

## EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY INNS AND TAVERNS OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

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AMONG the first white men in western Pennsylvania were traders who followed the Delaware and Shawnee Indians on their removal from the East. By the time of the military campaigns of Braddock and Forbes these traders had well-defined routes of travel into the region. The Kittanning or Frankstown Path from the Juniata Valley to Kittanning on the Allegheny River, and the Raystown Path from the Susquehanna to the Ohio were the main routes followed by the Pennsylvania traders. Traveling with pack horses, these traders could make no great distance in a day, and many overnight stops were necessary. They usually wrapped themselves in blankets before a fire and slept in the open. Certain points on their paths, such as those that were known as "Ray's Town" and "Frank's (Stephen's) Town", were merely trading houses or sleeping places that the traders used on their western trips. At a large Indian town a trader or agent might stop at a trading house, as did Conrad Weiser, who wrote that on his arrival at Logstown in 1748 he "lodged at this Town at George Croghan's Trading House." Other houses or cabins at which the early travelers lodged belonged to the Indians, and John Harris in 1754 mentioned two of them on the Raystown Path, "the Shawana Cabbins" and "Kickeney Paulin's House, (Indian)" as convenient stations on the way to the West.<sup>2</sup>

Such trading houses or Indian cabins were permanent structures, and the accommodation of travelers was of secondary importance. Other kinds of lodgings, in which a place to rest was the primary object, were temporary structures and rude shelters of sod, branches, and logs, known as sleeping places. "James Dunning's Sleeping place," on the Raystown

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<sup>2</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives*, first series, 2: 135, 136; *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, 5: 349.

Path, and "John Hartt's Sleeps place" and "P. Shaver's Sleeping place," on the Frankstown Path, were early used by traders and travelers.<sup>3</sup> A sleeping place may have been only a clearing with convenient water and pasturage. Charles Stuart, captured by the Indians, wrote:

Came to a Place Call<sup>d</sup> the Great Sleeping Place on the West Sid of the Allegheny Mountain. It is Call<sup>d</sup> the Sleeping Place from Its being the place the Indian Traders generally stop<sup>t</sup> at To Lodge as its a convenient days journey from the foot of the east side of the Allegheny Mountain w<sup>th</sup> loaded horses,—there we Encamp<sup>d</sup> all Night, this Place has good Pasture and good Spring Water.<sup>4</sup>

The building of military roads before 1760 opened western Pennsylvania to persons other than Indian traders and agents, and these military roads became routes by which settlers and travelers entered the region. The road by which General Braddock traveled in 1755 from Cumberland, Maryland, to within a few miles of Fort Duquesne was later opened to Pittsburgh and was known until after 1800 as the Braddock Road. The route of General Forbes in 1758 from Raystown, or Bedford, through Ligonier to Fort Pitt was first known as the Forbes Road and after 1785 as the Pennsylvania Road. A third important road was that constructed by Colonel James Burd in 1759 from a point four miles west of Bedford to Redstone, now Brownsville, which was later continued through the town of Washington and past the state line to Wheeling. This road was variously known as the Glade Road, Burd Road, and Turkey Foot Road.<sup>5</sup>

After roads to the West had been built and forts had been established, some provision had to be made for accommodating the non-military as well as the military travelers along these roads. Lands in western Pennsylvania were not open to general settlement until 1769, but before that date certain settlements along the roads were allowed for the purpose of accommodating travelers. Andrew Byerly was permitted to settle at Bushy Run in 1759 to serve express riders and military agents. A little later there were several of these houses: Colonel Henry Bouquet wrote that in 1762 he had "permitted Hugh Reed to Build one of those Houses

<sup>3</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives*, first series, 2: 135, 136.

<sup>4</sup> Beverly W. Bond, Jr., ed., "The Captivity of Charles Stuart, 1755-57," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 13: 62 (June, 1926).

<sup>5</sup> Archer B. Hulbert, *Historic Highways of America*, vols. 4, 5 (Cleveland, 1903).

on the Communication from Legonier to Fort-Pitt, which (with the Approbation of Major General Monckton and the Express consent of the Indians) were fixed at convenient Stages along the Road for the accommodation of Travellers; and . . . to finish and fit out the said House for a Tavern." There must have been a number of these taverns or ordinaries around Fort Pitt, for James Kenny wrote in his journal on the eleventh of July, 1761: "I think Drunkenness & feighting is much abated in this end of y<sup>e</sup> Town to what it was & some of y<sup>e</sup> Ordinary Houses is moved from here."<sup>6</sup>

With the outbreak of Pontiac's War in 1763 most of these houses were abandoned. Those at Fort Pitt were torn down, and the inhabitants along the road were forced to take refuge in the nearest garrison. One of these was John Metcalfe, who petitioned the government to reimburse him for losses he incurred in 1763 when he had to leave his settlement on Nine Mile Run near Pittsburgh, although he had been "averse to going there, but was at last Prevailed upon by the said Colonel Bouquet to go and settle there [*in 1762*] purely for accommodating the Army and Travellers." After 1764 settlers returned, and military licenses continued to be granted until 1769.<sup>7</sup>

When the first western Pennsylvania counties were formed, beginning in 1771, taverns and tavern keepers were licensed by county courts. The Westmoreland County court issued five licenses at its first session in 1773; Washington County licensed several taverns in 1781; and the Fayette County court issued six licenses at its first session in 1783. Virginia also claimed jurisdiction over this section, and the West Augusta County court licensed taverns in 1775, as did the Yohogania County court in 1776. Licenses were necessary to sell liquor, and an innkeeper without such a license would be "deemed keeping tipling houses, and prosecuted accordingly." The courts were strict, and at the January ses-

<sup>6</sup> George D. Albert, ed., *History of the County of Westmoreland, Pennsylvania*, 32 (Philadelphia, 1882); Alfred P. James, ed., "The Early Property and Land Title Situation in Western Pennsylvania," *ante*, 16:203 (August, 1933); James Kenny, "Journal . . . 1761-1763," in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 37:11 (1913).

<sup>7</sup> James, *ante*, 16:198. Such grants were made to John Fraser in 1766 and to William Christy in 1769. See "Notes and Queries," *ante*, 12:63 (January, 1929); Israel D. Rupp, *Early History of Western Pennsylvania and of the West*, 43 (Pittsburgh, Harrisburg, 1846).

sion of the Westmoreland County court in 1774 there were six tipping-house cases, and one of the defendants was fined forty shillings. When a similar case against William Homan was brought before the Fayette County court, however, and it was learned that "all the property of said William Homan would be insufficient to pay the fine and costs on an indictment, and that he must become a charge on the township, the Court duly considering these circumstances do recommend to the attorney for the State not to prefer a bill of indictment against him."<sup>8</sup>

For a number of years the traveler could find accommodations either at taverns or in private dwellings analogous to present-day "tourist homes." David Jones wrote that from Cumberland or Carlisle to Pittsburgh in 1773, "thro' the whole as you travel, you may lodge every night in some kind of houses, but the entertainment is a little rough, for such as are strangers to the new country. In this an amendment may be justly expected, for a number of frugal and civil people are preparing good accommodations, both for man and horse." West of Pittsburgh, however, the same traveler found lodging in only one house inhabited by white people. The early roads were scarcely passable, and the pack horse was the chief means of travel and transportation. There was no need of a great number of taverns, because few teamsters undertook the difficult journey across the mountains, and most of those who did lodged in private houses. "The farmers, teamsters, and packhorse men in America do not commonly lodge or feed at the rare and necessitous taverns," wrote Johann Schoepf in 1783. From this time on, however, the number of inns steadily increased: only six licenses were issued by the Fayette County court in 1783, but in 1796 the same court issued forty-eight licenses; and by 1802 taverns were spoken of as "tolerably numerous."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Albert, *Westmoreland County*, 54, 57; Earle R. Forrest, *History of Washington County, Pennsylvania*, 1: 323 (Chicago, 1926); Franklin Ellis, ed., *History of Fayette County, Pennsylvania*, 133, 642 (Philadelphia, 1882); Boyd Crumrine, ed., "Minute Book of the Virginia Court Held at Fort Dunmore (Pittsburgh) for the District of West Augusta," in Carnegie Museum of Pittsburgh, *Annals*, 1: 534 (1902); *Pittsburgh Gazette*, September 16, 1786; Alexander S. Guffey, "The First Courts in Western Pennsylvania," *ante*, 7: 163 (July, 1924).

<sup>9</sup> Ellis, *Fayette County*, 288; Johann D. Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, 1: 225 (Philadelphia, 1911); David Jones, *A Journal of Two Visits Made to Some Nations of In-*

Many of the taverns were built of logs, and Mrs. Mary Dewees wrote in 1787 of an inn at which she stopped: "Perhaps a dozen logs upon one another, with a few slabs for a roof, and the earth for a floor, and a Wooden Chimney Constituted this extraordinary ordinary." Yet she admitted that "the sight of a log house on these Mountains after a fatiguing days Journey affords more real pleasure than all the magnificent buildings your city contains." With the growth in number of taverns, there was a corresponding improvement in the conveniences they had to offer travelers. Brissot de Warville wrote in 1788 of the Pennsylvania Road, "It is a post road, with good taverns established the whole way." Francis Baily wrote a few years later, "The accommodations we met with were, upon the whole, tolerably good; at least, such as a person (considering the country he was travelling in) might bear with." When he stayed overnight at an inn on the Allegheny Mountains, he was pleased that "though situated at the top of the highest ridge of mountains, we experienced not only the comforts, but also some of the luxuries of life."<sup>10</sup>

A fastidious traveler, who referred to one inn as a "hovel" and to another as a "hog sty," described one of the better sort of rural taverns as consisting of "one large room divided, by plank partitions, into 3 sleeping rooms & one eating room, with a very large log fire, the kitchen under the same roof."<sup>11</sup> A superior urban tavern of the same year, 1794, is described by its proprietor, John M'Masters of Pittsburgh, as follows:

For the information of those who are unacquainted with its situation, it may be not amiss to inform them that perhaps it is not inferior, if not superior, to any stand in the Western country. The house is 46 by 32 feet with a large hall and four rooms on the first floor, the upper story is divided into convenient rooms, one of which is 32 feet by 17, a good garret and an excellent cellar . . . The stables is in complete order, 50 by 25 feet, well finished by stalls, the loft

*dians*, 10, 22 (Burlington, N. J., 1774); François A. Michaux, *Travels to the West of the Alleghany Mountains*, 56 (London, 1805).

<sup>10</sup> Mary Dewees, "Journal from Philadelphia to Kentucky, 1787-1788," in *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 28:184, 185 (1904); Jacques Pierre Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America, Performed in 1788*, 143 (London, 1792); Francis Baily, *Journal of a Tour in Unsettled Parts of North America in 1796 & 1797*, 141, 143 (London, 1856).

<sup>11</sup> Robert Wellford, "Diary," in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, 11:11, 16 (July, 1902).

will contain upwards of 15 tons of hay, there is also a large yard well paved, with a horse shed therein 35 feet long, and a garden adjoining.<sup>12</sup>

Whether log cabin or stone house, travelers were more interested in accommodations for eating and sleeping than in mere appearance. Some travelers followed the advice of Gilbert Imlay both to eat and to sleep in their wagons. Most of them, however, preferred to take their luck at the inns. The terse statement by Nicholas Cresswell, who came to western Pennsylvania in 1775, concerning food—"Lodged at Catfish Camp. Great scarcity of provisions"—indicates no exceptional condition, and travelers not infrequently missed a meal because of lack of food at lodging houses. That some taverns had vegetable gardens is certain, for one traveler was scolded by the landlady for pulling a radish; but that these gardens were productive is not so certain.<sup>13</sup> Wild meat—venison and bear meat—was frequently at hand, and just as frequently used. Schoepf complained that at Ormsby's in Pittsburgh "we had squirrels at every meal, baked, stewed, and in pastries."<sup>14</sup> Meals were hearty, as may be judged from these sample menus:

[Breakfast of] coffee, and buck-wheat cakes, and some fried venison or broiled chicken.

Breakfast of Tea, Coffe or Chocolate, with a beef stake, Mutton Chap or other Relish . . .

Do. With Bread and butter & tost, without Relish . . .

Dinner of Roast and Boil, Consisting of more than one course, with proper Sauce & Table Drink, viz: Small Beer, Cider or Weak Grogg . . .

Common Dinner of Roast and Boil, with do. . . .

Supper of Tea, Coffe, or Chocolate with proper materials . . .

Do. of other Warm Victuals . . .

Do. of Cold Victuals.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Pittsburgh Gazette*, January 23, 1794.

<sup>13</sup> Gilbert Imlay, *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America*, 68 (London, 1792); Nicholas Cresswell, *Journal . . . 1774-1777*, 96 (New York, 1924); Baily, *Journal of a Tour*, 141; William P. Cutler and Julia P. Cutler, *Life, Journals and Correspondence of Rev. Mannasseh Cutler*, 1:404 (Cincinnati, 1888); Schoepf, *Travels*, 1:232; Israel Shreve, "Journal from Jersey to the Monongahela, August 11, 1788," in *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 52:198 (1928).

<sup>14</sup> *Travels*, 275.

<sup>15</sup> The first menu is to be found in Baily, *Journal of a Tour*, 143, and the others are in Forrest, *Washington County*, 1:313, 327. See also Albert, *Westmoreland County*, 54; Ellis, *Fayette County*, 287, note 3.

The noon meal was known as dinner, and the "lighter" meals were breakfast and supper; the latter was often a repetition of breakfast. Charges were considered reasonable. "Diet per meal" was fixed by the Fayette County court at one shilling and threepence in 1783. In Washington County meals were higher; dinner cost from one shilling and sixpence to two shillings, breakfast and supper slightly less. In Yohogania County in 1778 landlords could charge four shillings for dinner, three shillings for supper, and from two shillings and sixpence to three shillings for breakfast. The charge at that time was higher because of the depreciation of Continental money.<sup>16</sup>

Prices for liquor were also fixed by the courts. Whiskey was the most popular drink and could be had for sixpence a half pint in Fayette County, for fourpence a gill in Washington and Westmoreland counties, and for two shillings a half pint in Yohogania County. An elaborate drink was "a bowl of West India Rum Toddy in which there shall be half a pint with loaf sugar," for which Westmoreland County innkeepers charged one shilling and sixpence.<sup>17</sup> Drinking in taverns was habitual. Judge Alexander Addison opposed a fair at Pittsburgh in 1796 because at the one held in the previous year "an unusual number of idle people were assembled, strolling through the streets from tavern to tavern, drinking, dancing, and exerting themselves to be noisy."<sup>18</sup> If a house could not always offer food it could usually offer drink, to the disgust of such travelers as John Heckewelder, who "passed a very restless night, as most of the inmates of the house were whiskey drinkers."<sup>19</sup>

"Lodging in Good Beds with Clean Sheets" was fixed in price by the

<sup>16</sup> Ellis, *Fayette County*, 287, note 3; Boyd Crumrine, ed., *History of Washington County, Pennsylvania*, 240 (Philadelphia, 1882); Boyd Crumrine, ed., "Minute Book of the Virginia Court Held for Yohogania County, First at Augusta Town (Now Washington, Pa.), and Afterwards on the Andrew Heath Farm near West Elizabeth, 1776-1780," in Carnegie Museum of Pittsburgh, *Annals*, 2: 269 (1903).

<sup>17</sup> Ellis, *Fayette County*, 287, note 3; Crumrine, *Washington County*, 240; Crumrine, in Carnegie Museum of Pittsburgh, *Annals*, 2: 269; Albert, *Westmoreland County*, 54.

<sup>18</sup> Ambrose B. Reid, "Early Courts, Judges, and Lawyers of Allegheny County," *ante*, 5: 195 (July, 1922).

<sup>19</sup> "Notes of Travel of William Henry, John Heckewelder, John Rothrock, and Christian Clewell, to Gnadenhuetton on the Muskingum, in the Early Summer of 1797," in *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 10: 154 (1886).

courts, but was not always obtainable. Taverns were frequently crowded, and sleeping arrangements included sharing the bed and often the floor as well. It was a common occurrence for ten or twelve persons, sometimes as many as twenty or thirty, to sleep wrapped in blankets on the floor of a tavern near the fire. Some travelers slept outside or in their wagons, as did Mrs. Dewees, who "preferred lodging in our waggon to be crowded with Frenchmen and negroes on an earthen floor."<sup>20</sup>

A prominent feature of an inn was the sign that hung in front, and a tavern was occasionally known by the picture or legend carried on its signpost. These signs were frequently patriotic. There was an "American Eagle" and a "Spread Eagle," a "General Washington," a "General Butler," and a "General Greene." There was a "Black Horse" and a "White Horse," a "Black Bear" and a "White Goose." The "Green Tree" in Pittsburgh may have had special significance, as the several signs of the "Wagon" certainly did. The "Compass," "Mariner's Compass," and "Row Galley" might properly have belonged to a littoral section, although navigation of inland waters might explain their existence. The "Jolly Irishman" was doubtless so called in honor of its host, and appropriate enough were the signs of the "Indian Queen." Male Indians were neglected, unless the sign of the "Buck" be considered to fill the vacancy. The most unusual sign was that of D. M'Lane, perhaps a good tavern keeper but a poor rhymester, who wrote:

In my note to the Public I mention'd good fare,  
THE WHALE and MONKEY will tell where we are.<sup>21</sup>

In western Pennsylvania, inns and taverns were not as well known by their signs as by their hosts. Among them were to be found doctors, majors, colonels, and captains. Tavern keeping was a respectable profession, in spite of Ephraim Douglass, who wrote of Jonathan Rowland that, although he was "a good man with a good share of understanding," he was "unfortunately of a profession rather too much opposed to the suppression

<sup>20</sup> Crumrine, *Washington County*, 240; Baily, *Journal of a Tour*, 142; Cresswell, *Journal*, 124; Richard H. Lee, *Life of Arthur Lee*, 2: 380 (Boston, 1829); Wellford, in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, 11: 14; Dewees, in *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 28: 186.

<sup>21</sup> *Pittsburgh Gazette*, April 24, 1794.



of vice and immorality: he keeps a tavern in the town."<sup>22</sup> Henry M. Brackenridge wrote:

I should be guilty of a glaring omission . . . if I were to pass in silence that portion of my townsmen who possess so much influence in a land of equality and freedom. I allude to that class who furnish us with militia colonels and generals, and members of Congress, or who contribute most to make them; who do the honors of the town . . . although not quite disinterested. I allude to the publicans and sinners. The landlords or tavern-keepers are, in reality, the only lords we have in Pennsylvania; they possess a degree of intelligence and respectability of a character which justly gives them an influence *dans la chose publique*.<sup>23</sup>

Colonel William Crawford, a large landholder and the leader of an ill-fated expedition against the Indians in 1782, wrote to Washington on January 15, 1774: "I intend public housekeeping, and I am prepared for it now, as I can live no longer without that or ruining myself, such numbers constantly travel the road, and nobody keeping anything for horses but myself. Some days, now, if I had rum, I could make three pounds."<sup>24</sup> To establish or to own and operate an inn a man had to have not only rum and forage for horses, but also sufficient capital. When the proprietor of the "Bear" in Pittsburgh offered his tavern for sale, he announced that as it "would not suit any person but a man of credit and property, none other need apply."<sup>25</sup>

The occupation of tavern keeping must not have been a difficult one, for many persons who kept public houses were also brewers, bakers, tanners, or smiths. Ferries were often operated in connection with taverns, and the competition between two of Pittsburgh's leading innkeepers and ferrymen, Jacob Bousman and John Ormsby, was particularly keen. Both were licensed by the West Augusta County court in Pittsburgh as innkeepers in 1775, and in the same year Bousman was licensed to keep a ferry. The petition of Ormsby "for leave to keep a ferry across the Monongahale River from this Town to his Land opposite thereto, being opposed by Jacob Bousman," was rejected. On March 24, 1779, Ormsby

<sup>22</sup> "Notes and Queries," *ante*, 5: 183.

<sup>23</sup> Henry M. Brackenridge, *Recollections of Persons and Places in the West*, 65 (Philadelphia, 1868).

<sup>24</sup> Ellis, *Fayette County*, 526.

<sup>25</sup> *Pittsburgh Gazette*, January 23, 1794.

was successful in getting permission to keep one boat as a ferry on the Monongahela; on March 25 Bousman was permitted to keep three boats as ferries on the river. A year later the Yohogania County court "Ordered that Jacob Bousman be allowed six dollars ferriage for a man and horse," but that "all the Ferry keepers of this County, Jacob Bousman excepted, do receive four dollars ferriage for one man and one horse & no more." Bousman apparently had the better of his opponent, Ormsby.<sup>26</sup>

Women as well as men kept taverns, and some became well known, such as Molly Murphy in Pittsburgh, whom Brackenridge fondly remembered. The Widow Myers at Turtle Creek was hostess to such a famous person as Washington, and the section around Margaret Allen's near Uniontown was for years known as "Granny Allen's Hill." Jean Hanna, a niece of Robert Hanna of Hannastown, was "recommended to keep a Public House" in Westmoreland County in 1773, and Mary Irwin was licensed at Pittsburgh in 1778. Other women tavern keepers of the region were Letty Bean, Mrs. Woodrow, and Lydia Hoffman.<sup>27</sup>

Tavern proprietors were of different nationalities—French, German, English, Scotch, and Irish—and there was a negro innkeeper, Black Charles, in Pittsburgh. Mordicai Moses Mordicai, licensed in West Augusta County in 1775, was probably Jewish. Whether or not the Germans were cleaner than the others was a debatable question, and David McClure complained that "it is strange that there should be so wide a difference in point of hospitality, between the Germans & the Scotch and Irish of this country. The former will put themselves to no trouble to oblige you, & expect a reward for every service, the latter, we found cheerfully shewing us any kindness which we needed, without any other

<sup>26</sup> Charles W. Dahlinger, *Pittsburgh; a Sketch of Its Early Social Life*, 42 (New York, London, 1916), *Pittsburgh Gazette*, June 16, 1798; Sarah H. Killikelly, *The History of Pittsburgh, Its Rise and Progress*, viii, ix (Pittsburgh, 1906); Ellis, *Fayette County*, 288; "Notes of Travel," in *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 10: 135, 154; Schoepf, *Travels*, 1: 233, 297; Crumrine, *Washington County*, 206, 207; Crumrine, in Carnegie Museum of Pittsburgh, *Annals*, 1: 545; 2: 305, 345, 404.

<sup>27</sup> Brackenridge, *Recollections*, 66; George Washington, *Diaries . . . 1748-1799*, 1: 402 (edited by John C. Fitzpatrick—Boston, New York, 1925); Guffey, *ante*, 7: 157, 172; Crumrine, in Carnegie Museum of Pittsburgh, *Annals*, 2: 241; Baily, *Journal of a Tour*, 142; Thomas B. Searight, *The Old Pike. A History of the National Road*, 236 (Uniontown, 1894); Wellford, in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, 11: 16.

reward, except the satisfaction of obliging a stranger."<sup>28</sup>

By the close of the eighteenth century there were numerous taverns in western Pennsylvania, some of which were large enough to contain assembly rooms. Such rooms provided space for activities connected with the political and social life of the towns in which the larger taverns were found. In towns where a courthouse was not yet built court was occasionally held in taverns. The Washington County court was held in James Wilson's tavern in 1783 and again in 1790-91 after the courthouse had been destroyed by fire, and Allegheny County held court at Andrew Watson's in Pittsburgh after 1788 and later at William Irwin's and at John Reed's.<sup>29</sup> It is a notorious fact that the seat of Westmoreland County was fixed at Hannastown because William Hanna had a tavern there: "To some manœuvres of his I believe," wrote Arthur St. Clair to Joseph Shippen, "the opposition to fixing the County Town at Pittsburgh is chiefly owing, as [it is to] his Interest it should continue where the Law has fixed the court pro tempore, he lives there, used to keep public House there, and has now on that Expectation rented his House at an extravagant price. Erwin, anor Trustee adjoins, and is also public House Keeper."<sup>30</sup> Sessions of the courts brought many persons to the county seats, and taverns were well patronized during those times. John Lacey, arriving at Bedford in 1773, wrote "we put up at Frederick Nagle's. It being Court time, we were very much crowded."<sup>31</sup>

Although court was sometimes held in taverns and although religious services were also occasionally held there, the inns were usually given to affairs of a less serious nature. Celebrations of the Fourth of July were frequently held in taverns. The *Pittsburgh Gazette* for July 6, 1793, reported that an elaborate banquet had been enjoyed on the Fourth:

<sup>28</sup> Dahlinger, *Pittsburgh*, 39; Brackenridge, *Recollections*, 65; Crumrine, in Carnegie Museum of Pittsburgh, *Annals*, 1: 550; David McClure, *Diary . . . 1748-1820*, 43 (New York, 1899).

<sup>29</sup> *Pittsburgh Gazette*, October 20, 1798; January 3, 1800; Forrest, *Washington County*, 1: 335; Dahlinger, *Pittsburgh*, 154, 157; Killikelly, *History of Pittsburgh*, 106; Reid, *ante*, 5: 190.

<sup>30</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives*, first series, 4: 471.

<sup>31</sup> "Journal of a Mission to the Indians in Ohio by Friends from Pennsylvania," in *Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries*, second series, 7: 104 (February, 1870).

A large company of Citizens from Pittsburgh, met at the tavern of Mrs. Ward on the South western bank of the Monongahela river, in order to celebrate the important event. The Company consisted of about 50 ladies and gentlemen, who, at 3 o'clock sat down to an entertainment prepared by Mrs. Ward which would have done honor to the first hotel in the United States—Mirth and good humour crowned the feast, and the evening closed with a splendid Ball.

In 1795 Tarleton Bates wrote to his brother Frederick, "I spent the Fourth very agreeably with about 45 persons at the Sign of the Bear—fifteen toasts accompanied by the discharge of cannon were given and the day closed with harmony and a procession through the streets." To celebrate the holiday in Uniontown the following year, "the Cavalry then repaired to Mr. Bayley's Tavern and partook of an elegant Repast." Masonic Lodge meetings at Pittsburgh were usually held at Plumer's or Morrow's, while the militia and the light dragoons were to be found at Postlethwait's or Marie's. The Pittsburgh Fire Company met at McMaster's in Pittsburgh in 1793, but a few years later it was to be found meeting at Watson's, where the Mechanical Society had its inception. Balls and dances were doubtless held in the assembly rooms, and such events as Mr. Declary and Miss Weidner's concert of vocal and instrumental music were held in the assembly room of a Pittsburgh tavern in 1799.<sup>32</sup>

Thus by the end of the eighteenth century the inns and taverns of western Pennsylvania had changed perceptibly from the rough accommodations afforded travelers three or four decades earlier. No longer need a traveler sleep in the open in his journey across the mountains, or rely on sleeping places or Indian cabins and traders' huts for lodging. Military permits had given way to county licenses, and rates for food, lodging, and drink were fixed by the courts. With the passing of time, accommodations became more luxurious, and in the larger towns, at least, the tavern played an important part in the social life of the community. The next century was to see increased travel on improved roads and turnpikes, on canals, and on railroads, and a corresponding improvement in inns and taverns resulted.

<sup>32</sup> McClure, *Diary*, 41, 103; Roy H. Johnson, "Frontier Religion in Western Pennsylvania," *ante*, 16: 27; Mrs. Elvert M. Davis, ed., "The Letters of Tarleton Bates," *ante*, 12: 33; Ellis, *Fayette County*, 288, note 2; Dahlinger, *Pittsburgh*, 12, 17, 75; *Pittsburgh Gazette*, July 27, 1793; March 15, 1795; June 3, 16, 23, 1798; August 31, 1799; Edward P. Anderson, "The Intellectual Life of Pittsburgh, 1786-1836," *ante*, 14: 234 (July, 1931).