

Social Life in Lancaster Borough

By ELIZABETH CLARKE KIEFFER

It was Benjamin Rush writing in 1789 on the "Manners and Customs of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania,"¹ who called attention to the fact that the description given by Tacitus of the German Village of the first century A.D. applied with fair accuracy to the early villages of German Pennsylvania. "Each man," said Tacitus, "leaves a space between his house and those of his neighbors, either to avoid the danger from fire or from unskillfulness in architecture." Probably this purely Teutonic love of space around one's home was one of the things which made Lancaster seem such an odd town to the eyes of English travelers accustomed to the closely crowded streets of English towns and villages. Another oddity, which was apparent in the descriptions which Mr. Heisey read to us last month,² was the choice of a site, which seemed so unpleasant to the English that they blamed the Hamiltons for profiteering at the expense of the simple German settlers. As there was no way in which they could possibly have forced the Germans to settle upon their land, it seems much more probable that the Germans liked the site because it reminded them of their own homeland — of the rolling hills around Zweibrucken, the wooded slopes of the Harz mountains, and the fairy-haunted streams and swamps of the Black Forest. The present day inhabitant of Lancaster County reverses this experience when he visits the Palatinate home of his ancestors and recognizes that in all of Europe the scenery which surrounds him there is the most homelike.

Lancaster in 1742 was undoubtedly a German village. The houses which already lined King and Queen streets for two blocks from the square and were sprinkled along other streets as well, were of log, it is true, but they were built in German style, with sloping roofs, chimneys in the middle (English houses had chimneys at each end), thatched roofs and, where feasible, a

¹ *Columbian Magazine*, Jan. 1789. Reprinted by I. D. Rupp, 1875.

² Heisey, M. L., *How Lancaster grew and what people thought of it*, Lancaster Co. Historical Society Papers, v. 45, no. 4.

spring-house in the cellar. Dr. T. J. Wertenbaker, in his recent book on "The Middle Colonies,"³ dispels the picturesque legend that these spring-houses were intended to furnish water supply in case of Indian attack, by calling attention to the fact that they were copied directly after the spring-houses at home in Germany.

The necessary conditions of wilderness life had, of course, made necessary the development of skill in building with logs, so that even in the few years since the settlement began, the appearance and convenience of the houses had improved, and where the first shacks had been made of roughly hewn logs crudely notched with wide crevices filled with stone and clay, the newer two-story structures were made of carefully-dressed timber, notched with a hatchet in the "schwalben-schwanz" (i.e. dove-tailed) manner, which made the corners fit neatly together and prevented dampness.⁴

Probably the only brick building in town was the first courthouse in the square, and the only stone building the Trinity Lutheran Church, begun in 1734 and dedicated in 1738. The Reformed congregation was still worshipping in its log church built in 1736. Some of the numerous inns may have been of stone, but it is more likely that they were log or half-timber. Of these inns the chief ones in existence when the burgesses first met were the Cross Keys, the Grape, the Swan and the Black Horse.

The houses, even in town, were probably surrounded by gardens with orchards behind. The Germans had brought with them their knowledge of the ways of plants and trees, and early astonished their English neighbors, who lived chiefly on meat, by raising enormous cabbages and turnips, onions, carrots and cauliflowers; while the first step of a settler, even before his house was up, was to clear space to plant his fruit trees—apples, pears, cherries, peaches, and to set out the small fruits—gooseberries, currants, raspberries and strawberries, which he considered necessary for the pursuit of the good life.⁵ Nor were the agricultural activities of the town dwellers confined to the plots of ground around their homes. They frequently followed the custom of their homeland by taking plots of ground outside the city limits and turning them into gardens. One of our members⁶ has family records to show that one of his early ancestors bought a tract of land northeast of the city in the present neighborhood of Grand View Heights, and sold it again in small garden plots to merchants and working men of the town who went out after working hours to till their gardens, just as their fathers did in the Rhine Valley. Well-built fences, usually of chestnut wood, surrounded the city gardens to keep out the wandering pigs and geese, about whom the burgesses early ruled that it was the property owner's business to protect his

³ Wertenbaker, *Founding of American Civilization. The Middle Colonies.* Scribner, 1938.

⁴ Brumbaugh, G. E., *Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans.* Pennsylvania-German Society Proceedings, v. 41, 1931.

⁵ Rush, op. cit.

⁶ Mr. C. H. Martin.

fields, and not the stock owner's business to keep his animals at home.⁷ Each householder usually had also a barn or cattle shed to stable his horses and cows, for even in town every prosperous family kept at least one cow, not only to provide milk, butter and cheese, but also manure for the garden.⁸ It is more than probable that the "heaps of filth" before the house doors, which so offended the fastidious Mr. Marshe from Maryland,⁹ were only the European dung-heaps which thrifty peasants maintain to this day for the enrichment of their crops.

Through the streets of this log-city with its flourishing gardens set among swamp and forests, moved the colorful and exciting life of the frontier town. The early prototypes of the Conestoga wagon were already bringing in trains of immigrants on the King's Highway. Some of these stopped to settle in Lancaster; others, after a brief stay for provisions and rest, pushed on to the Susquehanna and the wild forests beyond. Post-riders from Philadelphia galloped in with news from the seaboard and European mail just off the latest ship from Rotterdam. Men from outlying farms came in on horseback to buy or sell, or brought their crops over bumpy forest trails in homemade ox carts with solid wooden wheels.¹⁰ Chapmen from the city displayed their wares on market days, forcing the burgesses to enact protective legislation compelling them to deal through local storekeepers — "freemen of the borough."¹¹

At the Wednesday and Saturday markets provided for in the borough charter, the scene must have been much like that of the curb markets of our own younger days. No market house had yet been erected,¹² and the farmers sold their produce in the square where later the market house was built, and still later the City Hall. Nor could the costumes of the vendors have been so very different, for all the farmers of the early days probably dressed very much as our Plain People do today, and indeed the common people of the town who wore their own linsey-woolsey dresses and made them up roughly in the fashion of their old homes, must have looked very similar — the women with their short gowns, kerchiefs, shawls and hoods, and the men with linen trousers and broad-brimmed hats. Mingled in the market-day crowd, of course, were the buckskin and leatherstockings of the frontiersmen and Indian traders, the colored blankets and feathers of the Indians themselves, and at the other extreme the conventional costumes of the few Englishmen who ruled the place and of the upper-class Germans who imitated them. James Hamilton's portrait, which may be taken as typical of the period, shows him with

⁷ Minutes of the Burgesses.

⁸ Rush, *op. cit.*

⁹ Marshe, Witham. *Journal of the Treaty of the Six Nations*, held at Lancaster in 1744. *Egle's Notes and Queries*. Series III, v. 1, pp. 264-305.

¹⁰ Wertebaker, *op. cit.*

¹¹ Minutes of the Burgesses.

¹² Some historians suppose that there may have been a temporary market house, but as there is no mention of it in the burgess book it seems unlikely.

wedded wig, black hair-ribbon, immaculate white stock folded high under his clean-shaven chin, a velvet weskit buttoned to the neck, and severe frock-coat without lapels. A local Irishman¹³ who died the year of the borough charter, thought enough of his "best suit of Cloaths" to pass it on as a legacy to a friend. He described it as consisting of "One new light-colored coat and one lining Hughaback Gackett and Linnon Drawers," and a few years later another testator¹⁴ bequeathed to a friend "my Plush Brichas and silver knee Buckels." Old men, ministers and schoolmasters wore knee-breeches into the nineteenth century.

On Sunday, when people had their one day of social gathering, colorful costumes brought from the homeland and preserved for several generations, were taken out from the painted chests and worn again, so that Cazenove remarked that when he attended church in a Pennsylvania town even as late at 1794,¹⁵ he thought himself transported to Germany. That the church-goers, coming as some did from a great distance, liked to combine social and practical activities with their religious duties, is proved by the fact that the first action of the burgesses had to be directed against the typical German custom of keeping shops and taverns open on Sundays.¹⁶ This ruling, while it certainly increased the propriety of the Lancaster Sabbath day, may have worked a real hardship upon some of the out-land farmers.

Aside from church on Sunday and the two weekly markets, the only large social gatherings were election days and the biennial fairs in June and October, which were probably rather rowdy occasions. The Germans, although very hospitable to travelers and strangers, did not believe in the wasteful habit of coming together in groups for the sole purpose of eating and drinking. There may have been gatherings for corn-husking, apple-paring, barn-raising or quilting, but we have no evidence of them at this early period, and assuredly the hard-working pioneers had little time for dancing or card-playing. Probably the first ball ever held in Lancaster was that described by the critical Mr. Marshe at the Indian Treaty of 1744,¹⁷ when James Hamilton led the dancing with two German ladies "who danced wilder time than any Indians," and was accompanied by two German fiddlers who a week before had fiddled when Andrew Hamilton danced a jig for the Governor with a young Indian brave. Children, of course, had their own amusements and had to be forbidden from playing ball round the courthouse because of the danger to persons riding by.¹⁸ Englishmen and upper-class Germans sometimes gathered at the taverns to play cards or to "dust a bottle."

For the common man of the town, however, life's pleasures were confined within his own four walls. Here on winter evenings, long years before the

¹³ Cornealus Manahan, 1742. Book A, v. 1, p. 74.

¹⁴ John Rees, 1746. Book A, v. 1, p. 177.

¹⁵ Cazenove, Theophile. *Journal*, 1794, ed. by R. W. Kelsey, 1922, p. 45.

¹⁶ Minutes of the Burgesses.

¹⁷ Marshe, op. cit.

¹⁸ Minutes of the Burgesses.

English had abandoned their draughty and inconvenient fireplaces, the German families gathered to work in their warm kitchens¹⁹ heated by the comfortable five- and ten-plate stoves,²⁰ at first imported, and later manufactured by Baron Stiegel at Elizabeth Furnace, which were later supplanted by the cannon stoves, first made in Lancaster in 1752. This method of heating conserved wood and saved the labor of the horses in dragging in logs from the forest, thus keeping them in good condition for the farm work.²¹

Unlike their English and Scotch-Irish neighbors, the Germans saw the value of treating their animals well. Their horses and cows were well groomed



and well fed. "Wer gut futtert, gut buttert," was a proverb, adherence to which paid in yellow cream, rich butter and delicious cheeses. Warm rooms also meant warm fingers, and warm fingers were supple and could spin and weave and knit twice as fast as those that were crippled by the cold draughts and drying blazes of the open fire. Many German families kept six spinning wheels busy for wool and flax grown in their own fields. Some families had their own looms in a special shed, but most sent their thread to a professional weaver of whom there were several in town.²²

Besides spinning, knitting and making all the family clothes, women kept the house clean, did the washing, prepared meals, dried apples and peaches, milked the cows, made the cheese, churned the butter, dipped candles, stuffed featherbeds, and in emergencies helped with the field work. Small wonder that the German ladies of 1742 had little time for frivolity!

¹⁹ For an idea of these rooms see description of the "Lancaster County Room" in the *Handbook of the American Wing* at the Metropolitan Museum, 1938.

²⁰ Franklin, Benj. An account of the newly invented Pennsylvania fireplaces, 1744, in his: *Works*, ed. A. H. Smith, Macmillan, 1905, v. 2, p. 246.

²¹ Rush, op. cit., and Franklin, Benjamin. Letter to James Bowdoin, 1758, in his *Works*, 1905, v. 3, p. 468.

²² Rush.

The picture changed rapidly. Dr. Wertenbaker²³ points out that the very German training which had engrained their peculiar habits upon the early settlers, conditioned them to adapt themselves readily to the customs of their English masters. In Germany they had been submitted to a discipline as cruel and unyielding as that of Hitler today. They had fled from that discipline, but they could not flee from its result in their own natures. They had been trained in habits of industry and thrift, which made for their material success. They had also been trained in habits of servile obedience to those in authority. While the English were in the very small minority in Lancaster, they were by law and by nature the rulers. The Germans not only obeyed them but imitated them, and as Wertenbaker further points out, by this very docility became rapidly fitted for society in a community of free men.²⁴

Let us look at Lancaster in 1757 — the important year when the market house was built. Already the town had begun to lose its purely German character. Log houses are still being built, although mostly in the outskirts — far out Orange Street, like Mr. G. F. K. Erisman's. Stone buildings are coming in. The Reformed Church has sold its log building, which has been taken apart, moved across the street and set up again as a dwelling house. The congregation has erected a fine stone church which will house them for a hundred years. There is a new inn, the Eagle, and two more, the Fountain and the Indian Queen, are about to be built; but the Grape and the old Cross Keys are still the most popular. The new stone houses, while they still have the central chimneys suited to stove heating, are more nearly like English houses, and the thatched roofs are giving way to shingles and slate. Tiles, which might be supposed to appeal to the Germans, were made in the county, but never became popular — perhaps because they were more brittle than the European make — perhaps because they were too tempting to small boys with stones, who had grown wilder and less restrained in the atmosphere of freedom.²⁵

The new market house itself is the big improvement. It is only a straw roof supported by poles, but it is the center of trade on Wednesday and Saturday. Butchers have been ordered not to sell meat anywhere else.²⁶ The passersby on the streets are more English in their dress. Farmers begin to look odd when they come to market, and you can begin to tell members of the sects from their "worldly" neighbors. A visitor fresh from Philadelphia will, perhaps, note that the styles are two years behind the times but not very different from those of the city. Ann Henry, for instance, as painted

²³ Wertenbaker, op. cit.

²⁴ It is interesting that Douglas Miller in his recent book, *You can't do business with Hitler* (Little, 1941) uses almost the same explanation in showing why the German-Americans in general have been less amenable to Nazi propaganda than any other people of German origin.

²⁵ Brumbaugh, op. cit.

²⁶ Minutes of the Burgesses.

by Benjamin West about 1755, wore her natural hair, unpowdered, and arranged in a high pompadour.²⁷ Her dress was cut very low over the bosom and modestly high at the back of the neck; her flowing sleeves ended in white ruffles just below the elbow. Men still wear wigs. Their stocks are high, their shirts ruffled.

From a green country town Lancaster is growing to be an industrial centre. It is the "stage-town" where travelers stop to change horses and often to spend the night.²⁸ Being also the market-town it is the logical place for manufactories to be established. The Lancaster rifle is beginning to be famous; good saddles are also made here. Whitelock's brewery and Caspar Schaffner's "blue dying" establishment are thriving. Charcoal burning has been banished by the burgesses to one-half mile from town. Industries that were formerly carried on in the home are now removed from it. There are shoemakers, tailors, coopers, cabinet-makers, wheelwrights and harness-makers. One does not even go to the forest for one's own wood nowadays, for it can be bought by the cord, and the burgesses will fine the seller if he gives short measure.²⁹ People are even trying to introduce silk culture into the community. Two years later Susannah Wright knitted a pair of stockings from silk of which the eggs had been hatched, the balls wound and the silk twisted in the county. Her brother presented them to General Amherst who promised to wear them in the presence of the King and "drink the lady's health who made them."³⁰

There was at least one printing press in the town. It belonged in 1757 to Robert Smith who, perhaps, bought it from William Dunlap who had been printing actively from 1754-6. The one ill-fated newspaper, *Die Lancastersche Zeitung*, begun in 1752, ceased publication in 1753, and there was to be no regular newspaper until 1787. Nor indeed was there any further printing done in the town until Francis Bailey set up his press and established his Almanac in 1771.³¹ In two years the Juliana Library^{31a} will be established,

²⁷ Photograph in Jordan Francis, *Life of William Henry*, Lancaster, 1910.

²⁸ Pownall, Thomas. *Journal, Hazard*, v. 6, p. 29. Some historians have assumed that this means that a stagecoach stopped here. At this early day it seems most unlikely. The first known stagecoach line in America was established in 1738 in Connecticut, and it was unsuccessful. The Oxford Dictionary defines "stage" in this sense as: A place in which rest is taken on a journey; a roadside inn for the accommodation of travelers riding *post or by stage-coach*.

²⁹ Minutes of the Burgesses.

³⁰ Letter from Charles Norris to Susannah Wright, Apr. 19, 1759. L. C. H. S. Papers, v. 4, p. 102.

³¹ Bausman, Lottie M., *Bibliography of Lancaster County*, 1916.

^{31a} Established 1759 as "The Lancaster Library Company;" Chartered 1763 as "The Juliana Library."

however, and well-read and educated gentlemen are lifting the town out of its lowly estate as a German village and making it a centre of culture.

Progress went forward steadily although not rapidly. Churches of all denominations were erected. By 1765 there were fifty-four taverns to care for the enormous streams of westbound travelers, who came in on horseback, in chaises and in the great wagon-trains. By 1766 there were three fire companies, and anyone who allowed his chimney to catch fire was fined ten shillings for his carelessness.

In 1765, William Stoy, who combined the practice of medicine with his rather sketchy pastoral labors at the Reformed Church, was urging the adoption of vaccination for smallpox. By 1769 cultured people had time to keep animals for pets, for young Neddie Burd at school in Philadelphia sent his grandfather Edward Shippen in Lancaster "a white curled puppy of the water breed" and also "two black-eyed rabbits."³² The letters of this same schoolboy show that the added leisure of the wealthy was due to the increased number of their servants, for Edward Shippen and James Burd constantly commissioned him to "buy" indentured men from the Dutch ships. In 1770 he bought for 19 pounds 17 shillings "a young man used to farming." "He is to wear," wrote Neddie, "his own clothes as long as they last and then have provision from you." Later he was asked to get others, but word came too late, and the only ones left were middle-aged, did not understand farming, or had only two years to serve.³³

Negro slaves apparently did not exist, and black faces were looked upon with distrust. The burgesses ruled that negroes must register within twenty-four hours of coming to town or pay a fine of \$1.00 for every day they stayed.³⁴

Gentlemen still wore small-swords. Neddie Burd's father gave him one when he set out for school in 1770, and he wore it at the start of his journey, but the rustics along the road made so much fun of his martial appearance that he rode into the woods, tied the sword over his waistcoat, and buttoned his coat to hide it.

In 1769-70 the looms of Lancaster made 27,793 yards of cloth.³⁵ Perhaps some of it furnished the white suit of which young Burd wrote home, in November, 1771, that it was "too thin for the present weather, and my brown homespun very threadbare."

Brick houses were being built now in the purest English style, copied from Germantown, which copied from Philadelphia. In 1771 East King Street was paved and a bridge was built across the brook at Water and King

³² Burd, Edward. *Neddie Burd's Reading Letters* . . . ed. by J. Bennett Nolan. Reading [c. 1927].

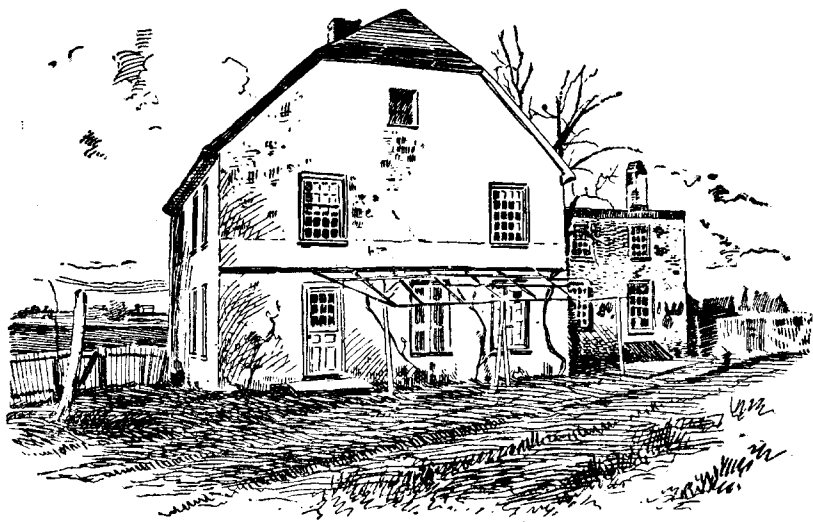
³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Minutes of the Burgesses.

³⁵ J. O. Knauss, *Social conditions among the Pennsylvania-Germans*. (Pennsylvania-German Society. Proceedings, v. 29, 1918).

Streets, and another at South Queen and Vine. It was in this year that Edward Shippen danced a cobbler's jig at the wedding of his granddaughter.³⁶ Parties and dances were growing common, both at the inns and at the big country houses. A Lancaster family has preserved an invitation of this period written across the back of a playing card.

Trade was brisk. Simon & Levy's store near the courthouse, in 1773 sold drygoods, saddle-ware, ironmongery and other sundries. Rumors of sedition and rebellion were in the air. The trade in rifles and powder was growing very encouragingly. Lancaster was ready for trouble.



Country Home of George Ross.

"It's an ill wind that blows naebody good" might well have been said by the Lancaster people in 1777, when the British occupied Philadelphia and throngs of frightened, demoralized, but wealthy refugees began pouring into town in their coaches, "chairs" and sulkies. The innkeepers were delighted. People with rooms or houses for rent made capital of the situation. Tradespeople must have seen their advantage; but Lancaster as a whole was not pleased. The newcomers took possession of the town with arrogant rudeness. Far from showing gratitude for receiving an asylum, they appeared to feel that they were conferring an honor by their presence. Thomas Paine who stayed with the Henrys, caused that decent family great concern by his filthy

³⁶ Burd, op. cit.

habits, indolence and intemperance.³⁷ Christopher Marshall³⁸ was at first received with extreme politeness by the prominent men, and their ladies came to visit his wife, but within a year his impatience with local customs, and his intolerance of the Germans, practically cut him off from any society save that of his fellow-refugees; and indeed who can blame the townspeople for disliking a man who wrote of them as "lumps of mortality . . . unpolished . . . hoggish & selfish."³⁹ People liked better the charming young prisoner, André, or even the Hessians who at least made good servants and could be hired through Captain Atlee at one shilling per day.⁴⁰

The streets must have been crowded indeed in those days. The sign on Demuth's store, established in 1770, might well appear to be one of the crowd, for the little gentleman with his curled bag wig, stock and tie, high button vest, long-tailed coat with wide reverses, deep cuffs and big buttons, knee breeches, buckled shoes and snuff box, was dressed in the latest style, if we are to judge by William Henry's portrait of the same period, which differs only in a greater severity of cut and a lack of reverses on the coat.

Wigs were still the fashion, for the following year when prices were at their peak, the same William Henry paid his hair-dresser 1 pound 5 shillings to rearrange all his wigs in the latest style.⁴¹ This hair-dresser, although named George Meyer, is spoken of as "an Italian." The barbers' functions apparently were not the same as the hair-dressers', for it was a Joseph Walter, barber, with whom Marshall agreed that he should call at the house and shave him twice weekly for 36 shillings a year.⁴² Apparently he was the only barber in town, for with the increasing prices and rush of trade he began to take airs to himself, and within the year Marshall had to go to his shop and there be shaved by Mrs. Walter, and by 1779 he reports, "I shaved myself, which I had not done, I think, for twenty or thirty years past, but our barber was got so impertinent and extortionate it was time to try."⁴³

Marshall's account of the activities of his wife, in 1778,⁴⁴ is of interest as showing that a fine Philadelphia lady with plenty of servants could be quite as busy as the German hausfrau around her: "baking our own bread, pies, meats, etc., cleanliness about the house, attendance in the orchard, cutting and drying apples, of which several bushels have been procured, making cider without tools, for the constant drink of the family, seeing all our washing done and her fine clothes and my shirts which are all smoothed by her, making twenty large cheeses, and that from one cow and daily using milk

³⁷ Jordan, op. cit.

³⁸ Journal, (Extracts, ed. William Duane, Albany, 1877) July 13, 1777.

³⁹ Ibid, Jul. 21, 1778.

⁴⁰ Burd, op. cit.

⁴¹ Jordan, op. cit.

⁴² Journal, Aug. 22, 1777.

⁴³ Ibid, Sept. 4, 1779.

⁴⁴ Ibid, Jan. 6, 1778.

and cream besides her sewing, knitting, etc., . . . I think she has not been above four times since her residence here to visit her neighbors."

The Marshalls did a great deal of entertaining, especially of their refugee friends from Philadelphia, of members of the Assembly, and Congressmen going to and fro from York. The roads were full of travelers, the two-wheeled "chairs" and the four-wheeled coaches being the most common. Mrs. William Henry bought a chair for 75 pounds in 1778. In these lighter conveyances the trip to Philadelphia could be made in two days.



Sign of the Demuth Store.

One curious expression frequently repeated by Marshall is, "we drank tea." Since the sale of tea was prohibited and strictly enforced by the Committee of Safety, either the Marshalls had a large reserve stock or the expression is merely figurative, referring to the evening meal.

Mrs. Marshall's labors were not all entirely necessary ones. Most of the things she made at home could be bought elsewhere. When she went on a visit to her children, Marshall himself went to the baker's for a sixpenny loaf. Moreover, she could have taken life much easier if she had not insisted on keeping her worthless maid-servant Polly, of whom Marshall said, "All the good she does is not worth half the salt she eats." This flighty girl spent most of her time running after the soldiers, and twice ran away with them—once to York and once to Philadelphia. Marshall tried beating her, locking her in her room, hiding her clothes, all with no results. But he could not persuade his wife to give her up as hopeless and take another. Polly was her favorite, and she was always in hopes of converting her to a better life. The Marshalls had also a man-servant who was the evangelistic type of

Quaker. He caused them much trouble because he insisted on making a spectacle of himself by preaching in public. Their best servant was the negro girl Dinah who died in 1778. Marshall had much trouble in finding a white woman who was willing to lay her out. He grew very angry at the un-Christian race-prejudice of the Germans, although a few pages further he was equally severe with them for their kindness to the Hessian prisoners. He invited "all the negroes in Lancaster" to attend Dinah's funeral.⁴⁵

Two newspapers, *The Pennsylvania Packet* and *Die Pennsylvanische Zeitungs-Blat*, had moved from Philadelphia with the refugees, and John Dunlap, a printer, had also transferred his press to safety. News, however, was still conveyed by the town-crier or bellman, who made announcements in German and English. Foot-passengers at night carried lanterns or employed boys with "candles" to accompany them. These devices, however, were not needed on the night when the news of Burgoyne's defeat reached town (Oct. 21, 1777),⁴⁶ for all front windows in town were illuminated with candles and the principal citizens crowded the courthouse to hear the news read, to drink patriotic healths and to partake of a "cold collation," while the soldiers paraded the streets with fife and drum and fired a "feu de joie."

At a similar celebration of Cornwallis' defeat, crowds broke the windows which were not illuminated.⁴⁷

Although this patriotic festivity pleased Marshall, who reported that it was "conducted with great sobriety and prudence," he was very much displeased with the series of balls held in 1778 at the various taverns. General Mifflin and Governor Thomas Wharton attended; the Hessian band was employed for \$15 an evening, and cards were played at \$100 a game. Not only Marshall but other sober-minded persons were shocked at this frivolous extravagance, with an army starving at Valley Forge and the fate of a nation at stake. The pastors of Trinity and First Reformed, who had received cards, sent letters of protest, and one "Philanthropi" sent an open letter to Jasper Yeates on the subject.⁴⁸

A wager of \$100 on a game of cards may not have been so high as it seems, however, if it was in Continental money, for prices in these years were rising to dreadful peaks. Marshall, being warned in an express from his own son in Philadelphia, on July 26, 1777, went out in a hurry to buy up quantities of staples, but the local merchants had heard the news and their prices had already gone up. During the following years they rose in leaps. Butter varied from \$5 to \$12 per pound; eggs went to \$6 per dozen. A hickory broom cost \$4, and an ax \$20. Madeira wine was \$50 a pint, and

⁴⁵ Marshall, Journal. May 2, 1778.

⁴⁶ Ibid, Oct. 22, 1777.

⁴⁷ Mrs. Yeates to Jasper Yeates, Oct. 29, 1781. *Penna. Magazine of History and Biography*, July, 1922.

⁴⁸ L. C. H. S. Papers, v. 8, p. 231.

a dough trough in 1780 was bought for \$55.⁴⁹ Marshall and a group of citizens got up a movement to fix prices locally, on a plan similar to that used in Philadelphia, and the town meeting appointed a committee to this purpose in 1779. Arrangements were also made with the Philadelphia group to exchange local farm products which were cheaper than the same items in Philadelphia, for staples which were cheaper there than here.

With the evacuation of Philadelphia the refugees gradually returned to their homes, although some, like Marshall, had grown fond of the town they at first despised, and remained with us. The townspeople were relieved by the exodus, but the visitors had left a permanent impression. The manners of Lancaster would never be entirely provincial again.⁵⁰ Communication once established continued and increased. Friendships formed were passed down through the generations and kept up pleasant relations between many families of the two cities. Lancastrians, as they have often done since, resented the visitors while they were here and imitated them after they left.

The Revolution came to an end. The fairs which had been suspended during the war were begun again. The Courthouse, burned in 1784, was rebuilt in 1787. German and English newspapers began publication. Franklin College opened its doors with or without the presence of Benjamin Franklin in 1787. The first U. S. census in 1790 reported that only 37 families out of a population of 3,373 owned slaves; only 14 of these owned more than one, and none more than four. In 1791 George Washington visited the town and took part in the 4th of July celebration. In 1792 the Philadelphia Turnpike was completed as far as Lancaster, and in 1794 carried on to Columbia. Cazenove traveling on it in that year found Lancaster an attractive town in the outward appearance of its houses and its women, but lamentably wanting in the inner refinements of both. He kindly ascribed this to the expense of educating the large families.⁵¹

The building of the City Hall was begun, and in 1798 the candle boys of Marshall's time lost their jobs, for the streets were lighted and a night watchman employed. Town pumps were erected in the same year.

So we come to the last year of the eighteenth century, and before we go on let us look at the town in detail, as we see it in the *Lancaster Journal* of the year. It was predominantly a brick town by this time. Many of the buildings which we know today were standing then, and many names with which we are familiar appeared in the local advertising.

⁴⁹ List of prices in appendix to Marshall's Journal, edition cited.

⁵⁰ Although Reading Beatty, visiting the town in 1781, wrote that: "The inhabitants being generally German, puts sociability out of the question." *Penna. Magazine of History and Biography*, v. 44, p. 222.

⁵¹ Cazenove, op. cit.

The first advertisements which catch our eyes are those announcing "vendues" and those offering rewards for runaway slaves. Most of these slaves were not local but came from Maryland or York County, and the fact that they are so persistently advertised for in Lancaster shows how, even this early, the underground railroad in the county was beginning to organize.

Traveling salesmen and *saleswomen* did not deal through the local stores, but took rooms at the taverns for several weeks, inserted their advertisements in the papers, and sold direct to customers. One of these ladies had for sale "Table-cloths of damasks and diapers; tambour and plain muslins; silks, satins, laces, chintz and calicos." Among the local tradesmen are an upholsterer, a "gentleman and ladies hairdresser," a boot and shoe manufactory, and a "druggist and chemist." Local stores offer for sale "wet and dry goods," looking glasses, andirons, shovels & tongs, tea-trays, red leather skins, hatter's furs, and the intriguing combination, at another dealer's of "Fresh hops and fine live feathers." A fruit store near the market sells: "Lemons and oranges in boxes; fresh limes in barrels; figs in frails; raisins in bags, boxes or jars; tamarinds; sweet oil; nutmegs; sugar candy; lemon candy; and Spanish segars."

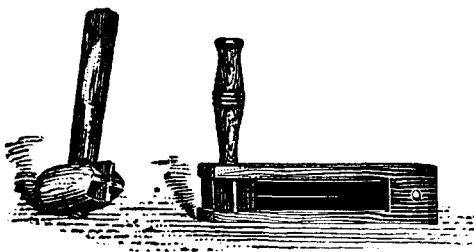
Hutter on West King Street sells music, "English songs, etc.," and John L. Lentz will teach you to play it on the clavichord or the pianoforte. He is perhaps the same "lone harpsichord teacher" who Cazenove said in 1794 "can hardly live" on the proceeds of his teaching.⁵² Riding masters, sword masters and dancing masters will train you to use your body as a gentleman should. And a "Chinese doctor, lately from Canton," (although his name is Schulze) "guarantees to cure where others have failed." The newspaper office has books for sale, among them "tales and histories for the instruction of children."

Stage coaches now run not only to Philadelphia but to Harrisburg and Carlisle, and there is less use of private conveyances because there is now a federal tax on carriages. A private post takes care of your mail to Reading and "Wummelsdorf," likely of great benefit to the Shippens, the Burds and the Yeates, who kept up a constant correspondence between these towns and Lancaster.

Horse thieves have been at work in neighboring counties, and local dealers are warned not to buy from them. A wife has eloped from her husband—he warns the public that he will not pay her debts. The directors of the poor-house want to purchase a quantity of coarse homespun linen and tow cloth; whether to clothe the inmates or to provide work for them is not specified. A local firm offers to farmers a new machine for cutting straw. The industrial revolution is at hand.

⁵² Cazenove, op. cit.

The first great event of the nineteenth century was the paving of King Street in 1802. The specifications were drawn up in careful detail, especially as to grading and curbing. The early banks established in the first ten years filled a distinct need. In 1805 the historic old Grape Tavern changed its name to "The Conestoga Waggon." Jacob Eichholtz, in the parlor of his father's inn (The Bull), yearningly looked on while Sully painted a portrait of the governor of the state, and received in return some sound advice and the painter's worn-out brushes. Ice-cream was sold on West King Street in 1810, and the U. S. census of that year found the population had grown to 5,408. In 1809 the *Lancaster Journal* carried this amusing advertisement: "Best fresh oysters for sale, also horses, chairs, gigs, and carriages to let by Thomas Wentz, Innkeeper." In 1811 the *Journal* complains that there is only one chimney-sweep in the town, and he a grown man. The paper requests that papers in York and Baltimore copy the plaint in hopes of attracting slender young boys to come and climb the sooty chimneys of the borough. Of the many theatrical entertainments held at the inns, we have heard so recently that there is no need for repetition.⁵³ In 1812 the Legislature re-



Hammer to cancel Bank Checks and a
Watchman's Rattle.

moved to Harrisburg, taking with them the ten-plate stove which local authorities claimed belonged to the courthouse. The War of 1812 came and went, taking Capt. John Hubley and his company of local boys away from town for a while. In 1815 the Lancaster Coffee House and Reading Room was doing a thriving business, and the Lancaster Juvenile Society was conducting a drive for the establishment of a library. And so we come to the year of 1818, when the State saw fit to answer the petition first made in 1798 and incorporate Lancaster City.

In the first issue of the *Journal* for 1818 we sense the dawning of a new day. There conspicuously advertised for sale we find "a cotton mill situate on the Conestoga," with all the machinery for "picking, carding, drawing and roving, mules, stretching and throstle frames, etc., . . . machinery said to

⁵³ Reichmann, Felix, *Amusements in Lancaster*. L. C. H. S. Papers, v. 45, no. 2, 1941.

be equal to if not superior to any in the U. S." This does not sound like an agricultural village.

In further evidence of progress we have the advertisement (illustrated with a lively cut) of the stage-coach which leaves Wm. Cooper's Red Lion on West King Street every morning at seven for Philadelphia. One dines at Downingtown and reaches the city in the early evening. The fare is \$3.00, including 14 pounds of baggage. The return coach leaves the Red Lion in Philadelphia at the same hour, passing the down coach midway. All this is rapid improvement from Revolutionary times, when one begged a seat in a friend's chair and took two days to the journey.

The Farmer's Bank is advertising stock for sale; and on the next page the Poor House gives a businesslike annual report as follows:

House of Employment:

Men: 59

Women: 34

Children: 18

Hospital:

Men: 25

Women: 27

Children: 10

Out-door paupers: 44

There are reminiscences of old times in some of the advertisements. There are, for instance, almost as many log houses for rent and sale as brick or stone. Demuth's still advertises snuff in bottles. Frederick Poleman, "Fancy and fashionable hair-cutter and dresser," whose place of business is on "N. Queen St. a few doors above Mr. Bachman's inn," lists wig-making among his other accomplishments and announces that "Ladies and gentlemen who desire it will be attended at their places of residence." His stock-in-trade, however, sounds a strange mixture of modern and old, for he sells "Russian oil, Cologne water, Antigua oil, perfumed soaps of all kinds, pomatum in sticks and pots, tooth brushes, tooth powder, hair powder, powder puffs, pocket combs and hair-pins, also an assortment of the best segars."

Portraits of the day, however, seldom show wigs on men or women, and little or no hair powder. Men are wearing their hair cut short, and the women part it in the middle and comb it back rather severely, showing the ears. Both sexes are still fond of ruffles, and the women wear deep fichus and puffed sleeves.

The advertisements of Peter Haire, tailor, certainly show no trace of old fashion. In May he "most respectfully informs the inhabitants of Lancaster and its vicinity that he has just returned from Philadelphia with the latest London Spring Fashions just received by the ship *Tontine* 35 days from

London." As he adds that he can make a suit in five hours if required, one sees that the fashionable Lancastrian could appear at a local cotillion in a dress of the fashion worn thirty-seven days ago at the last court ball at St. James's Palace. The materials for making such costumes are to be had at John Eberle's on West King Street, next to the Cross Keys. He has: "Super-fine cloths, kersemeres, twilled olive pelise cloth, stockinetts, velvets, flannels of different sorts and colors, laventines of all kinds, silks for ladies' dresses, silk and cotton shawls, black silk handkerchiefs, Irish linens, calicoes, cambric muslin, worsted and cotton hose, a variety of jacket patterns, large and small blankets, gingham, bear and lion skins for great coats, coarse and fine salts, teas, sugar, coffee, etc."

A number of stores advertise that in addition to dry goods and groceries they sell Queensware, which was obviously the fashionable china of the day. One such store adds to this list of wares "reeds by the gross, dozen or single."



Old Blunderbuss.

Patent medicines first began to be advertised in 1803 and are now listed in great profusion. One can buy "Lee's damask lip salve," "Lee's genuine eye water," "Bilious pills" and "Histerical drops."

The newspaper office sells letter and writing paper by the ream or by the quire. It also sells blank-books; and still carries on a small trade in printed books. But Wm. Hamilton's Book Store seems to be the place to buy your serious reading matter. From the numerous lists of new books which he publishes weekly we cull the following:

William Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry

James Wilkinson's Memoirs of My Own Times

Chas. Boudinott's A Star in the West, Or An Attempt To Discover
The Long-Lost Ten Tribes of Israel

"Rosabella, Or A Mother's Marriage by the author of the Romance
of the Pyranees." (Sic).

Chateaubriand — Travels in Greece, Palestine, etc.

Lord Amherst's Embassy to China

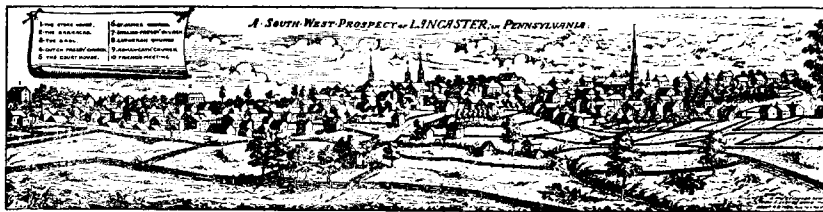
Hoyle's Games

and, "just received Mar. 27"

Rob Roy by the author of Waverley

Slaves are for sale in Lancaster, but not at auction. Most of those offered are single slaves whose owners are leaving town and will sell them privately, sometimes stipulating "to a good master." The columns are still full of rewards for runaway slaves, and now, side by side, appear similar appeals for runaway apprentices. The scale of values strikes one in these advertisements. \$2.00 reward is offered for a lost sheep, \$25.00 for a horse, "a handsome reward" for a pointer dog, \$50.00 for a cow, \$200.00 for a valuable slave, and for an apprentice boy 6 cents. This last is not the satirical offer of one disillusioned master, but seems to have been the standard reward paid in such cases. One master, however, thought much more highly of his runaway apprentice. He is a printer, and in a lengthy advertisement he offers a reward of \$100.00 for the boy who has taken advantage of a holiday given him for the purpose of visiting his friends and has taken himself away, with a good suit of clothes, a pair of shoes that cost \$3.25, and a hat that cost \$6.00. "My esteem for this youth," he says, "was such as induced me to treat him with the most marked respect—much more like a gentleman than an apprentice boy—my house was open to him at all hours; he came in when he pleased and went out when it suited him." He adds that he never defrauded the boy of a single hour of his legal schooling, and that he offered to pay him for overtime work, so that he could buy his time as soon as possible. In a final burst of benevolence he offers to overlook the ingratitude shown him if the runaway will come back of his own accord.

One suspects, behind this lyrical outburst, an intensely interesting human story, worthy the investigation of some future historical novelist.



Such were the lives and interests of our ancestors when Lancaster ceased to be a borough and became a city of nearly 7000 inhabitants. It was a busy place—a wealthy place—a comfortable place. If, as the patronizing Mr. Cuming⁵⁴ suggested, it was not a city where a gentleman could enjoy his "Otium cum dignitate" (although the Rosses, Yeates, Atlees, Muhlenbergs, Frazers and others seem to have done fairly well in that line) it was, at all events, a place where a human being could live a full, vivid, interesting life.

⁵⁴ Fortescue Cuming. *Sketches of a tour*. Pittsburgh, 1810, quoted in: *Old Lancaster — Tales and Traditions*, Wm. F. Worner, 1927.

PLAYING BALL

IN 1752

In the "Corporation Book" of old Lancaster Borough, the minutes of the meeting of the Burgesses, on May 30, 1752, appears as follows:

"Whereas several persons by assembling and PLAYING BALL at the Court House within this Borough have thereby promoted Several Breaches of the Peace & Travelors on Horseback stopd and endangered and various other Evils likely to arise therefrom if continued."

The penalty for playing ball at the court-house square was a fine of five shillings.