1955), 63-66. Of particular interest are the many references to Mennonite families (Brubacher, Küntzi, Krebühl, and Ellenberger) who were for the most part "hereditary lessees" (*Erbbeständer*) on the estates of the area—the Münchhof near Albisheim, the Weierhof, the Otterberg estate at Rüssingen, and the Clauserhof near Ramsen. The towns and villages mentioned in the list can be located on the map in the vicinity of Kirchheim-Bolanden, South of Mainz and Northeast of Kaiserslautern.—EDITOR.]

EMIGRANTS FROM MARNHEIM

1. In the release of the property of *Susanne Armknecht*, widow of *Johannes Knauf* of Marnheim (married September 6, 1703, at Marnheim), dated May 2, 1747, it is stated of the sons *Johann Henrich Knauff* and *Anthon Knauff* (the latter born September 17, 1721, at Marnheim), that "both sons . . . went to the New Land or the so-called Pennsylvania four years ago" [*beyde Söhne . . . vor 4 Jahren in das neue Land oder sogenannte Pensylphania gezogen*]. *Johann Henrich Knauff* and *Anthon Knauff* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *St. Andrew*, October 7, 1743 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 103 A-C). List A gives Henrich's age as 30, Anthon's as 20.

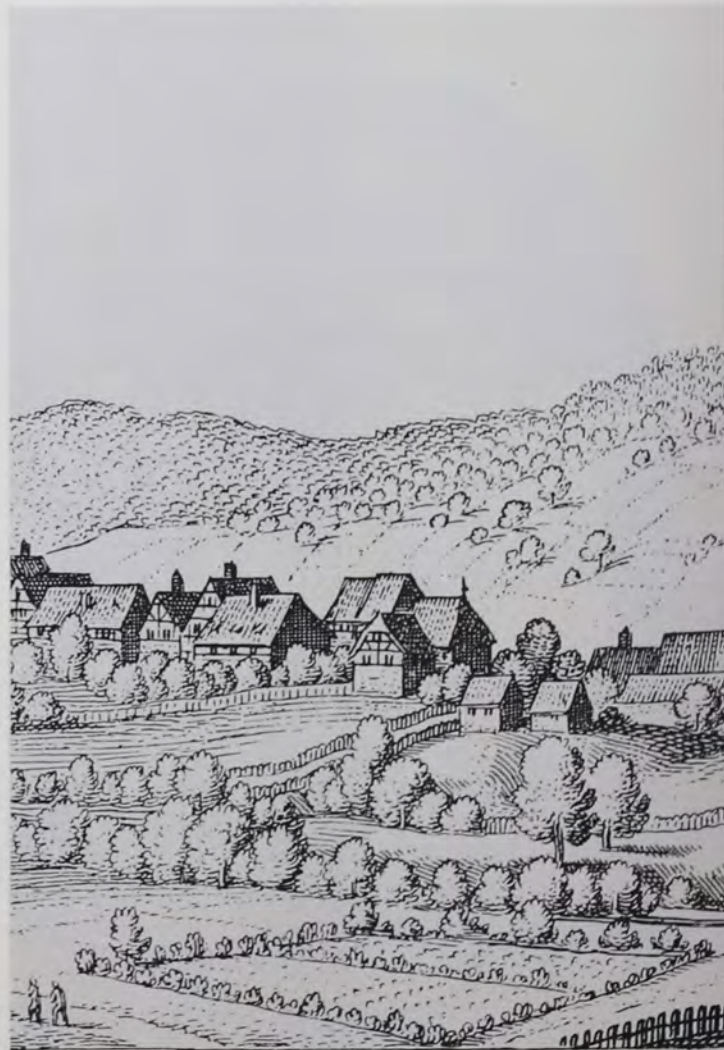
2. The inventory of *Maria Magdalena Knauff*, widow of *Lorentz Knauff* of Marnheim, dated November 21, 1777, lists among the sons and heirs *Johann Adam Knauff*, "aged 33 years, living in the New Land" [*alt 33 Jahr im neuen Land sich aufhaltend*]. *Johann Adam Knauff* was born at Marnheim, September 23, 1744.

3. An inventory of *Sophia Sybilla*, wife of *Philipp Debusz*, dated August 18, 1767, names among her sons: *Johann Daniel Debusz*, "who about sixteen years ago went to Pennsylvania in the single state" [*welcher vor ohngefähr 16 Jahren ledigen Standes in Pensylvanien gezogen*], and *Maria Elisabetha Debusz*, "who went out to Pennsylvania twelve years ago in the single state" [*welche aus vor 12 Jahr ledigen Standes in Pensylvanien gezogen*]. *Daniel Debus* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Sandwich*, November 30, 1750 (Strass-

burger-Hinke, List 160 C). Note also that a *Daniel Debus* (aged 28) arrived in company with *Jacob Debus* (aged 26) and *Lodwick Debus* (aged 36) on the Ship *St. Andrew*, October 7, 1743, List 103 A-C; cf. *supra*, No. 1). In the Reformed church register of Marnheim from this period no entries relative to the Debusz family could be located.

EMIGRANTS FROM ALBISHEIM

4. The inventory of *Anna Maria*, widow of *Tobias Trescher* of Albisheim, dated March 2, 1743, lists a daughter *Anna Maria*, "wife of *Jost Diel* who is in Pennsylvania" [*Jost Dielen Ehefrau so in Pensylvanien*]. *Jost Diehl*, son of *Sebastian Diehl* of Offenheim, had married at Albisheim, January 13, 1728, *Anna Maria*, daughter of *Tobias Drescher*. *Jost Diehl* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Robert and Alice*, September 3, 1739 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 71 A-C).



5. The inventory of *Jakob Racke*, inhabitant at Albiſheim, dated February 5, 1767, liſts two ſons of his firſt marriage, *Johann Philipp Racke* and *Henrich Caſpar Racke* as being in Pennſylvania. *Henrich Caſpar Racke* was born at Albiſheim January 9, 1722, ſon of *Jakob* and *Anna Margaretha Racke*; *Johann Philipp* was born there of the ſame parents, February 12, 1736. *Henrich Caſpar Racke* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *St. Andrew*, September 9, 1749 (Strassburger-Hinke, Liſt 128 C). *Johann Philipp Racke* arrived on the Ship *Britannia*, September 26, 1764 (Strassburger-Hinke, Liſt 245 C).

6. *Jacob Brubacher*, who has been cited in a previous article as the father of a ſon *Abraham* who according to an inventory dated 1763 was in Pennſylvania, was hereditary leſſee [*Erbbeſtänder*], under the local government, of the ſocalled Münchhof near Albiſheim. Poſſibly *Aberham (sic) Brübacher*, who arrived on the Ship *St. Andrew*, September 9, 1749 (Strassburger-Hinke, Liſt 128 C).

EMIGRANTS FROM SIPPERSFELD

7. In an inventory dated October 8, 1793, of *Anna Maria Scholl*, born at Sippersfeld, who died ſingle at Kerzenheim in September 1793, the queſtion comes up of “the ſiſter of the decedent *Margreta*, wife of *Martin Seewald* of Sippersfeld, who had gone to America about

30 years ago and diſappeared” [*vor ohngefahr 30 Jahren nach Amerika gezogenen und verſchollenen Schweſter der Erbläſſerin Margreta, des Martin Seewalds von Sippersfeld Ehefrau*]. According to the Lutheran church register *Martin Seewald*, ſon of *Velten Seewald* of Sippersfeld, had married *Maria Margretha*, daughter of *Theobald Scholl* of Sippersfeld on December 22, 1744, at Sippersfeld. *Martin Seewald* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Hero*, October 27, 1764 (Strassburger-Hinke, Liſt 248 C).

8. An inventory dated December 5, 1766, of *Daniel Müller*, widower, who died in 1766 at Sippersfeld, cites among his children a daughter *Catharina*, “who went to Pennſylvania in the year 1764” [*welche anno 1764 in Pennſylvanien gezogen*].

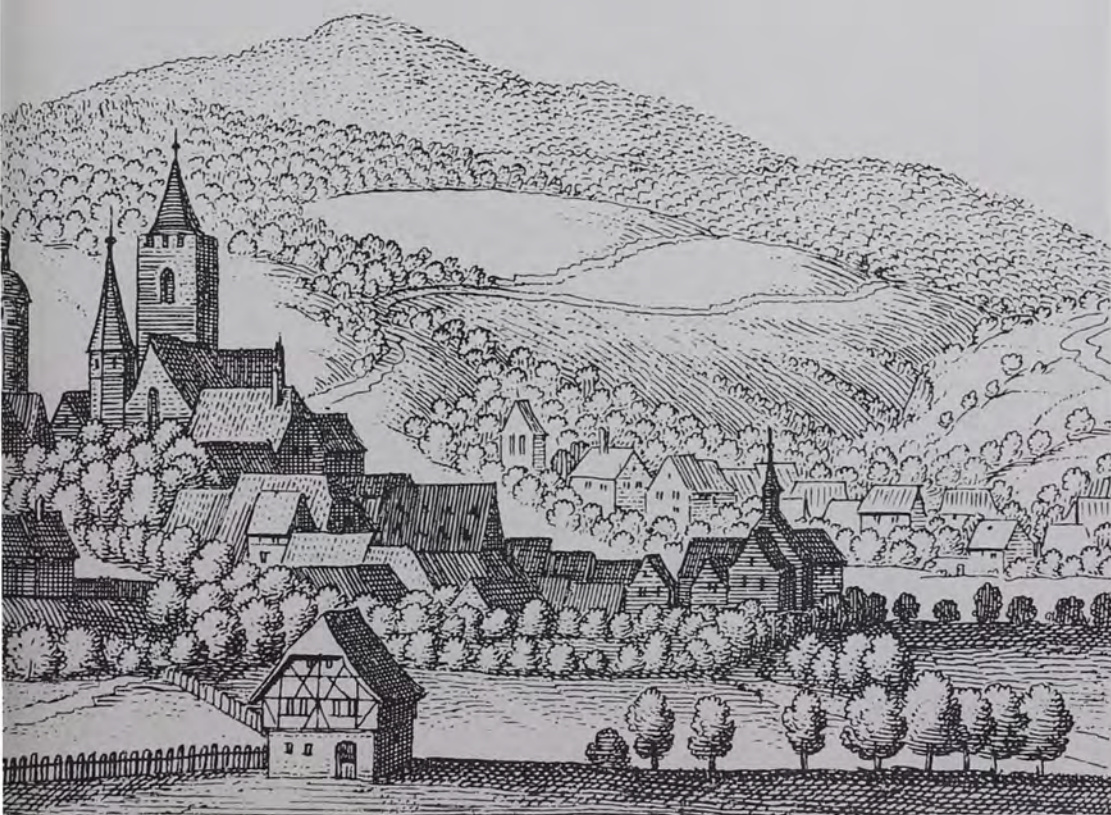
EMIGRANTS FROM DANNENFELS

9. A releaſe of the property of *Johann Melchior Ruppert* of Dannenfels, dated February 25, 1766, cites among his children a ſon *Johann Henrich Ruppert* as being in Pennſylvania. Poſſibly *Henry Rubert*, who arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Jacob*, October 2, 1749 (Strassburger-Hinke, Liſt 140 C).

EMIGRANTS FROM BREUNIGWEILER

10. A guardian’s account (1776-1780) “about the property of *Peter Weiſsmann* of Breunigweiler, who has already been in the New Land ſome twenty and

ckheim.



Dürkheim in the Palatinate from Merian's Topographia Germaniae (1672).

more years" [*uber des schon ettlich und 20 Jahr im neuen Land sich aufhaltenden Peter Weissmanns Vermögen*], besides a manumission certificate of *Peter Weissmann* dated July 19, 1754, allows us to assume the emigration date at about 1754. This is probably the *Peter Weissmann* who arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Edinburgh*, September 30, 1754 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 220 A-C), where his name follows that of *Conrath Enders* (cf. *infra*, No. 11). *Peter Weissmann* was born October 16, 1729, at Sippersfeld, son of the miller *Peter Weissmann* of Breunigweiler.

11. An inventory of *Maria Enders*, widow of *Henrich Enders* of Breunigweiler, dated October 3, 1797, names among the children a *Leonhard Enders*, "at this time in his 33rd year, who long ago journeyed to America, but of whom nothing has been heard for many years" [*dermahlen im 33. Jahr, welcher längst nach Amerika gereist, aber auch in vielen Jahren nichts von sich hören lassen*].

EMIGRANTS FROM WEIERHOF¹

12. A property list of *Johannes Künzi* of Weierhof, dated August 3, 1785, says of him "that he went to Pennsylvania thirteen years ago" [*dass er vor 13 Jahr nach Pennsilvanien gegangen*]. *Johannes Kintzi* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Crawford*, October 16, 1772 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 296 C). According to an affidavit he died in Autumn 1777 in the Manor [Township] area of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He must have been a Mennonite, since the affidavit came from *Christian Hirschy*, preacher [*Lehrer*] of the Manor Mennonite congregation.

13. A property transfer of *Anna*, widow of *Michel Grebühl* of Weierhof, dated October 25, 1752, names among her sons a *Jakob Krebühl* as being in Pennsylvania. He is possibly the *Jakob Crebil* who landed at Philadelphia on the Ship *Mortonhouse*, August 17, 1729 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 9 A-C). Additional material has been published on him in the *Nordpfälzer Geschichtsverein*, XXXIV (1954).

14. A property list of *Elisabetha Krebühl*, daughter of *Johannes Krebühl* of Weierhof, dated April 25, 1739, who died in the single state in the beginning of 1739, names among her brothers and sisters a *Peter Krebühl*, "who went to the New Land four years ago" [*welcher vor 4 Jahren in das neue Land zog*].

¹Weierhof, near Kirchheim-Boland, is an important Palatine Mennonite center. Originally a monastery estate, it was given in hereditary lease in 1682 to Peter Crayenbühl (Krehbiel) under the elector of the Palatinate. According to the lease the lessee and his family were granted the privilege of holding Mennonite worship within the family, but without the right to establish a congregation. In 1706 the area came under the jurisdiction of Nassau-Weilburg and the congregation, which drew together Mennonites from the villages and estates of the area, took on formal character at that time. For the history of the settlement, see Christian G. Neff, "Weierhof," in *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, IV, 911-913. For a brief history of the Krehbiel (Graybill) family, originally from Grosshöchstetten in Canton Bern, Switzerland, see *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, III, 235-238.—EDITOR.

EMIGRANTS FROM RAMSEN

15. Of *Conrad Marent*, citizen at Ramsen, it is said in a document dated March 8, 1766, that "with his wife and children, he left here in the year 1764, after receiving manumission, and went to Cayenne in New France" [*mit seiner Frau und Kindern albereits anno 1764 nach erhaltener Manumission von hier ab und nach Cajenne in Neufranckreich gezogen*].

EMIGRANTS FROM RUSSINGEN

16. In a property transfer of the Mennonite *Ulrich Ellenberger*,² hereditary lessee of the Otterberg farm property at Rüssingen, to his son *Rudolph Ellenberger*, dated June 9, 1757, and in the estate inventory dated October 7, 1766, it is stated that two sons from his second marriage by the name of *Ullrich* and *Peter Ellenberger* "went to Pennsylvania" [*in Pensylvanien gezogen*]. *Ullrich* and *Peter Ellenberger* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *St. Andrew*, September 9, 1749 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 128 C).

EMIGRANTS FROM DREISEN

17. Here there are several documents about the reprimand for debt (i.e., settlement of the debt payment through the crediting of the said persons) of *Adam Siegel*, who went to New England (document dated May 27, 1774); further a document about the reprimand for debt of *Christian Emig* who was going to New England and the debts on his property (document dated May 28, 1774); and a document (reprimand for debt) of the widow of *Ludwig Löwenberg* of Dreisen, who was going to New England (document dated May 28, 1774). A similar document treats of *Daniel Zittel* of Dreisen. *Adam Siegel*, *Christian Eh-mig*, and *Daniel Zittel* all landed at Philadelphia on the Ship *Sally*, October 31, 1774 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 322 C), along with *Peter*, *Philipp*, and *Friedrich Löwenberg*. *Philipp* and *Friedrich Löwenberg* are entered in the Reformed church register of Dreisen as children of *Ludwig Löwenberg*, inhabitant at Dreisen, and his wife *Christina*. *Friedrich Löwenberg* was born September 21, 1740, and *Philipp Löwenberg* was born May 13, 1758, both at Dreisen. With the sons and the widow *Christina* there possibly came other children of hers, *Elias Löwenberg* (born January 10, 1761), *Maria Catharina Sophia Löwenberg* (born February 19, 1763), and *Christoph August Ludwig Löwenberg* (born February 9, 1766), who as minors (under 16 years) do not appear in the ship lists.

EMIGRANTS FROM CLAUSERHOF (NEAR RAMSEN)

18. A property list of the deceased wife, *Anna*, of *Jakob Krebühl*, hereditary lessee of the Clauserhof, dated May 30, 1793, names among her sons a son *Johannes*, "single, 19 years old, being in America" [*ledig, 19 Jahr alt, in America sich aufhaltend*].

²Ulrich Ellenberger was the elder (minister) in charge of the Mennonite congregation of Weierhof and vicinity during the middle of the 18th Century. See *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, IV, 912.—EDITOR.

BUTCHERING ON THE PENNSYLVANIA FARM:

Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 28

The Fall and Winter seasons brought butchering to the Pennsylvania farm. In this questionnaire we solicit our readers' reminiscences on farm butchering and the customs, beliefs, and lore associated with it.

1. Time of Butchering. *When was butchering usually done on the Pennsylvania farm? Were there special days or times when butchering was almost certainly performed (Thanksgiving, Christmas)? Was butchering ever performed in Spring or Summer?*

2. Butchering Personnel. *Who performed the task of butchering the farm animals on the farm? How much of the operation was done by the farmer himself, how much by traveling specialists? What parts of the food production were done by the farm women, or by the children?*

3. Tools of Butchering. *Describe, and if possible draw pictures of the tools used in butchering, including the "gallows" (PG Galye), "gambrel stick" (PG Heessehols), scalding trough, brushes, knives, sausage-making equipment, and other objects. Where were these kept during the year?*

4. Place of Butchering. *Did most farms have a special "butcher house" or section of a workshop where butchering was performed? What did this include? How much of the butchering operation was done in the open air?*

5. Animals used for Meat. *What animals were butchered on the farm for meat? How many of each were butchered annually for your family as a rule?*

6. Meat Products. *What were the principal meat products prepared at butchering? What in your opinion is distinctive about Pennsylvania "scrapple"? Is scrapple the same as or different from "Pannhaas"? Describe sausage preparation; is there any distinctive ingredient or method that makes Pennsylvania farm sausage different from other types of sausage? How many types of sausage were made on the farm? Did Pennsylvanians ever make blood sausage (German Blutwurst)? How was "summer sausage" (PG Summerwarscht) prepared? Describe, if you know it, the sour meat preparation called "rolidge". What is "souse" (PG Gallerich, Zitterli) and how is it made? What is "pudding meat" and how is it related to "liverwurst"?*

Describe other meat products of the Pennsylvania farm and their preparation.

7. Meat Preservation. *How were the meat products of farm butchering preserved for later use? Describe the salting, drying, smoking and other processes of meat preservation. Which meats or cuts were submitted to the different processes? In particular describe the Pennsylvania farm smokehouse and its techniques of meat preservation. Where was it located in relation to the other buildings of the farm? How and where were the various butchering products stored for use later on?*

8. Byproducts of Butchering. *Describe the use made of the byproducts of butchering—hides, bristles, bones, blood, marrow, bladders, stomachs, intestines, even the tails. In the case of the hides and bones and bristles, who collected such things, i.e., how were they distributed to their appropriate market?*

9. Butchering Customs. *In earlier days the Pennsylvania German farmers had a custom called "Metzelsupp". Describe it for us. Did it last into the 20th Century? Were there customs or rituals or traditional procedures carried on during the butchering itself? Was butchering a community affair, i.e., were others besides the immediate family usually involved in it?*

10. Changes in Butchering. *Note the changes you have seen in butchering on the Pennsylvania farm scene during your lifetime. What do you consider the reasons for these changes? When did the local butcher with his wagon (later a truck) appear on the rural or small-town scene? What is the prospect for home and small-town butchering and preparation of local meat products for the future? Is it true that only one Pennsylvania rural meat product (Lebanon Bologna, a trade name for "summer sausage") has reached a national market? Why are not other Pennsylvania German meat specialties known and sold nationally?*

Send your replies to:

Dr. Don Yoder
Box 36 College Hall
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 19104



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KUTZTOWN
FOLK FESTIVAL



JUNE 30-JULY 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 1973

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