A History of Brewing in Lancaster County, Legal and Otherwise Charles O. Lynch and John Ward Willson Loose

PREFACE

Leaning against the doorway of his brewery for a moment of relaxation after carrying many pails of water from the nearby spring, Henry Dering let the cold, clear water of the stream hypnotize him as it danced along the run in front of the brew house. Christmas would soon be here, and the inns would need beer for the holiday. Things had not been going well for Washington's army in 1777, and there was little reason for unbridled festivity over the Christmas season. Still, the beer must be made. Perhaps Brewer Dering thought about the advantages of civilization in Lancaster as contrasted with the unpleasant experiences he and Mrs. Dering had at their earlier inn where the Philadelphia road crossed the Conestoga River, east of Lancaster. It is not likely he thought about the Lancaster of the next century, the city which evolved from the little borough of which he would be burgess in a few years. Lancaster a century later had covered over the stream by Dering's brew house, and called it Water Street. A century after Henry Dering's "reverie" the stream had become a sewer. A century and a half after Dering's brewing efforts, beer was being piped through the same sewer to a hidden racking room only a few yards from the old Dering Brewery site. Through the Water Street sewer 179 years after Henry Dering's Christmas brew flowed the last beer to have been made in a Lancaster County brewery.

Our history begins with a tun and ends with a pun; it is the rise and decline of a once large industry in our midst. It seems almost incredible that brewing has never been the subject of a historical essay concerning our industrial development. The authors would like to anticipate the obvious questions by denying they had to become immersed in their subject. They would like to think most of their efforts were attended by a detached objectivity, but the authors realize their human limitations, and ask the forbearance of those readers whose opinions have been confronted by those of the writers. The ultimate responsibility for all opinions and interpretations rests with the authors, and particularly, with J. W. W. Loose, who received an abundance of inspiration and assistance from Charles O. Lynch but no license to implicate him in the dissemination of ideas and interpretations.

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CHAPTER I

THE ART OF BREWING

Brewing is one of the oldest arts of mankind, and apparently developed in conjunction the first agricultural activities. The natur al fermentation of cooked cereals — discovered probably quite by accident—revealed to man a source of a potable beverage. A drawing scratched in the soft clay of a pot prior to firing about 4200 B.C. in ancient Mesopotamia shows two brewers stirring a brew in a vat, using long poles. However, the art of brewing was well-developed by this time, for the brewery was an industry of considerable size and importance in the larger settlements in the "Fertile Crescent" of Asia Minor. Beer was regarded as a food rather than as a pleasurable beverage for many centuries. Beer was not without significance in the religious life of the ancient peoples, owing to its dependence upon chemical change—an unexplained mystery known only to the gods. Women who were employed as brewers became temple priestesses; and nearly a score of varieties of beer were brewed, some being used exclusively for religious and ceremonial purposes. Ancient brewers conducted a custom business, with the government regulating the price so that five measures of beer equalled six measures of grain. Governmental regulation of brewing is a tradition which appears without interruption throughout the history of mankind.

Beer in ancient Egypt was not as good as the Babylonian brew, hence many efforts to imitate it according to archaeological evidence. During the enslavement of the Jews in Egypt and Babylon they learned the art of brewing which they later carried with them as they scattered. Although the Greeks and Romans regarded beer as inferior to wine, and fit only for the barbarians, the brewing process was known; indeed, the Romans recognized the suitability of using yeast for fermentation. The Egyptians and Babylonians used saliva-laden chewed grain to start fermentation.

In the early Christian era brewing ceased to be an industrial activity and the process returned to the household where it was practiced until after Charlemagne became the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. During the Middle Ages brewing was concentrated in the hands of the churchmen, with convents and monasteries being the major producers of beer. The Convent of St. Gall, for example, had three breweries producing three qualities of beer, one for noblemen, one for pilgrims and poor guests, and one for the monks who were allotted five quarts per monk daily. In the eleventh century hops were introduced into the brewing process, but they were not used extensively for several centuries because the church bishops had a monopoly on "grut", a flavoring substance inferior to and later replaced by hops. The Bishop of Cologne even went so far as to threaten the direst consequences, the most severe punishment of the Church, for anyone found using hops in brewing, or importing hopped beer.

Brewing had become an important industry by the fourteenth century. Guilds of brewers flourished in Germany, Austria, England and the Scandinavian countries. The guilds fixed prices, set standards of quality, and established rules for apprenticeships. Community breweries developed into vast industrial enterprises which the kings found quite profitable for purposes of taxation. Few commodities have been subject to as much taxation and regulation as beer. German breweries produced lager beer and English breweries made ale. Although beer had been introduced into England in the eleventh century, the beverage was not popular with the ale-quaffing Englishman.¹

It is said the first commercial brewery erected in America was built in 1612 on Manhattan Island by Dutch settlers, but Columbus discovered on his fourth voyage to the New World that the natives of Central America were brewing a beer produced from maize. According to a diary kept by a Mayflower passenger the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock instead of a site farther south because "we could not now take time for further search or consideration; our victuals being much spent, especially our beere . . .".²

In the Plymouth Colony, William Bradford, its second gov ernor, voiced his bitter complaints over the scarcity of good beer, and urged European brewers to settle among the Pilgrims.³ William Penn, founder of our Quaker Commonwealth, brought the art of brewing here, and promptly erected a fine brewery adjacent to his mansion at Pennsbury.⁴ Anyone who was anybody had to have a fine home with brewery! Samuel Adams, that radical rascal known as the "Father of the American Revolution," was a brewer and the son of a brewer.⁵ Revisionist historians some day may question the true motives in Adams' destruction of the tea in Boston Harbor! Whereas the "Demon Rum" was viewed with horror by the Quakers, William Penn on occasion traded off a barrel of beer to the Indians. Brewing was a promising and respectable enterprise. Harvard had its brewhouse in 1674 but its scholars received their beer and bread daily from the beginnings of the college in 1636. The absence of beer for as long as a week at a time, among other complaints, brought about the dismissal of Nathaniel Eaton, first president of Harvard.⁶ Yale was not known to have that problem when it was founded in the next century. George Washington had a brewery at Mount Vernon. Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton concerned themselves with the encouragement of the brewing industry.7 James Madison favored measures to protect domestic brewers from the competition of foreign beer and cheap whiskey.⁸ Brewing, then, was regarded as an admirable enterprise which provided the beverage of moderation in contrast to the distillers of hard liquor.

As one might expect, the needs of thirsty Lancastrians were cared for by the eventual establishment of local breweries. When

George Gibson was providing refreshment for his guests under the sign of the "Hickory Tree" (slightly east of the present site of Penn Square) in the 1730s, there is no reason to think he did not whip up a brew in the tavern backroom on occasion.

The first step in the production of malt liquors is known as malting. Malt is made from cereal grains, chiefly barley, which have been allowed to steep in water until germination begins. Steeping causes both chemical and mechanical changes in the barley grain. The chemical process is complex and quite wonderful; diastase is produced which dissolves starch and converts it into dextrine, and then grape sugar. The husk is broken down in the mechanical process which permits the growth of the germ, or plumule. After steeping for 40 to 50 hours, if natural processes are used, the water is drained off, and the wet grains are piled up on the malting floor to facilitate germination. After a week or longer the grains have germinated sufficiently, and are kiln-dried. This eliminates moisture and converts the starch remaining into sugar. After drying for several days, the rootlets are detached from the malt, and the malt is stored for several months to mellow. There are three kiln-dried malts: amber, pale, and brown—and one roasted malt called black malt. Beer can be brewed from other cereal grains but the highest quality beers come from the finest barley malts.

Brewing is the second step, and it consists of eight operations. First, the malt must be crushed in a malt mill. Then mashing takes place, that is, the mixing of malt with water in the mash tun. Today the mash tun is called a Lauter tank. In the better domestic breweries rice is added for its light starch content, and its ability to give beer a pale color. Rice also compensates for the high protein content of American barley. Inferior brews have cassava, tapioca and molasses added to augment barley malt. After this mixture is boiled the clear amber liquid, called wort, is run into the brew kettle and to it is added hops.

Hops are cone-shaped clusters of blossoms from the hop plant (*Humulus lupulus*). The cones contain lypulin, the secretions of which are a complex mixture of hop oil, hard and soft resins. The soft resins are bitter and aromatic, and retard the growth of bacteria which ruin beer. Hops are grown in central Europe and the northwestern part of the United States. Those grown in the Saaz district of Bohemia are thought to be the best for brewing.

After the wort is brewed, it is cooled and run into tanks or vats where fermentation commences. Yeast is added, and the wort becomes beer. Early English beer used top-fermenting yeast (*Saccharomyces cerevisiae*), but lager beer requires bottom-fermenting yeast (*Saccharomyces carlsbergensis*). Lager beer originally was stored through the winter in a cool cellar or vault for spring and summer consumption, hence brewing was a seasonal operation. Bottomfermenting yeasts could be produced in a pure culture, and would generate a fermented liquid free of spoilage and disease. The stability of these yeasts and the beer produced therefrom was highly superior to the old beers. American brewers were slow to use the yeast cultures developed scientifically at the Carlsberg Breweries in Denmark, preferring to utilize natural pure yeast cultures.⁹ Our brewers also used non-malted cereals such as rice or corn-grit in their mash tuns which reduced or eliminated problems of spoilage caused by the use of malt alone.

Following the fermentation process the beer is pumped into lagering tanks where aging and natural carbonation occur. Where quality is secondary to a cheap product the aging and carbonation is hastened by mechanical and chemical means. In old breweries where the brewers' art flourished the quality of the beer was all that mattered; competition was in quality, not in price. One example of the quest for improving beer was the discovery that beechwood lattices or chips used in the lagering tanks produced a better beverage. Frederick Maulich's Marietta brewery employed this method, but today only Anheuser-Busch makes use of the beechwood process.

After the beer has aged properly it is filtered and ready for packaging in bottles, cans and barrels. Pasteurization is necessary for beer destined for bottles and cans owing to pressure limitations. A new process has been developed for creating in bottled or canned beer the pressure and taste advantages of draught beer. Whether or not this process is advisable time will tell. This last operation draining the lagering casks or tanks into barrels—is called racking.

The ingredients of beer as well as the brewing process gives each brand of the beverage its distinctive flavor. In the malting process, quality of the barley, skill of the maltster, climate (temperature and humidity), and drying heat combine to produce a given quality. Early malthouses produced a malt which contained many unknown qualities. The brewing process, likewise, requires great skill on the part of the brewmaster and the brewery chemists, as well as the use of ingredients of known qualities. Unfortunately, in this age, competition among brewers has caused many plants to economize on quality of ingredients and to hasten the natural processes by chemical and mechanical means, none of which improve the flavor of beer according to the expert beer-tasters. The human element in brewing, while responsible for occasional careless errors, figures largely in the quality of the product.

According to the *Pennsylvania Farm Journal*, barley was grown chiefly for brewing beer prior to 1890. In 1852 the brewers of Philadelphia published an "Address to the Farmers of Pennsylvania" in which the farmers were urged to raise more barley. At that time 600,000 bushels were used in Philadelphia breweries in a year, and most of it was obtained from New York at prices of seventy-five to ninety cents per bushel.¹⁰ By 1867 there were 30,000 acres of barley planted in Pennsylvania, most of it being spring-sown barley. After 1880 the acreage declined rapidly, and in 1900 only 7800 acres were reported to be in barley. The best malting barley now used in the United States is two-row western barley, followed by regular six-row midwest barley.¹¹

Distinctions among malt beverages are difficult because names vary from one locality to another, from one era to another. Prior to 1840 in America all beer was made for immediate consumption, that is to say, it was not stored for any length of time. A dark, muddy concoction with unstable characteristics and unpredictable alcoholic content, the pre-lager beer was the product of "trial and error" brewing. No beer today is brewed in that manner, at least not in the civilized world. Lager beer was developed in Germany, and its two major characteristics are that it was stored in dark, cool places while it aged, and that it's yeast settled to the bottom for fermentation. The lager beer of our forefathers is not the lager beer of today, if indeed, there is any lager beer, strictly speaking, now brewed in America. The pale, light beer of today known as Pilsener hardly qualifies as lager, and is not actually Pilsener (or Pilsner). The only authentic Pilsener is Pilsner Urguell, brewed in Czechoslovakia, and exported by Koospol Praha. A similar type of light lager beer was brewed in Ceske Budejovice, or Budweis, in Bohemia. In 1936 the Anheuser Busch company purchased the right to brew and market a light lager type of beer under the name Budweiser. Budvar beer is exported all over the world, as is Pilsner Urquell and the beer of the Staropramen in Prague.¹²

Other pale light beers are *Pilsener-type* beers, however excellent their quality. Bock beer is a sweet, heavy beer made from barley malt and wheat. When brewing was a seasonal operation, bock beer was the last run of winter beer, and its date of sale traditionally marked the beginning of spring. Ale is a malt beverage which contained little or no hops originally, but today is brewed with hops and a different variety of yeast. In England ales are many and varied in strength, color, and dryness. Porters and stouts are beers containing darker malts and are of varying strengths and degrees of bitterness.

It will be noted later in this essay that the Zech Brewery in Lancaster and the Kloidt Brewery in Columbia used the open-fire method of wort boiling. In early breweries in the United States and Europe it was customary to boil the wort over an open fire in a copper kettle or pan. As times changed and new technology developed, inventions and improved methods were utilized in the art of brewing, resulting in controversy.

There was much diversity of opinion as to the superiority of open or closed kettles for boiling the wort and the hops, with regard to its effect upon the taste of the beer. The dispute was finally settled in favor of the closed kettle. This dispute was in a way connected with the question of open fire or steam boiling. This was one of the most stubbornly contested points in the progress of the industry and it was many years before it became the universal practice to use exhaust and live steam for mashing and boiling. The idea that open fire boiling favored a better taste of the beer was slow in dying out.¹³

Messrs. Zech and Kloidt probably favored the open-fire method because they believed that it gave their beer a superior taste, By 1935, this notion would have been a little dated perhaps, but it would have been consistent with Kloidt's training and background. History would indicate Mr. Kloidt chose the losing side in the controversy:

The improved methods of mashing permitted much larger quantities of unmalted grain to be used than was possible at first. . . It also enabled the brewers to extract practically all the suitable material contained in the corn. In the earlier days incomplete exhaustion of the raw grain had proved the process (the American process of decoction) uneconomic. Pressure cookers came to take the place of the older open cookers.¹⁴

It is quite possible that the restricted size of their brews and the economic unfeasibility of the decoction process in an open cooker were important factors in cessations in 1897 for Zech and 1941 for Kloidt.

CHAPTER II

LANCASTER COUNTY BREWERIES BEFORE LAGER

Although breweries existed from the earliest days of Lancaster, any attempt to draw a clear line of demarcation between innkeepers who were brewers in the back rooms, and brewers who had saloons in the front rooms would be impossible. Late in the eighteenth century certain innkeepers emerged as brewing specialists who eventually conducted breweries primarily. This evolution is described more fully in Chapter IV.

Lancaster's early brewers made their murky, unstable, unpredictable beer and ale in a few tubs, barrels and pails situated in the rear of their inns. Brewing was simply another chore in the operation of inns and taverns, and we are led to believe few innkeepers regarded brewing as much more than a troublesome task which ought not require any more of the busy hosts' time than absolutely necessary. After all, there were other beverages available for quenching thirsts, making toasts, and providing an evening of congenial talk.

Malt kilns appeared in Lancaster by 1745, according to Lancaster (Borough) Corporation records, but it seems unlikely these supplied local brewers solely. Distillers required malt too. The same records indicate Isaac Whitelock operated a brew house in 1772, and possibly as early as 1745. John Frick, a brewer, died in 1760, and was buried in Trinity Lutheran Church graveyard. Two breweries were functioning in Lancaster in 1773. By 1777 Henry Dering had moved from the tavern he ran near the Conestoga River, at the foot of East King Street, to an inn and brewery at 120-122 North Water Street.¹ John Frick, Jr., Valentine Krug, Philip Kleiss and Daniel Witmer were listed in the 1786 Tax Assessment Records as having breweries. In 1787 Daniel Witmer's brewery was for sale, and these items were advertised:

Thirty bushels of malt ready for malting in 24 hours; a 37-bushel capacity copper beer kettle; twenty-five hogsheads of pickling, all good and useful; one hundred barrels of vinegar; forty bushels of malt ready to use; and "all other things necessary for brewing."²

According to the records of the Moravian Aufseher Collegium at Lititz an entry dated 15 August 1782 suggests a distillery and beer brewery be established at the Moravian community, but that the distillery would be more feasible because "of the good beer made in Lancaster, which it would not be easy to equal."³ A half-century later the Moravians became concerned about the amount of liquor being consumed by their members as well as other rural folk, and authorized the erection of a brewery. Although the Moravians failed to erect a distillery in 1782, Lititz eventually became a distilling center in Lancaster County. Jacob Leman, a French Huguenot, joined the ranks of brewers by 1792. Michael Bernitz, and Krug, Kleiss and Leman were operating brew houses in 1808.⁴ Four county breweries existed in 1810; their total production was 770 barrels.⁵ The 1962 *Brewers' Almanac* states only 129 breweries were operating in the United States in 1810, and they produced 182,690 barrels of beer and ale valued at \$955,791.00. Nine breweries of Lancaster Borough and County constituted seven per cent of the national total.

Valentine Krug's brewery, formerly Isaac Whitelock's place, near the corner of West King and South Water streets apparently was one of the large brew houses in this area; it was 30 feet wide and 129 feet long, according to the U. S. Direct Tax records.

Tax records for 1816 show only three breweries in operation in the Borough: Jacob Leman, Jacob Martin, and Frank Gloninger. Calvin Cooper, an English Quaker, had a brewery in Columbia for some years prior to 1819 when he sold it.⁶ Gloninger purchased Krug's brewery, and by 1820 he had picked up a partner, Bernhard Haag, a gentleman who was to play an interesting role in Lancaster's history,⁷ John Lechler, an ill-tempered constable, arrived home unexpected late one night in 1822, and found his wife somewhat agitated; he also found Brewer Haag, sans clothing, hiding in the cellar. Later Mr. Lechler killed his wife and Haag's wife, the latter by mistake, instead of the brewer whom he had intended as his victim.⁸ John Lechler was hanged 25 October 1822, and Mr. Haag later remarried. Other brewers in 1820 were George Kleiss and Jacob Leman.⁹ Leman's brewery was located near the southeast corner of Mifflin and Christian streets on what was then called Leman's Alley. Franklin College occupied the brew house at one time.

McKissick and Beatty advertised their brewery products in Columbia in 1823. The following year Conrad Shultz, Sr., had a brewery on South Second Street, below Union Street, in Columbia; and in Lancaster Messrs. Leman and Kleiss were the only brewers listed in tax records.¹⁰ Abraham Sprenger had a brewery at Maytown in East Donegal Township from 1829 to 1831.¹¹ Abraham was the father of John Abraham Sprenger, who was born in Reading, Pa., 26 January 1829. The elder Sprenger was born in Rheinfalz, Bavaria, 5 July 1770, and came to America in 1821. In 1836 he rented a brewery in Lancaster from John Borell, his brother-in-law. The elder Sprenger continued as a brewer until his death, 28 August 1854, and then his widow continued the business until 1867. The Sprengers were members of the German Reformed Church. One of Sprenger's daughters, Catharine, married Lawrence Knapp, a brewer; and another, Anna, married Frank Ried Diffenderffer, who was a founder of the Lancaster County Historical Society.¹²

Shulze and Cameron purchased Jacob Leman's brewery in 1829.¹³ Leman was the father of the famed riflemaker, Henry Eichholtz Leman (1812-1887). Jacob Leman's daughter, Rebecca, married James Cameron.



Jacob Leman's Brew House along Mifflin Street, east of South Christian Street.

Tax records of 1831 reveal Lancaster's breweries were those of James Cameron, George and Philip Kleiss, Bernhard Haag, and Jacob Leman.¹⁴ There is no further mention of Shulze or why Leman returned to the business; Leman died in 1835.¹⁵ McKissick and Beatty closed their Columbia brewery in 1833, and Lewis Wisler's brewery began appearing on the tax records although that business supposedly originated in the 1820s.¹⁶ Two years later, Conrad Shultz of Columbia was joined by W. J. Shultz.

BEER! BEER! BEER!

W. J. and C. Shultz, proprietors of the new brewery, in the town of Columbia, respectifully inform their Lancaster friends and the public generally, that they are now prepared to fill all orders in Beer, and they will warrant it to be equal to any made in the United States. They will brew in all seasons of the year, and their Beer shall be as good in the summer as in the winter. Families can be supplied with 1/4 casks. All orders left at William C. Hall's will be promptly attended to. Yeast made at their establishment can be had at Neal Logan's grocery.¹⁷

Bernhard Haag and Jacob Bowman were Lancaster's only brewers in 1839.¹⁸ Messrs. Shultz and Wisler were quenching the thirsts of Columbia's German population in 1840.¹⁹ Records for 1841 show Bernhard Haag's brewery to be Lancaster's largest, followed by George Kleiss, Jacob Bowman, and Abraham Sprenger in that order.²⁰ Haag had his brewery near the southwest corner of West King and South Water streets; part of the ancient stone wall of Lancaster's oldest brewery still exists and may be seen. Jacob Bowman's business was located in the third block of North Prince Street; the Kleiss brewery was at South Queen and Vine streets; and Sprenger's brewery was at 407 East Orange Street, between Plum and Ann streets.²¹ In 1843 additional brewers were listed: John Grace was on West King Street; Abraham Hitz and John Haag were running the Haag brewery.²²

Among the author's papers are several business books including the brew book of Jacob Wisler of Columbia. Jacob was born 6 June 1813, the son of Lewis Wisler (1780-1852). Lewis, and his brothers, John and Michael III, were brewers in addition to following numerous other business pursuits including brickmaking. Jacob became an apprentice blacksmith and worked in a smithy in Millersville in 1833. He worked as a brewer and brickmaker for his father from 1838 to 1848, when he became a blacksmith at Reading. In 1858 he built a brewery at Reading, and operated it until 1866, at which time he returned to Columbia and conducted a small brewery at his home until 1884.23 The Wisler Brew Book covers the years 1835-1837, and 1847-1848. Each "brew" was numbered, and a schedule of days and operations therefor was entered. A brew apparently required 13 days, although some ran 12 and 14 days. For example, seven brews were made in October 1837, and a statement of quantities of malt and hops, with amount of barrels produced, was entered:

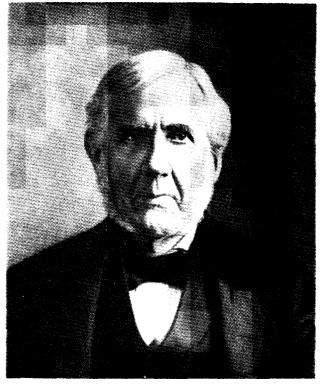
	Date		Malt	Hops	Half Barrels	Quarter Barrels
2	October	1837	15	10	0	22
6	"	"	25	15	0	41
11	"	"	25	12	6	34
17	"	"	25	12	6	34
20	"	"	25	12	6	33
24	"	"	25	12	6	35
31	,,	"	25	12	6	34

The early Wisler brewery stood along the river side of Front Street, near the foot of Union Street. Opposite the brewery was the Buck Tavern. In the 1830s, Lewis Wisler and his employee, Frederick Hagman, operated the brewery; and John and Jacob Wisler ran the Buck Tavern. After a short time the sons joined their father in the brewing business, and Abram Bruner became the innkeeper. Whether the Wisler brewery had been the Calvin Cooper brewery is not known, but on 7 December 1819 Mr. Cooper's estate advertised:

BREWERY FOR SALE IN COLUMBIA

on Front Street. 75 feet frontage on Front Street, extending to River. Brew House, Horse Mill with pair of burr [sic] millstones to grind the malt, and wood house and stable. Situated in a settlement where barley, hops and wood may be had in abundance at reasonable prices.²⁴

It ought to be mentioned that most of the brewers listed were prominent men in their communities, and were regarded as active churchmen with few exceptions.



Jacob F. Wisler (1813-1902)

Local barley supplies apparently kept the breweries in malt. In the Lancaster *Anti-masonic Herald* for 30 November 1829 appeared this advertisement:

BREWING

The subscribers have taken Mr. Leman's Brewery in Lancaster City where they have now and continue to keep on hand a supply of STRONG BEER. Market price will be paid for good barley at the brew house. Grains from the malt and good yeast constantly for sale. Shulze and Cameron²⁵

By the close of this era, Lancaster County had eight breweries (1840), which produced approximately 3100 barrels of beer and ale.²⁶

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Lewis, Michael & Jacob Wisler Brew Book

CHAPTER III

BREWERIES IN THE LAGER BEER ERA

English beer—the brew produced in Lancaster County prior to the 1840s—was vastly different from the German "lager bier" introduced to American drinkers allegedly by John Wagner of Philadelphia in 1840.¹ How long local brewers resisted manufacture of beer by the German process is hard to determine. An account of the Rieker brewery published in 1894 traced the origin of that establishment to John Wittlinger who brewed the first lager beer in Lancaster in 1842.² The following breweries were lager breweries for the most part, although we cannot know if the smaller establishments which persisted until the late 1860s ever converted to lager production.

A Columbia letter-writer had the following communication published in the *Lancaster Inland Daily* (16 September 1853).

The "Lager Bier" fever still prevails to great extent. Many victims to "Coculus" are seen daily reeling through the streets. Especially malignant does it appear on Sunday. I saw such scenes in Walnut Street on Sunday last, as were almost enough to make a man swear eternal hostility to anything in the shape of a beer barrel. Down with "Bier" say I, or make the streets wider.

Mercury

Why "Mercury" decided the inebriated souls he witnessed were victims of lager beer we will never know.

In the 1853 tax assessment records for Lancaster City are entered the names of six brewers, all familiar names except two: William Chamberlain, a brewer in the Northwest Ward; and Henry Wenz, a brewer in the Northeast Ward. Apparently these two men worked for other brewers inasmuch as their law assessments precluded any brew houses.

Lager beer must have become popular in Lancaster—and elsewhere in the Commonwealth—because the bottlers and innkeepers managed to get the State Legislature to pass a bill requiring brewers to sell not less than a dozen bottles to individuals. According to *The Daily Evening Express* (4 February 1857) a petition was being circulated among the "friends of lager" which urged the legislators to repeal the law:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of Pennsylvania: The undersigned citizens of Lancaster City respectfully pray, that so much of the Act passed at the last session of the Legislature, "to regulate the sale of intoxicating liquors," as prohibits brewers of malt liquors from selling the same by less quantity than a dozen bottles, may be repealed. Your petitioners believe the prohibition to be wrong in principle, and productive of much inconvenience in its practical operation, without being attended with any good result. All other manufacturers and mechanics are allowed to vend their own manufactures in such quantity as they deem proper—and in denying this privilege to brewers of malt liquors a system of favoritism or class legislation is established which is repugnant to the spirit of our republican institutions and odious to all lovers of equality and natural justice.

The prohibition is also annoying and inconvenient to the consumers of malt liquors—compelling them to resort to the second hand dealer middleman for an article which can be supplied in its highest state of perfection by the manufacturer.

Nothing looks more miserable than a mug or stein of warm and quite flat beer sitting neglected on a legislator's desk for hours at a time; its durability simply cannot stand up beside that of hard liquor which can be drunk from a bottle, or, in the more dignified atmosphere of a legislative chamber, from a flask. Lager beer just didn't seem to fit into the trinity of whiskey, tobacco and political deals. Nor did lager beer brewers have much influence in Harrisburg. The Act was not repealed, and the brewers defied the law. In the March term of Court, the Commonwealth was lined up against the Lancaster City and County brewers. Each brewer was fined \$25 and costs, but the beer-makers "got their Dutch up" and announced, according to *The Daily Evening Express* (7 March 1857), "No more lager."

The supply of lager, in a retail way, will cease in this city. The manufacturers have come to the conclusion that paying heavy fines, with a prospect of going to prison for a repetition of the offense, will not pay, and in the future they intend to wholesale their stock to the Baltimoreans, with whom it is said to be in great demand.

We have not discovered whether the threat was ever carried out; it would appear that the whole affair was adjusted eventually. With brewers becoming saloonkeepers about this time, there was more to be considered than the problem of bottle sales. Charges against the brewers were nol prossed. However, John Haag continued to defy the law and to have his case continued in court owing to "bone decay" in his leg which impaired his ability to appear in court. The prosecutor observed wryly that Haag didn't seem to be impaired in movement while peddling beer prior to each session of court.

The Internal Revenue Service had begun to hound the brewers not long after its creation. On 30 June 1867, the government tax collectors required each brewer who produced less than 500 barrels a year to pay a \$50 fee. Twelve brewers came under this category. Those who produced over 500 barrels a year had to pay an annual fee of \$100, and four brewers were in that class.

The Daily Intelligencer, soon to rejoice at the death of Thaddeus Stevens, took note of Lancaster's thriving beer trade on 8 August 1868: Anyone passing our depot, just before the departure of a train either East or West, cannot help noticing the huge piles of kegs, full and empty, stacked along the track, and cannot avoid involuntarily admitting that the Lager Beer business has assumed immense proportions in our city. Lancaster in America occupies the same position that Munich does in Germany in regard to this branch of industry. The fame of our beer has spread over the whole Union, and wherever we go, whether North, South, East or West, "Lancaster Lager Beer" is known and drank [sic] too, if procurable, in preference to any other. The shipments by Adams Express Co. alone will average 100 kegs per day, and besides this many wagon loads are distributed through the city and places in its vicinity every morning.

It is estimated about 30,000 barrels were brewed here during the past season, and had there been 50,000 barrels they might have been readily disposed of to customers outside the city. In fact so great has the demand become for Lancaster beer that notwithstanding the continuous improvements and enlargements of the differnt breweries, the supply is still very inadequate.

This demand would increase two-fold if some means were devised by which the beer could be taken to its destination in the same condition as to temperature . . . as that in which the beer leaves the cool vaults of our breweries.

The Lancaster Board of **Tra**de reported in 1873 that Lancaster County's 14 breweries employed 80 workers, 40 horses, and produced 775,000 gallons of beer annually. This would amount to more than 21,500 barrels. It is probable that the decreased production if, indeed, there was an actual reduction—can be attributed to the increase in the number of small breweries of little capacity and the lag of the larger breweries to keep pace with their big city competitors in modernization of plant and equipment, thereby losing some of the "export" business.

It will be noted that brewing requires large amounts of water, hence the location of breweries near water sources in early Lancaster. Streams and springs were used exclusively until 1837 when water was piped into the city. Two breweries in 1839 paid \$20 and \$25 respectively for their water. Breweries in 1880 were taxed for water on a basis of production. Class I breweries produced 1500 barrels annually, and were assessed \$100.00 for water usage exclusive of engines; class 2, 1000-1500 barrels, \$75.00; class 3, 750-1000 barrels, \$60.00; and class 4, under 75 barrels, \$50.00. The same schedule prevailed in 1890, but when Frank A. Rieker started construction of his 40,000 barrel brewery in 1892, the City Councils' water committees did some calculations, and Rieker didn't like the results. He then installed a powerful pump at a spring near Manor Street, between Dorwart and Crystal streets.

Local brewers were not inclined to take very seriously the threat of Prohibition in the 1890s. The traditional political parties, and particularly the Republican Party, were chagrined in 1893 to find a J. M. Mast organizing a county branch of the Prohibition Party. In Lititz, a temperance newspaper called *The Prohibitionist* was published as an organ of the new group. Its June, 1893, issue informed readers seven brewers and six distillers had been granted licenses in Lancaster County, and suggested this was too much for the preservation of morality amongst the citizenry. Mr. Mast pitched a tent in New Holland in September, 1893, only to have it, plus chairs and a wagon, destroyed by fire at night, according to the *New Holland Clarion* (2 September 1893). Arson was considered a possible cause of the melancholy event. A month later the State Organization of the Women's Christian Temperance Union held its annual conclave in Lancaster. Several days later a frenzied arsonist destroyed Jacob Shaeffer's distillery warehouse at the corner of King and Franklin streets. No connexion was found between the two events.

On 2 March 1901, Miss Ellen E. Eldred, a disciple of Carry Nation, visited Lancaster saloons to pass out tracts on the evils of drink. Two years later, Carry herself went on a rampage in Lancaster when she discovered a Sprenger Beer advertisement displayed over her head in the trolley car she had boarded, enroute to Rocky Springs Park. Frank S. Given, superintendent of the Conestoga Traction Company, found her a carriage to complete the journey. The following month Carry returned to Lancaster, and terrorized the desk clerk at the American House with her command of invective and billingsgate upon finding the hotel was equipped with a bar.

Licenses were granted in 1912, according to the Lancaster Inquirer (9 March 1912), to 275 saloons, 21 wholesale dealers, 7 bottlers, 6 brewers, and 3 distillers in Lancaster County. By this time only the Rieker, Wacker, Sprenger, Haefner, Bube, and Columbia breweries were operating, but their combined production capacity was approximately 200,000 barrels per year.

With the dark cloud of Prohibition hanging over them, the worried brewers were informed 13 July 1918 by the Fuel Administration that they would not be able to count on using coal beyond that needed to deplete materials in process of manufacture. An order issued 3 July 1918 curtailed fuel for the production of beer, near beer and other cereal beverages.³ It was estimated that almost a pound of coal was required to brew a pint of beer, or more than a ton of coal to make ten barrels of beer.

The Lancaster Inquirer, regarded as the organ of the Griest political body, hardly concealed its pleasure in announcing 7 December 1918 that all Lancaster County breweries ceased making beer, Saturday midnight, 30 November 1918. One brewery was said to have had 10,000 barrels of beer on hand. Sales of beer were required to cease 1 July 1919. By this time, only five breweries were left, the Bube Brewery in Mount Joy, last under the proprietorship of J. R. Hallgren, having become a casualty of fuel scarcity, threat of Prohibition, and obsolescence.

How Lancaster and Columbia breweries managed to struggle through the Prohibition Era is told in another chapter.

By 1931 Congress became aware of the temper of the citizens regarding Prohibition, but the time had not come for the Wet Forces to muster sufficient strength to overcome the Drys. Finally, on 14 March 1932, Congressman James M. Beck of Pennsylvania, and Congressman John Lintchicum of Maryland proposed a resolution which would discharge from the judiciary committee the bill for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.⁴ The Pennsylvania delegation in the House of Representatives split 2-18 on the vote, according to the Intelligencer-Journal (15 March 1932). Lancaster County Congressman J. Roland Kinzer and a Democratic congressman voted nay, while 16 Republicans and 2 Democrats voted to discharge the bill. The resolution was defeated 227-187, thus staying the growing power of the Wets for a year. Congressman Kinzer correctly sensed a large part of his predominantly rural Republican constituency approved of Prohibition and opposed repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. On 5 December 1933, at 12:12 P.M., the Pennsylvania Legislature ratified the Twenty-first Amendment, becoming the thirty-fourth state to do so. There were high hopes Utah would ratify before Pennsylvania, so James J. Haggerty was dispatched to Washington at break-neck speed with the formal papers.⁵ Utah however, ratified the Amendment at 5:32 (and 30 seconds) P.M. (E.S.T.) and became the thirty-fifth state. Prohibition was now dead.

Local breweries were not in condition to meet the new demands for beer. The breweries and their equipment were available, and in partial operation, but they were not in a position to assert themselves competitively. None of the local breweries had been remodeled and modernized immediately prior to Prohibition. They had to re-enter the beer market with obsolete and inefficient equipment and plants. Their skilled brewery workers had become lost to other industries, deceased, or at least demoralized by Prohibition. Rieker Brewery, for example, had been allowed by its "bootlegger" lessees to deteriorate almost beyond any hope of rehabilitation short of complete rebuilding.⁶ Haefner Brewery was making effective use of its plants, but that was terribly obsolete and too small. The Wacker and Sprenger breweries came back and increased their production. With the Rieker Brewery limping along for several years and the others trying to regain their former place, the 1935 Industrial Census found that Lancaster's four breweries provided jobs for 71 employees, and had an annual payroll of \$146,000.00. Capital investment was \$408,600.00 and the value of their production was \$786,400.00. Rieker's closed before the report was published.

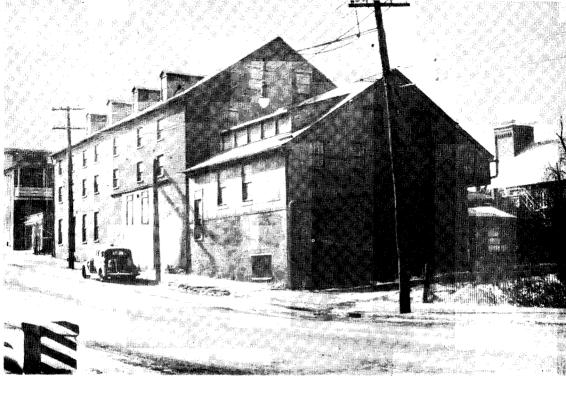
In the following list and descriptions of breweries we have not cited sources. All sources are the city and county directories, tax assessment records, Beers' *Biographical Annals*, deed records, will books, records of sheriff's deeds and executions, atlases and maps, and newspaper accounts unless otherwise indicated. We have sacrificed scholarly form and appearance to gain space. Controversial statements are opinions unless identified by sources.

BREWERIES

John Wittlinger Brewery. Wittlinger was listed as a brewer in 1842. His establishment was in the west ward of Lancaster. There is nothing to indicate his brewery was very large, nor is there any evidence that he was located on the site of the Rieker plant. As late as 1850 no structures existed west of Dorwart Street except Wolpert's blacksmith shop at the corner of Dorwart and West King streets, and J. Kautz's brickyard near the southeast corner of West King and Coral streets. In 1859 Wittlinger was listed on West King Street, and the following year he sold a half lot on Chester Street near Rockland Street to Peter Fachinger, a piece of real estate Wittlinger had bought in 1858 from Margaret McDonall. In 1865 and 1866 Wittlinger obtained from Charles Hirsh and Joseph Wacker a lot at the southeast corner of Chester and Rockland streets on which was erected a frame brew house and beer vault. Wittlinger became bankrupt in 1871, and the property was taken over by Wacker who was the assignee of Wittlinger. This brewery later was known as Kuhlman's Brewery, and in the 1890's as the Seventh Ward Hotel. In all probability the original brewery was erected by Charles Fenninger about 1850. Wittlinger's brewery was a "class 8" licensed establishment. John Wittlinger continued as a saloon-keeper in Lancaster.

Scheurenbrand Brewery. John Adam Scheurenbrand came to Lancaster from Germany and practiced his trade of tailoring. When his countrymen began opening saloons and breweries to quench the thirsts of Lancastrians who had overcome their prejudices of the "German drink" Scheurenbrand, with his son, William, abandoned the tailor shop and invested his life savings in the former Haag Brewery on West King Street in 1868. By 1871 Scheurenbrand discovered brewing required skill as well as enthusiasm, and he promptly closed the brew house, a sad but doubtless wiser man. George by this time regarded himself as a brewer, and took over the Jacob Haag Brewery and Saloon at the corner of South Prince and Hazel streets for several years. Eventually John returned to tailoring after a short tenure as an innkeeper, and George became a laborer, according to the city directories.

John Arnold Brewery. Arnold was brewing in the old Leman brew house on what is now Mifflin Street between South Duke Street and South Christian Street (then called Leman Alley). Mifflin Street was called Church Alley, and and later, Trinity Alley. He is shown there in the 1853 tax records, and the last entry for him appears in the 1868 assessment records. We have no way to be certain he was a large brewer. Arnold died 4 February 1876, survived by his wife, Margaret, and three children: Margaret (Mrs. Jacob Lamparter), Maria (Mrs. Edward Leonard), and George.



Henry Franke Brewery at 214-230 North Lime Street, Lancaster, as it appeared in 1935 after more than a half-century of use as a warehouse.

Henry Franke Brewery. Henry Franke was born in Ludwigsburg, Baden, in December, 1814, and came to the United States in 1848. In the late summer of 1848 he came to Lancaster, and commenced brewing of lager beer, "a beverage never until that time brewed in Lancaster" asserted The Daily Intelligencer at the time of Franke's death. His saloon and brewery were near the corner of North Prince and West Walnut streets. In 1874 Franke erected a large brewery, costing \$50,000.00, at 216 North Lime Street. The Prince Street saloon later was enlarged, and became the Franke Hotel on 6 November 1872. The new hostelry proudly advertised that it was run on the "European Plan." When the Maennerchor Hall was built to the rear of the hotel, the establishment's name was changed to Maennerchor Hotel. Portions of this hotel survive as the K and W Tire Company at 236 North Prince Street. The large brewery on Lime Street had the deepest vaults in Lancaster; they were dug as far down as the railroad cut which was adjacent to the brewery. This building was used as a cigar factory in 1882, and in the 1930s as the Conestoga Transportation Company warehouse. It was razed in 1940. Henry Franke was a civic leader, and served in the Common and Select Councils, and on the School Board of Lancaster City. He attached himself to the local Democracy and worked hard in behalf of James Buchanan. He was a member of Zion Lutheran Church. His death occurred 2 November 1877. He was the father of Henrietta, Augustus, and Edmund Franke.

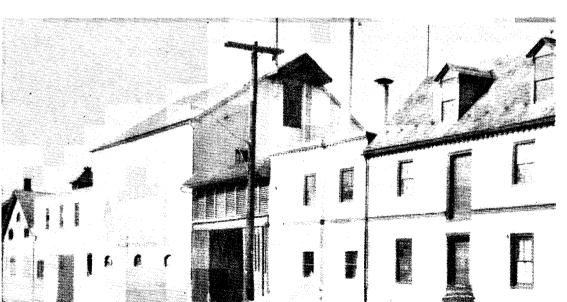
Lawrence Knapp Brewery, Lorenze, or Lawrence, Knapp was born in Freidenberg, Baden, on 2 September 1827, son of John Knapp, a vintner. His grandfather, Ignatius, also was a wine merchant. Young Knapp learned brewing at the Platz Brewery in Germany between 1843 and 1847, after which he came to America. Knapp worked in the copper mines at Belleville for two years before the mines closed. Then he was employed in a Philadelphia brewery until 1853 when he came to Lancaster to work for John A. Sprenger with whom he formed a three-year partnership. He also formed a lifetime partnership with Sprenger's widowed daughter, Catharine. Knapp established a saloon and brewery in the late 1850s at 62 East King Street. By 1868 Knapp was the proprietor of the Empire Steam Brewery at 135 Locust Street, a rather large brewery assessed for \$16,200.00 in 1876, a high figure in those days. In 1877 Knapp was advertising his plant as "one of the most extensive in the interior of the state ... lager beer and ale of superior quality constantly on hand for home and distant consumption. Special attention to shipments." His office was located at 143 East King Street where he had an elegant saloon. Four to seven thousand barrels of beer were produced annually from the Knapp Empire Steam Brewery, making it the largest beer-producer in Lancaster in the late 1870s. Knapp also ran an ale brewery in the rear of his saloon on East King Street. It was 32 feet square, and adjoined a two-story building, 32 feet wide by 120 feet long, which Knapp had fitted up for meetings and concerts by the German singing societies in Lancaster. The upstairs room was known as the Maennerchor Hall prior to the construction of its own large hall in 1883 along Water Street in the rear of Franke's Hotel. Knapp's hall and ale brewery were razed in 1964 after many years of use as a warehouse for the Farmers Supply Company.

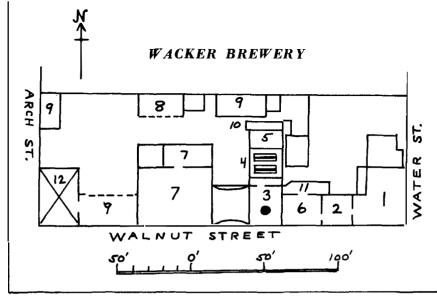
In 1880 the beer brewery on Locust Street was 40 feet wide by 120 feet long, and was powered by a fifteen-horsepower boiler and a ten-horsepower engine. In 1886 Knapp sold the beer brewery to Joseph Haefner, and continued his interest in his saloon, the Mechanic's Hotel at Chestnut and Plum streets, and his 40-acre farm east of Lancaster, known then as Knapp's Villa, and Tell's Hain. Knapp fell through the floor of his barn, and died from a ruptured kidney on 12 July 1894.

Lion Brewery. As early as 1868, Christian Maier was proprietor of a brewery between Church Street and Howard Avenue, known as the Lion Brewery. In the early 1870s, the partnership of Peter Scheid, A. J. Gerz and Company operated the brewery at 329-331 Church Street. Frank A Rieker was one of the partners. Scheid had a saloon at 165 North Queen Street, and Gerz was a saloon-keeper on Cottage Avenue. George Koehler rented the brewery in 1876 until 1878 when he purchased it from Scheid. From 1882 to 1888 Casper Koehler was proprietor of the Lion Brewery, after which time the plant was operated in conjunction with Sprenger's Excelsior Brewery at the corner of Locust and Lime streets. Eventually the Lion Brewery was absorbed into the group of buildings which comprised the Lancaster Caramel Works. The Lion Brewery Hotel proprietor in 1888 was Adolf Effinger, and in 1892, John W. Keller. At one time Mishler's Gardens were adjacent to the Howard Avenue side of the brewery. The brewery was demolished in 1897 when the milk processing building of the caramel factory was erected.

Wacker Eagle Brewery. Joseph Wacker was born in Wurttemberg, 23 December 1830, and left Germany 14 August 1849. He was schooled in the art of baking, but abandoned this endeavor to work on local farms. Starting with John Wittlinger's brewery in 1852, Wacker learned the art of brewing. He went to the Sprenger Bottling Works in 1854, and later he and George Kiehl purchased the business, then called "Kiehl and Wacker." They conducted this business at 77 East King Street. In 1865 Wacker left the partnership. and bought the old Wittlinger Brewery on West King Street, which he sold the following year. After a year's retirement, Wacker obtained the West King Street brewery again, and in 1868 he exchanged it for the County Hotel. Once more the fragrance of the brew kettle beckoned, and Wacker, in 1870 bought the Eagle Brewery on West Walnut Street from Jacob Sprenger. In 1880, Joseph Wacker turned the operation of his brewery over to his sons, Charles V. and Joseph, Jr., who conducted it as "Charles V. Wacker and Bro." The brewerv's vaults were located in 1874 on Chester Street, opposite 108-114 Chester Street. At five o'clock Sunday afternoon, 28 October 1894, alarm bells rang, and steam fire engines raced to the Wacker Brewery and Saloon at the corner of Water and Walnut streets. A fire which started mysteriously in the second floor of the corner building swept through the brewery and saloon causing approximately \$3000.00 loss, not all of it

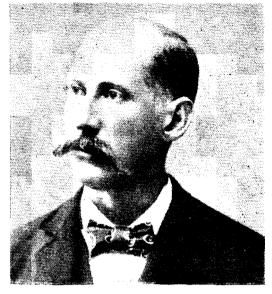
Wacker Eagle Brewery on West Walnut Street, Lancaster, at the time of its closing in 1956. Buildings from driveway entrance to right of picture have been razed.





(1) Saloon (2) Office (3) Brew House (4) Boiler House (5) Ice Machinery (6) Grain Storage (7) Cold Storage (8) Cooperage and Wash House (9) Wagon Sheds (10) Condensers (11) Engine Room (12) Stable. 1897 Plan.

covered by insurance. Quickly rebuilding the structure, the Wacker Company decided to enlarge and modernize the plant to compete on better terms with their three large rivals, Haefner's, Sprenger's, and Rieker's. By 1904 the brewery had more than tripled in value as new machinery was installed. Wacker's looked with some disdain upon the claim of the Rieker Brewery that it was the heir of the first lager brewery in Lancaster, and countered with its claim that "Wacker Brewing Company is the oldest institution of its kind in Lancaster County." After the Prohibition Era Wacker Brewery resumed operations. Following World War II the proprietors, John Dushl and Paul Danz, installed modern machinery, including a 160-barrel mash tub, a new Witteman gas machine, and Frick automatic refrigeration machinery. Louis Bauer was brewmaster at this time. Wacker's "Little Dutch" and "Old Bohemian" beer, advertised as "real, Bavarian-style Kreusen beer," was the last beer to be brewed in Lancaster County, because in 1956 the brewery no longer could compete with large, modern, highlyautomated brewing concerns. Its vats and machinery were dis-mantled and shipped to breweries in Buffalo, New York, Texas, and Latin America. In 1959 the property was sold to Frank J. Huss by Paul Danz, and much of the brewery was demolished to make



Charles V. Wacker (1857-1925)

way for a parking lot for a wholesale electrical supply house which now occupies the old bottling and storage buildings. The saloon has remained as the Little Dutch Cafe.

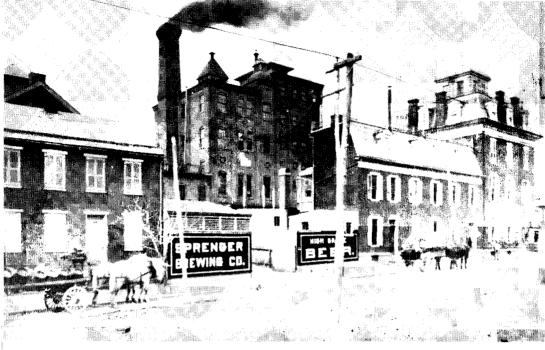
When the last crown was crimped over the last bottle of Wacker beer on 18 July 1956, brewing had come to an end in Lancaster County. Remaining beer in the vats and storage tanks was drained down the sewer under the scrutiny of government agents, having in mind, no doubt, the ceremonies which accompanied the draining of illicit beer into a sewer in Columbia twenty-four years earlier. As the last of the frothy suds gurgled down the drain there was reason for misty eyes in the Wacker Brewery: a Lancaster tradition had just died, a victim of large scale brewing in well-financed chain breweries, of automation, and of the economies to be realized thereby. Three years before, the brewery observed its 100th birthday, with all forty employees being paid in silver dollars—now as much a memory of the past as Wacker beer.

Joseph Wacker married Mary Dettlinger in 1855, and they became the parents of six children: Charles V., Joseph, Jr., Frank, Anthony, William and Mary. The Wacker family worshipped at St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church. Charles V. Wacker married Mary Johnson in 1883, and they were the parents of three daughters: Mary, Cecilia, and Loretta. Joseph Wacker, Sr. died 26 November 1912. Charles V. Wacker died 6 June 1925, and his brother, Joseph departed this life 3 June 1939. Charles and his family belonged to St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church. After the Wacker family interest in the Eagle Brewery ceased in 1938, a company styled "Old Lancaster Brewing Company" operated it until 1941 when John Duschl purchased the plant. At his death in 1955, his son-in-law, Paul Danz, operated Lancaster's last brewery. *Charles Zech Brewery.* This small and little-known brewery was located along the Columbia Avenue-West Orange Street junction opposite the Ruby Street intersection, now the Robert Hall clothing store. In 1883 Xavier Ruetschi (Ritchie) sold the lot to Charles Zech who was the proprietor of the Girard House, 236 North Queen Street. Zech was a bottler for a number of years, but a brewer only during 1894-1897.

In 1897 his brewery was closed. The bottling works was at 701 Columbia Avenue, and the brew house was situated at 703 Columbia Avenue. To the rear of No. 707 was the ice house and stable, the latter being razed when the Robert Hall Store parking lot was opened. Of unusual interest was the method of heating the brew kettle. Zech used an open fire rather than steam for cooking the brew. The Zech Bottling Works continued until recent years, first at 707 Columbia Avenue, and later at 14 North Charlotte Street. Charles Zech was born in Wurttemberg, 18 May 1851, the son of Francis Zech, a brewer of Neckargartach and a veteran soldier in the Revolution of 1848. Charles Zech's grandfather, Joseph, also was a brewer, as were the Zechs as far back as 1548. In 1865 young Charles was apprenticed to a brewer in Heilbronn where he served two years. After working in breweries in Bavaria and Baden, he came to America in 1869 to avoid the Kaiser's military duty. Eventually he arrived at Reading where he sought employment in the breweries. In June 1876 he settled in Lancaster, and became foreman at Franke's Brewery, and then, foreman at Rieker's. Zech began his bottling business in 1886. He married Rosa Spangler, and they had five children: Augustus, Mary, Francesca, Charles, and Frank. The Zech family belonged to St. Joseph's Catholic Church. Charles Zech died 11 April 1937.

Sprenger Brewery. The arrival of John Abraham Sprenger in the United States was mentioned in the previous chapter. The elder Sprenger died in 1854. From 1843 when her husband was first stricken ill until 1867, Mrs. Sprenger managed the brewery. Young John Abraham Sprenger was born in 1829, and by his tenth birthday, he was helping in the brewery. In 1852 Sprenger formed a partnership with his brother, Jacob J., which lasted eighteen months. In 1854 he leased a brewery, probably the same plant held under the partnership—later the Wacker Brewery—and in 1857 Sprenger erected a new brewery and saloon at 125-127 East King Street. Selling the East King Street property in 1873, Sprenger next leased a brewery on South Lime and Locust streets from Philip Frank, the Mount Joy maltster. In 1883 Sprenger purchased the brewery from Frank, and spent \$100,000.00 rebuilding and enlarging the plant.

When completed in 1884, the Sprenger plant was the largest brewery in Lancaster. Its tall brew house was four stories high, and its storage building towered six stories over the modest neighborhood homes of the Seventh Ward. Named the Excelsior Brewery its earlier name was the Action Brewery—it was Lancaster's finest



Sprenger Excelsior Brewery in 1900. South Lime Street is in foreground.

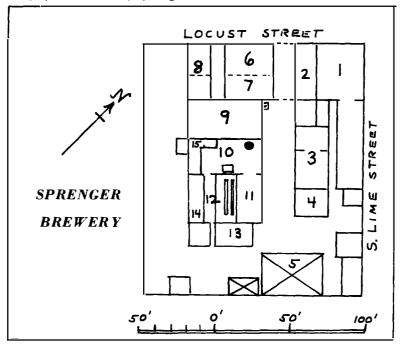
establishment for the production of malt liquors until the Rieker Brewery was completed in the mid-1890s. In November, 1896, Mr. Sprenger sold the brewery to a corporation which continued the name, Sprenger Brewing Company. Ferdinand Grebe was president and treasurer, Frederick Waller was vice president, and Paul Heine, Sr., was secretary and general manager. The brewery was remodeled and enlarged in 1905. With the advent of prohibition, the brewery converted to the manufacture of cereal beverages. In its last moment of glory before Prohibition, the Sprenger Brewery steam whistle blew lustily from 3:00 A.M. to 5:30 A.M., Tuesday morning, 11 November 1918, heralding the World War I armistice, and winning an endurance race with the whistle on the American Caramel Company.

After the brewery had been purchased by Messrs. Grebe (father-in-law of Paul Heine, Sr.), Waller and Heine, the Lincoln Hotel was erected at 32-34 South Queen Street to give the brewery a "prestige" outlet for its wares in the downtown area. Paul Heine, Sr. was born in Wolfshagen, Brunswick, Germany, on 25 November 1864, a son of Heinrich and Elizabeth Necker Heine. (The reader must be wary of the biographical sketch of Heine's father in *Biographical Annals of Lancaster County*, 1903; he was *not* the same Heinrich Heine (1797-1856) who is credited with introducing into his poetry and writings the problems of conflicting standards of values raging in Europe in the nineteenth century.) Heine received an excellent education in Germany after which he was schooled in commerce. He arrived in the United States in 1891, and by 1894 was married to Emma Grebe, only child of Ferdinand Grebe. In



John A. Sprenger

(1) Saloon (2) Keg House (3) Office (4) Storage (5) Stable (6) Wash House (7) Ice House (8) Engine Room and Freezing Tanks (9) Cold Storage (10) Brew House (11) Ice Machinery (12) Boiler House (13) Coal House (14) Condensers (15) Engine. 1897 Plan.



addition to his interest in the Sprenger Brewery and numerous hotels in Lancaster, Mr. Heine erected the Hotel Brunswick on the site of the old Imperial Hotel in 1912-1914, and enlarged it in 1917 and 1922. Now closed as a victim of changed motor car travelling patterns and urban renewal, the large structure is to be razed.

Under the Grebe-Waller-Heine ownership, the Sprenger Brewery was able to produce as many as 60,000 barrels of beer annually, a capacity reached after 1905. Resuming the making of beer after Prohibition, the brewery met with indifferent success. About 1926 John Duschl and William F. Dirian took over the plant. Later Duschl left and associated himself with the Wacker Brewery. Dirian remained, and by 1948 the brewery was owned by Dirian, Guy Eckman, and James S. Sullenberger. No longer was the production of beer in an obsolete plant feasible, and in 1951 the last bottle and keg were filled with Sprenger beer. The property eventually was seized by the city school district for non-payment of taxes, and in the summer of 1965 the buildings were razed, preparatory to redevelopment of the area. Only the Washington Hotel on the corner and the old stable remain, but they are doomed to destruction shortly. At one time the Washington Hotel was an elegant saloon trimmed in the best style of the mauve era.

Vaults as deep as 25 feet below the surface of the street were dug and tunneled to provide cool storage for the beer at Sprenger Brewery. Six vaults, the largest 20 feet wide and 60 feet long, held the huge old casks. Two vaults also were dug under the hotel. All were connected by passageways, but the hotel vaults were sealed off from the brewery vaults years ago by government decree.

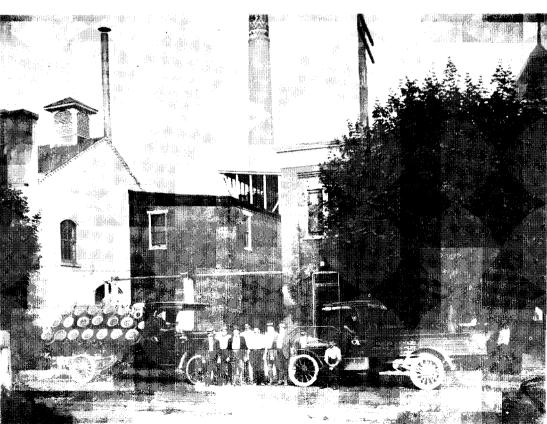
John A. Sprenger's brother, George F. (1842-1888), operated a bottling establishment at 31 South Lime Street. In 1879 he advertised he had recently enlarged his bottling works, and had for sale "malt liquors, extra malt wine or bock beer; Milwaukee, Rochester, Philadelphia, Reading, Kuhmbacher, Muenchener and Lancaster beers; fine XX and XXX cream and stock ales, porters and brown stouts, Kronthaler and Seltzer natural mineral water.

Schoenberger and Miller Brewery. August Schoenberger was a brewer on Locust Street, Lancaster, as early as 1852. The brewery vaults were located in the hillside along Hoffman's Run (Gas [House] Run, or Water Street) between Andrews and Hazel streets. The area was known as Schoenberger's Park, and its dispensing saloon was often the target of editorial thunderings in the Intelligencer, which fussed that Schoenberger's saloon and "rendezous" was the "haunt of prostitutes and is a center of social demoralization and Saturday night orgies." The New Era acknowledged that conditions at Schoenberger's were not desirable, but the Republican organ accused the Intell of omitting some of the facts such as "why was the proprietor permitted to get away with it," a rather obvious slap at the efficiency of Democratic Mayor John MacGonigle's constabulary. In 1859, Schoenberger had his brewery at 54 North Queen Street. After August's death, his widow conducted a saloon at 113 North Queen Street, and three of his

sons operated hotels and saloons: John, at the Golden Horse Hotel, 146 East King Street; Louis, at Mechanics Hotel, 147 North Plum Street; and William, saloon and vault at Schoenberger's Park. Sometime after Schoenberger moved to North Queen Street, he took in Conrad Miller as a partner, at which time the brewery was enlarged. The brewery in 1860 was a "class 9" firm, indicating that it was the smallest brewery in Lancaster.

Haefner Empire Brewery. Joseph Haefner was born in Ganstadt bei Bamberg, Germany, 3 September 1848, son of John and Barbara Stall Haefner. The father was a prominent brewer in Germany who taught Joseph the art of brewing. Young Haefner came to America in 1872, and worked in the Rupert Brewery of New York, and other breweries. In 1875 he arrived in Lancaster and was employed by Henry Franke as a brewer for a year before going to Reading where he became a foreman in the Lauer Brewery. After six years in that position Haefner, Peter Lauer and Lawrence Smith formed a partnership to operate the Archard Brewery in Pottsville. He also worked in Philadelphia breweries. In 1886 Joseph returned to Lancaster, and bought the Lawrence Knapp brewery near the corner of Lime and Locust streets. He immediately rebuilt the plant,

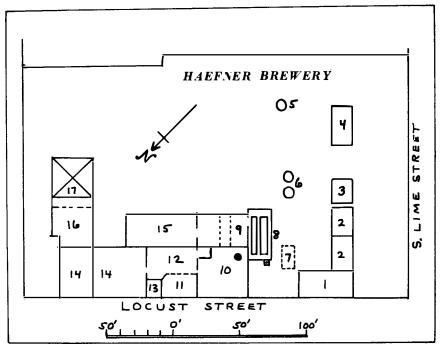
Haefner Empire Brewery, Locust Street, Lancaster, showing new motor trucks in 1916. (Courtesy of Francis Haefner)





Joseph Haefner (1848-1893)

(1) Bottling House, later Office (2) Storage (3) Maintenance Shed (4) Fowls (5) Well (6) Water Tanks (7) Scales (8) Boiler House (9) Engine Room and Grain Storage (10) Brew House (11) Cooling Room (12) Cold Storage (13) Office (14) Fermenting Houses (15) Wash House (16) Wagon House (17) Stable. 1897 Plan.



tripling its size and production capacity. The first ice-making machine in the county was installed, and for many years the Empire Brewery was the only brewery in Lancaster that made its own ice. In 1874 he married Margaret Fisher, daughter of Raphael Fisher, proprietor of a large saloon at 571 North Prince Street. The couple had seven children; Mary, Elizabeth, Anna, Joseph, Catherine, Lauer, and Margaret. A Roman Catholic, Joseph Haefner was liberal in his charities and benefactions to the entire community. He built his large home in 1890—now the Seventh Ward Republican Club—three years before his death.

The main building of the Empire Brewery was a two-story brick structure 60 feet wide and 150 feet long. It was equipped with two large cellars and a subterranean cavern, all cooled by Rankin refrigeration machines capable of making 25 tons of ice daily. One cellar, 50 by 90 feet, had a 1800-barrel capacity in 18 casks holding 100 barrels each. The other cellar, 36 feet by 50 feet, had a 1155-barrel capacity in 33 casks of 35 barrels each. The underground cavern held 10 storage casks of 35 barrels each, and 15 fermenting tubs of 125 barrels each. Haefner beer was sold in Lancaster, York, Lebanon and Dauphin counties under the brands: Kaiser (a pale lager), and Muenchener (a dark Bavarian beer). Haefner's claimed to produce "the healthiest beer in Pennsylvania, and proclaimed, "There isn't a headache in a hogshead!" Our modern Madison Avenue advertising wizards would have had to work hard to beat that! Fifty-four beer gallons without a headache! Ach!

According to tax assessment records the brewery was valued at \$35,000.00 in 1906, at \$40,000.00 in 1915, and at \$50,000.00 in 1918. The market value was approximately four times those figures. In 1916 Haefner's Brewery began retiring its handsome teams in preference to motor trucks. At midnight, Saturday, 30 November 1918 Haefner's, along with the other Lancaster breweries, closed, having made the last legal beer. During World War I, ice manufacturers in Lancaster were accused of monopolistic practices in regulating the price of ice charged domestic consumers. Haefner's Brewery came forth with the announcement that it would supply ice from its machines at the customary price, thereby thwarting the ice manufacturers' alleged attempt at a price conspiracy. With Prohibition, Haefner's had to look for other sources of revenue, so it produced a cereal beverage marketed under the trademark, "TIVOLI," which means "I lov it" spelled backwards. (Tivoli also is a watering place in Italy where the waters have remarkable powers.) A member of the Haefner family reported to us that it was successful in sales.

When Prohibition ended in 1933, the plant produced a standard Pilsener beer. Its annual production was 46,800 barrels. Joseph Haefner, Jr., died 10 January 1916. Harry C. Haefner and Isaac B. Powl continued the brewery operations. Finally, in 1945 the brewery joined the increasing number of plants which were forced to close because they no longer could compete with the larger modern breweries. The old brewery has been altered, and now serves as a contractors' headquarters (John Wickersham Co.) and as a cabinetmaking shop (Gordon Gochenaur). The entire property is to be cleared and redeveloped within several years.

Charles Fenninger Brewery. Fenninger had a small brewery on Rockland Street (then called Old Factory Road) at the corner of Chester Street (then called Low Street). It is probable this brewery was sold to John Wittlinger in 1865. It was a "class 8" brewery for licensing purposes, which required a \$30 annual fee.

Bernhard and John Haag Brewery. This pre-lager era brewery was mentioned before. The brewery was assessed for \$1900 in 1853, and was a "class 8" establishment in 1860. John A. Scheurenbrand owned it from 1868 to 1871. The oldest brewery structure in Lancaster, it was obsolete for brewing purposes after a century or more of use.

Hilaire Zaepfel Brewery. Zaepfel was a Frenchman according to his naturalization papers granted 21 August 1856. Alexander and Hilaire came to Lancaster at least as early as 1836 (when Hilaire was sixteen years old) because in that year a parcel of land was conveyed to Alexander Zaepfel, John Abraham Sprenger, Jacob Wolfer, Lawrence Knapp, Charles Eshbach, R. Reiner, Rudolf Huhn, and Louis Heidigger. What that assortment of brewers, saloonkeepers, printers, tailors, and other tradesmen were doing on a lot on North Duke Street at the Reading Road (now Duke and Clay streets) we probably will never knew. At one time Hilaire was a part-owner of Fulton Hall, and he was a partner in the Lancaster File Works. In 1860 he was keeping a saloon and brewing at 3 North Duke Street. On 7 May 1864 Zaepfel entered into a limited partnership association with Joseph Desch, Adam Schuh, and Jacob Effinger for the brewing of lager beer, ale, and other malt liquors for a term of five years. Shares were fifty dollars each, and Zaepfel had twenty: Desch had twelve: Schuh had ten; and Effinger had six, making a total capitalization of \$2400. Hilaire Zaepfel was chairman of the Board of Managers, and the new association was styled "The Action Brewing Company, Ltd." Desch left the association after several years, and the remaining partners carried on as "Hilaire Zaepfel and Co." On 6 January 1869 the company sold a lot containing a brewery to Adam Schuh, Jacob Effinger and John Kegel, trading as Effinger, Schuh and Kegel. Zaepfel already had a saloon and brewery at 24-26 North Queen Street. When the Sprenger and Weidler Brewery in Columbia became insolvent in 1869, Zaepfel purchased the plant, and hired Frank A. Rieker to operate it. In 1872 Zaepfel purchased from the heirs of Samuel Dufresne the property at 39-41 North Queen Street and remodeled the premises for a fine saloon and brewery. When he died 26 March 1881, Zaepfel was mourned as a highly respected businessman of uncommon intelligence and integrity but who had lost much of his fortune in bad investments outside of the saloon and brewery business.

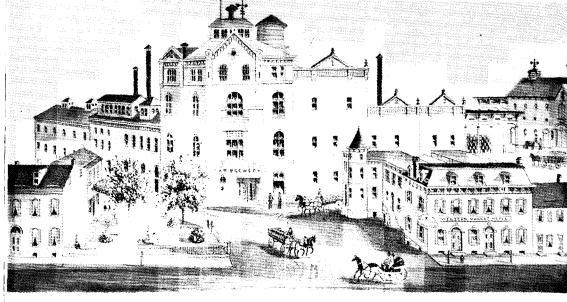
Senn-Stroebel Brewery. According to the 1863 Directory of Lancaster, Henry Stroebel was the proprietor of a saloon at 20 West Orange Street, and Felix Senn was a partner in the cabinetmaking firm of Kasser and Senn, 33 East King Street. By 1867, Stroebel, Senn and Klink were the proprietors of a brewery on West King Street. The following year additional lots were purchased at 604 West King Street, and Stroebel, Senn and Klink were engaged busily in brewing the sudsy liquid of Lancaster's western horizon. Searching for a place to build storage facilities, the trio of brewers bought a long slice of real estate atop Cabbage Hill, and proceeded to dig a vault from 437 St. Joseph Street northwest to High Street, a distance of two squares, or 430 feet. The vault is still there, with houses built over it. Another vault was built in 1870 between West Orange and West Grant streets, in the rear of 16-28 North Pine Street. At that time Pine Street had not been cut through from Orange to King streets.

Stroebel and Senn seem to have become a twosome by 1874. A year or two later Senn died, and his estate apparently was insolvent. Frank Rieker was assignee, and he took title to the brewery in 1877. The property consisted of an "ell-shaped" lot with a one and one-half story brick saloon (kept by J. Bradel) on West King Street, and a two-story brick brewery, stable and warehouse in the rear.

Rieker Star Brewery. Frank A. Rieker was born in Wurttemberg on 10 March 1844. At the age of thirteen, he was apprenticed to his uncle, a brewer at Esslingen, for three years. Coming to America in 1863, the young brewer worked in New York and Philadelphia before arriving in Lancaster to be a foreman at Franke's Brewery. In 1869 he went to Wacker's Brewery, and two years later, he operated the former Weidler and Sprenger Brewery in Columbia for Hilaire Zaepfel. The following year he returned to Lancaster to become a partner in the Lion Brewery, then operated by Scheid, Gerz and Company. Going with Senn and Stroebel, Rieker soon was in a position to take over the brewery as an assignee of the Senn estate. At once he began acquiring additional property and water pump rights for his brewery.

A rash of fires thought to be the work of an arsonist plagued Lancaster in early 1881. On Wednesday afternoon, 11 May 1881, Lancaster's volunteer fire companies were called to the brewery on the hill on West King Street. A fire had started on the second floor of the warehouse, and spread to the brewery and Rieker's dwelling, with a saloon on the first floor. A carload of malt received the day before and some bales of hops were destroyed. The loss of \$6500.00 was covered by insurance, the policy being renewed only the day before the fire.

Frank A. Rieker seized upon this occasion to enlarge his brewery and build a fine new saloon on West King Street, to be called the Western Market Hotel. When Rieker assumed ownership of the brewery its annual output was a mere 2000 barrels, and by the time



Lithograph of Rieker Star Brewery about 1894. West King Street, Lancaster, is in the foreground. Artistic license was taken to separate Western Market Hotel at right from dwellings at left; the open area is much smaller.

the rebuilt plant was in operation the production expanded to 8000 barrels. But Wacker, Haefner and Sprenger were formidable competitors. Deciding that to be successful, he would have to expand his brewery far beyond the size of the present plant, Rieker planned a whole new structure of vast proportions to dwarf Lancaster's other breweries. From 1892 to 1898, an immense brewery complex was erected around the earlier structure. In the best tradition of late nineteenth century brewery architecture, the Rieker Star Brewery took the shape of brick Romanesque-Late Renaissance structures, an eclecticism which delighted the Germanic eye. The brew house was four full stories tall, surmounted by a ventilation penthouse and a water tank. Even the stables had the loving care of the romantic architect lavished upon them. Extending from the rear of the saloon on West King Street, the brewery occupied all the area south to First Street, and nearly one square east to west. Sitting atop the elevation of West King Street beyond Dorwart Street, the Star Brewery brooded gloomily on the western skyline, and glared somewhat balefully across the city at the towering brew house of the Sprenger Brewery, also perched on a hill on Locust Street south of Lime Street. Frank A. Rieker wanted a brewery that looked as if it were a brewery, as well as one that could produce 50,000 barrels of beer annually. Rieker's intense patriotism apparently left its impression on his son, Frank J., because the latter had a huge sheet metal American flag—studded with hundreds of red, white and blue electric bulbs which blazed gloriouslyerected on the uppermost peak of the main facade in 1898!

All the newest apparatus for brewing and bottling was installed in the plant. The brew house and storage house were largely fireproof, with re-enforced concrete floors. The brick walls were trimmed with limestone and terra cotta. Extensive use was made of sheet metal cornices, gables, and architectural decorations. The First Street end of the stables featured a Palladian window with delicately-wrought fanlight. A magnificent structure, the Star Brewery was a bit of St. Louis in Lancaster.

Two pairs of boilers, 180 and 200 horsepower, supplied steam. The main engine was 45 horsepower. Eleven steam pumps were employed in the main building, and two auxiliary engines provided power in other structures. To furnish ice and refrigeration. two Rankin ice machines, one of 25-ton and another of 75-ton capacity; and a York ice machine of 50-ton capacity were installed. A polished copper 175-barrel brew kettle had the place of honor in the brew house. A mash tub, eight feet high and fourteen feet diameter, containing a hydraulic raising and lowering mash machine, was another feature of the brew house. Other equipment included two water filters, an iron malt mill, a 400-bushel steel scale hopper, a 400-bushel mill hopper, beer coolers, a copper boudlet cooler, and a steam bottle washing machine, then the only one in use in Lancaster. A dirt-free, dust-proof storage room, 46 feet high, held 10,000 bushels of grain and malt. Eight cellars, individually containing casks and vats of 150 to 220 barrels each, were used to age the frothy brew.

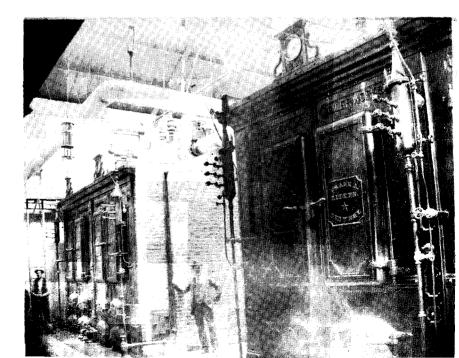
The brewery's interior was every bit as ornate as the exterior. The stable, for example, resembled a late Victorian lobby of a first class hotel, complete with gleaming enameled cast iron columns supporting a coffered ceiling. Each stall was handsomely

(Left) John G. Forstberg, Star Brewery Superintendent. (Right) Frank A. Rieker, Star Brewery Proprietor.





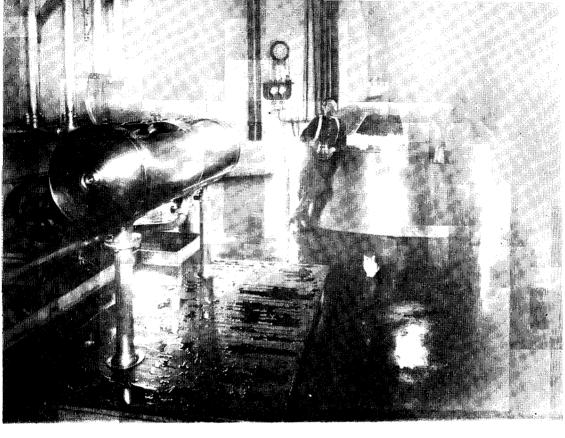
First Street elevation of stables at Rieker Star Brewery prior to demolition. Boiler House interior at Rieker Star Brewery in 1897. (Courtesy of Charles P. Rieker)





Facade of Brew House at Rieker Star Brewery a few years prior to razing. Racking Celler crew at Ricker Star Brewery in 1897. (Courtesy of Charles P. Rieker)





Brewing Room showing copper brew kettle and other equipment in 1897. White object on floor in front of kettle is the kettlemen's kitty. (Courtesy of Charles P. Rieker)

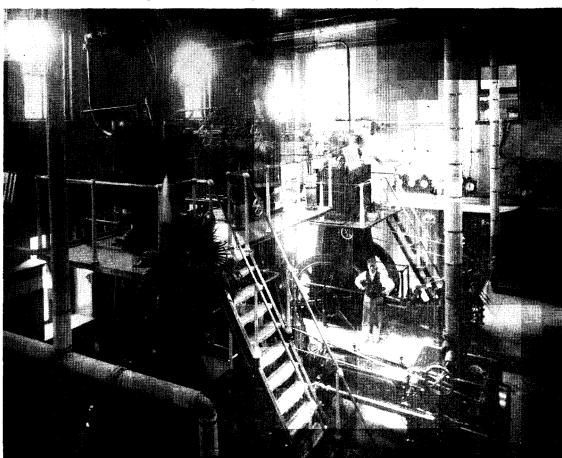
decorated with iron and brass filigree and turnings. The center aisle between stalls was kept scrubbed and shining. A tidy and fresh pallet of straw was maintained in each stall. As soon as the straw was soiled it was dropped through a trapdoor to a pit from which farmers took the manure by the wagonload. The stable was well-lighted.

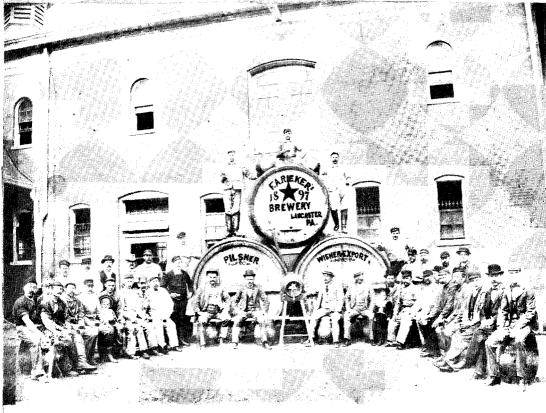
Adjacent to the stable was the wagon building. Wagons were stored on the same level as the horse floor in the stable, that is to say, on the second floor along First Street, but the ground level on the north side of the structures. The lower floor of the wagon shop was used for maintenance of the brewery's rolling stock. North of the wagon house was the cooperage, a low frame structure.

East of the wagon building along First Street was the boiler house with its corrugated sheet iron roof and 100-ft. tall steel stack. Boilers of the most advanced design for safety were installed by the Coatesville Boiler Works. Atop the boiler house roof was a steam whistle which could be heard for many blocks. Frank A. Rieker was a stickler for promptness, and the whistle was expected to be as accurate as the best pocket watch. According to Charles P. Rieker, his grandfather noticed the whistle blew at 12:05 P.M. one day instead of five minutes earlier. The 1:00 P.M. signal was right on time according to Frank Rieker's office clock, which indicated the Rieker employees were given only a 55-minute lunch hour. Rieker took a wall-clock he knew to be accurate—probably the one on his office wall—and stormed down to the boiler house with it. He demanded the engineer on duty fetch the boiler house clock from its place on the wall, and then, while the astonished employee watched, Rieker smashed the "offending" clock to pieces on the floor. Then he handed the other clock to the engineer and told him to hang it on the wall, admonishing him with the threat that the new clock had better be more correct than the old one! Both men knew human failure caused the whistle to blow late, but that was the old brewer's way of giving a subtle "bawling-out."

The other buildings along First Street toward Dorwart Street were used for ice and the freezing tanks. At the corner of First Street and an alley running parallel with Dorwart Street was the repair shop, the second floor of which was equipped as a boxing gymnasium for Charles, son of Frank A. Rieker. Young Rieker was a boxing promoter in Lancaster.

View of ice machinery room at Rieker Star Brewery in 1898. Regard the numerous American flags and potted palms which decorate the compressors and condenser platform. (Courtesy of Charles P. Rieker)





Executives and employees of Frank A. Rieker Star Brewery in 1897. Frank A. Rieker is seated to the right of the small keg. His son, Frank J., is to the left of the small keg, and next to him is John G. Forstberg. Brewery workers wore a traditional uniform consisting of a small-visored German cap, heavy jacket and breeches, and knee-high leather boots. Mastiffs held by man at far left guarded the brewery against intruders. (Courtesy of Charles P. Rieker)

The Rieker Star Brewery was served by a siding of the street railway system. In the days when the trolley lines carried freight as well as passengers, it was not unusual to see a car loaded with beer kegs on its way to a county town. Passengers on the Columbia, Marietta Avenue, and West Belt trolleys—including some prim and proper ladies enroute to a temperance meeting, we assume were irritated on 18 January 1916 when one of Rieker's beer cars became derailed on West King Street, thereby stranding the passengers and stopping all trolleys until Billy Griest's railway employees could get the beer car back on the track! A space between buildings some distance west of the brewery saloon on West King Street marks the site of the trolley siding.

Frank A. Rieker, always sensitive to the taste of the beerdrinking public, advertised three varieties of beer: Pilsener, a Bohemian-process pale lager; Wiener, an export beer that ranged between Pilsener and Kulmbacher; and Kulmbacher, a dark Bavarian beer. Old-time beer connoisseurs of Lancaster tell us Rieker's Pilsener was superior to the finest domestic beer of today, and that the Kulmbacher compared favorably with today's imported dark Munich beer such as Lowenbrau. Before Prohibition and its attendant evils, brewers regarded the tastes of their brews as being of paramount importance. Calories meant nothing to the wellupholstered and jolly German-American citizenry! Beer was brewed for the masculine palate, and if the pater-familias deigned to offer beer to his wife and offspring, his taste was their taste. Rieker's beer was a richer, heavier brew than that made by domestic breweries today. According to Louis Pfaeffle, in an interview with Leighton Gerhart in 1941, the beer of the Star Brewery was shipped as far as Boston where it sold for \$10 a keg, a price indicating some Bostonians regarded quality as more important than mere money. Rieker beer was shipped throughout Maryland and Central Pennsylvania. The German-Americans of Baltimore reportedly preferred Rieker's beer to the output of Baltimore's numerous breweries. Henry L. Mencken, that literary gentleman whose writings have been cursed and blessed by his fellow Baltimoreans as well as by readers throughout the United States, allegedly made periodic journeys to Lancaster to quaff Rieker's beer. Mencken, who apparently liked Lancaster County, proclaimed its beer superior to all others he had tasted.

After Frank A. Rieker died, management of the brewery was assumed by his son, Frank J. Rieker, and other members of the family. By 1914 the plant was assessed for \$55,000.00, the hotel was assessed for \$6000.00, and the brewery's fifteen horses were assessed for \$1500.00. Rieker's big red wagons, drawn by teams of sleek, handsomely-groomed horses, were a colorful sight on Lancaster streets. In 1901, when the brewery was relatively new, it was assessed for \$75,000.00. During Prohibition the Rieker family operated the Lancaster Security Real Estate Company which leased the brewing plant to outside interests. After the repeal of prohibition, an attempt was made to resume brewing at the Penn Star Brewery, with P. J. Major, of Palmyra, N.J. as manager in 1934, and with Patrick J. Ryan, as manager, in 1936. But the day of the large old brewery was past, and in 1941 it was demolished. It's metals went to help the war production, and its large tanks were trucked to Armstrong Cork Company's Closure Plant. The proud facade tumbled down in dust, and for many years the brick-littered property lay idle. In the late 1950's, the City of Lancaster took over the property, and constructed a playground on the site. The Western Market Hotel has survived, and is now known as Kirchner's Hotel.

The man behind an enterprise of this character had to have an unusual personality. He did. Frank A. Rieker has been described as



Frank J. Rieker

having an expression which was "fiercely impassive . . . accompanied with spiked tusks of mustache . . . with a body short and square, with a pair of tremendous shoulders that could have thrown his weight in bay steers." Although ferocious in appearance, Rieker was a deeply religious and gentle family man whose family of six was the apple of his eye. In 1868 Frank A. Rieker married Cressentia Harmann, a daughter of John Harmann of Lancaster. Their children were: Frank J., Annie M., Mary, Charles, Harry and Ralph.

A colorful personality in Lancaster, Frank A. Rieker looked every inch a German brewer of the Gilded Age. His size 21 collar was the only visible connexion between his massive head and rotund body. Rieker enjoyed deflating fussy, pompous souls with his rather famous hat pranks. Top hats, bowlers and the other elegant forms of the chapeau of the Gay Nineties, acquired the stuffy and self-important qualities of their wearers, according to the brewer, and one effective way to attack such shortcomings vicariously was to ruin the headpieces— by crushing them with overdone friendliness, cleaving them with a cheese cutter, or cremating them over the gaslight. Rieker, of course, always bought the hapless victim a new hat.

The genial brewer's prankishness and good-natured demeanor ended at the mention of Kaiser Wilhelm II whose militarism Rieker roundly hated. Arriving in Berlin on a trip to his homeland in 1903, the portly Lancastrian marched up to a hotel bar, and demanded in a loud voice that Mr. Hohenzollern be overthrown. The patrons of the establishment were aghast; one simply did not do those things in Imperial Germany. Luckily for Frank Rieker, he was an American citizen, and the American Embassy worked heroically to keep him out of the Imperial German prison. Frank A. Rieker died 4 August 1907, and his bequests to local charities, including St. Joseph's Hospital, were generous. The German parish church of his boyhood was among the beneficiaries. Earlier, Frank had rescued St. Joseph's Hospital from its creditors, and had continued to pay for its coal.

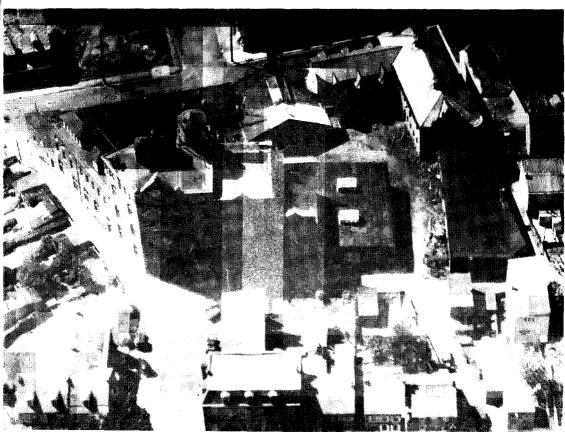
Frank J. Rieker, son of the founder, possessed much of his father's civic-mindedness and love for the United States. (A common characteristic of the German brewers in Lancaster was their intense love for their adopted nation; they all petitioned for and received naturalization papers promptly, and they encouraged their alien employees to become citizens. They manifested their patriotism in many ways.) In 1904 Frank J. Rieker was the Democratic Party candidate for mayor of Lancaster. Chester Cummings was the Republican banner carrier, and William W. Griest was the undoubted GOP leader. (The Intelligencer called him a "boss.") Mr. Cummings received 4924 votes while Frank J. Rieker racked up a total of 2242 votes. (Hoch, the Socialist candidate, received 87 votes, most coming from the heavily German Fourth and Eighth Wards.) Rieker carried only the three precincts of the Eighth Ward. Two years before, the Socialists and Socialist Labor parties polled 282 votes, leading the local political analysts to wonder if Rieker had cut into the German Socialist following, or was the Socialist Party on the wane. It would seem that both factors contributed to the reduced vote for the Socialists. Rieker was a genial candidate, and the campaign was marked by rare magnanimity on all sides. The Seventh Ward received its usual allotment of whiskey on Election Day—a thoughtful gesture which guaranteed Republican victories in those halcyon times. Any suggestion that beer was available as a friendly token of gratitude in the Eighth Ward, compliments of the Democracy, would have been unthinkable. Frank J. Rieker died 9 August 1944.

Political parades in the old days were lively, and often ended in a brawl. The Rieker Brewery employees joined with their compatriots on "The Hill" to keep the streets of the Eighth Ward undefiled by marchers of the GOP, an effort which was reciprocated by the stalwarts attached to the Republican Organization. Polling places usually were in saloons, and Election Day was a busy day for the bartenders in the era when a well-fortified voter was considered quite able to make an intelligent choice. Today we have substituted illiteracy for insobriety.

Part of the phenomenal success of the Star Brewery may be attributed to the brilliant supervision of John G. Forstberg who was superintendent of the Rieker Brewery from 1891 until October, 1898, when he established the Chester Brewery. Forstberg was born 12 April 1857 in Christinehornn, Varmland, Sweden. He was apprenticed to a brewer in Sundsvall at the age of sixteen. In 1877 Forstberg went to Hull, England, to learn additional brewing techniques. Coming to the United States in 1879, the young brewer worked in Heralds Brewery, Hartford, Connecticut; Buffalo, New York; and then at Ruperts Brewery in New York City. He became a foreman at the Standard Brewery in Baltimore in 1885, and in 1888 he came to Sprenger's Brewery in Lancaster as superintendent. In 1884 Forstberg married Philipene Weber of Sweibriggen, Rheinfalz, and the couple had three children: John, Jr., still living in Chester, Pa.; Lillie; and Gustav. They were members of the Lutheran Church.

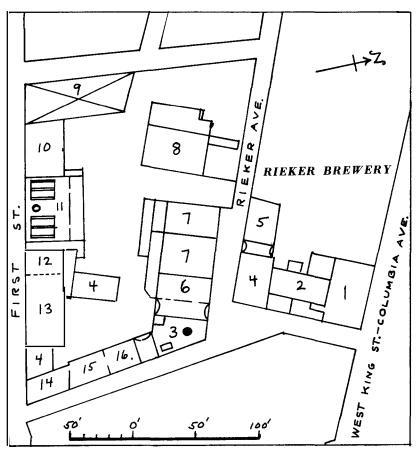
Forstberg came to realize in his early training that the successful brewery of the future would depend upon scientific management, and understanding of chemical and mechanical engineering. The art of brewing had to recognize the role of the biochemist in his laboratory. Consequently, John Forstberg became a chemist and mechanical inventor as well as a modern brewmaster. He was responsible for much of the planning and engineering that went into the new Star Brewery of 1892.

Aerial view of Rieker Star Brewery in 1933. Compare this picture with the lithograph shown on page 36. West King Street is in the foreground, and First Street is near top of picture.



Sprenger and Weidler Brewery. (Columbia). John A. Sprenger bought a property on the northwest side of Walnut Street, Columbia, from Robert Hamilton on 21 October 1867, and the next day he sold it to his brother George F. Sprenger, and Milton Weidler, who had formed a partnership. The firm of Sprenger and Weidler built a brewery, but in 1869 it had become insolvent. Hugh Gara was the assignee, and Hilaire Zaepfel purchased the brewery at public sale on 26 October 1869 for \$4000.00. Equipment consisted of mash tubs, underbeck, 63 large hogsheads, 10 small hogsheads, 9 fermenting tubs, water tank, 264 kegs, hose, spigots, forcing pump, 70 grain bags, brewing tools, barroom tables, glasses, stoves and pipe.

(1) Western Market Hotel (2) Office (3) Brew House (4) Storage (7) Cold Storage (8) Mash House (9)(5) Cooperage (6) Grain Storage (10) Wagon House (11) Boiler House (12) Ice House (13)Stables Freezing Tanks (14) Repair Shop (15) Condensers (16) Ice Machinery 1897 Plan. Later the cooperage was moved to the area shown here as the mash house.



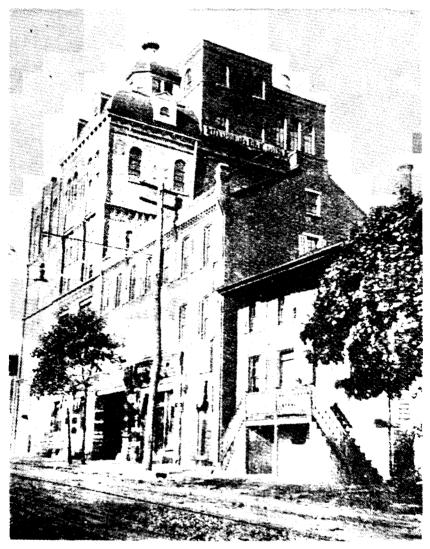
Zaepfel employed experienced brewers to operate the brewery for him until he sold it in 1872. For a year Frank A. Rieker managed the plant for Zaepfel. Later the brewery property was owned by William C. Peiper, and when he died it was sold to C. Bitner for \$5000.00, supposedly less than one-fifth of its actual cost. At that time the brewery property consisted of a brick brewery and dwelling, wagon shed, ice house, stable vault, hog pen, boilers and engine house, and the usual vats, tubs, tanks, and barrels. Joseph Desch occupied the plant from 1879 until his death in 1880.

Jacob F. Wisler Brewery (Columbia). The early period of the Wisler Brewery was described in the previous chapter. From 1866 until 1884 Jacob Wisler conducted a small lager brewery at 215 Union Street. The Wisler Brewery was fairly primitive and unsophisticated even for those days, but records indicate Wisler had more business than he could handle at times when other brewers were being hounded by their creditors. His beer was advertised at \$2.50 for a quarter barrel, and \$1.50 for an eighth barrel. Jacob Wisler's sales book reveals he supplied Christmas beer for many prominent Columbia families.

Jacob F. Wisler was married 3 April 1842 to Susan Ann Baer, and they had two children: John Baer Wisler, and Rebecca Baer Wisler, who died in infancy. Jacob died 27 February 1902. The late Columbia historian, John Jay Wisler, Sr., was a son of John Baer Wisler.

Mack Brewery (Columbia). Joseph, Francis and Valentine Mack arrived in Columbia from Marietta in 1849 where they were brewers. Joseph, the eldest brother, was born in 1822; the brothers were natives of Baden, Germany. Valentine was the brewer, Francis was a cooper, and Joseph divided his efforts between tailoring and overseeing the business affairs. They purchased a large lot at the southeast corner of Union and Fourth streets in Columbia from John L. Wright in 1850, and began at once to have a brewery erected. Jacob Sneath and Isaac Conklin were the builders. The brickmason was Robert Harry who was ruined financially when the brick vaults caved in, which he had to rebuild at his own expense. The brewery was 30 feet wide and 100 feet long. In 1859 the Macks discontinued brewing, and served as agents for the distribution and sales of Lancaster beer. After 1863 they ceased all operations in the beer business, and sold the property to Frank Shillot, who attempted to revive the brewery in company with Gottlieb Young, a Lancaster saloon-keeper. The brewery was never very successful, and the property was turned to other uses. The Mack brothers retained an interest in a portion of the property until 1880.

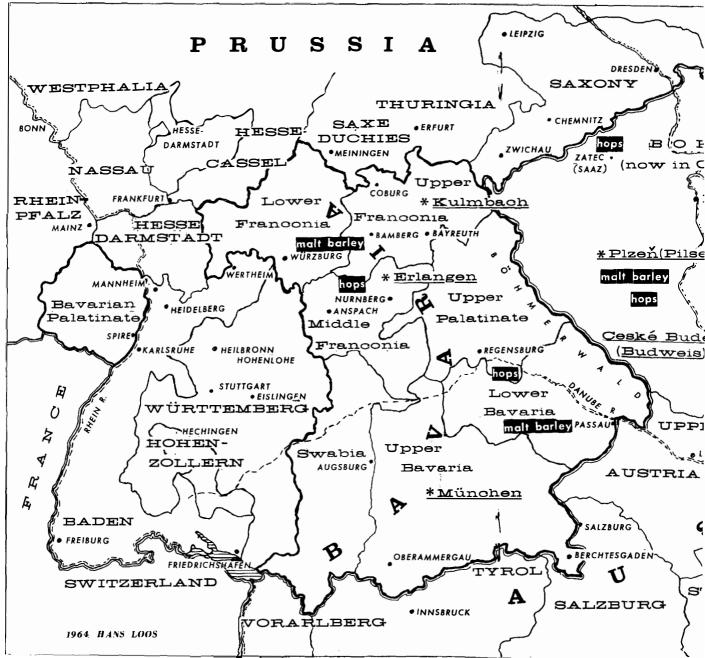
Columbia Brewery (Columbia). Gottlieb Young was born in Wurttemberg, Germany, on 9 April 1835, and came to the United States in 1865. In 1873 Young built a brewery at 255 South Fourth Street, but he had invested too much in the plant to be able to meet his obligations. In 1875 Rochow and Brink bought the property, and Young continued to operate the brewery. In 1880 Young was able



Columbia Brewery on South Fourth Street, Columbia, in 1898.

to repurchase the brewery and hold it until 1891 when he retired, and sold it to Joseph Loder and John Kazmaier.

Gottlieb Young married Barbara Smith, who died in 1873. The next year he married Clarisse Bitner, and they had these children: Caroline, Frank, Edward, Pauline, August, and Minerva. Joseph Loder was born in Wertsburg, Lower Franconia, Bavaria, on 10 March 1846, the son of Nicholas and Josephine Barchman Loder. When he was twenty years old Joseph was drafted into the Imperial





German Army, an honor not relished by most Bavarian boys. Bavaria never was terribly fond of the Hohenzollern military might. On 29 March 1867 young Loder left Germany, and came to New York. After nineteen years as a stonecutter in New York City and Newark, New Jersey, he went into the hotel and bottling business at Atlantic City for six years. Then he became a traveling salesman, and while in Columbia, noted the Columbia Brewery was for sale. Forming a partnership with John Kazmaier, Loder took over and operated the Columbia Brewery until 1897, when Loder purchased his partner's interest. Loder married Rosalie Casman on 3 May 1867. He was a Roman Catholic, a Republican and a prominent civic leader in Columbia. Loder died in Reading 12 May 1908, leaving his widow, and three daughters, and five sons: Joseph, Anton, Charles, Rudolf, and William. Enlargement and modernization of the brewery came in 1898, increasing its tax assessment to \$20,000.00 in 1899 at which time it was called the Loder Brewing Company. On 7 February 1901 the brewery went into receivership, and it was sold to Oskar Teschner of Baltimore for \$24,000.00 cash and a mortgage of \$64,000.00. Called the Columbia Brewing Company now, the plant continued under that name until its demise in 1935, although its ownership changed frequently. Charles Ziegler operated it in 1914 and 1915. Charles W. Hoover had it until 1927 when Morris and Philip Knoblouch of Reading purchased it. In 1934 it was owned by the Columbia Real Estate Corporation. The brewery was demolished in 1941, but a fragment of the structure still exists on South Fourth Street.

During Prohibition the brewery was involved in difficulties with the federal and state agents.

A large plant, the Columbia Brewery at its height could produce 50,000 barrels of beer annually although demand rarely required peak production. From the date of its closing until the time of its demolition the plant was assessed for \$32,400.00, the highest amount in its history.

During the proprietorship of Joseph Loder, the brewery produced two varieties of beer: Pilsener and Erlanger, the latter a dark Bavarian beer similar to Rieker's Kulmbacher.

Kloidt Brewery (Columbia). Charles William Kloidt was a "school" brewmaster, that is to say, he acquired his skills and knowledge in brewing through formal instruction instead of learning from a brewer while working in a brewery. He was a graduate of Seibel's Brewing Institute at Chicago, and served as brewmaster in the Haefner, Sprenger and Wacker breweries in Lancaster, a brewery in Scranton, and one in the mid-west. Schmidt's of Philadelphia employed Kloidt as chief kettleman. In 1920 Kloidt located in Columbia, and became brewmaster of the Columbia Brewery.

In 1935 Mr. Kloidt converted a flour mill he owned at 235 South Fourth Street into a model brewery, so-called because it was only 80 feet square and three stories high. Brewery experts proclaimed the Kloidt Brewery, a truly unique and exceptionally-well engineered compact plant. When Charles William Kloidt designed his brew-



Charles William Kloidt Taken after his graduation from Seibel's Brewing Institute.

(Courtesy of Rose Kloidt)

ery he decided to install an open-fired brew kettle under which a coal fire was kept. The advantages of this kind of kettle are mentioned in Chapter I.

Kloidt Brewery had a weekly production of 100 barrels of beer, or 5200 barrels annually. Equipment included a 100-barrel steel storage tank, three wooden fermentation tanks, two ice machines, a two-arm racking machine used to fill kegs, separator tank, cooling and filtering systems, and a large steam boiler. In 1937 a small bottling plant was added which could process about 100 cases of beer in two days, one day being used for steaming and washing the bottles.

Employees at the Kloidt Brewery were Thomas Donan, Paul Long, Amos Schmalhofer, Paul Nace, Reinhold Rahn, and Richard Smuck, who was the driver-salesman. Kloidt's beer was called Old Export Beer, and was sold in Lancaster and York counties. The brewery was closed in 1941, the same year its next-door neighbor, the Columbia Brewery, was razed. In 1957 the Kloidt Brewery was torn down.

Koch-Sander-Heaffner Brewery (Marietta). Adam Koch, born in Germany in 1798, had a brewery in Marietta from 1855 until his death in 1862. George Sander bought the brewery, and operated it until 1865, when it was taken over by Philip Heaffner. Heaffner died in 1876, and the brewery remained in his estate until the late 1880s. There is no evidence available to indicate the brewery was operated after 1876. The brewery was near the southeast corner of Market Street and Strawberry Alley.

Frederick Maulich Brewery (Marietta). From 1856 until 1900 Frederick Maulich operated a brewery at 63 Front Street, east of Bank Street. Maulich also kept a saloon. In later years Maulich's son, Ernest, helped his father in the brewery. Although Maulich's brewery was not large nor was its equipment elaborate, it was regarded as unusual in this area in that Maulich used a lattice of beechwood strips and chips in the filtering and aging of his beer, which allegedly gave the product a better flavor and clearer appearance than that of other breweries. The advertising literature of the Anheuser-Busch brewing company describes a similar process used only in the production of Budweiser beer and other premium brews of that company. Maulich ceased brewing after 1900, and retired in 1905. He died in 1913.

Rudolf Kieff Brewery (Mount Joy). Rudolf Kieff (also spelled Kief) had a small brewery along the east side of Barbara Street near the junction of the Manheim Road northeast of Mount Joy in the 1850s, and lasting into the mid-1860s. Whether or not Kieff was a lager brewer we cannot ascertain, but he had a quite small brewery.

Alois Bube Brewery (Mount Joy). Alois Bube was born in Bavaria in 1851, and came to the United States in 1869. In 1874 Bube met and married Pauline Kern of Lancaster. Citizenship was granted to Alois in 1878. At first he was employed at Lawrence Knapp's brewery, but in 1878 he had his own brewery in Mount Joy, thought to have been a small brewery operated for some years by Philip Frank, the maltster. The Bube family lived at first in a small residence, later the site of the Central House Hotel. In 1889 Bube erected a larger brewery and the Central House Hotel, with financial backing by Philip Frank. Large vaults were dug under the brewery, hotel, and adjacent land. In 1893 a fire damaged the roof and part of the brewery. Bube employed the most modern methods of brewing then known for his small but well-equipped brewery.

According to Walter (Dutch) Kramer, who was a beer deliveryman for Mr. Bube, Alois was a large portly man with a long white beard. Daily deliveries of beer were made to Columbia, Elizabethtown, Ironville, Sporting Hill, Landisville, Milton Grove, Mastersonville, Union Square and Mount Joy. Beer was delivered to Middletown to King McCord, a distributor; and to Manheim twice weekly. Three horses were used to draw each wagon. Mr. Kramer recalls the names of the horses: John, Dick, Doll, Harry, Major, Red Pet, Bill, and Frank. Work was begun at 4:00 a.m. for Bube's nine employees: Henry Engle, George Frank, Harry Frank, John Horstik, Samuel Sheaffer, Oliver Mateer, William Walker, Carl Garman, and Walter Kramer. Sheaffer, Mateer and Horstik were boilermen. Mr. Kramer admits with little modesty that in the seven years he worked at the brewery, he "drank only two gallons of water." Eight stops were made every morning in Columbia, and seven stops (equal to the number of churches, Mr. Kramer remembers) were

made in Mount Joy each Saturday. He earned \$12 a week delivering beer.

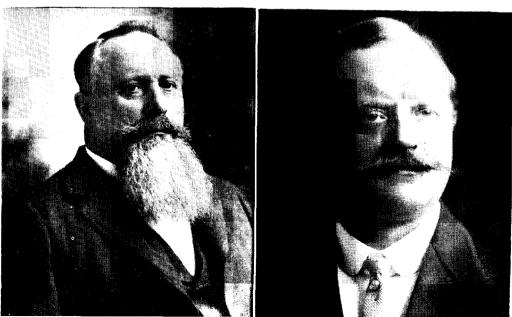
Bube produced beer in both Pilsener and Bavarian varieties; ale; and soft drinks.

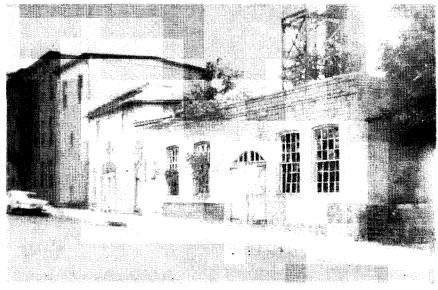
The Bube Brewery was located in the point formed by the intersection of Old Market Street and Market Street, opposite the Frank Malt House. In the immediate vicinity, in addition to the Malt House, were John Baumbach's blacksmith shop, Benjamin Greenawalt's cooper shop, and Groff's saddle shop. Before opening his smithy, Baumbach worked as a deliveryman for Bube. His wife helped Mrs. Bube in the hotel kitchen at times. Mr. Bube also owned a saloon in Columbia.

Alois Bube died 20 April 1908 after which his estate operated the brewery. Mrs. Bube died about 1918. In 1914 John R. Hallgren bought the brewery and operated it until 1917 when business conditions and the impending Prohibition Era forced him to close and sell the plant. Hallgren's wife was born in the same town in Sweden as John Forstberg (see Rieker Brewery), and Hallgren worked for Forstberg at the Chester Brewery until 1914. Forstberg's thorough knowledge of brewing markets and the local situation without doubt influenced Hallgren to purchase the Bube Brewery. Mr. Hallgren left Mount Joy to become a merchant in Harrisburg and later in Hershey. He died in 1927.

Henry Engle, a son-in-law of Alois Bube, took over the brewery and hotel property about 1920. Mrs. Engle was Josephine Bube. Alois had five daughters: Annie, Maidie, Josephine, Pauline, and Tekla; and one son, Karl. The Central House Hotel was operated by the Engle family for many years, in fact, up to Mr. Engle's death

(Left) Alois Bube, Proprietor, Bube Brewery. (Right) John R. Hallgren, Successor to Alois Bube. (Courtesy of Karl Bube; Ragnar Hallgren)





Bube Brewery along Market Street, Mount Joy, in ruins after nearly fifty years of neglect.

in 1965. Employees of the Engle family were Kearsey Frank, a hired man named "Rudy" who was followed about the neighborhood by a pet goose, Margaret Funk, and a colored lady named Ada.

During and following Prohibition the brewery was not in operation, and it fell into disrepair. At the present time the plant is in ruins; the tall brick stack seems ready to collapse, the roof is gone, trees and weeds grow inside the walls, and the hotel itself appears beyond hope of rehabilitation. From 1907 when Bube enlarged the brewery until it closed in 1919 its tax assessment was approximately \$16,000.00, indicating a market value of nearly \$75,000.00.

Frederick Loercher Brewery (*Manheim*). Benedict Frederick Loercher, a native of Wurttemberg, commenced his brewery on East Gramby Street in Manheim in 1871 on a modest scale. By 1873 his brewery was assessed for the sum of \$550, and he had one horse. Six years later the Loercher Brewery had two horses, and was assessed for \$1047.00. From that date until 24 April 1886 when Loercher died, the brewery continued along with little increase in valuation. We must conclude that the Loercher Brewery was used to supply the needs of Loercher's saloon, located at the corner of East Gramby and North Wolf streets, in addition to other Manheim hotels. On 1 April 1888, Louis Hefft obtained a brewer's license for the partnership of Joseph Baumler and Hefft to operate the brewery then owned by Sophia Loercher, widow.

It is interesting to note Loercher purchased the brewery property from Gottlieb Young and Jeremiah Greiner. Young had obtained



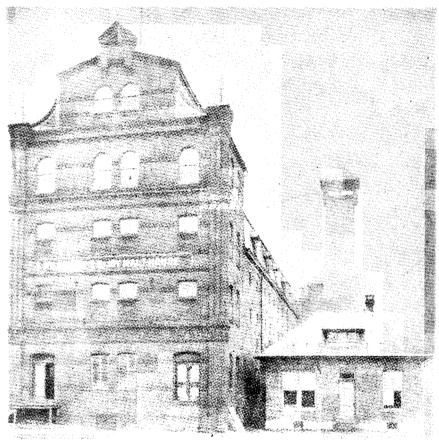
B. Frederick Loercher Brewery on Gramby Street, Manheim, about 1884. (Courtesy of Bradley Loercher)

a parcel from the insolvent estate of Jacob Fetter in 1871. The other parcel was bought by Greiner from William Gantz who had obtained it from Jacob Fetter.

Loercher's vaults were located in a hillside near the Manheim Road south of Manheim.

We are grateful to George L. Heiges, and Mrs. George J. Cotton, granddaughter of Frederick Loercher, for information concerning the brewery.

Philip Frank Malt House (Mount Joy). Few breweries in the nineteenth century had facilities for preparing malt for brewing. As a result, the maltster operated a separate business of making and supplying malt to brewers. The Frank Malt House in Mount Joy, located on Market Street along the Pennsylvania Railroad tracks (old line), was started in 1856 in a small way, with the partnership of Greider and Frank. By 1886 the business had grown so far beyond the level envisioned by its founder, Philip Frank, that a large malt house was erected with a capacity of 200,000 bushels per year. Standing five stories above the street level, and going down to a subcellar, the seven-story structure dwarfed all other buildings in Mount Joy. The architecture of the structure is unusual today, but in 1886 it was typical of the best brewery-malt house style, and resembled Henry Brauns's tobacco factory built in Baltimore in 1886 for G. W. Gail and Ax Co. Brauns, an outstanding Baltimore architect, adapted the "strapwork" or Manneristic style of architecture invented in Flanders, Holland, and Northern Germany in the late sixteenth century to his commercial buildings with not unsatisfactory results. The Frank Malt House is more simple in its decoration



Philip Frank Malt House at Mount Joy, as it appeared about 1908.

than the Brauns's building. It was 40 feet wide and 180 feet long. Each floor of the house had a steeping tank in which the barley grains were soaked for 48 to 72 hours. After this operation the grains were scattered on the concrete floors where they remained for eight to ten days during which time fermentation occurred, producing a chemical change resulting in malt. Then the damp, fermenting grains were dried in a malt kiln located adjacent to the main building.

Approximately 500 bushels of barley grains were malted each day. The barley used at the Frank business came mostly from Canada and New York state. Frank's malt had a reputation of being cleaner and fresher than many competitive brands in which a certain amount of mustiness could be detected. This advantage was attributed to skillful management of the Malt House and Mount Joy's atmosphere. Mount Joy was called the "Malt Capital of the United States" during the second half of the nineteenth century according to the Frank company. Unquestionably the Lancaster County borough produced a vast amount of the malt that went into many breweries, but the Frank Malt House was the only malting company in Mount Joy, and it was not the largest malt business in the nation.

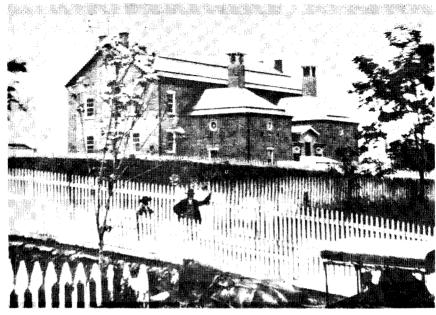
Early in the twentieth century the company obtained most of its grain from Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota. In 1892 the Philip Frank Malting Company was reorganized with H. C. Schock as president, and John L. Breneman as secretary-treasurer. In 1905 Philip Frank Schock came on the Board, and served as secretary-treasurer until 1917. In that year a plant in Chicago owned by the company was destroyed by fire, and from that time the malting company's future grew dark. It would seem that the Mount Joy malt house was not used for malting after 1912.

We are indebted to Mrs. Howard Snyder, Mrs. George Albert, Pauline Bube Heilig, and Walter Kramer for much of the information on the Bube Brewery and the Frank Malt House.

Tshudy Malt House (Lititz). Between 1820 and 1824 a malt house was erected on Broad Street, Lititz, near Carter's Run, by Michael Greider. In 1830 the malt house was sold to Jacob B. Tshudy. Fire destroyed the structure in 1856, and Tshudy built a new and larger malt house on West Main Street. The rear of the building faced Lititz Springs Park. Two malt kilns adjoined the main portion of the rectangular brick structure. When Jacob Tshudy died in 1866 his son, R. R. Tshudy, carried on the business until he died in 1878. Later the building was used as a tobacco warehouse.

Keller and Tshudy Brewery (Lititz). Mentioned previously was the statement that the Lititz Moravians thought beer would be a preferable substitute for hard liquor then in vogue among the German country folk of Lancaster County, including some Moravians. Accordingly the town trustees of Lititz (Moravian, of course) in 1833 granted John Kreiter permission to build a brewery and malt house. Christian Kreiter operated the brew house after John, and after him came Michael Muicke. John Hamm was next to own the brewery-malt house, and then Francis M. Rauch and R. R. Tshudy operated it. The plant burned in 1865, and a new brewery was erected by Keller and Tshudy. It was purchased later by Henry Zartman. We are informed the brew house was located southwest of Lititz Spring. In the 1875 Atlas of Lancaster County the brewery was located at the southeast corner of Manheim and Walnut streets, and was owned by D. B. Landis.

Jacob B. Tshudy was quite an ambitious Moravian; he owned one of the two stores in Lititz until 1843, owned the only lumber yard, and was proprietor of the malt house. R. R. Tshudy apparently inherited his father's zest for enterprise, and manifested it in the political arena. He was Democratic Party Chairman of Lancaster County in 1868, and served in various capacities politically and civically.



Tshudy Malt House, Lititz, about 1870.

Umble Malt House (Bellevue, near Gap). Christian and Henry Umble, sons of John Umble, operated a grain selling and storage warehouse business at Kinzers and Bellevue in the 1840s and 1850s, and a general store at Roseneath. The business failed in 1858. In the Lancaster Daily Evening Express, 14 April 1858, appeared an advertisement in which Samuel Blank offered for sale 2000 bushels of barley malt and rye malt "which he will dispose of at a reasonable price for cash at the Malt House formerly occupied by C. and H. Umble, near the Gap." There is no evidence this malt was used for brewing, or that the Umble brothers were maltsters.

Individual Persons Listed as Brewers, Employed by Breweries

Lancaster City Tax Assessment List, 1849: Jacob Heitz George Lortz Charles Myers

- Lancaster City Tax Assessment List, 1867: Ernest Krause, South Duke Street Mathias Steinwandle, North Street George Peterman
- Lant's Directory of Lancaster City, 1866-1867: (excluding above) Andrew Everley, Mulberry above Walnut Street Carl Fogt, Mulberry above Walnut Street

Issachar Rees, Mulberry and James streets Lawrence Spiker, North Street

Barnes' Directory of Lancaster County, 1875-1876: Christian Brown, 440 S. Queen Street Henry Ehrenfried, 751 High Street Conrad Ensberger, 141 East King Street Edward Franke, 247 East Chestnut Street George Gardner, 324 Green Street Jacob Haldner, Hotel Franke John Harder, 127 North Street Leonard Kiehl, 427 Freiberg Street Otto Knapp, 141 East King Street Jacob Myer, 444 Lafayette Street Martin Pfahl, 141 East King Street Charles Rapp, 528 West Orange Street William Schmidt, Locust near Rockland Street Frank Schwartz, 531 High Street William Shealley, 447 Lafayette Street Henry Smith, 113 North Queen Street Adam Spruss, 140 Dorwart Street Andrew Treasel, 113 North Queen Street John Wirth, 445 Freiberg Street Henry Wise, Lafayette near Filbert Street

Howe's Lancaster City and County Directory, 1882-1883: Charles Lohss, 322 East Walnut Street Philip Dussinger, 615 St. Joseph Street August Fisher, 517 Manor Street Charles Rapp, 645 East Orange Street Joseph Zilerx, 451 Rockland Street

CHAPTER IV

FROM BUNGHOLE TO PALATE

When beer had aged sufficiently—never less than two months and preferably six months according to the old brewers—it was ready to be "racked" into barrels and distributed. Wooden barrels were used until the end of Prohibition. Each brewery had a cooper shop which made barrels and repaired old ones. A pitch pot always was located close to the cooperage, and was used for caulking the staves and heads when necessary. Barrels were subjected to inspection for damaged parts upon their return to the brewery after which they were washed in scalding water.

Filling the barrels was the task of the racking cellar crew. When the brewmaster decided a "brew" was ready to rack, the crew would run the beer from the aging cask into the barrels through a filling apparatus. Woe to the brewmaster or employees who would tap the contents of a cask in the Rieker Brewery if the beer hadn't aged to the point Frank A. Rieker thought necessary! Mr. Rieker on more than one occasion detected his men tapping a cask which had a day or two left for aging, a mistake which probably did not change the quality of the beer. But Frank Rieker had his own notions about quality and the reputation of his beer, so he would call for an ax, according to his grandson, Charles P. Rieker, and in front of the erring employees, he would smash in the head of each barrel filled with the "unripe" beer and drain the contents down the sewer. To Frank Rieker, schooled in the old apprentice tradition, a product of an artist or craftsman must be as perfect as humanly possible or else destroyed dramatically before the eyes of the maker.

Bottling did not become prevalent until the 1870s, and then it developed slowly. When brewers did begin bottling their beer, generally the bottling shop or department was run as a concession, and not always in the brewery plant. United States tax laws at that time frowned upon bottling being done adjacent to the brewing and aging operations for fear of beer being bottled without the tax being paid. Barrels had tax stamps placed over the bungs after they were filled. During some years prior to 1890 the Internal Revenue Act required all bottling operations, including washing of bottles, to be conducted in a building situated apart from the brewery so that it would be necessary to haul the beer in barrels over the surface of a public street or highway from brewery to bottling works. Brewers then had to rack the beer as usual, take the barrels across the street or a few yards down the road to where the barrels would be tapped into bottles. From 1890 until 1933 pipe lines between the breweries and bottling works were permitted, but revenue officers had to be present when the beer was flowing, the beer had to be measured by metering gauges, and the cancelled revenue stamps had to be handed to the government inspector on the spot.¹

Bottles were stoppered at first with corks which were not very gastight, and later by rubber and ceramic stoppers which could be fastened down with wires. The bottle "crown" was invented in 1892 by William Painter, and gradually replaced all other types of closures. By the following year the Crown Cork and Seal Company of Baltimore was turning out the metal crowns in quantity.² Incidentally the Closure Plant of Armstrong Cork Company manufactures bottle crowns by the millions, thus retaining in Lancaster one fragment of the brewing industry.

Lancaster breweries had their own bottling departments, but independent bottlers thrived too. For those cads and malcontents who were loathe to admit the superiority of the local brews, beer produced outside Lancaster County was available from bottlers. There is a difference in taste characteristics between bottled beer and draught beer owing to the higher pressure allowed for kegged beer. Bottles and cans cannot withstand the increased pressure. The difference has encouraged a new process in bottling and canning beer in the last year or two, with the advertised result of having "draught beer" in a bottle or can. Frank Rieker and his fellow brewers probably are turning over in their graves! The larger breweries had bottling houses in the county which were served by the trolley express cars.

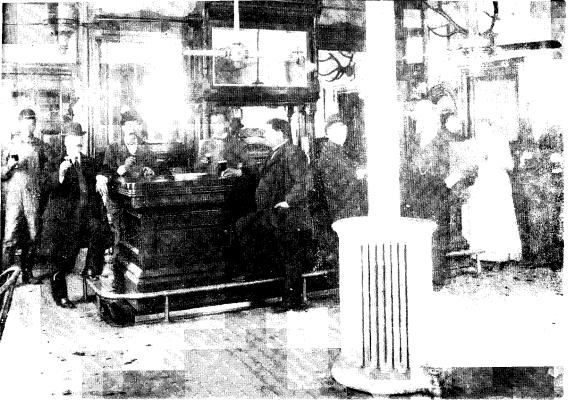
Saloons and hotels were served by the large beer wagons drawn by teams of three or four horses. The beer wagon was equipped with a "fifth wheel" assembly in the front. Its bed was shaped like a hay wagon, that is to say, with sloping boards which formed a valley along the center. Three rows of barrels could be placed across the wagon the length of the bed. On the next layer were two rows of barrels, and a single row finished off the "pyramid." A pillow of braided rope was used to break the fall of the barrels as they were unloaded.

Brewers advertised in the olden days, but hardly in the style of today's television commercial messages. Their advertising took the forms of signs, often quite ornate; posters; calendars; and most important, maintenance of a reputation for quality. As Messrs. Haefner, Wacker, Rieker, Sprenger, Bube, Loder and the others look down from their Valhalla—or wherever good brewers go when their last casks are racked—to see and hear today's commercial messages and advertisements, they probably are horrified at the prevalence of girls and women in the beer advertisements, and the great concern about calories! Beer advertisements on ashtrays were unheard of in those days, for the ash tray in any proper saloon was a trough of flowing water along the front of the bar under the brass rail. Saloon-keepers had a notion that cigar butts, well-worn plugs of tobacco, and the other debris produced by gentlemen being refreshed at the bar ought to be underfoot instead of under the customers' noses.

Brewing in its earlier days was an operation which took place on the back doorstep of an inn. Later when breweries became separate establishments, the saloon was on the front doorstep of the brewery. Nearly every brewery had a saloon attached to it or close by its property. Eventually several saloon-keepers would pool their funds and assets to acquire a brewery. An experienced brewer would be engaged, and the production would be distributed mainly to the saloon-keeping owners for use in their establishments. By the end of the nineteenth century the process had gone through another stage, and now the large breweries were purchasing saloons which they operated as outlets for their sudsy products. The last step was ordained by law, not economics. Breweries and drinking places were separated—divorced completely from each other. Passageways to cellar vaults had to be closed; managements had to be rearranged; proprietorships were thrown into turmoil. The day had arrived when a patron would step up to the bar at the Washington House (at Sprenger's Brewery), plant his foot on the rail, and demand a glass of Wacker's beer!

The evolution of the public house or inn to the saloon, from the speakeasy to the cocktail lounge, is a curious bit of social history which space and discretion do not permit here. Gathering places for the thirsty are known by many names, and are even fitted up with statutory definitions.³ The inn (or hotel of today) furnishes the traveller with "everything he has occasion for" and that can include a variety of needs. The saloon, that cheerful, colorful den of unparalleled iniquity, had been a place for the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages. Lawmakers and image-conscious barkeepers frown on the use of "saloon" to describe such masculine watering places. With the repeal of Prohibition the saloon, unlike beer, failed to return; it exists today in western films. Key Clubs in large cities reportedly go to great expense to recreate the elegant saloon atmosphere, complete with massive carved bars, gas chandeliers, huge mirrors, and gleaming cuspidors. Free lunch has not been revived, however.

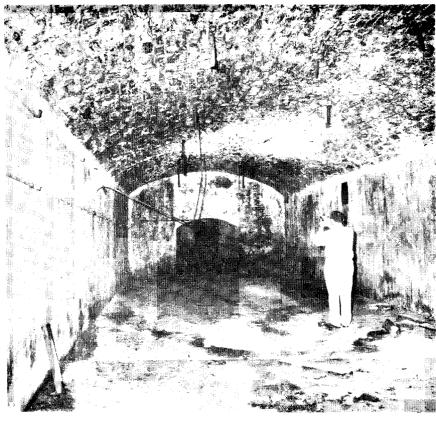
The stereotype saloon is portrayed as a place of evil. Motion pictures depict the old saloons as gathering places for hard-drinking gamblers, thieves, pugnacious characters, and lewd women, all engaged in a noisy, brawling, drunken orgy accompanied by gunshots, screams, smashing of bottles and furnishings, and the mechanical tempo of a tinny piano. Saloons along Lancaster's streets hardly matched that description. The local saloons were places of restrained elegance. Adjacent to the enormous and well-polished bars were the inevitable free lunch tables, heaped with cold cuts of meats, cheeses, and other mouth-watering and alcohol-absorbing victuals. Free lunch had two advantages for the proprietor and one for the patron: the generosity and thoughtfulness of the proprietor was in competition with his fellow-hosts, and the food tended to keep the customer lingering longer while he tried to balance the absorption equation. The prudent luncheon patron could enjoy a bountiful meal for the price of a five-cent glass of beer; well-bred gentlemen thought better than to take advantage of their host.



Rieker Western Market Saloon in 1896, now Kirchner Hotel on West King Street. (Left to right) Wagon driver, Gus Eisenlohr, Charles Shadle, Alex Gerz, Frank A. Rieker, Frank J. Rieker, Joseph Hoak, Fred Loercher, Sophie Huber. For many years this hotel was operated by Charles Hoster. (Courtesy of Charles P. Rieker)

Tippling places appear frequently in our ancient records, and this establishment catered mainly to the lower classes who would be "pub-chasers" today. While the early tavern was practically identical to the inn or public house, its name today is used often for a taproom, barroom or pub—an establishment with a large bar and a small kitchen. A phenomenon of our times, the cocktail lounge hardly concerns a study of the dispensing of malt beverages. It is an escape mechanism, according to one unidentified authority, where persons enjoying poor mental health go to be provoked into scintillating conversation with other sophisticated bores. Using malt beverages to accomplish that object would be as ineffective as driving a spike with a feather pillow!

Products of the Noble Experiment, the roadhouse and the speakeasy had unsavory reputations. Whereas the speakeasy usually was nothing more than a dispensing station disguised as the back room of a tea room, candy shop, or restaurant, the roadhouse conjured up visions of lonely roads; big, black, fast motor cars; rooms used neither for drinking nor lodging; and vast amounts of alcohol being consumed with gay abandon. Lancaster County had some of these establishments during Prohibition, three of the most notorious



A deep storage cellar under the Sprenger Brewery. This has been destroyed by the demolition of the brewery.

being Sam Scalleat's Blue Lantern, or Palisades (3121 Columbia Avenue), Sam Hollinger's Count of Monte Cristo (3327 Columbia Avenue), and the Far East Inn near Columbia.

German immigrants to the United States liked to quaff their beer in an outdoor, somewhat rustic, bower or garden. Lancaster's Germans were no exception. Mishler, whose nineteenth century herb bitters made him one of the town's most advertised men, opened a beer garden beside the Lion Brewery on Howard Avenue. Above Knapp's Empire Steam Brewery (later Haefner's) on Locust Street was William Halzfeld's large beer garden. Schoenberger's Park along the Gas Run near Water Street was a beer garden of sorts. Wittlinger had a garden at Chester and Rockland streets.

Every brewery had its vaults and cellars for fermenting and storing its beer while aging, but additional underground facilities were required for storage of the beer prior to sale or dispensing. Several of these vaults have been mentioned. Rieker's were on St. Joseph's Street and on North Pine Street. Schoenberger's vaults were in the hillside at his park. Sprenger's Brewery had vaults between South Queen and East Strawberry streets on a line with Chester Street. Joseph Wacker's vaults were located at 115 Chester Street. Koehler's vaults were dug near and under Church Street.⁴ In addition to the large brewery vaults, the inns had underground caverns and vaults under the streets on which they fronted. Large vaults are under the former County House and Westenberger, Maley and Myers Store on East King Street; Moseman's Drug Store on North Prince Street; at the southwest corner of the Square near West King Street and in front of Groff and Wolf Store on North Queen Street. It has been estimated several dozen vaults are under East King Street.⁵

"Rushing the growler" was a term known years ago. For about 15 cents, a pail would be filled with a sixteenth of a keg and carried home. This was a Saturday night tradition in Lancaster.⁶ Another saloon custom was the "steinerwurst" when at certain times in the afternoons free beer was served to all who wished to avail themselves of the treat.⁷

One of the oldest traditions in the brewing industry is that of free beer for the employees. Many breweries, including Rieker's, allowed their employees to take home small kegs, usually "sixteenths," the only requirement being that the container had to be returned. Instead of coffee breaks which characterize the highnervous tension of today's business world, the old brewers encouraged the drinking of beer during the working day. It is understood this practice continues at breweries now in operation.

Old timers tell us that in the 1890s, a quarter keg of beer cost 62 cents, and filled 14 glasses. An eighth keg cost a dollar. Strictly speaking, a keg contains no more than ten gallons.

CHAPTER V

LABOR RELATIONS OF THE BREWERIES

Relations between brewers and their employees in the days of small breweries generally were close and even paternalistic. Use of the apprenticeship system was common. Unlike the craft apprentice the brewery student did not have a tangible object in which he demonstrated his skill and understanding of the classic principles of design and materials. His skill was in the art of brewing—it had not yet become a science. Intuition rather than the use of scientific standards made brewing a "hit or miss" operation. When brewing moved from the realm of intuition into the laboratory the entire training of young brewers changed, and with it a sharply-defined antagonism between "apprenticeship" training and "school" training developed. As late as the early twentieth century brewers who had acquired their knowledge and skills at a brewing school were held in contempt by the old-time brewers who learned their art beside the master brewers in the working breweries. Training in organic chemistry and chemical engineering distinguished the modern "school" brewer from the old "intuitive" brewer. Brewmasters such as John G. Fortsberg and Charles William Kloidt understood the chemical action which occurred to the malt house and fermenting tanks; they knew what had to be done to produce a desired product under all conditions.

Today a strong possibility exists that the "pendulum has swung too far," that is to say, the chemical engineer has displaced the intuitive art of brewing with a scientific process influenced more by the cost analyst than by a wholesome respect for a nutritious, high-quality, tasteful food beverage. No longer does the brewer take pride in his role in producing a beer or ale; in fact, he is no longer a brewer-he is a maltster, malt miller, grain handler, kettleman, cellar man, vat man, racking man, cooper, engineer, ice man, fireman or deliveryman. With the larger breweries in the late nineteenth century a division of labor was essential. Although local brewers supposedly knew all their employees personally, that intimacy lessened in the 1890s as the labor force increased, and competition for skilled brewery employees resulted in much employee movement among the local brew houses. It would not be an exaggeration to suggest nearly two-thirds of the brewery workers in Lancaster worked at some time in each of the local brewing companies. The most humane employer was susceptible to that old ailment, "out of sight, out of mind." which has caused so much mischief in labor relations.

Nationally the brewery workers did not fare too well, if we are to accept the statement of Hermann Schluter uncritically: The condition of the brewery workmen in America before their organization was as bad as can be imagined. It was not only that wages paid were the smallest possible and that the working time was confined only by the natural limits of human endurance, but besides this the treatment of the workmen was of such a kind that it seems impossible today to understand how they could submit to it.¹

We cannot determine whether Schluter's indictment was true for most or even many breweries in the nation. Stanley Baron, on the other hand, has found sufficient evidence among the records of nationally-known breweries which indicates brewery employees were paid "somewhat above the average for all industries."² That brewery workers had long hours cannot be denied; working days of 14 to 18 hours per day were normal.³

Although organizations of brewery employees occurred before in the larger brewing centers, the first real labor union for brewers was established as Brewers' Union No. 1 of New York in August 1884. It was affiliated with the Knights of Labor. The following year it was able to muster a boycott of beer produced by a brewery that fired several of the organizers. The boycott, supported by the New York Central Labor Union, was successful, and the brewery surrendered. Other brewery employees were stimulated by that manifestation of unity, and they formed organizations rapidly. On 16 April 1886 the United States Brewers' Association recognized the brewery workers' union by approving a contract which included a monthly wage of \$60-\$72 a month, ten-hour work day, and no Sunday work.⁴ The year 1886 was a banner year for the brewery unions as they spread across the nation, and enforced their demands by the use of strikes. Brewer-employers began attacking "the violently aggressive methods of labor leaders of avowed anarchical tendencies."⁵ In August 1886 the National Union of the Brewers of the United States was formed, and after deciding to include all employees of breweries, the name was changed in 1887 to the National Union of United Brewery Workmen of the United States. When the leader of the Knights of Labor, T. V. Powderly, expressed himself in favor of Prohibition, the brewery workers' union left the Knights and obtained a charter from the American Federation of Labor in March 1887.6 By 1907 virtually every brewery in the nation was unionized. From time to time internal problems plagued the Brewery Workmen Union; most of these problems concerned the inclusion of firemen and engineers, and certain other non-brewing employees, in the union of the brewers.

Towards the end of the 1880s, unionization of Lancaster industries commenced. The labor history of Lancaster County has not been written, and apathy seems to indicate it never will be recorded. As early as 1834 railroad workers struck for higher wages near Lancaster, and in 1836 carpenters and cordwainers in Lancaster went out on strikes to support their demands for increased wages.⁷ The Lancaster Local No. 70 of the Typographical Union is the oldest labor organization in Lancaster, having been founded 26 December 1872. By 1892 union locals had been organized in Lancaster by the bricklayers and masons, cork cutters, carpenters and joiners, cigarmakers, hod carriers, iron moulders, and the iron and steel workers. Railroad employees had their own unions. With the turn of the century came the bakers' union, barbers' union, lock workers' union, paperhangers' union, plumbers' union, tinsmiths' union, and the brewer's union. Local No. 206 of the International Union of the United Brewery Workers of America was organized in Lancaster in 1900, and it met the first and third Sunday of each month at 409 East King Street, which happened to be John Ritchie's Green Tree Hotel.⁸ Joseph Kauffman was the first secretary, and evidently was an employee at the Rieker Brewery.

In 1964 the earliest surviving minute book (12 September 1915 to 10 January 1924), membership dues record books (1900-1906, 1939-1944, 1945-1952), and several dozen individual membership books containing spaces for dues receipt were given to the historical society by officials of the Lancaster Liederkranz as a result of our enquiries. We acknowledge with gratitude the kindness of these officials. We wish that more labor union and business records of the past would find their way to the historical society library where they could be used for research.

Earliest members of Local No. 206 of Brewery Workers were:

Harry Ehlighter

Ralph Anderson Calvin Breneman Jacob Brenner Harry F. Broocks Harry Burkhardt Jacob A. Beecher George Brustle Michael Besalski Martin L. Boas Martin Boxleitner Jacob Buser Jakob Burkhardt Ernst Buch Benjamin Brown (Mt. Joy) Karl Besse Frank Bosch H. S. Bunting Sam Brosius (Mt. Joy) Henry Bittner John H. Carey Harpe Carson Jacob F. Caldwell Louis Cashor John Duschl Daniel F. Diehl Max Danz Adam Dussinger George Dorwart Charles Dickel Frank Driendl Jacob Eissler

(Ehleiter) Gabriel Eichelburger Lui Eber Frank Eggerd Herman Eckert H. J. Engle (Mt. Joy) Edward Fleckenstein August Fischer August Fuchs George Flick Earl Farmer Joseph Fuhrman Jerry Frymyer Harry Fuhrman George Fuhrman Adam Freund Coleman Frey (Columbia) George Fischer Carl Fleisher Harry Frank George Frank (Mt. Joy) Harry Grab August Gegg Franz Gegg Charles Ganse Amos Graf M. Glesinger Charles Gegg Michael Gunesch

Harry Galliger Jacob Groom (Columbia) Paul Happold Joseph Halbig Howard Hartman Christ Hurter Daniel Howe George Hurter Isaac Hoak Harry Hepting A. S. Holwager (Mt. Joy) Cyrus Huber P. Hable J. Horstick (Mt. Joy) Joseph Hoffmeier Martin Hurst Louis Hecker Joseph Kauffman **Edward Kirchner** Walter Kreider Anton Kappes J. L. Kein Isaac Kinard S. N. Kauffman Ulrich Klugh Jacob Klouse Charles Koeble John Kimich Ferdinand Koenig William Kicke

William Kazmeier H. G. Kauffman J. P. Kuhns John Kainer (Columbia) Joseph Krassel Martin Lottes Joseph Leicht Franz Leicht Jacob Loercher John Livenight (Levenite) John C. Lebegern William Landau Gottlieb Leopold John Miller John Moser Harry W. Myers Christian Muth Michael Markert John T. Myers John Moser II John May John B. Marks Frederick E. Mattern N. L. Miller Joseph Michle Joseph Mosser Ehrhardt Metzger William Martin Henry Martin Herman Miller Oliver Matter (Mt. Joy) Elmer Noll

Benjamin Nolt Albert A. Onney Andrew Pfeiffer John Pfisterer Louis Piersol Harry Palmer Valentine Quenzer George Rieker Frederick Rottmund George H. Rahm Peter Rittenhouse Charles Roller George Reese (Columbia) Anton Russ Anton Relesamen Christian Rohrer Emmerich Rakovsky Emil Strosser Daniel Schaup John Schenk Isaac Schenk Herman Seber Paul Schroder Harry Schopf George Siebelist Charles Strosser Emil Schaffner John T. Schlegel Charles Saner (Sener) Ludwig Stoekle Lui Schwende Harry Simmons Harry Simmons Frederick Smith

George Schatz Harry Shudy (Tshudy) **Rudolf Spice** George Siller (Mt. Joy) Karl Schwartz (Mt. Joy) Franz Stachinskey Joseph Sehlaeger Frank L. Siegler Joseph Stockbauer Frank Schirtehn August Sprenger W. J. Schenk Albert Surma William Sawyer William Stever W. H. Stoll Charles P. Snyder G. S. Shaeffer (Mt. Joy) H. S. Snyder Charles O. Stoll Adolf Schmidt George Tretter Charles Ullmann Albert Vogel (Columbia) Jacob Wagner John Wagner Harry Wertz Edward Wertz William R. Wiker Christian Winnerling W. S. Worner **Charles Wirth** Charles Yaeger

From the individual membership books we are able to tell that a number of the members were born in Germany as listed: (Dates of birth follow names)

John Duschl, 25 December 1872 Joseph Duschl, 31 October 1878 John Duschl II, 1877 Michael Schmalhofer, 29 September Louis Hecker, 27 September 1884 1881 Frederick Rottmund, 3 August 1861 George Ott, 19 June 1874 Joseph Hoffmeier, 1884 Bruno Teichert, 1 April 1885 Lorenz Niebler, 23 July 1884 Michael Markert, 7 December 1855 Adam Tretter, 20 April 1879 Fritz Pfeiffer, 20 October 1885 Ludwig Klingseisen, 20 August 1888 Joseph Schlager, 13 December 1871 Wilhelm Faust, 27 December 1887 Anton Rengsburger, 18 October 1886 Alois Goetz, 27 January 1887

Each member was required to subscribe to the *Prinzipien-Erklarung*, the Declaration of Principles. The statement must be regarded in the context of the influence of German "scientific socialism," or Marxism; it must be examined as a philosophy which moved thousands of working men. It was printed in German and English in each membership book:

In our society of today there are two classes whose interests are directly opposed to each other. On the one side stands the propertied class, that owns almost all the lands, all the houses, the factories, the means of communication, all the machines and raw material, all the means of life. Compared with the nation at large this class is only a small minority.

On the other side stand the workers, who possess nothing but their physical and intellectual labor power, and this they are compelled to sell to those who own the means of production. The workers number millions.

It is to the interest of the propertied class to buy labor at the cheapest possible price; to produce as much as can be produced, and to heap up wealth. The few hundreds of thousands who compose the propertied class take from the workers the greater part of the wealth they have created.

Of all the product of their toil the millions of workers receive only just as much as enables them to eke out a miserable existence.

Every new invention in machinery, every new discovery of natural forces, inures to the benefit of the propertied class alone, which is still further enriched thereby. Human labor is, as a consequence, being constantly more and more displaced.

The superfluous workers have to live. and therefore have to sell their labor at any price they can get. Labor falls more and more in value; the working people become all the time more and more impoverished, their consumptive capacity continually declines; they are able to buy less and less of the products they have produced: the sale of goods stops, production is checked, and in places it comes altogether to an end. The crisis has come.

The propertied class has taken into its service the State, the police and the militia, the press and the pulpit, whose task is to declare the sanctity of, and to defend the possessions that others have created for them.

On the other side stand the workers in their millions; without the means of life; without rights; defenseless; betrayed and sold out by the State, press and pulpit. It is against them that the weapons of the police and militia are directed.

Taking all these facts into consideration, we declare:

1. That in order to emancipate themselves from the influence of the class that is hostilely arrayed against them, the working class must organize locally, nationally and internationally; must oppose the power of capital with the power of organized labor; and must champion their own interests in the workshops; and in Municipal, State and National affairs.

2. National and international unions are in a position to exercise a great influence on production, on wages, on the hours of labor; to regulate the question of apprenticeship; to uphold their members in various emergencies.

3. The struggles which they naturally have to wage with the organized power of capital bring them to a recognition of the fact that individual unions must unite in one large league, which shall proclaim the solidarity of the interests of all, and give mutual support. Soon thereafter will come the recognition of the fact that our whole system of production rests exclusively upon the shoulders of the working class, and that this latter can, by simply choosing to do so, introduce another, a more just system.

The self-conscious power of capital, with all its camp-followers, is confronted with the self-conscious power of labor.

4. There is no power on earth strong enough to thwart the will of such a majority, conscious of itself. It will irresistibly tend toward

its goal. It has natural right upon its side. The earth and all its wealth belong to all. All the conquests of civilization are an edifice, to the rearing of which all nations for thousands of years past have contributed their labor. The results belong to the community at large. It is organized labor that will finally succeed in putting these principles into actual practice, and in introducing a conditions of things in which each shall enjoy the full product of his toil.

The emancipation of the working people will be achieved only when the economic and the political movements have joined hands.

Minutes of the Union Local were written in German script by Christian Winnerling until Edward Nixdorf succeeded him in June 1917. At the 8 July 1917 meeting telegrams were ordered to be sent to Senators Penrose and Oliver concerning the Prohibition Amendment. Two applicants from the Columbia Brewery failed to appear for initiation—an obligation that was taken seriously—so their papers were ordered thrown into the waste basket, and future labels withheld from the brewery until the absent applicants made their appearances. Nine members were fined for being absent without "worthy excuses." On 1 August 1917 at a special meeting the Local decided to grant labels to the Columbia Brewery with the expectation that the two applicants would appear at the 12 August 1917 meeting. George Moser was absorbed in some other matter and missed answering the roll call, a misdemeanor that cost him a 25-cent fine.

The 12 August 1917 meeting featured a reply from Senator Boies Penrose who was known to be more than a good friend of alcoholic beverages, and another reply-this one from Congressman Griest-who was not favorably impressed by the Local's plea in opposition to Prohibition. Another matter which bothered the Local was the relationship with the Columbia Brewery. Evidently Secretary Nixdorf fired off a letter to a Mr. Kendig at the brewery concerning the use of non-union labor, causing Mr. Kendig to take offense, and to report the "threatening letter" to the International Office of the Union. Nixdorf was instructed to be more careful about threatening letters. William F. May and John Westenhoefer of the Columbia Brewery appeared for their initiation and were accepted. According to the secretary, a heated discussion ensued over the allegation of a member who took union labels away from Wacker's without permission, and gave them to the Columbia Brewery while that plant was under ban by the Local. At the 9 September 1917 meeting the matter of the member who transferred the labels came up again, and the Local adopted a motion to drop the matter after the offending member had been given a reprimand by the president, which that officer refused to do; instead, he tendered his resignation. According to the president the members of the Local were "always working against the rules," and that he, as presiding officer, was bound to uphold the rules. The Local refused to accept his resignation, but the president declared the chair vacant.

The meeting of 11 November 1917 disclosed Rieker's, Wacker's and Haefner's had offered a voluntary increase of \$1.00 a week over the wages asked for in the contract, effective 9 November. Brother George Rohm related his experiences in requesting an increase of wages at the Penn Iron Works, but instead of receiving an increase he received a discharge. Moreover, Rohm explained, the iron works did not pay what they had promised.

Christian Rohrer, the only man at Sprenger's to be laid off, was a "union" man" reported Ludwig Stoeckle, shop delegate at that brewery, at the 25 November 1917 meeting. The Local ordered all labels to be taken away from Sprenger's and wait for more developments inasmuch as Sprenger's is no longer brewing beer. It was discovered that Rieker's still had an employee who was not a union member, and their union men were being "laid off" in weekly turns. The shop delegate was directed to inform Mr. Rieker or the brewmaster that all non-union employees must go by Monday, 26 November, and that union men now unemployed will take their places. This order was complied with, and the non-union employee was discharged.

At the 23 December 1917 meeting Christian Winnerling spoke at length on the high cost of living, the small voluntary increase of wages granted to the brewery workers, and concluded his remarks by proposing that dues be reduced from 75 cents to 50 cents per month, a motion that carried.

Local 206 started off 1918 with a chicken dinner. At the 13 January 1918 meeting the hapless non-union employee at Rieker's was admitted to the Local. Word was received from the International Office that the name of the Union was to be changed to International Union of United Brewery and Soft Drink Workers of We can imagine the looks of disgust that must have America. crossed the wide moustached faces of those hefty beer brewers at the horrible thought of being associated with persons who made carbonated "belly-wash." Sarsaparilla and birch beer were for sissies and old maids of both sexes! Rieker's shop delegate reported the former non-union man who now was a member of Local 206 had returned to work. Trying to get a labor newspaper in circulation in Lancaster was no easy task, so the Central Labor Union requested the brewery workers to support the new endeavor. The Labor Leader was begun about 1892, but was hardly a success although it struggled along for some years under the auspices of the Central Labor Union. Rieker's, Wacker's, and Sprenger's were regular advertisers in the Labor Leader.

Local members were shocked to learn it was unconstitutional to reduce dues, and henceforth, the dues would be 75 cents monthly. Rieker's shop delegate reported the brewery was working full time again, but not pursuant to their contract.

Members present at the 10 March 1918 meeting learned that Wacker's brewmaster was not pleased with a new employee, and the Local was given a week to secure a satisfactory man. At the 24 March 1918 meeting a complaint was made that Wacker's firemen, Brothers Mattern and Dorwart, were working on twelve hour shifts to make up for the third man who had quit. The shop delegate was directed to see the Wacker management about the matter. A complaint also was voiced that the Columbia Brewery and the Local's members employed there were not in good standing. Turning the matter over to the International Office, the Locals decided to salvage what they could of their delegation at the Columbia Brewery.

The secretary was instructed to request a voluntary increase of wages from each brewery at the 14 April 1918 meeting.

The following week Wacker's offered a two-dollar increase, but Rieker's and Haefner's demurred. Members of the Local who worked at these breweries decided to leave their employment and seek other jobs "at a living wage." Rieker's and Haefner's advertised this turn of events as a "strike" and sought replacements. After three days of closed doors, the two breweries requested their former employees to return with a two-dollar increase in pay.

On 9 June 1918 a contract was signed with Paul Heine of the Sprenger Brewery's brewing and bottling departments.

Labels were ordered back on barrels at the Rieker cooperage at the 14 June 1918 meeting, but on 8 August 1918 the International Office advised the Local to honor the agreement made between Peter Sheaffer and the Rieker Brewery cooperage concerning labels. The Local then wired the International Office, asking who gave Mr. Sheaffer a right to withdraw the labels inasmuch as the Local insisted the labels be put on. Later word from the Union headquarters drove the Local into the corner in the matter of labels, but the Local decided to urge hotelmen and other union members to demand a union label on barrels of Rieker beer.

Sprenger's bottlers refused to join the brewery workers' Local according to the 8 September 1918 minutes, a position the Local refused to accept. A motion was adopted that "they must join."

At the 8 December 1918 meeting announcement was made that at Rieker's three union employees will be laid off in rotation every week at the present. Haefner's shop delegate reported at the 12 January 1919 meeting that the brewery was employing a non-union man, whereupon the Local decided to give the man an application form. The 9 February 1919 get-together of the Local resulted in a lengthy discussion over Rieker's "lay-off" procedures with complaints being made that the engineer was not required to take his turn in being furloughed. This criticism was met with the statement that the engineer was "too important to lay-off." More reports were made of non-union men working in the area breweries, but the Local decided "to take all men in as long as there is no one out of work."

Agreeing with the Central Labor Union that the Conestoga Traction Company was "unfair to organized labor," the Local endorsed whatever action the CLU planned to take against the trolley company. The head of the trolley company was not a particularly

warm friend of the brewers inasmuch as his support of the Prohibition Amendment as a congressman meant loss of jobs for members of the Local. At the same meeting on 24 February 1919, the Columbia Brewery was reported closed, and George Moser was out of work. He was directed to apply to Haefner's for a job then being held by a non-union man, and if he was not hired Mr. Moser was to inform the Local's secretary. Haefner's refused, and the Local mulled that over for several meetings, and finally dropped the matter into the lap of the International Office. Dissention broke out over the bottlers having to pay only \$1.00 initiation fees and 50 cents per month dues. It was decided the bottlers would have to pay \$6.00 to become admitted to the Local, and they would be charged 75 cents dues. The meeting was enlivened further when a prominent member of the Local was fined 50 cents for misconduct. The Local made up its mind to participate in a St. Patrick's Day celebration, a decision which probably caused some grumbling among the German-American fraternity.

The 12 June 1919 meeting had the usual number of members being fined for absence, being granted withdrawal and renewal cards, and being given permits for working. One member was fined \$5 for working overtime as a fireman at Sprenger's. Bruno Teichert's alleged statement that he would not take out his citizenship papers caused consternation among the members, with the result that his case was sent to the Executive Board for action. Mr. Teichert admitted his remarks. Another member reported also that the erring brewer "had been reporting everything concerning the Union to the foreman." He was fined \$10.00. At the 24 June 1919 meeting the \$5 fine for overtime was refunded to the Sprenger firemen. The members were not as well-disposed toward Brother Teichert, for they ordered him expelled from the Union. To make other members more conscious of their obligations to the Union, a resolution was adopted which provided expulsion for any member who "told the Boss or anyone outside the Union anything pertaining to the Union."

An allegation that Sprenger's delivered beer on Labor Day after the hours allowed by the Union resulted in that company being fined \$25 by the Union at the 3 September 1919 meeting. It was decided at this time to ask the breweries for a two-dollar increase in wages. Later a contract committee was appointed as listed:

Haefner's Brewery: James Donnelly (bottlers), Joseph Leicht, Sr., and Charles Wright (brewing).

Sprenger's Brewery: Frank Grimm, Jacob Shank, and Charles Kendig.

Wacker's Brewery: John Schlegel, Joseph Gaenzel, Jr., and Joseph Gaenzel, Sr.

Rieker's Brewery: Ludwig Stoeckl, Walter Stoll, and Martin Boxleitner.

The brewers refused to sign the proffered contract, but the Local stood by its guns. Again the Columbia Brewery incurred the wrath of the Local for employing non-union labor, and the Local voted to withdraw its contract from the brewery. At the 13 May 1920 meeting the Local adopted a resolution supporting the Lancaster School Teachers Association which was negotiating with the School Board for increased wages. (The teachers walked out, and were replaced.)

By 12 August 1920 the vexation with the Columbia Brewery reached the point where the Local placed Columbia Brewery on the "Unpatronage List." Another Columbia brewery, the Kloidt Brewing Company, first appeared in the minutes for 14 October 1920, an earlier date than we have from other records for the existence of that brewery. By December three employees of Kloidt's had been initiated, and Ross Herr had been appointed shop delegate. On 9 December 1920 Lancaster breweries were distressed somewhat, and it was reported employees were losing one or two days' work a week. By 10 February 1921 the employment situation had worsened, with Rieker's and the Columbia Brewery being closed entirely, and shortened work weeks at Sprenger's (4 days), Wacker's (5 days), and Haefner's (3 days). The Local decided this was a poor time to prod the breweries on the new contract. On 10 March 1921 the Local's secretary was directed to take the contract to the "bosses" for their signatures. By 14 April the contract had not made the rounds of the brewery managements, so the Local appointed a committee to take the contract to the employers. The committee admitted at the 4 May 1921 meeting that they had not commenced their work, and their reluctance to discharge their responsibilities continued until the 14 July meeting when they were "dismissed without thanks." A resolution was adopted that two men from each brewery be appointed to see the "bosses."

Sprenger's: Joseph Grassel and Jacob Loercher

Wacker's: Ludwig Stoeckl and Willis Moore

Rieker's: Charles Wright and John Schlegel

Haefner's: Joseph Leicht, Jr. and Joseph Schlegel

The Local adopted a resolution on 8 December 1921 which urged Gifford Pinchot to accept the nomination for Governor of Pennsylvania, assured, apparently that the independent Republican was no friend of the Prohibitionists.

On 12 January 1922 the Local requested a copy of the contract in force at the LaCrosse Brewing Co. in Kansas to make a comparison with local contract provisions, wage rates, and hours. Still trying to muster support for ending Prohibition, the Local asked the American Legion to endorse a repeal of the Volstead Act. Rieker's shop delegate reported the chief engineer at that plant had his wages cut \$13 a week, and the other employees were working only every other week. Haefner's shop delegate asserted Joseph Leicht, Sr. was employed as a night watchman at \$20 a week. Still trying to get a contract signed, the Local on 9 March 1922 appointed two men from each brewery to interview the employers to have them renew the old contracts. A wave of relief swept the members at the 13 April meeting when the delegates from Wacker's and Sprenger's breweries reported those managements agreed to renew the old contracts. During the summer of 1922 the Local struggled to have Haefner's Brewery employ only members of the Local or men to whom the Local had granted permits. Some problem at the Rieker plant bothered the Local during much of 1922, but the minutes are singularly circumspect. Whatever was the irritation, the International Office seemed to be handling the matter more to the advantage of the brewery than to the Local.

Rieker's had a new engineer and Sprenger's had a new fireman, according to the delegates at the 11 January 1923 meeting, and both men had quit by the 8 February meeting. Wacker's fireman also quit his job. In March one of Rieker's men reported his wages had been cut. Wacker's, Haefner's, and Sprenger's had hired some new employees. During the summer of 1923 the minutes of the Local are filled with reports of men being hired and then quitting in the local breweries. In September it was decided to send a twoman team to the Columbia Brewery to have a contract signed. A resolution was adopted that the Local ask a one-dollar increase in wages from the breweries. By the 11 October meeting, the members had done some reflecting on their previous "rash" acts, and decided to withdraw their request for an increase of one dollar; moreover, a delegate of the Central Labor Union was given the chore of presenting the contract to the Columbia Brewery, and with it a demand that the brewery increase wages there by two dollars. A week later the Local appointed a committee of its own men to call upon the the Columbia Brewery with a contract which, by this time, called for a three-dollar increase for men who lived in Lancaster (to cover car fare). Eventually "Brother Evans" made the trip to Columbia, for which he was appropriated three dollars for car fare and expenses.

Grumbling was heard at the 10 January 1924 meeting because the Central Labor Union raised the rent. The Local adopted a resolution to contribute \$5.00 to the German Labor Fund. The minute book comes to an end with the 14 February 1924 meeting at which time it was decided to send the Local President and Brother Evans to Columbia with regard to the contract. But, alas, we know not if the contract was signed!

A few observations ought to be made concerning the influence and affairs of Local 206 as suggested by the entries of its minute book for 1915-1924. First it must be understood the period covered by the minutes hardly represents a typical decade of union activity; both brewers and employees were locked in a desperate struggle with the forces of Prohibition, and having lost, were trying to salvage what they could for their respective interests. This decade was not a time for making unusual demands, and the few requests for increased wages that were made were pitifully ineffective. With what could they enforce demands? There were periods of slackened employment in the industry, and employers were not compelled to permit without prejudice Union efforts to organize or recognize seniority. On the other hand, officers of Local 206 showed little inclination to use any measures stronger than mild persuasion. It would appear the officers tended to "pass the buck" to shop delegates or small committees of employees for negotiations with the employers. Collective bargaining had not been recognized at that time, and few employees had the fortitude to request contractual changes. Perhaps there was some intimidation or fear of intimidation. At times the breweries—the Lancaster plants, at least showed a readiness to comply with Union requests, and on one occasion the action of brewery workers leaving their jobs brought a prompt and rewarding change of attitude from the employers. Sufficent evidence lurks between the lines of the minutes to indicate those officers and members who *did* approach the brewers for discussions were quite successful, whereas those who were given such assignments but failed to act on them in a responsible manner never had any progress to report. Little effort was made by the Local to insist that its negotiating members carry out their obligations. The question of ethnic closeness may have been a factor. Were the brewery workers-nearly all of them immigrants or sons of immigrants from southern Germany-too closely associated with their employers and "bosses" to use their collective power effectively? Were they reluctant to cause a stir "within the family"?

Its actions and minute entries suggest the Local was a humane albeit pragmatic organization. It fussed and fumed at each meeting about the unending task of collecting dues from delinquent members; it fined its members with magnificent impartiality for misconduct during meetings; and it ranted and raved about non-union men taking jobs away from the Local's members. Yet the Local's officers (and nearly all the members became officers at one time or another) were quick to forgive; about one-third of the fines imposed were refunded; the misbehaving members were elected or appointed to responsible posts after being reprimanded and fined; and the "scabs" denounced at a previous meeting were welcomed with cordiality to the brotherhood at the following gathering. The Local's members were generous to their departed comrades' families, and tended to their ill brethren. The motto of Local 206-at least from 1915 to 1924-might well have been "Half a loaf is better than none."

What the union accomplished from 1900 to 1915 would be interesting to the historian; logic suggests this was the "active and aggressive" period. But we know the ship of logic has foundered on the rocks of many human institutions. Perhaps these records will turn up some day.

It has come to our attention that jurisdictional disputes between the American Federation of Labor's brewery workers and teamsters unions resulted in Local 206 casting its lot with the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) after 1935, and until the merger of the AFL-CIO. This move also took the local brewery workers out of the Central Labor Union. Although the Wacker Brewery closed in 1956, the Local did not return its charter and modern records until 5 February 1964. Last secretaries of Local 206 were John H. Kirchner, Sr. (1956 to 1961), Donald Eckman (1961 to 1963), and Amos Ulmer (1963 to 1964). Towards the end of the Local's existence, beer distributors' employees outnumbered the brewers' employees. The closing membership roll for 1951 showed these brewing employees:

> Louis Bauer John Burnhart George Danz Ferdinand Gegg August Gegg Joseph Gerstl Robert Hull John Kirchner Francis Kirchner Walter Leschke William Lobeck Mert Rhine Mathias Schmalhofer Charles Snyder James Snyder

We are grateful to Karl F. Feller, International President of the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink and Distillery Workers of America (AFL-CIO); Norman B. Neff of the Lancaster Central Labor Union; and Wilmer J. Eshleman and other officers of the Lancaster Liederkranz for their generous assistance in the preparation of this chapter. The authors assume all responsibility for interpretations of the material examined.

CHAPTER VI

LANCASTER COUNTY BREWERIES DURING PROHIBITION

The "prohibitionist" impulse is thought to be rooted in irrational and prejudiced mentalities. The thinking processes of prejudiced persons differ rather greatly from those of tolerant persons, not only on specific issues, but toward life in general. The prejudiced person seeks ample answers to complex social problems; moreover, he tended to see life as a clear-cut struggle between good and evil.¹ There can be no compromise in the battle between goodness and evil: either a person is for righteousness or he is for sin. Any effort less than an "all-out" assault on the forces of evil is a compromise to some degree with sin. Hence Prohibition, to be successful, had to be an extreme effort in which moderation was equated with sin.

Crusaders for prohibition of the alcohol traffic were guided by numerous motives, many of them being completely sincere and laudable. Other motives were a melancholy assortment of psychopathic prejudice against organized wrong,² a craze for power, release from tension, and blind bigotry. In the uproar over the fanatical efforts to impose Prohibition, the more sensible, medical, moral and economic reasons for advocating prohibition were lost.

In 1833 the first National Temperance Convention met in Philadelphia, followed three years later by another in which beer and wine were condemned as well as hard liquor. Westerville, Ohio, was the site of the foundation of the National Temperance Society in 1856. Ohio became a stronghold of temperance advocates. The National Prohibition Party was organized in Chicago in 1869, and seven years later it urged the adoption of a constitutional amendment which would outlaw intoxicating beverages. The Women's Christian Temperance Union held its first National Convention in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1874. Organization of the Anti-Saloon League occurred in 1893 in Oberlin, Ohio. But it remained for World War I to provide the thrust required to make Prohibition an actuality.

Use of scarce grain, manpower and coal for brewing and distilling distressed many persons who previously did not share too much of the zealots' enthusiasm for Prohibition. Moreover, the dry crusaders had learned something about the political mentality, and were becoming much more effective in handling politicians. Theodore Roosevelt, for example, passed through a series of positions on Prohibition in response to the clamor of the drys. In 1908 Roosevelt suggested to William Howard Taft that "If ever there was a wicked attitude it is that of those fantastic extremists who advocate a law so drastic that it cannot be enforced, knowing perfectly well that lawlessness and contempt of the law follow. My experience with Prohibitionists, however, is that the best way to deal with them is to ignore them."³ By 1915 Roosevelt was ready to go along with the Prohibitionists if he intended to make another try for the Presidency.⁴ Wayne Wheeler, head of the Anti-Saloon League, saw to it that the Ohio Governor M. T. Herrick was defeated because he vetoed a local option bill. Wheeler now boasted that "Never again will any political party ignore the protests of the church and moral forces of the state."⁵

In 1917 President Wilson asked Congress to adopt a wartime food control measure which turned into a battle between the dry and wet forces, the former demanding the outlawing of alcoholic beverage manufacture, and the latter threatening to filibuster the bill to death. Wilson arranged a compromise with the drys to outlaw the making only of distilled liquors with the President being given the authority to limit or prohibit the making of wine and beer.⁸ On 11 December 1917 grain going into brewing was reduced thirty per cent, and the legal alcoholic content of beer was reduced to $2\frac{3}{4}\%$ by weight, or 3.48% by volume. In May 1917 Congress banned sales of alcoholic beverages to men in uniform. The U.S. Senate approved the submission of the Eighteenth Amendment to the states on 1 August 1917, and on 17 December 1917 the House of Representatives concurred. The first state to ratify the Eighteenth Amendment was Mississippi on 8 January 1918, the thirty-sixth state was Nebraska on 16 January 1919. On 16 January 1920 the Eighteenth Amendment became effective, and no more was it legal to produce, sell, or transport liquors for beverage purposes. But Lancaster had gone dry on June 1919.

It will be noted that the wartime food control measure which brought about wartime Prohibition was put into effect six months after the signing of the armistice. Another factor which worked to the advantage of the Prohibitionists was a Senate enquiry into German brewers in America and their alleged support of propaganda designed to keep the United States out of war. Nothing came out of the enquiry to show that the majority of German-American brewers were anything other than patriotic Americans who had a healthy dislike of the Kaiser. Booklets entitled, "How the War Came to America," were distributed to members of Local Union No. 206, International Union of the United Brewery Workers of America, at their 23 December 1917 meeting in Lancaster.⁷ Shop delegates were instructed to obtain the dates when foreign-born members of the Brewery Workers' Union in Lancaster took out their first papers for naturalization.⁸ Members were asked to report how many Liberty Bonds they had bought.⁹ Charges were heard at the 12 June 1919 meeting of the Brewery Workers that Bruno Teichert of Rieker Brewery "made the remark that he would not take out his citizenship papers." At a special meeting held 24 June 1919, Mr. Teichert appeared and admitted his refusal to obtain citizenship papers, whereupon he was dismissed from the Union, and his employer notified to discharge him at once.¹⁰ There is no evidence recorded that Mr. Teichert was discharged, but he later became a citizen, and led an exemplary life until his death 31 March 1963.

The Local Union was active during the battle to obtain Prohibition. Walter Kohler of Rieker's, Lloyd Stott of Haefner's, Martin Boas of Wacker's, and George Moser of the Columbia Brewery, were appointed to place Anti-Prohibition literature in hotels and barbershops.¹¹ Telegrams were sent to Congressman W. W. Griest and Senator Boies Penrose, urging them to vote against Prohibition bills. The Local's minutes report, "Two answers were received and read from the telegrams, one from Senator Penrose answered favorable to our cause; the second reply was from W. W. Griest, our Congressman . . . the tone of the reply was not so favorable."¹² The delivery of "near beer" by non-union men bothered the International Union, but the Local Union in 1917 reported "the product has not as yet made its appearance here."¹³ On 13 April 1919 the Local Union sent communications to their congressmen and senators urging them to pass the $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent beer bill.¹⁴ A telegram was sent to President Wilson on 12 June 1919 requesting him to withdraw wartime Prohibition and to allow brewing of $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent beer.¹⁵

With the advent of National Prohibition brewers sought new products to keep their plants and manpower busy. Some brewers went to court to have beer containing 2.75 per cent alcohol by weight declared non-intoxicating, because beer that low in alcohol strength would make a person sick from excessive fluid intake before it would cause drunkenness. The courts stood by the Volstead Act, however, which set $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1% by volume as the maximum limit for a non-intoxicating beverage. Breweries began making cereal beverages, a product manufactured by either checking the fermentation processs or de-alcoholizing real beer. Needless to say, the making of cereal beverages was not far removed from the brewing of real beer, and there are evidences that occasionally the brewery workers forgot which product they were brewing, an oversight which rarely resulted in disciplinary measures by the management. Other products turned out by the brewers were industrial alcohol. ice cream, malt syrup and extract, meat products, spaghetti and macaroni. The cereal beverages were not received with as much enthusiasm as real beer. Some of the cereal beverages were YIP, PABLO (Pabst), FAMO (Joseph Schlitz), VIVO (Miller Brewing Co.), QUIZZ (Wiedemann), and LUX-O (Stroh Brewing Co.). In Lancaster Haefner's Brewery made TIVOLI, a cereal beverage. Wacker Brewing Company advertised "cereal beverage and soft drinks" and Sprenger Brewing Company urged its customers to drink its RED ROSE cereal beverage.¹⁶ Local brewers usually ran an ice-manufacturing business on the side to keep their huge ice machines in operation.

During the first years of Prohibition, very few persons regarded it as a serious matter. Beer was being brewed in large quantities, in large breweries and in makeshift basement enterprises; the laws were not being enforced; and crime had become rampant. Numerous critics of Prohibition saw the "Noble Experiment" as contributing nothing to the improvement of American life; indeed, since Prohibition all that had occurred was the economic ruin of honest brewers, the unemployment of brewery and container workers, the lowering of the quality of beverages now obtainable, and the immense rise in organized crime, vice and immorality.

Lancaster was not an exception. Barley malt and the other ingredients of beer were trucked into many of the local establishments, and kegs of beer were trucked out. The police were not unaware of the illicit brewing operations. Despite the efforts of a political "reform" group which swept into power in Lancaster city in 1923, the production of beer went on merrily. When asked how this violation of the laws could be carried on openly and without much danger, a former brewery employee replied, "All that was necessary was to pay the right people, particularly the police and the politicians."¹⁷ A city which had the reputation of being the "brewing capital" of Pennsylvania could not be expected to submit to Prohibition without a struggle.

Local "bootleggers" (makers of illegal beer and other alcoholic beverages) had little to bother them until 1930 when the Bureau of Prohibition was taken from the Treasury Department and placed under the Department of Justice. The next year the Wickersham Commission Report was made public, and more clamor arose to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment. But the years 1930 to 1933 were to become filled with efforts of local brewers to outwit the newly rejuvenated federal agents.

One of the first and largest raids on a local bootlegger was in November 1927, when federal agents swooped down on the old Lancaster Soap Factory on South Prince Street where they found 500 gallons of 197 proof liquor which could have been cut to make 2000 gallons of whiskey.¹⁸ The beer raids were to follow.

On 19 May 1930 federal prohibition agents entered a large garage in the rear of 140-142 Old Dorwart Street in Lancaster, and were astonished to find a fully-equipped racking room, complete with air compressor, more than 1000 beer kegs, and other apparatus for filling beer kegs. The agents also found a two-inch pipe entering the garage from beneath the ground. A number of men, identified as brewery workers, were seen entering and leaving the garage regularly, causing the agents to conclude "something was going on inside." A court order was placed on the garage 29 August 1930 which directed that the equipment therein should not be disturbed, but that the kegs were to be removed. The agents contended before Federal Court Judge William Kirkpatrick that the court order had been violated, and that beer was being distributed from the Rieker Brewery several hundred yards northwest through a pipe to the garage. The government asked that the garage be placed in the custody of the U.S. Marshal, and that the garage owner forfeit a \$10.000 bond.¹⁹

Years before, Frank Rieker had a dispute with the city over the cost of water supplied to the brewery, with the result that Rieker installed a large pump over a spring near the corner of Old Dorwart and Manor streets, in the rear of what had been the Strand Theatre. An underground pipe took the water to the brewery. Later the water dispute was settled, and the pipeline fell into disuse until the Prohibition Era. At one time the pipe line had to be repaired or re-routed during Prohibition. An auger was used to bore under First Street. The pipe meandered through a First Street cellar where a control valve was located, and under backyards to the pump house near Manor Street.

The Rieker Brewery obtained a permit to manufacture cereal beverages, and about this time the Rieker family leased its property to some Reading interests. Ownership of the brewery was vested in the Lancaster Security Real Estate Company, comprised of members of the Rieker family.

Rieker Brewery's permit expired on 1 January 1931. At that time, an inventory was made by government inspectors who found 3765 barrels of high power beer on the premises. A raid of the brewery was made 23 January at which time it was discovered 540 barrels of beer had disappeared from the brewery. On 6 July 1931 government attorneys went before the Federal Court to seek an order to destroy the brewery equipment and several thousand barrels of beer remaining in the brewery. Attorneys for the brewery argued that the government did not have the right to destroy \$200,000 worth of equipment.²⁰ Moreover, the attorneys for the brewery claimed the State Police had destroyed some beer, that they emptied vats until six inches of beer were on the cellar floor. The State Police denied destroying any beer.²¹ On 31 July 1931 federal agents again raided the Rieker brewery. This time they seized 375 barrels of alleged recently brewed beer, and arrested two men on duty at the brewery, Fritz Schroeder and Joseph Magestro. When Deputy Prohibition Agent Solomon Simmons made his inspection tour of the Rieker plant the night of 31 July, he was astounded to find the brewery running "full-blast." He was even more surprised to find the brewery was being guarded by his own prohibition agents. The Federal Court had ordered 3194 barrels of high power beer destroyed following the 23 January raid. The U.S. Marshal supposedly executed the order of the court. However Agent Simmons discovered the 375 barrels were not part of the 3194 barrels destroyed. The brewery was given ten days to appeal the decision of the court to destroy the beer.²² Attorneys for the brewery appeared in Federal Court for a hearing on the most recent raid. On 22 August 1931 attorneys argued the art of brewing at length. The preliminary hearing of Messrs. Schroeder and Magestro before U. S. Commissioner K. L. Shirk, Sr. revealed that the two men had been admitted to the brewery by a U.S. Deputy Marshal who was on guard at the door. The brewery was allowed to use maintenance and plant protection men to protect the beer in the vats and keep the refrigeration machinery in operating condition. Agents testified they found Magestro in the cooling room and Schroeder was found in the cellar vat storage area. Magestro was ordered to return to tending the refrigeration machinery. Both men were arrested later when they were caught while washing down the floor of the vat room, allegedly to remove traces of brewing operations. Samples were taken from the vats and analyzed. One sample tested showed 4% alcohol, the other was 0.68% alcohol. The government chemist testified that one vat contained new brew, not yet in a state of fermentation. Lengthy arguments ensued over whether the beer found at the Rieker brewery was brewed by steam or cold water methods.²³

Agents testified in Federal Court on 3 September 1931 that they had again raided the Rieker Brewery and confiscated 634 barrels of high test beer, but that 555 barrels had disappeared before an order to destroy could be obtained.²⁴ Meanwhile Fritz Schroeder and Joseph Magestro were released in \$1500 bail each. Deputy Attorney General Brown compared this case with that of eight men arrested in a previous raid on the brewery and whose cases were The government contended Schroeder and Magestro dismissed. were employees being paid to tend the vats while the beer was being manufactured.²⁵ On 25 September 1931 the Federal Court refused to destroy the brewery equipment, now valued at one million dollars. Judge W. D. Dickinson ruled that the federal agents did not possess a search warrant, and therefore did not legally come into the possession of the property the government desired to destroy. Robert Young, head of the Government Brewery Squad, said he inspected the brewery buildings and found 79 of the 634 barrels of beer seized in a raid some months earlier. He also discovered changes in the plant which should not have been made. Congressman Benjamin M. Golder represented the brewery before the Federal Court. and presented the final arguments.²⁶

The Greeks had their tragic heroes—human and admirable fellows often—whose fatal defects were their undoing. Public officials, and members of the Bench and Bar in the Prohibition Era had their *hamartia* as well. In the legal maneuvering which allowed the breweries to continue their illicit activities one must not assume that the judges and lawyers were nearly all corrupt. The law protected property rights over social legislation in those days because without property rights being held secure, human liberties are meaningless. It is not the purpose of the authors to pass judgment on the public figures. Some were weak, others were able to resist the temptations so prevalent in that era; most simply did what seemed reasonable under the circumstances.

On 11 March 1932 the prohibition agents had a field day. After two raids the Federal Court ordered the dismantling of J. Frank and David Bowman's Fulton Hotel bar, and Archie Condo's Spring Garden Hotel bar. A Federal Grand Jury indicted Alois Edtmiller, proprietor of Stumpf's Hotel on Manor Street; William Sample (Rising Sun Hotel, Columbia); Rocco DiCondina and Giuseppe Zangari,

operators of a still in Brecknock Township; and George Bixler (Montrose Club, Shillington).²⁷ Judge John M. Groff and District Attorney Paul A. Mueller, Sr. opened a drive against vice and gambling, and to implement this campaign, Judge Groff angrily lectured sixteen constables on their failures to report to the court all violations known to them. "Clean up or clear out," was Judge Groff's raging threat.²⁸ The next day, 15 March 1932, Judge Groff ordered a slot machine probe in Lancaster.²⁹ Some disquieting rumors began circulating which clearly placed the city police chief in the position of having accepted \$10 weekly pay-offs at one of the raided hotels. Mayor T. Warren Metzger made the headlines on 16 March 1932 by launching a probe of the police department, and the next day he suspended the police chief.³⁰ But suspension of the police official didn't cause as much excitement as the announcement that Andrew H. Flick, a city employee, while repairing a sewer, had "found" a rubber hose in the sewer at the intersection of West King and Pine streets.³¹ It was an 18-inch sewer, too small for a man of normal size to crawl through. Speculation about the source and termination of the hose became the sport of the day. The daily newspapers kept readers posted on the latest discoveries of hose. Constable Abner Hull remembered seeing beer kegs on trucks for four months in a vacant warehouse at 112 North Water Street.³² State Police took over the Water Street investigation, and traced the hose through the Water Street sewer to the location reported by Constable Hull.³³ Inside the building were found pipes and coils. There did not seem to be any connexion to the sewer, but fresh concrete patches were seen on the floor. The doors were protected by heavy steel plates. A large tank mounted on a truck was found.

City workmen then began the tedious job of recovering the hose. By 21 March 250 feet of beer hose had been taken from the West King Street sewer. The hose was found to be high grade three-inch brewery hose valued about two dollars per foot. The hose was fitted with unique couplings.³⁴ Melting snow and heavy rains made the task almost impossible, but by 23 March 1000 feet of hose had been recovered.³⁵ Meanwhile, Lt. John Kirchner was placed in charge of the investigation, assisted by Lt. Ray Charles, Sgt. Mott, and Patrolmen Wenninger and Steffy. Frank Bradycamp, Police Captain, was named Acting Chief, succeeding Chief Whitcomb who resigned prior to a public hearing called by City Council.³⁶

As more information came to light, it became possible to piece together the rather bizarre details of the beer hose. Lt. Kirchner believed the hose was placed in the sewer during the winter of 1931-1932. The origin of the hose was the Rieker Brewery. After leaving the brewery via the sewer, the hose was placed in the West King Street sewer as far as Water Street, four squares away. The hose went up Water Street, under West Orange Street, to 112 North Water Street, where it entered the "vacant" warehouse via the Arch Street diagonal interceptor sewer. Some stories contained additional details, the veracity of which may be doubted. The *Intelligencer* Journal took more than the usual amount of interest in the matter and concluded there was more to the story than what the male sleuths of the Republican-oriented *New Era* discovered. Under the headline, "Enormous Rats Supplant Breweries Big Horses as Beer Takes to Sewers," Betty Blair of the *Intell* staff described the slimy depths of the sewer system and its strange cargo. Donning rubber boots, hat and coat, Miss Blair shocked hardened sewer employees by descending into the West King Street sewer herself. Her explorations were fruitless, however, because rats as large as cats overwhelmed her curiosity, bringing an early end to the subterranean snooping.³⁷

Herbert Krone of the New Era staff was of the opinion that the hose had been run through the sewer only a few weeks before it was discovered. The question of how the hose was put in the sewer. and who did it, caused no small amount of speculation. It was theorized that the Max Hassel gang of Reading had a hand in the matter. One Mike Benedict, a Hassel lieutenant, allegedly was in charge of the Rieker Brewery operations. Hassel, a former newsboy, had risen to become a notorious "beer baron."39 The hose was supposed to have been inserted in the sewer by two "human rats" actually dwarfs who made a profession of crawling through sewer pipes-imported from New Jersey. The procedure was to disconnect a section of sewer between manholes and drain that section of the sewer. Then the "human rat" went down into the sewer to lay the beer hose. Ropes with cork floats allegedly were used as "fish lines" for drawing the hose lengths from one manhole to the next.⁴⁰ Technical engineering for the hose line, couplings, and method of placement was attributed to a mechanic-steamfitter employed by a local concern on East Chestnut Street near Ann Street. Whether the mechanic's nickname, "Honey," originated with the sewer project has not been disclosed.⁴¹

It has been learned also that when the beer line was first used, the bootleggers waiting in the racking room at 112 North Water Street, were chagrined to find the beer arriving boiling hot, not a desirable condition at all, even for bootleg booze. (It must be remembered Lancaster brewers were proud of their skill.) Investigation revealed the Manhattan Laundry on West King Street, west of Water Street, discharged live steam into the sewer. The beer hose became heated by the laundry's steam exhaust.⁴² This problem was solved by the installation of a force pump at the brewery.⁴³

News of the beer hose in the sewer flashed around the world. The Madras, India, *Mail* informed its readers:

Lancaster is holding its side with laughter (sic) following the discovery by workmen engaged in repairs of an elaborate system of bootleggers' beer lines running through a section of the city's drains. The bootleggers, however, have been disappointed with the working of their beer line owing to the delivery of the beer on the boil, because the pipe passes by discharges of steam from the many factories in the city.⁴⁴

Other hoses had been found in sewers in the city previously, but no one seemed to know what they were doing in the sewers, where they originated or where they terminated. Indeed, only sections were found, and these never received much publicity.

Now that the city was safely out of Democratic-Coalition control, and the Metzger Administration was in power, the editor of the *Intelligencer-Journal* was able to sniff editorially. "So the Prohibition officials and the local police force say they are in doubt about where the beer on tap around Lancaster comes from. If they do not know, every one of them ought to be sent to a deaf and dumb asylum for treatment, because everyone else in Lancaster knows where it comes from. "Pursuing the matter further, the editor asked, "How come a certain policeman is always at a certain box at 10 a.m. on the mornings the beer is run out of a local brewery?"⁴⁵

The quantity of beer thought to have been sent through the hose was that great that officials assumed other breweries in Lancaster were transporting their beer in trucks to Rieker Brewery to be aged before being pumped through the sewer to the racking hideaway.

About 1928 the Rieker Brewery was padlocked for a year, but then the plant was permitted to resume operations to make cereal beverage of less than one-half of one per cent alcohol. When the permit was again revoked on 1 January 1931, a large quantity of high power beer was on hand. This was to be disposed of eventually, but until that time it was to be checked periodically by agents of the State Permit Board. Although raided frequently, the brewery "management" seemed able to frustrate efforts by the State Permit Board and prohibition agents to obtain orders to destroy the beer, or, at least, padlock the brewery. The quantity of beer on hand seemed to vary, and later it was learned the bootleggers had been drawing upon this stock, and then replenishing it from illicit brewing operations. When the brewery was razed in 1941, demolition workers discovered a "brewery within a brewery," a plant in which brewing could be carried on without attracting attention outside. Three 800-gallon tanks in a secret chamber accessible only by climbing through a window were found in 1941. The tanks now serve as oil storage containers at the Closure Plant of Armstrong Cork Company.⁴⁶ Water for the illicit brewing was "tapped" from the city water main in West King Street from an unmetered connexion.

Special Deputy Attorney General William H. Knauer went before the Common Pleas Court in Lancaster, sitting in Equity, to have the brewery padlocked. The plea was entered 24 March 1932 with the Commonwealth as plaintiff, and F. A. Rieker Brewing Co. and Lancaster Security Real Estate Co. and Michael Benedict as defendants. After lengthy arguments over jurisdiction of the court, a petition to dismiss the bill for lack of jurisdiction was thrown out. Eventually the case went to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, which issued a decree on 27 February 1933, enjoining the brewery owners from using, maintaining or assisting in using and maintaining the premises as a place where intoxicating liquors may be manufactured, sold, furnished or possessed. On 7 April 1933 the nation rejoiced to the return of 3.2% beer, and the State Supreme Court decree was modified the same day to permit padlocks and notices to be removed from the Rieker Brewery by the sheriff after a \$500 bond was given.⁴⁷

Mr. Benedict's troubles multiplied on 14 June 1932 when he, as the alleged operator of the Rieker Brewery, along with Abe Buzzanski, his body-guard, were indicted for trying to bribe an officer. According to the New Era, Benedict was "public enemy No. 1." Messrs. Benedict and Buzzanski were accused of offering \$100 to William Jimcousky of Harrisburg, an inspector of the State Alcohol Permit Board, following a recent inspection of the brewery.⁴⁸ Benedict won a delay in the trial, and the case was expected to go to argument court.49 However, Benedict was discovered trying to tamper with the Grand Jury of the June 1932 term of Criminal Court, and District Attorney Mueller charged him and five other hoodlums with embracery, and that pretty well finished up the saga of Hassel, Benedict & Co. in Lancaster. District Attorney Paul A. Mueller and the new Lancaster Police Commissioner, Daniel B. Strickler [now Lt. General Strickler] cracked down on the gangster elements and before long these two courageous public officials had cleaned up Lancaster. No one, in high position or low, was immune from prosecution if involved with lawbreaking.

Not all the bootlegging excitement was limited to the Rieker Brewery in Lancaster. On 20 July 1931 police were along the Lincoln Highway between Wrightsville and York looking for chicken thieves when they saw a convoy of closed trucks led by two highpowered cars rolling along toward York. What made the police sit up and take notice was the darkened tail light on the last truck, a rather serious violation of the motor vehicle law. As the policemen raced up to the offending truck, the rest of the convoy dashed off. The driver's companion jumped from the truck and headed for the fields, opening gunfire on the pursuing officer, before escaping. The somewhat shaken young driver of the truck was left to explain the unlit tail lamp and the rather unorthodox behavior of his partner. Upon investigating the defective lamp, the police were amazed to find the truck contained 60 barrels of beer. The driver of the truck had come from Columbia, but he knew not the origin of the beer, nor did he know who owned the truck. Somehow the police were able to suspect a connexion between the truck convoy and the Columbia Brewery, an imposing structure on South Fourth Street.⁵⁰

Joseph Dierson, a "school" brewmaster, had leased the brewery but actual operations were in charge of Mathias Schmalhofer. A permit to make cereal beverages had been granted to the Columbia Brewery which employed the de-alcoholization process. It would seem the lessees of the Columbia Brewery in 1931-1932 were Morris and Philip Knoblauch of Reading, whose many interests included the holding of real estate.⁵¹

The State Alcohol Permit Board began to take a dim view of the headiness of the Columbia Brewery's cereal beverage. At 4:00 A.M., 23 June 1932, the State Police led personally by Superintendent Lynn G. Adams, battered their way into the brewery. Two truckloads of beer ready to leave were seized, and seven employees were taken into custody. The police fell to the task of destroying the more than 200,000 gallons of beer stored in barrels and vats with such earnestness they failed to pour coal oil into the doomed frothy liquid—a standard procedure to discourage consumption of the illicit brew. Before long, sensitive noses began sniffing the aroma which the early morning breezes wafted over drowsy Columbia. Long lines of citizens, old and young, were seen trooping down Fourth Street from Locust, Union and Cherry streets. The Fourth Street sewer carried the brewery discharge down to Shawnee Run, a block from the brewery, where the frothing amber liquid spilled out into the stream. Scores of men, women and children splashed around in the mouth of the sewer, scooping up the sudsy effluent. More adventurous souls waded up the sewer to the brewery discharge inlet where they rescued the beer as it poured into the sewer, then relatively uncontaminated by other wastes. A New Era photographer joined the wading throng to get a photograph of the greatest beer party in Columbia's venerable history. Before the beer stopped flowing thousands of gallons had gone down the drains. Mothers and fathers who feared to risk their lives in the slippery sewer sent their more agile children down into the stream to pass up buckets and pitchers of beer, according to the New Era. Several souls became so hilarious during the salvage operations that they poured beer on each other, and splashed about with all the gay abandon of bathers in the surf.⁵² But thirsty citizens and hardworking police were not the only busy persons. Mathias Schmalhofer was distressed mightily to see the destruction of his product, and he importuned the brewery's Columbia lawyer to seek an early end to the mischief.

It was well-known that Judge John M. Groff was opposed vigorously to bootlegging, gambling, vice, and any other symptoms of immorality to be found in Lancaster County. Would the judge look with favor on destruction of illegal beer? Judge Benjamin Atlee, a less colorful personality, was committed to upholding the prohibition law in letter as well as in spirit. The brewery solicitor knew what he had to do.

Attorney M. Edna Hurst petitioned Judge Groff to halt the destruction of "cereal beverage" at the Columbia Brewery, and His Honor promptly granted the injunction, thereby stopping the vatdraining work of the police.⁵³ On 8 July 1932 the injunction expired. Special Deputy Attorney General William Knauer said the police had no intention of destroying property, but they staged the raid after brewery officials attempted to transport beer from the premises while padlocking proceedings were still pending. Judge Atlee, who expressed the opinion the brewery should be padlocked, left the bench for his chambers, leaving Judge Groff on the bench. Judge Groff overruled Knauer, saying, "I am not going to permit the destruction of any property at the brewery. Judge Atlee may padlock the brewery if he sees fit, but I will not allow the State Police to destroy any of the valuable equipment at the plant." Judge Atlee ordered the brewery padlocked after a discussion on whether a watchman stationed at the brewery—a suggestion by the brewery solicitor—would not suffice.⁵⁴ Oldtimers along Lawyer's Row recall that a resignation and a disbarment followed eventually.

Probably the most comical happening during the many frustrations experienced by the federal agents was the apprehension of Jack Fasig, an enormous and colorful former prizefighter, who lived on a "farm" on the outskirts of Manheim. An ambitious agent—it is alleged he wanted to make an example of Fasig who, he thought, was a simpleton as well as a rustic bootlegger-caught Jack in the act of brewing himself a frothy potion. To the casual onlooker, Mr. Fasig appeared to be an ungainly giant of somewhat retarded mentality and decidedly anti-social characteristics. Nothing could be farther from the truth, for Fasig was a man of uncommonly great intellect, and frequently he was charming and gentle. His knowledge of the classics in literature, poetry, serious music, the arts, history, and world affairs was astounding, despite his lack of formal higher education. Jack was hauled off to Federal Court to answer to charges of bootlegging, where, it was supposed, the majesty of the law would come crashing down upon him, deterring all weaker souls from ever again fiddling with malt and hops. On 19 June 1931, Jack Fasig, standing six feet, nine inches tall, and weighing 325 pounds, rose before the Federal Court, attired impeccably in formal day dress, and awed the court with his oratory. The prosecutor barely won his case as the amused judge fined Jack five dollars.⁵⁵

Police and agents nabbed Nelson Springer, described in the press as a "local beer baron," on 19 March 1932. They found 128 barrels of beer in his property located in the rear of the 500 block of Manor Street, off Lafayette Street.⁵⁶ Prohibition in Lancaster County is not one of the more savory aspects of our history. Supposed to have been related to bootlegging and organized crime in Lancaster was the still-unsolved murder of Lancaster Police Lt. Elwood Gainor, near Sharon Hill, Delaware County, on 28 March, 1927. Why the and gentlemen who took Lt. Gainor for his last ride wanted him eliminated from the local scene we probably shall never know. Certainly his knowledge of the bootlegging activities in Lancaster made him a marked man in the old Grant Street Police Station.⁵⁷

Stories abound in Lancaster concerning the antics of the bootleggers. Two such stories regarded as authentic describe the effectiveness of the bootleggers' logistics. Truck drivers wishing to leave the Wacker Brewery on West Walnut Street never were quite certain whether the local constabulary was snooping around the neighborhood until the enterprising bootleggers made arrangements with

the towerman at the Pennsylvania Railroad crossing at Walnut and Prince streets. Perched high above the intersection in his tower the gentleman had a clear view of persons and vehicles in the neighborhood. When the "way" was clear, a signal would be given. Another bootlegger, a civic-minded resident on High Street, became so disgusted with the city's refusal to pave his street, compelling him to drive his truck in from Lafavette Street, that he eventually paved the street out of his own pocket.⁵⁸ There can be no question that the Prohibition Era was Lancaster's darkest period. but we can be thankful there were a few brave, decent men who worked against the forces of crime and vice, and who won.

CHAPTER VII

A SHORT BIER FOR A LONG CORPSE

In the preceding pages we have attempted to describe the rise, eminence, and decline of the brewing industry in Lancaster County. A few observations would seem to be in order at this point.

The question may be asked, "What impact on our local, state and national history did the breweries of Lancaster County have?" We believe sufficient evidence has been presented to credit Lancaster with producing more beer than any other American city of similar size in the last century. St. Louis, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York were vastly larger cities. When German Baltimoreans preferred Lancaster beer to that of their own renowned breweries, and when Bostonians paid outlandish prices for our product, the *Daily Intelligencer* statement that Lancaster was the "Munich of the United States" does not seem to be a gross exaggeration.¹ To the manufactured products which made Lancaster famous in the nineteenth century—cotton and silk, textiles, iron manufacturing, locomotives, rifles, cigars, and umbrellas—we must add beer.

Readers may have been amazed to learn virtually all of the brewers and their employees were German immigrants, usually of the Roman Catholic faith; more important, perhaps, is the fact that they brought their market for beer with them. A study of naturalization petitions in Lancaster County reveals that between 1840 and 1865 many hundreds of immigrants from Baden, Bavaria, Wurttemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Prussia, Hanover and Saxony settled in Lancaster.² This factor often is overlooked.

Beer had a large amount of opposition to overcome because many of the rural folk had an affinity for whiskey. Distilling was a fairly large industry in Lancaster County, and many farms were equipped with pot stills.³ Moreover, distilling in those days was a much less complicated process than brewing lager beer. Our Pennsylvania-German forefathers tended to be quite tolerant of moderate drinking. Members of churches which condemned the use of alcoholic beverages later in the nineteenth century did not always respond enthusiastically to such orders. Beer has been regarded by many practical moralists as the "lesser of two evils." Even among the early Mennonites in America were found brewers and distillers; indeed, Abraham Overholt was a Mennonite, and his distillery eventually came into the possession of Schenley Industries which markets a whiskey named "Old Overholt."⁴

Much of the slaughter-house industry in Lancaster City developed as a result of the breweries. Hogs ate the spent mash, a waste product of the brewing process. Near every brewery were hog pens and slaughter houses. Fourteen butcher shops, many of them equipped for raising hogs, were located within a few squares of Rieker Brewery.⁵ Many more were situated in the southeast portion of the city near the Haefner, Sprenger, and Lion breweries.

We have asserted before that economic conditions forced the local brewers to halt operations. Generally, the breweries were too small to compete with the large chain-owned plants. Their equipment was obsolete, and required more employees than the automated plants of the new breweries. For example, a mechanized operation (Keg-O-Matic) which washed, cleaned, inspected, filled and palletized metal kegs eliminated 24 jobs in one department in a typical modern brewery.⁶ Local brewers did not have the capital available to invest in new plants and machinery. What occurred to Lancaster County brewers was general throughout the nation. Nor could they afford the multi-million dollar newspaper, magazine, radio and television advertising used by the major brewers. There may be some significance to the closing of the last three local breweries during the spectacular rise of the television industry with its many commercial messages by large breweries. With every bar equipped with television, the most ardent patron of local brews could not help being made familiar with the nationally-famous beers, and enticed to sample the beverages. The Wacker or Sprenger breweries did not have any good-looking girls or ruggedly handsome young men cavorting across the television screens; there was no "Miss Haefner" to catch the attention of beer-drinking males at the corner pub. Wacker's had enough problems without purchasing the television rights for baseball and football teams.

After World War II, small breweries began closing at an accelerated pace. These figures are indicative:

	•	0				
Year	Breweries in	U.S.A.	Breweries in	i Penna. Brei	weries in	Lancaster
1950	407		57		2	
1951	386		53		2	
1952	357		47		1	
1953	329		44		1	
1954	310		40		1	
1955	292		34		1	
1956	281		32		1	
1957	264		29		0	
1962	220		25		0	
			Courses II C	Musser	Dungan	f Testament

Source: U.S. Treasury Dept., Bureau of Internal Revenue, Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Div.

Despite the closing of nearly half the breweries, beer production dropped only approximately 20 per cent, from 1950 to 1962. Average weekly earnings for brewery employees in 1948 were \$64.97 while in 1963 the weekly paycheck averaged \$135.22. Still another factor has been the importation of beer from other countries. In 1946, over 222,000 cases (nearly 16,000 barrels) of beer were imported from Europe. This amount had risen to more than $5\frac{1}{2}$ million cases by 1963. Another 2 million cases were imported from non-European breweries.⁷ Quality and better taste were the reasons given by a number of local consumers for buying the more expensive foreign beers.

Lancaster's beer and breweries have disappeared along with

the textile mills, iron works, and factories for making cigars, rifles and umbrellas. In their stead have come huge industrial plants which turn out linoleum; building materials; electron tubes for industry and the space age; hay balers; printing; asbestos friction materials for automotive, industrial and space technology applications; chocolate; electric razors; cosmetics and pharmaceutical preparations; toys; boilers; tools; and aluminum products. The skills and attitudes of Lancaster County workers, so essential for quality brewing, are now employed in our modern industries for quality workmanship. This is the single most important factor in the migration of industry to Lancaster County.

NOTES

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- 16. Lancaster County, Tax Assessment Records, 1833. 17. Lancaster Union, 2 February 1836.
- 18. Lancaster County, Tax Assessment Records, 1839.
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- 20. Ibid., 1841.
- 21. Ibid.
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- 26. United States, Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States . . . from the Returns of the Sixth Census (Washington, D. C., 1841) p. 138.

CHAPTER III (pp. 16-61) BREWERIES IN THE LAGER BEER ERA

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- 3. Lancaster Inquirer, 13 July 1918.
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- 19. Lancaster New Era, 13 May 1931.
- 20. Ibid., 6 July 1931.
- 21. Ibid., 7 July 1931.
- 22. Ibid., 1 August 1931. 23. Ibid., 22 August 1931.
- 24. Ibid., 3 September 1931. 25. Ibid., 9 September 1931.
- 26. Ibid., 25 September 1931. 27. Ibid., 11 March 1932.
- 28. Ibid., 14 March 1932.
- 29. Ibid., 15 March 1932.
- 30. Ibid., 16 March 1932, 17 March 1932. 31. Ibid., 17 March 1932.
- 32. Ibid.
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- 35. Ibid., 23 March 1932.
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- 37. Lancaster Intelligencer-Journal, 24 March 1932.
- 38. Lancaster New Era, 18 March 1932.
- 39. Ibid.
- 40. Ibid., 17 March 1932.
- 41. Interview with son of former brewmaster.
- 42. Lancaster New Era, 17 March 1932.
- 43. Letter from Karl Bauer to J. W. W. Loose, 21 July 1964.
- 44. News item quoted in Lancaster New Era, 8 June 1932.
- 45. Lancaster Intelligencer-Journal, 22 March 1932.
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- 48. Lancaster New Era, 14 June 1932.
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- 50. Ibid., 21 July 1931.
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- 51. Lancaster County, Office of Prothonotary, Equity Docket #8, p. 192.
- 52. Lancaster New Era, 23 June 1932.
- 53. Ibid.
- 54. Ibid., 8 July 1932.
- 55. Ibid., 19 June 1931.
- 56. Lancaster Sunday News, 20 March 1932.
- 57. Although the Gainor case is "unsolved" officially, persons close to the mystery have known who were involved, and what happened. The substance of the case allegedly concerned Gainor's refusal to cooperate with other police and city officials who were accepting pay-off money from bootleggers and other underworld characters. A confrontation between Gainor and several "negotiators" caused the officer to become vigorously uncooperative to the point where his continued existence would pose a threat to the gangsters. He was then abducted and murdered. An unusually reliable source claims the mistress of a highly-placed city official was in the motor car when the affair occurred. Two ace homicide experts of the State Police and a city detective who were closing in on the murderer suddenly and without any apparent reason "committed suicide" in a strange manner which never could be accounted for satisfactorily. This all took place during the "reform" Democratic-Coalition Administration in Lancaster.
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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Charles O. Lynch was born October 11, 1878 — the same year Edison developed the incandescent lamp—at Mechanicsburg, now called Leacock. After receiving a sound, traditional schooling,

Charles went to work for his father, Samuel S. Lynch, a wagonbuilder. By this time the Lynch Wagon Works was located at Bausman along the Millersville Pike. The elder Lynch was an expert machinist, inventor, and master wagon-builder; under his tutelage voung Charles learned the art of wagon-making thoroughly. Later he became interested in photography as a hobby, and before long his services were being sought by persons on outings and for social events. His association with Lancaster's business and professional men led him from photography into real estate, a profession in which he remained and from which he has not retired fully. Mr. Lynch was married, and has a daughter who is the librarian of the Manheim Township High School. After serving on numerous committees of the Lancaster County Historical Society, Charles Lynch was elected to its governing board, now the Board of Trustees, in 1943, and has served faithfully since then, being the senior member of the Board now in age and length of service. Despite his eighty-eight years, Mr. Lynch remains very active, walks extensively, and has a keen mentality not found in many men half his age. His outlook is youthful, and he enjoys life fully. Youngsters of many ages find him refreshing and inspiring. Charles O. Lynch has no time for gloom-peddlers who believe our civilization is on its way to the rubbish heap.

John Ward Willson Loose, who answers only to "Jack," ranks next to Mr. Lynch in seniority on the Board of Trustees, having been elected Secretary in 1948, but in age he is the youngest member of the Board. Jack is a native of Manheim, and is the son of Anna Gertrude Willson Loose and the late Irwin H. Loose. He is a graduate of J. P. McCaskey High School in Lancaster, Millersville State College, and presently is a candidate for a master's degree in history. He teaches world cultures and history; economics; government; and geopolitics at Donegal High School near Mount Jov. Loose was elected Prothonotary of Lancaster County for а four-year term in 1956; and is active in the Republican County Committee of which he is a committeeman for the Rohrerstown South District. He is a member of the American Historical Association; Organization of American Historians; American Association for State and Local History; Pennsylvania Historical Association; Southern Penna. Council for the Social Studies, of which he is a director; Early American Industries Association; and the American Economic History Association. His primary interests are economic and political history, and philosophy of history. A staunch advocate of liberal arts education for historians and history teachers, Loose believes, however, historians must recognize and use the interdisciplinary approach in their studies and research.

Jack is a bachelor. He is Secretary General of the General Society of the War of 1812; and is Treasurer and Past President of the Lancaster County Chapter, Penna. Society of Sons of the Revolution.