

DEVELOPMENT IN EXTRACTIVE COMMUNITIES: RIDGWAY AND ST. MARYS,  
PENNSYLVANIA, 1850–1914

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ST. MARYS, PENNSYLVANIA – 1850 TO 1914

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University of Pittsburgh, 2008

Ridgway and St. Marys, two communities dependent upon the natural resources and located in Pennsylvania's High Plateau, developed in extraordinary ways, and while both remained culturally quite different, economics and circumstances drew them together. The way in which they developed made them very different from the typical extractive towns of the era, which were often controlled by outside interests. Ridgway, organized in 1833 by Yankee Protestant lumbermen, and St. Marys, organized in 1842 by German Catholic immigrant farmers, were significantly different, but shared a common attributes. Almost immediately, both towns formed as strong, locally controlled, civilized, and independent communities, complete with extended families, religions organizations, and social institutions uncommon in the typical extractive company towns. Looking back upon their origins, it seemed as if the early settlers were intent not only upon creating permanent communities for themselves, but also establishing lasting habitats for their children and grandchildren.

This unique process of development did not end with the decline of the extractive era; rather, at the end of the nineteenth century, a more remarkable development occurred. Local entrepreneurs, building upon the stable economic platform created during the mining, logging, and railroad era, led a new and remarkable transformation when they shifted from an economy based on harvesting soft coal, white pine, hemlock, and hardwood, to an economy based on manufacturing carbon and graphite products—a completely different and highly technical



industry not connected to the local natural resources. This transformation, from extraction to manufacturing, came at a time when many extractive company towns, having exhausted the natural resources, vanished from the landscape.

The two communities succeeded for five reasons. The natural resources made extractive development possible. Local leaders helped influence the route of the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad through both communities. Ten miles of wilderness isolated the two communities and protected their ethnic and religious lifestyles. Political compatibility and strong local leadership prevented extreme political and religious differences from disrupting development. Ultimately, the unique blend of natural resources, individuals, culture, and politics created an unduplicated form of development that continued well into the late twentieth century.

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## **PREFACE**

The completion of this dissertation has taken the better part of fourteen years and could not have been completed without the help and support of the following individuals. First, I want to thank Dr. Samuel Hays for his encouragement to continue my investigation of rural cultural development. Next, I want to thank the members of my doctoral committee, Dr. Van Beck Hall, Dr. Laurence Glasco, Dr. Robert Doherty, and Dr. Paula Kane, for staying with me over the past fourteen years.

I also want to thank the Trustees at the Stackpole-Hall Foundation, who gave me the freedom to travel to Pittsburgh for classes, meetings, and research, and Elizabeth Hammer and Dennis Bonanno, who work for the Foundation and who deserve a lot of credit for putting up with me over the past years. They now know much more about local history than I am sure they ever expected. Mrs. Hammer, early on, reviewed hundreds of pages of early chapters, and Mr. Bonanno proof read the final versions of the completed dissertation. In addition, he spent countless hours helping me resolve software issues related to merging word processing documents with spreadsheets, table, charts, and photographs.

Three local historians William Bauer, Ray Beimel, and Andrew Kaul IV, also deserve recognition. All of these good friends answered a multitude of questions and pointed me in the right direction in my quest to find sources of information. Bill Bauer deserves special thanks for sharing his splendid collection of railroad and logging photographs, some of which have never been published.



Finally two individuals must be singled out, because without their help this endeavor could not have been completed. Dr. Van Beck Hall, Chairman of my dissertation committee, provided critical reviews, advice, suggestions, and wise council and brought clarity and organization to my dissertation; with out his vision and patience it would not have happened. Last and certainly not least, I must thank my wife, Veronica, who supported me throughout this long venture. Her encouragement and motivation proved essential, and she put up with the countless evenings and weekends that I spent working on the dissertation instead of doing the kinds of family activities typical of couples our age.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Ridgway and St. Marys, two very different communities, emerged out of the northwestern Pennsylvania wilderness as important, yet unique, extractive centers. Both communities developed during the first half of the nineteenth century in ways very different from many extractive towns, where outside ownership controlled the natural resources and development. In Ridgway and St. Marys, local leaders took advantage of the vast reserves of timber and coal, exploiting both resources in a way that secured the long-term survival of the two towns. While both Ridgway and St. Marys developed around the extractive resources, both developed in very different ways, and both were immersed with unique institutions and organizations necessary in the formation of independent and complete social structures. Ridgway, a lumber town settled by Yankee Protestants, and St. Marys, a farming town settled by immigrant German Catholics, are located ten miles apart. Because of the rich natural resources that surrounded the towns, in due course they became inextricably connected to one another in unexpected ways, and together they led in the economic development of the region.<sup>1</sup> Although different in terms of ethnicity,

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<sup>1</sup> Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 Census Manuscript, Pennsylvania, Elk County, Ridgway and Benzinger Township. All Census Manuscript information contained in this dissertation, including the 1850, 1860 1880 and 1900 data, was converted into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet that contains the name of each occupant, the dwelling number, the age, the gender, the relationship within the dwelling, place of birth of the individuals, and parents of individuals after 1880, occupation, and, for 1850 and 1860, the estimated value of real estate and personal estate. The data in the spreadsheets can be sorted in various ways, and pivot tables can be created. A pivot table is an Excel spreadsheet tool that allows a variety of tables to be constructed from the data in a spreadsheet. An example of a pivot table is a table containing the number of boarders categorized by place of birth. An Excel spreadsheet can also be filtered to isolate specific subsets of data. For example, the filter tool can be used to create a list of all persons born in specific state or country, or a list of people employed in a specific occupation or any other subset contained in the spreadsheets.

religion, and occupation, these differences never prevented the two towns from taking advantage of the opportunities the land provided.

This is the story of how the unique interconnections of wilderness isolation, railroads, political compatibility, and, most notably, leadership overcame both the wilderness and cultural differences between the two towns, resulting in the development of modern communities. Ridgway and St. Marys did not develop the way many excessively extractive rural towns developed, where outside investors controlled both the economy and the community. Instead, the residents of Ridgway and St. Marys controlled their own destiny. In both towns strong local entrepreneurs were integrated into the local communities and provided the leadership necessary for success, not only during the extractive years but also during the transition to manufacturing in the early twentieth century. The circumstance making this evolution unique went beyond the exploitation of the natural resources and resulted in the transition, led by the leading lumber and coal men at the end of the extractive era, away from mining and logging and into a new manufacturing economy.

Ridgway and St. Marys developed in ways that were unlike many extractive company towns, which were generally not intended to become permanent communities and where the woodsman lived in isolated logging camps and never became part of the community. In Ridgway and St. Marys, local control of extracting the abundant natural resources led to the formation of permanent communities and secured the long-term future of both towns. Local control also led to the transition to a completely new industry at the end of the nineteenth century, unlike most extractive communities, where distant coal and lumber barons seldom, if ever, re-invested their capital back into the community, let alone into vastly different industries.

The circumstances leading to this extraordinary development are grounded in the way the communities formed and the local leadership that emerged. In Ridgway, local river lumberman settled the Clarion River valley, and in St. Marys, devout German immigrants attempted to create a Roman Catholic farming commune. In 1872 a leadership transition began when Andrew Kaul and James Hall formed a partnership that lasted until the first decade of the twentieth century. The two entrepreneurs dominated the extraction of the coal and timber at the time and after 1899, pioneered the conversion of the county's economy to a new paradigm based upon manufacturing carbon.

The conditions leading to this exceptional development are anchored in the basic fiber of the communities. In the early days of settlement, both towns evolved as complete communities, and economic and political control resided in the hands of local leaders. Residents of both communities boasted of strong family structures, in which women and families played an important role in building the fundamental fabric of community life. Immediately following settlement, the spiritual desires of the people became apparent. In St. Marys, Roman Catholicism imported from southern Germany represented the quintessential reason for the town's existence, while in Ridgway a diversification of Protestant denominations organized to serve the devotional needs of its people. The development of community institutions followed, including schools and cultural, recreational, and social organizations—all contributing to the formation of civil societies. Neither community became a company town controlled by absentee ownership, unlike so many nineteenth century extractive communities. Rather, Ridgway and St. Marys created a local culture and an entrepreneurial spirit that brought stability and permanency and provided the foundation for future development.

In addition to these unusual developmental circumstances, timing represented another difference in the development of the two communities. By the time of the settlement of Ridgway and St. Marys, American pioneers had crossed the Allegheny Mountains, settled the rich farmlands of the Midwest, and moved beyond the Mississippi River. From the Atlantic Coast to the Mississippi River, stagecoach routes, canals, and railroads provided access to the nation's natural resources.<sup>2</sup> However, Pennsylvania's High Plateau, in the northern reaches of the Allegheny Mountains, remained uninhabited. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, a virgin wilderness blanketed the plateau, where only a few Native American encampments along the valley of the Clarion River suggested evidence of habitation.<sup>3</sup>

Small extractive towns tended to be tied to the land and the natural resources, and residents shared common occupations and common cultures; once the natural resources became exhausted, the community often disappeared. In Ridgway and St. Marys, the people were also tied to the land but development happened differently. Ridgway seemed the typical extractive town created by speculators and formed around native white lumbermen and woodsmen that came to the area from the mill towns and lumber camps of New England and New York. In stark contrast, St. Marys began as a religious farming commune. When the commune failed and the land proved too difficult for farming, a natural transition to lumbering and mining occurred. What made the development of Ridgway and St. Marys different however, is the way in which the people of both communities connected with the development of the extractive resources.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, chapter 1, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920), 1–38. Turner describes the westward expansion in America during the nineteenth century; Glywdon G. Van Dusen, *The Jacksonian Era 1828 -1848* (New York: Harper & Row, The University Library, 1959), 1–9.

<sup>3</sup> Alice L. Wessman, *A History of Elk County* (Ridgway, PA: Elk County Historical Society, 1982), 10 and 1.

<sup>4</sup> Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 156–158 and 224–235. Wessman's history describes the settlement of Ridgway by lumbermen intent upon cutting the white pine and hemlock along the Clarion River and the settlement of St. Marys as a German Catholic Farming community.

The history of Elk County's development begins with a history of extracting the rich natural resources—white pine, hemlock, hardwood, and soft coal—and later, at the end of the century, it is the history of the shift to manufacturing. But it is also the history of the people whom, despite their differences, succeeded by adapting to their environment and avoiding the ethnic and religious conflict dividing many communities in nineteenth-century America. However, and most importantly, it is the history of solid communities, in which values and strong cultural institutions provided the foundation for local entrepreneurial leadership.

The two communities survived and prospered for five reasons. The natural resources made extractive development possible. Both communities, thanks to local political leaders, influenced the route of the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad through the heart of the Elk County, which provided a means of transporting coal, logs, and lumber to the mills and to external markets.<sup>5</sup> Yet, at the same time, ten miles of wilderness isolated the two communities and protected their varied ethnic and religious lifestyles; thus, the cultural values of one community did not conflict with those of the other. Extreme political differences did not exist, and the social debates over temperance, religious education, abolition, and sabbatarianism that divided many nineteenth-century towns, never disturbed these communities.<sup>6</sup> In the absence of political extremes, both Ridgway and St. Marys remained cohesive Democratic strongholds until the end of the nineteenth century. Finally, and of utmost importance, two very different leaders—Andrew Kaul, the son of German Catholic immigrant parents, and James Hall, an Anglo-

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<sup>5</sup>Homer T. Rosenberger, *The Philadelphia and Erie Railroad: Its Place in American Economic History*. (Potomac Maryland: The Fox Hill Press, 1975). 124, 132 and chapter 17. Rosenberger describes the design of the railroad route by Edward Miller and documents Jacob Ridgway's interest in the route through his land in Elk County. In chapter 17, Rosenberger describes the completion of the line connecting Philadelphia to Lake Erie.

<sup>6</sup> Ray Beigel, interview. Ray Beigel is a local historian who has been associated with the Historical Society of St. Marys and Benzinger Township for many years. He has served on the Board of the Historical Society, including several terms as president, and he is considered by many to be the best contemporary St. Marys historian. Mr. Beigel told me that he has found no evidence of cultural violence or serious conflicts between the people of St. Marys and the people of Ridgway during the nineteenth century

American Protestant born in Center County—established a partnership in 1872 that dominated the economic and political destiny of the county for the remainder of the nineteenth century.<sup>7</sup> These two important local leaders not only dominated the extractive industries during the railroad era, but at the end of the century they reinvested their capital and built two major carbon companies that led the economic development of the county throughout much of the twentieth century.

In summary, the rich and rugged land, the ingenuity of the people, and local control solidified extractive development in the nineteenth century and—unlike many other small extractive towns—paved the way for a the development of a manufacturing economy during the twentieth century.

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<sup>7</sup> Accessible Archive. *History of the Counties of McKean, Elk, Cameron and Potter, 1890s*. <http://www.accessible.com/amcnty/PA/McKeanElkCamPot/Elk21.htm>, chapter XXI, James Hall biography, 4, Andrew Kaul biography, 7. The information in the archives, described in the preface of the archives, is attributed to the following historical sources. “The old files of the *Advocate*, in possession of Jerome Powell, the new ones, of Editor Baker, the files of the *Democrat*, of George B. Dixon; the *Gazette*, of the Wilmarth Brothers, and the *Herald*, of F.A. Jacob, yielded up a wealth of local history. The pamphlet entitled *Our Common Schools*, by George R. Dixon, the papers by Erasmus Morey, Jefferson L. Brown and George A. Rathbun, with short sketches by Henry Souther and Dr. C.R. Earley, contributed largely to render the history of Elk county complete; while the collection of old school records and documents in possession of Charles Luhr, and the reminiscences of Ignatius Garner, were invaluable contributions to the sketches of Benzinger township and St. Mary’s borough. From copies of the *Clarion Breeze* accounts of modern Johnsonburg and vicinity are taken.”

## 2. A RICH AND RUGGED LAND

I thereupon set out for the colony and was received by twenty-six families who had been living under the greatest privations for a whole year.... The next day I set out in the company of the men ... to survey the land.... The Hardships which I had to undergo in surveying this land cannot be described. Only those who have seen or lived in the immense forest can form an idea of my experiences. In these forests, which are as old as the world and were never touched by any man's hands, you come across thickets at almost every step, roots of trees intertwined with branches hanging down to the ground, trees thrown down by age or storms in such a way that they are piled up on top of each other and form insurmountable barriers. Since sunlight cannot pierce this dense vault of leaves, the air is damp and the soil so slippery that you cannot procure a firm foothold and are apt to fall with almost every step forward.<sup>8</sup>

—*Fr. Alexander Cvitovitz, St. Marys, 1843*

One cannot fully understand the economic and cultural development of Elk County and the villages of Ridgway and St. Marys without understanding the land that provided both the livelihood, the cultural isolation, and the natural resources critical to the development of these communities. The land defined development in several ways. The mountain slopes, teeming with vast stands of valuable timber and rich coal seams, fueled the economy, and the mountainous

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<sup>8</sup> Albert Brem, *The History of the St. Marys Church* (St. Marys, PA: Lenze and Associates, 1960) chap. 4, p. 19. Father Alexander visited St. Marys in the first year after its settlement. His account of the land vividly describes the difficulty facing the early settlers. The description of St. Marys was contained in a letter written by Fr. Alexander to Rev. Court Chaplain Mueller, the president of the Mission Verein in Munich, Bavaria, and translated by Reverend J. M. Lenhardt, O. F. M. Cap., from the *Annalen der Gesellschaft zur Verbreitung des Glaubens*, vol 2 (Einsidlen, 1844), 377–382, which appeared in the January 1933 issue of the *Central-Blatt and Social Justice* article, in an article about the colony of St. Marys, by Reverend Lenhardt. Father Alexander's description is one of the first descriptions of the harshness of the land, and while it is written about St. Marys, it reflects the conditions confronting all of the early settlers in the area.



landscape hampered farming and isolated the inhabitants into two different ethnic and religious communities.

Elk County is situated in the northwestern part of Pennsylvania's High Plateau. In this part of the commonwealth, the irregular topography is crisscrossed by a vast array of brooks, streams, and creeks that separate the steep mountains, creating a unique landscape that is atypical of most of America. Few large seasonally navigable rivers penetrate the High Plateau, and those that do (namely, the Clarion River and the Bennett Branch of Sinnemahoning Creek) are small in comparison to Pennsylvania's major rivers and lose much of their flow after the winter runoff in late spring.<sup>9</sup>

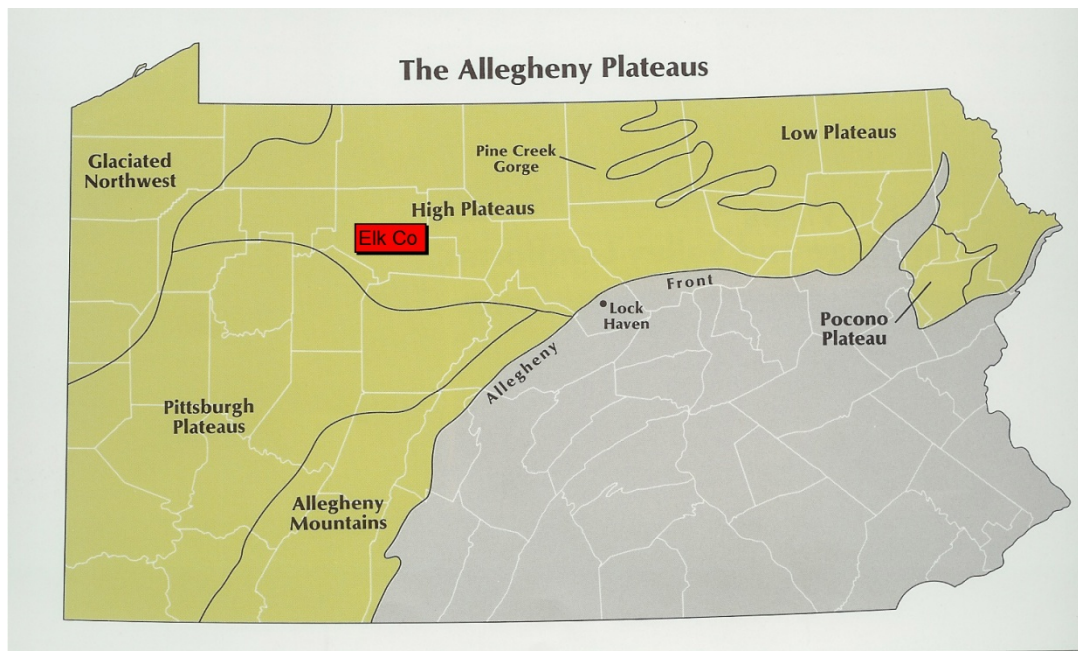


Figure 2.1. Allegheny Plateau map and the High Plateau.<sup>10</sup>

Elk County's rugged topography and hostile climate differs from much of the State. The county occupies the highest land in Pennsylvania, and its annual average temperature is 46°F,

<sup>9</sup> *The Atlas of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), 24. The Atlas is a cooperative project of the three Commonwealth universities, Temple University, The University of Pittsburgh, and Pennsylvania State University.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 24

compared to a state average of 49.3°F, and a warmer 52°F in the southern third of the state.<sup>11</sup> Elk County's average winter snowfall is 70 to 80 inches, compared to only 30 to 40 inches in the southern third of the state, and its annual average growing season is 120 days, compared to 160 to 180 days in most of the other counties. Elk County also experiences the latest hard frost in the state each spring and the first hard frost each fall.<sup>12</sup> These factors hampered agricultural development in the county.

Pennsylvania's great ancient forests of white pine, eastern hemlock, and assorted hardwoods once covered 90% of the Commonwealth's 20 million acres. As America's population grew, its appetite for lumber, especially for the great white pines, increased and the forests in the eastern part of the state along the Delaware, lower Susquehanna, and Schuylkill rivers became the first harvested. With this growing appetite for lumber, logging operations moved further and further west. White pine first sought by the shipbuilding industry, was later used for building materials, fuel, charcoal, potash, tanbark, furniture, coopering, rifle stocks, shingles, and utensils<sup>13</sup>

Pennsylvania, one of the prime timber regions in eastern United States, contains many species of both northern and southern trees that provide a rich forest diversity. Several species commingle in a single area, creating tree zones. A tree zone might be as limited as a mountain slope or extensive as many square miles. Tree zones formed woodlands, and nine different types of woodlands are found in the state. Two of these woodland types thrived in Elk County, the

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 24–29. In the description of Pennsylvania's High Plateau, the Atlas reports the temperatures, growing seasons, snowfall, and elevations, and clearly substantiates the harshness of the climate as compared to the rest of the state.

<sup>13</sup> The Pennsylvania Lumber Museum, <http://www.lumbermuseum.org/history.php>. The museum is located in Potter County on Route 6, about six miles east of the Borough of Coudersport, and "preserves and interprets the colorful heritage of the Commonwealth's prosperous lumber era when white pine and hemlock were the wealth of the nation."

“Beech-Birch-Maple Type” and the “White Pine-Hemlock Type.” Both types became important because of the economic value of the lumber they produced. Trees common to these two woodland types included white pine, hemlock, beech, yellow birch, sugar maple, striped maple, wild black cherry, mountain maple, and white oak. These species—especially the white pine, “king of the forest,” and hemlock, critical to the tanning industry—fueled Elk County’s economy.<sup>14</sup>

Foremost among the species, the great white pines had the greatest economic value and reigned as the most coveted tree in the forest. Sigurd Olson, father of the Wilderness Society and president of the National Parks Association, describes the white pines as the “great pines”<sup>15</sup> that typified the mature forest. White pines, sometimes two or three hundred years of age, were “young before the American Revolution and had seen the voyageurs.”<sup>16</sup> To Olson, the white pine represented the quintessential feature of a healthy wilderness. They symbolized the terminal species in forest evolution, and when they died, the nutrients from their decaying trunks replenished the microbiology of the soil, resulting in reforestation and their eventual return.<sup>17</sup> The Royal Navy once reserved large tracts of white pine to be used for masts and spars on sailing ships, and today white pine remains the most valuable softwood tree in eastern United States.<sup>18</sup>

But forest resources accounted for only one of the natural resources the land provided. Two major Pennsylvania soft-coal seams penetrated the southeastern part of the county, extending into the St. Marys vicinity. Coal mining began in Pennsylvania in the middle of the eighteenth century. The first coal mine in western Pennsylvania, on what is today Mount

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<sup>14</sup> John Illick, *Pennsylvania Trees* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Department of Forests and Waters 1928), 11–14.

<sup>15</sup> Sigurd Olson, *Listening Point* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1958), 46–49.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Boundary Water Compendium, <http://www.rook.org/earl/bwca/nature/trees/pinusstrob.html>.

Washington, located across the Monongahela River from the city of Pittsburgh, provided eighteenth-century iron furnaces with fuel. By 1830, Pittsburgh's growing industries required 400 tons of bituminous coal per day, the result of the Industrial Revolution and the growing demand for coal to fuel the steel industry that would develop in its wake. The need for more and more coal used to fuel the steel mills resulted in the northern expansion of mining operations in the three major coal seams in the western part of the state. Two of these coal seams, the Lower Kittanning and the Upper Freeport, stretched from Green County in the south to Elk County in the north.<sup>19</sup>

Population growth and economic expansion brought on by expanding cities, western migration, and industrialization increased the country's appetite for both wood and coal. To satisfy this demand, logging and mining operations moved further west into the High Plateau, where the Commonwealth's last great stands of virgin timber and untapped coal reserves existed but where the landscape made their exploitation very difficult.<sup>20</sup>

In most regions of the state, logging, milling, and mining started much earlier than they did in Elk County, and because of the Elk County's difficult terrain and the absence of large rivers, the majority of Elk County's natural resources remained untouched until after 1870. Not until the construction of the railroad could the trees on the steep hillsides and narrow valleys be harvested.<sup>21</sup>

In the beginning of the logging era, the Clarion River became critical to survival. Although it flowed through only the western part of Elk County and provided a limited means of moving logs to mills and lumber to markets, it remained essential to the region's early

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<sup>19</sup> History of Coal Mining.

[http://facweb.stvincent.edu/EEC/MRIP/history\\_of\\_coal\\_mining.htm](http://facweb.stvincent.edu/EEC/MRIP/history_of_coal_mining.htm). Accessed 3/21/08.

<sup>20</sup> Pennsylvania Lumber Museum. <http://www.lumbermuseum.org/history.php>.

<sup>21</sup> *The Atlas of Pennsylvania*, 39.

development and became a lifeline in the settlement of the region.<sup>22</sup> The river flows 110 miles through west-central Pennsylvania, from its source in northern Elk County and southern McKean County to its confluence with the Allegheny River at Brady Bend. The Clarion River's West Branch originates near the town of Kane, while the East Branch forms along the summit of the Eastern Continental Divide. The two branches join in the town of Johnsonburg, eight miles north of Ridgway. At Johnsonburg, the Clarion River drains 204 square miles. Eight miles south of Johnsonburg, Elk Creek flows west from St. Marys and eventually joins the Clarion River at Ridgway, the Clarion's basin now reaching 303 square miles. The Clarion River then descends through southwestern Elk County into Jefferson County, where at Cooksburg, 12 miles south of the Elk County boarder, the river's drainage basin now measures 807 square miles. The United States Geological Survey (USGS) records of the flow of the river over the past 67 years provide information about its capacity and utility. At Cooksburg, the mean flow is 1,671 cubic feet per second, compared to the low flow in late summer of only 177 cubic feet per second and the high flow in early spring of 7,450 cubic feet per second. These flow differences are evidence of the drastic annual change in river levels. The spring thaw and the accompanying increase in the volume of water made the Clarion Valley a good location for logging, sawmills, and a lumber town, but the river could not be used to transport timber from the steeper and isolated valleys. The lumbermen would have to wait until the later part of the century and the construction of a railroad to tap the majority of Elk County's forest resources. In the meantime, the county's early extractive development remained indubitably connected to the river.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Taber, *Tanbark, Alcohol and Lumber*, 1082.

<sup>23</sup> United States Geological Survey, Historical River Flow Records of the Clarion River, <http://waterdata.usgs.gov/pa/nwis/rt>, and the Driftwood Branch of the Sinnemahoning River, <http://waterdata.usgs.gov/pa/nwis/uv?03028500>, USGS 01543000 <http://waterdata.usgs.gov/pa/nwis/uv?01543000>.

When the first loggers arrived in what would later be Elk County, they settled along the Clarion River, constructing mills, building great rafts, and floating the lumber downstream to markets in Pittsburgh. Later, about 1850, loggers in the eastern part of the county along the Bennett Branch of the Sinnemahoning Creek harvested the trees in the Trout Run and Dents Run valleys and floated the logs east to mills in Williamsport.

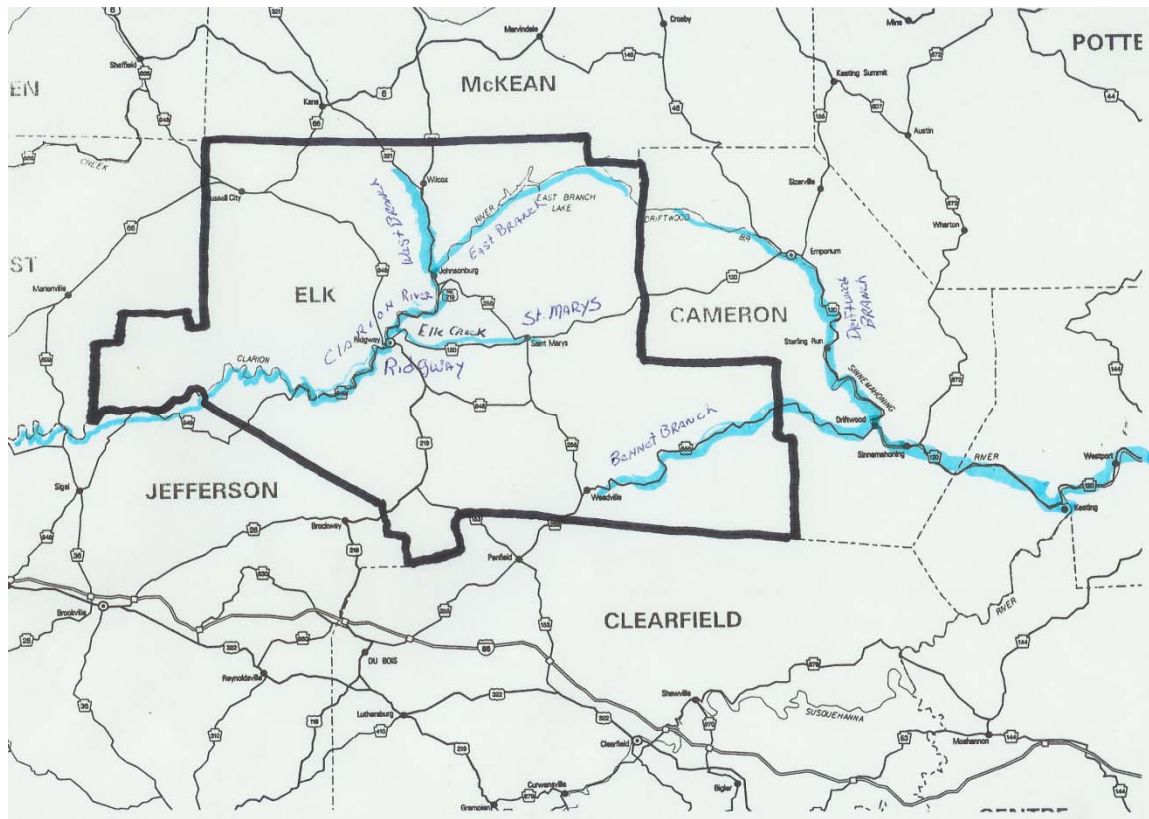


Figure 2.2. Map of Elk County, showing Clarion River and Sinnemahoning River in blue.

The Clarion River proved to be better suited to permanent settlement than the Bennett Branch on the eastern side of the county, as evidenced by the river flow of the Sinnemahoning Creek at the village of Sinnemahoning twenty-two miles below Dents Run, where early Elk County logging took place. The river's flow, measured by the USGA indicators in the village of Sinnemahoning, located three miles below the confluence of the Bennett Branch and the

Driftwood Branch, is only 1,248 cubic feet per second or 423 cubic feet per second less than the Clarion River at Cooksburg. Flows are also much lower on the Sinnemahoning Creek during summer, when the low flow is 71 cubic feet per second, or 106 cubic feet per second less than the summer low flow on the Clarion River. When measured another way, the low flow rate on the Sinnemahoning is 5.68% of its mean flow, while on the Clarion River the low flow rate is 10.59% of the mean flow.<sup>24</sup> The significantly greater flow of water in the Clarion River made the Clarion River Valley a better location for lumbering and settlement, compared to the Bennett Branch Valley near Dents Run.<sup>25</sup>

The wilderness in the High Plateau, with its steep, rugged terrain, poor soil, harsh, cold climate, and isolation, made survival difficult; this same wilderness, however, both unforgiving and challenging, also provided opportunity. The forests, the coal, and the rivers nurtured sustainability in this rich and rugged land and provided the natural resources and the means necessary for Elk County's early development.

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. <http://waterdata.usgs.gov/pa/nwis/rt>.

### 3. SETTLEMENT

The land where Elk County is now located was owned by Native Americans until 1784. The Seneca tribe, protectors of the western border of the Iroquois Nation and savvy custodians of the land and its natural resources, understood full well the unproductive nature of the land in the High Plateau, and because they depended upon the land for their sustenance, they avoided settling in a place so alien to survival. Only when traveling to the more civilized country south of the plateau did they venture into it, and then only to use the Clarion River Valley as a passage through its desolate reaches.

In 1784, at the Second Treaty at Fort Stanwix,<sup>26</sup> the Federal Government purchased this land from the Iroquois Nation for the sum of \$100,000. The United States government intended to give the land to Revolutionary War veterans as compensation for their services during the war, with the expectation that the soldiers would sell their land to settlers who would develop and improve the uninhabited country.

The first settlers arrived in the last decades of the eighteenth century. In 1787, John Bennett ventured up the west branch of the Susquehanna River, then west along the Sinnemahoning Creek, and finally further west and north on the Bennett Branch of the Sinnemahoning Creek, reaching what is now the village of Benezette, located on the eastern slope of the Eastern Continental Divide. Eleven years later, in 1798, John Wade, a hunter and trapper, built a cabin at the confluence of Little Toby Creek and the Clarion River on the western

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<sup>26</sup> *The Atlas of Pennsylvania*, 83.



slope of the Allegheny Front. Neither of these early pioneers stayed in this desolate territory, and the first permanent settlement did not occur until 1810, when Amos Davis settled in what is now the town of Kersey or Centerville, as first named, located eight miles south of the future settlement of St. Marys.<sup>27</sup>

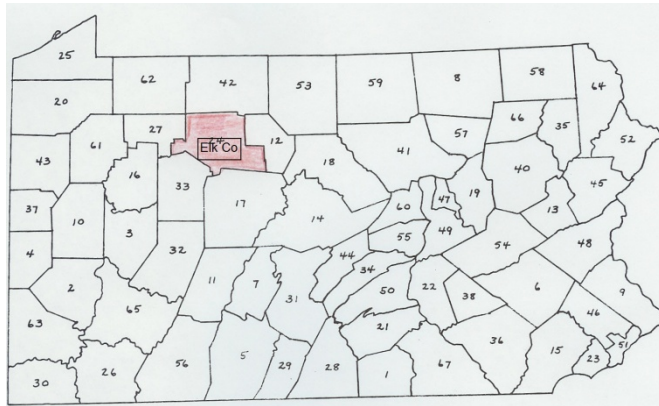


Figure 3.1. Elk County, Pennsylvania

The early inhabitants found vast stands of virgin white pine, hemlock, and hardwood, and soon other settlers arrived, drawn to the area by the valuable forest resources. But the early settlers also found themselves almost alone in this vast wilderness. The earlier western migration bypassed the region, and in 1850, Elk County and its neighboring counties in the High Plateau remained sparsely inhabited. The High Plateau and its difficult terrain were the key factor in the low population levels compared to the counties immediately south of the plateau. In 1850, only 39,523 hardy individuals resided in the seven counties making up the High Plateau, while 144,744 inhabitants lived in the seven counties south of the plateau. Clearly, the rugged and difficult topography's significantly thwarted development.

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<sup>27</sup> Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 10.

Table 3.1. Comparison of Population, Six Counties Inside the Pennsylvania High Plateau vs. Six Counties South of Plateau, 1840 to 1900.

| <b>Six Counties Inside the High Plateau</b> |               |               |               |               |                |                |                |
|---|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
|   | <b>1840</b>   | <b>1850</b>   | <b>1860</b>   | <b>1870</b>   | <b>1880</b>    | <b>1890</b>    | <b>1900</b>    |
| Elk   | -             | 3,531         | 5,915         | 8,488         | 12,800         | 22,280         | 32,903         |
| McKean                                      | 2975          | 5,218         | 8,859         | 8,901         | 42,565         | 46,808         | 51,348         |
| Cameron                                     | -             | -             | -             | 4,278         | 5,150          | 7,288          | 7,084          |
| Potter                                      | 3371          | 6,048         | 11,470        | 11,265        | 13,797         | 22,778         | 30,021         |
| Forest                                      | -             | -             | 898           | 4,010         | 4,885          | 8,482          | 11,089         |
| Clinton                                     | 8328          | 11,055        | 17,598        | 23,016        | 26,278         | 28,658         | 29,197         |
| Warren                                      | 9278          | 13,671        | 19,190        | 23,897        | 27,081         | 37,585         | 38,940         |
| <b>Total Inside</b>                         | <b>23,952</b> | <b>39,523</b> | <b>65,790</b> | <b>85,725</b> | <b>134,436</b> | <b>175,769</b> | <b>202,482</b> |

| <b>Six Counties South of the Pennsylvania High Plateau</b> |               |                |                |                |                |                |                |
|--|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
|  | <b>1840</b>   | <b>1850</b>    | <b>1860</b>    | <b>1870</b>    | <b>1880</b>    | <b>1890</b>    | <b>1900</b>    |
| Jefferson  | 7,253         | 13,518         | 18,270         | 21,656         | 27,935         | 44,005         | 59,118         |
| Clearfield   | 7,834         | 12,586         | 18,759         | 25,741         | 43,408         | 69,565         | 80,614         |
| Center   | 20,492        | 28,355         | 27,000         | 34,418         | 37,922         | 43,269         | 42,804         |
| Clarion  | -             | 23,565         | 24,988         | 26,537         | 40,828         | 36,802         | 34,298         |
| Indiana  | 20,782        | 27,170         | 33,687         | 36,138         | 40,527         | 42,175         | 42,566         |
| Blair  | -             | 21,777         | 27,929         | 38,051         | 52,740         | 70,866         | 85,099         |
| Cambria  | 11,256        | 17,773         | 29,155         | 36,500         | 46,811         | 66,375         | 104,837        |
| <b>Total Outside</b>                                       | <b>67,617</b> | <b>144,744</b> | <b>179,788</b> | <b>219,041</b> | <b>290,171</b> | <b>373,057</b> | <b>449,336</b> |

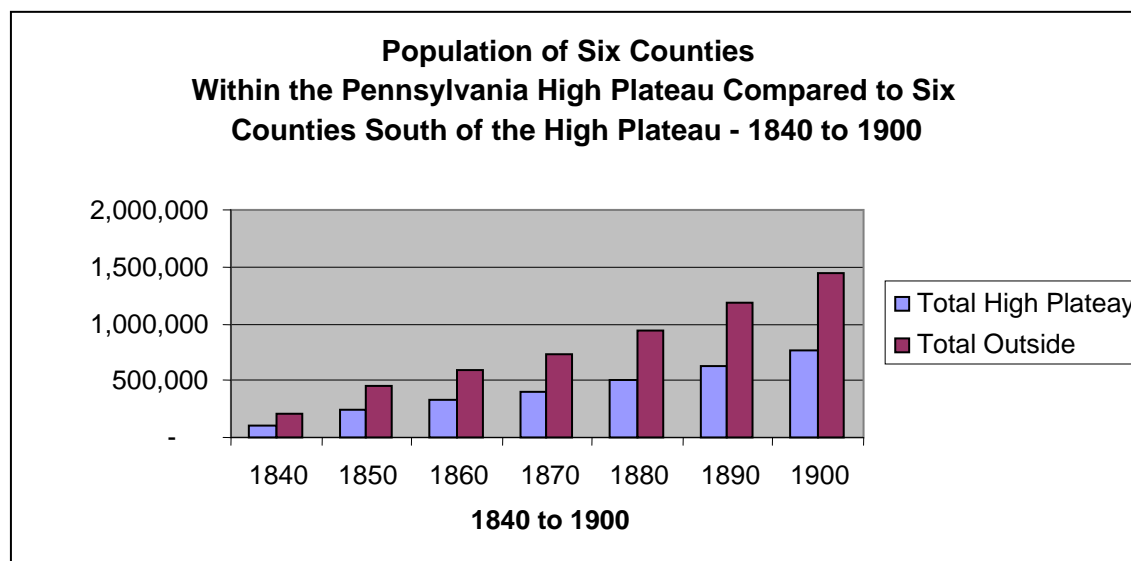


Figure 3.2. Population of Counties inside and outside High Plateau, 1804–1900.

Because the government set no limits on the amount of land one could buy and no settlement requirements existed on the purchaser, speculators quickly acquired much of the territory. The Holland Land Company, controlled by Dutch investors initially represented by Philadelphia financier Robert Morris, acquired much of the land in what is now Elk County. Other landowning companies in the area included the United States Land Company and the Fox Land Company of Boston, Massachusetts. A map in the 1990 Pennsylvania Atlas places the Holland Land Company's 1790 holdings in two primary locations in Elk County: one large block located in the center of the county approximately where Ridgway is today, and the second and larger block located along the eastern border of the county where St. Marys now stands.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid; Treaty of Fort Stanwix, <http://www.u-s-history.com/pages/h1215.html>; <http://www.u-s-history.com/pages/h1215.html>; [www.ohiohistorycentral.org/entry.php?rec=1420](http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/entry.php?rec=1420)<http://en.>; The Web site describes the Treaty of Fort Stanwix and the purchase of the land where Elk is located; *The Atlas of Pennsylvania*, 83.

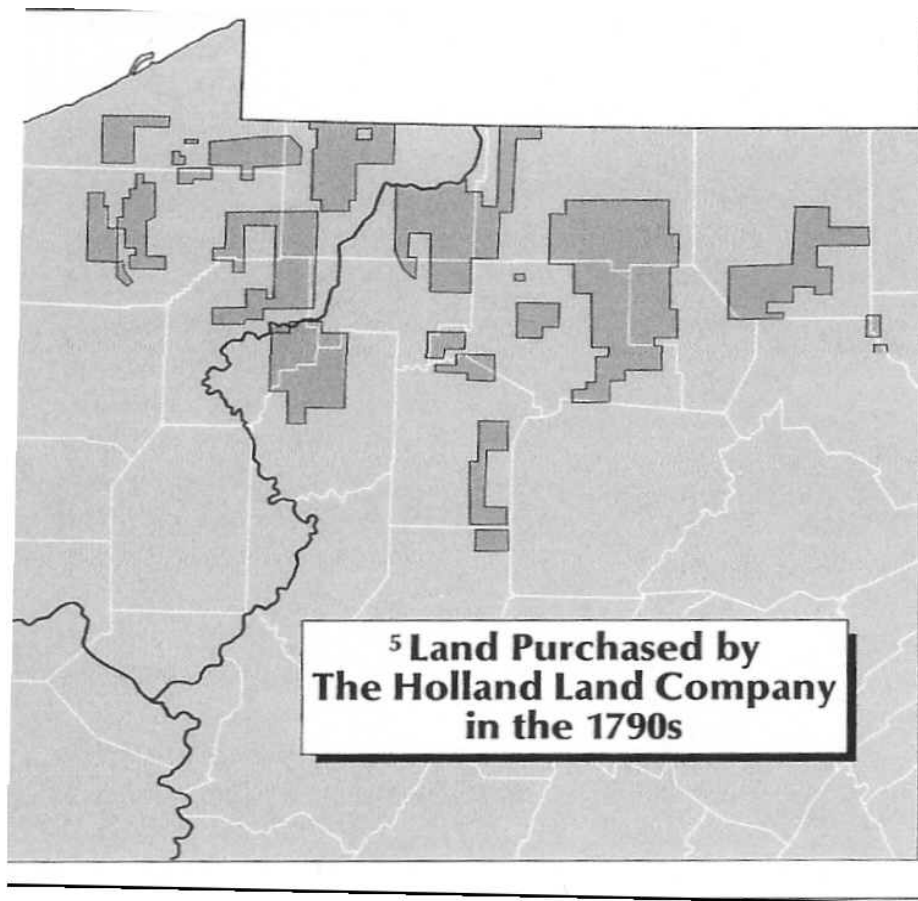


Figure 3.3. 1790 Map of the Holland Land Company holdings in western Pennsylvania.<sup>29</sup>

Evidence is sketchy regarding who sold the 40,000 acres to Jacob Ridgway, where the town of Ridgway is now located, but it appears to be the land once owned by the Holland Land Company.<sup>30</sup> In the early 1800s, Jacob Ridgway, a Quaker and successful Philadelphia shipping merchant, purchased 100,000 acres in western Pennsylvania, 40,000 located in what is now Elk County. Following his acquisition of this land, Ridgway sent his land agent, James Gillis, to the region in order to scout out a site for a permanent village. Gillis purchased 400 acres from Ridgway and built a cabin, sawmill, and gristmill on the headwaters of Mill Creek, four miles north of the future town of Ridgway. Shortly thereafter, Joseph S. Hyde, a New England

<sup>29</sup> *The Atlas Of Pennsylvania*, 82.

<sup>30</sup> Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 9 and 10.

woodsman, moved to the area. Hyde stayed for a while, then moved on for a period, but returned and eventually worked for Gillis. After marrying Gillis's niece, Hyde acquired the Gillis mill and land. Then his fortunes changed, and he purchased more land and invested in more mills, eventually becoming the most important lumberman in the county during the pre-railroad era. Later, in the second half of the century, he became an important link in the unification of the powerful mining, lumber, banking, and commercial partnership established in 1872 between Kaul and Hall.<sup>31</sup>

In the years following James Gillis's move to the Clarion River Valley, he may have, as Jacob Ridgway's land agent, possibly influenced at least twelve other lumbermen to relocate to the Ridgway area between 1824 and 1850. These lumbermen included James's brother, Enos Gillis who like James came from Victory, New York; James Gallagher, George Dickinson, Lyman Wilmarth, and Jacob Hughes, also from Victory, New York; David Thayer from Bath, New York; Bryan Ely and Joseph S. Hyde from New Hampshire; John Cobb from Chautauqua, New York; W. J. B Andrews and Henry Souther, both from Boston, Massachusetts; and Labbeus Luther, from Boston, Massachusetts, who moved to the region as the land agent for the Fox and Norris Company.<sup>32</sup>

In 1833, George Dickinson and Enos Gillis laid out the village of Ridgway. The new community became an ideal location for sawmills because of the vast forests that surrounded the community and because of the available water power provided by the waterways that bordered the community on three sides: the Clarion River, Elk Creek, and Gallagher Run.<sup>33</sup> But even before the arrival of the lumberman, and before the incorporation of the town, James Gills understood that in order for the area to grow, a road needed to be built connecting Jacob

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<sup>31</sup> Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 159–168.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

Ridgway's land to the outside world. In 1823, ten years before the formal settlement of Ridgway, Gillis—envisioning a road connecting the Susquehanna to the Allegheny River valley—petitioned the Pennsylvania state legislature for a turnpike. In 1825, a bill was passed which transferred both public and private land in order to create in a 120-mile turnpike. The new road, from Bellefonte to Smethport, consisted of a combination of newly constructed roads and existing forest paths, but most importantly, it passed through the center of Ridgway. Residents along the turnpike assumed five-mile maintenance sections, for which they were permitted to operate tollgates. After 1842, St. Marys was connected to the turnpike by a ten-mile road that traveled west along Elk Creek to Ridgway, and by a five-mile road that traveled east to Centerville.<sup>34</sup> Gillis's road, although essential to travel both within the county and to outside destinations, remained primitive at best and could not be used to transport the heavy raw materials—coal and lumber—to outside markets. However, it did open the region to the outside world.

A traveler passing through Ridgway in 1850 would have had no trouble identifying the community of 251 settlers and 40 buildings as an extractive logging town inhabited by lumberman, loggers, woodsmen, and a few tradesmen and professional people. Men outnumbered women 160 to 91, and Anglo/Americans accounted for 82 of the 90 workers.<sup>35</sup>

The term *lumbermen* used in the census describes the entrepreneurs who owned the forest land and the sawmills; in 1850, nine lumbermen made up the core of the community's economic elite. The average value of real estate owned by each lumberman amounted to \$8,522, or a hefty \$7,839 more than the real estate wealth of the other employed residents. Occupations other than

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid. Wessman includes a reprint of the history of the Milesburg Pike written by George and Margaret Rupprecht, 91–95.

<sup>35</sup> Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 Census Manuscript, Pennsylvania, Elk County, Benzinger Township and Ridgway.

lumbermen in the 1850 census included woodsmen and sawmill workers, an attorney, two blacksmiths, four carpenters, six farmers, an innkeeper, two millwrights, a painter, a shoemaker, a tailor, a teacher, and two retailers, both of whom were also lumbermen.<sup>36</sup>

St. Marys was settled ten years after the town of Ridgway, in 1842, creating a major change in the occupational and cultural footprint of the area. Unlike the industrial development in Ridgway, which was led by Anglo/American lumbermen, the new community was founded by German Catholic farmers, who created it as an exclusive village intended for religious and cultural isolation. While Ridgway developed over time, St. Marys came into existence almost overnight. In the first half of the nineteenth century, large numbers of Catholic immigrants, particularly Irish and Germans, migrated to America fleeing famine, population pressures, and ethno/religious persecution in Western Europe. The new immigrants spread across the American landscape, and several small ethnic groups, especially Germans, sought cultural isolation in rural communes.<sup>37</sup>

St. Marys attempted to be such a commune. In 1838, a small group of German Catholics in Philadelphia and Baltimore formed a “Bund,” or brotherhood and began searching for land upon which to build a farming commune. Local historians, writing in the 1950s, suggest that the German immigrants came to the wilderness because of discrimination against them in Philadelphia and Baltimore.<sup>38</sup> However no original documents substantiate this theory. This explanation is questioned, because most of the anti-immigrant violence in America affected Irish immigrants, and only a very small number of German immigrants from the two parishes in Baltimore and Philadelphia moved to St. Marys. Oscar Handlin suggests that this migration may

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Philip Taylor, *The Distant Magnet: European Immigration to the U.S.A* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 21–26 and 176–182.

<sup>38</sup> Albert Brem, *History of the St. Marys Church*, 11.

have been the result of “an effort to restore the communal qualities of peasant agriculture [that] never took root in America.” Handlin cites several small villages, including St. Marys, Pennsylvania, Benedicta, Maine, Glandorf, Ohio, Jasper, Indiana, and St. Nazianz, Wisconsin<sup>39</sup> where such communes were founded but failed. As happened in the other towns, the commune experiment did not last in St. Marys. Some of its inhabitants returned to Philadelphia and Baltimore, and those who remained turned to subsistence farming.

In the autumn of 1842, eighteen families arrived in Centerville, eight miles south of where St. Marys would be located. The families stayed at the John Green farm, and the men spent the weeks before December constructing log cabins along the banks of Elk Creek. On December 8<sup>th</sup>, the feast day of the Immaculate Conception, the settlers moved from Centerville to the new community they named Marienstadt, or Mary’s Town. In theory, each family would have a house lot in the town and a farm lot in the countryside. Fr. Alexander Cvitovitz, the community’s spiritual leader, designed the town in the shape of a wagon wheel with eight spokes, each a mile long.<sup>40</sup> However, according to local historian Charles Schaut, the map was drawn on “much too grand a scale and without considering the undulating terrain.”<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migration* (Boston: Little Brown, 1973), 83.

<sup>40</sup> Charles Schaut, *History of St. Marys: The Formative Years* (St. Marys, PA: The St. Marys Historical Society, 1968), 5. Charles Schaut was a noted local historian, the grandson of one of the founders of St. Marys and the founding director of the Historical Society of St. Marys and Benzinger Township.

Only two of the spokes or streets in the wagon wheel map were ever built, and these were never completed. Center Street, one of the spokes begins at the outer rim of the wheel and ends about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile west of its intersection with the rim. The distance from the west end of Center Street to where it would have intersected with the hub, if completed, is another  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile, making each spoke or street a mile in length. The hub was never built and the center of St. Marys is located at the intersection of Center Street and the rim of the wheel, North St. Marys Street. (See colored section on the map.)

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.



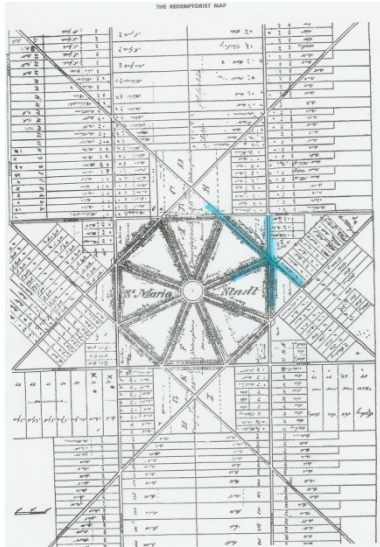


Figure 3.4. 1843 Redemptorist map of St. Marys, drawn by Fr. Alexander of the Mission's headquarters in Baltimore, after a visit to St. Marys.

In 1842 the German-American Catholic Brotherhood of Philadelphia and Baltimore, the founders of St. Marys, purchased 36,000 acres from the Fox Land Company. Then, in 1844, Mathias Benzinger and John Eschbach—both merchants in Baltimore—purchased an additional 26,000 acres from the United States Land Company. Two years after the formation of St. Marys, Benzinger and Eschbach, in cooperation with the Redemptorist Fathers in Baltimore, assumed the responsibility for developing the new Catholic commune. There is conflicting information about the second purchase of 26,000 acres. One account connects this land to the Fox Land Company, without mention of the United States Land Company; in another account the two companies are referred to almost interchangeably.<sup>42</sup> Little information exists regarding the history of the Fox Land Company, but one source describes it as the Boston Company and

<sup>42</sup> A discrepancy in the name of the land company is found between Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 10, where the company is cited as the Fox and Norris Company, and *The Accessible Archives*, where it is cited as the Fox Land Company of Massachusetts. <http://www.accessible.com/amcnty/PA/McKeanElkCamPot/Elk21.htm>, chapter IV (Transactions of the Commissioners), 1–3, and chapter XI.

another as the Fox and Norris Company. However, the company's land in what would become Elk County appears to be the land owned at one time by the Holland Land Company.

Sometime after 1842, Benzinger and Eschbach acquired the original 36,000 acres held in trust by the Brotherhood. With the combined holdings, Benzinger and Eschbach, along with Father Alexander Cvitkovitz and Baron Von Schroeter, sought prospective settlers in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and southern Germany. Von Schroter, a Bavarian gentleman of title with connections in the court of King Ludwig I of Bavaria, promoted the new community in Germany.<sup>43</sup> He succeeded in recruiting hundreds of southern Germans to move to the community during the years that followed.

The reason for the selection of land in the High Plateau as a site for a farming commune remains a mystery. The topography, soil, and weather in the High Plateau did not support the formation of an agriculture community. As reported in data contained in the 1850, 1860, and 1880 agricultural census, improved acreage, value of farms and farm livestock, production of wheat, rye, corn, and oats, and the number of draft animals in Elk County remained well below those recorded for the contiguous counties of Jefferson and Clearfield, located south of the High Plateau.<sup>44</sup> The data clearly identifies the inferior agriculture quality of Elk County compared to its neighboring counties to the south, and even less favorably when compared to the agricultural output in Center County, fifty miles south and east of Elk County and one of the better farming counties in Central Pennsylvania. In the entire state, only McKean County—also located in the High Plateau—had as low an agricultural output as Elk County.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Albert Brem, *History of the St. Marys Church*, 11–14 and 30–33; Schaut, *History of St. Marys: The Formative Years*, 7–15.

<sup>44</sup> Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 Statistics of Pennsylvania Agriculture—Farms and Implements, Stock, Products, 195; *The Atlas of Pennsylvania*, 24

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*; Eighth Census of the United States, 1860 Census on Agriculture, Pennsylvania, 122; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880 Agriculture Census, Pennsylvania 306; Appendix A.

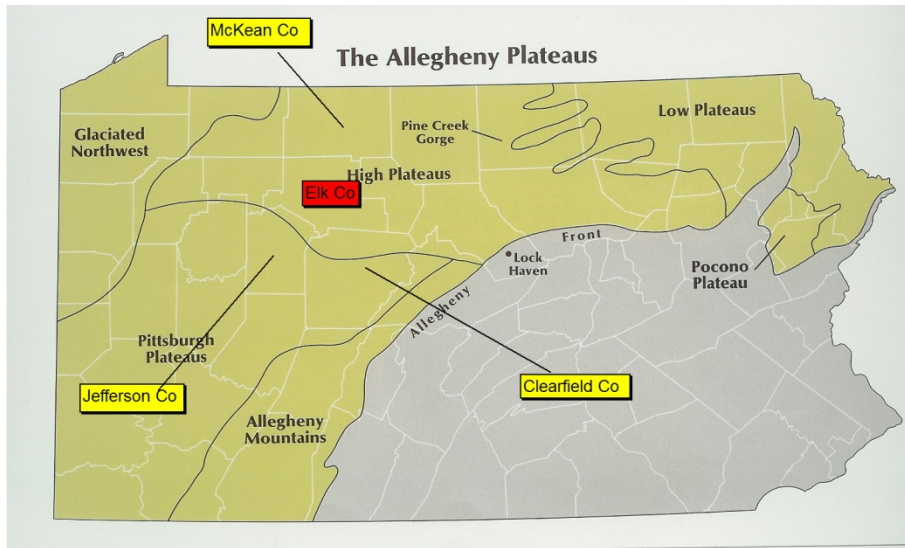


Figure 3.5. Map of counties surrounding Elk County and their location with respect to the High Plateau.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>46</sup> *The Atlas of Pennsylvania*, 24. Customized map with Elk, Jefferson, Clearfield, and McKean Counties highlighted.

Table 3.2. 1850 Agriculture Census, Per Capita Agricultural Comparison, Five Counties.

| Data                           | Elk       |            | Clearfield  |            | Jefferson   |            | McKean    |            | Center      |            |
|--------------------------------|-----------|------------|-------------|------------|-------------|------------|-----------|------------|-------------|------------|
|                                | Total     | Per Capita | Total       | Per Capita | Total       | Per Capita | Total     | Per Capita | Total       | Per Capita |
| Population, 1850               | 3,531     |            | 12,586      |            | 13,518      |            | 5,218     |            | 23,355      |            |
| Improved Land (Acres)          | 9,730     | 2.76       | 61,115      | 4.86       | 56,850      | 4.21       | 9,217     | 1.77       | 114,215     | 4.89       |
| Unimproved Land (Acres)        | 37,870    | 10.73      | 117,468     | 9.33       | 122,900     | 9.09       | 21,167    | 4.06       | 113,510     | 4.86       |
| Cash Value of Farms            | \$286,772 | \$81       | \$1,718,869 | \$137      | \$1,307,096 | \$97       | \$276,820 | \$53       | \$5,024,563 | 215.14     |
| Cash Value of Domestic Animals | \$50,036  | \$14       | \$277,637   | \$22       | \$251,881   | \$19       | \$65,547  | \$13       | \$588,955   | 25.22      |
| Bushels of Wheat               | 4,789     | 1.36       | 60,954      | 4.84       | 76,990      | 5.70       | 1,962     | 0.38       | 433,612     | 18.57      |
| Bushels of Rye                 | 6,265     | 1.77       | 80,588      | 6.40       | 40,734      | 3.01       | 585       | 0.11       | 109,051     | 4.67       |
| Bushels of Corn                | 10,776    | 3.05       | 31,040      | 2.47       | 53,877      | 3.99       | 10,172    | 1.95       | 316,112     | 13.54      |
| Bushels of Oats                | 24,040    | 6.81       | 55,943      | 4.44       | 145,828     | 10.79      | 29,974    | 5.74       | 186,204     | 7.97       |
| Horses and Oxen                | 670       | 0.19       | 3,665       | 0.29       | 4,785       | 0.35       | 591       | 0.11       | 5,179       | 0.22       |

Because of the poor soil, rough topography, harsh weather, and isolation of the inhabitants, St. Marys nearly failed. The settlers who remained survived because they successfully recruited new families from Germany and, more importantly, because they redirected the community towards the extraction of the region's natural resources.<sup>47</sup>

Unlike Ridgway, religion in St. Marys represented the driving force behind the development of the community and may explain why the early settlers made such a valiant effort to survive in the harsh wilderness. The naming of the town, the immediate construction of a church, the importance of the clergy, as typified by Father Alexander's involvement in the leadership of the settlement, and, most dramatically, the significant role played by the Sisters of Notre Dame and the Benedictine Sisters are all testimony to the importance that Roman Catholic culture had upon the development of the community.

None of these forces may have been more important than the contribution of the Sisters. In 1847, five years after the settlement of the community, the German School Sisters of Notre Dame arrived. Although they did not stay long, they established the town's first school. In 1852, the Benedictine Sisters replaced the German School Sisters of Notre Dame. The Benedictine Sisters formed the first motherhouse of the Benedictine Order in America, and more important to the development of St. Marys, they instituted the religious-based education system that continues today.<sup>48</sup> The Sisters living in the new community experienced considerable hardships in the early settlement period. Sister Mary Theresa Gerhardinger, the prioress of the German School Sisters

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<sup>47</sup> J. T. Manz, *The Colony of St. Marys in Pennsylvania, North America 1846* (St. Marys, PA: Historical Society of St. Marys and Benzinger Township), Appendix C. The document is a translation published by the Historical Society of St. Marys and Benzinger Township. The document appeared in *The American Catholic*, 1–5, translated by Joseph Schneider, Library of Congress. The original pamphlet was probably produced in St. Marys or Baltimore by members of the Brotherhood who wanted to encourage migration from southern Germany to St. Marys. Much of the information seems quite misleading, especially regarding the agricultural and transportation merits of the new community.

<sup>48</sup> Brem, *History of the St. Marys Church*, 22–25; Schaut, *History of St. Marys: The Formative Years*, 20–33.

of Notre Dame, describes the dire conditions they found in the new community in a letter she wrote to Reverend Mathias Siegert.

Reverend Father—Thanks to the Lord who has finally let us arrive at St. Marys. We have endured many sufferings as I have written to you and the last two days of our journey were especially difficult. The road through the dense forest is very poor, and so narrow that no ordinary wagon can get through.

... St. Marys. According to American standards it is probably a city; according to German standards it would not even be considered a village.... The thought of building a mother house of the order here would not even have occurred to us had we been given a truthful description or received a plan of the city.... ... only four or five families are succeeding well; the rest are really so poor that the Redemptorists cultivated their land to secure bread and potatoes for those who came to them for help during the winter. Without this, they would have starved. Colonization in America is hard, especially here at St. Marys's[.]

In fact, there is no paved road in the entire so-called city, and stumps of felled trees are still standing. In order to get to our house, one must walk some distance through the forest.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Mother Mary Theresa Gerhardinger, *Collected Correspondence of Mother Mary Theresa of Jesus Gerhardinger*, 1847, volume I, 509–511. Mother Mary Theresa was the Mother Superior of the School Sisters of Notre Dame, and she arrived in St. Marys in 1847. The collection, edited by Sister Mary Hester Valentine, SSND, includes a translation of this letter, written by Mother Mary Theresa to Reverend Mathias Siegert, August 1847. It describes her reaction to what she found upon here arrival in the wilderness village of St. Marys. A translated copy of Mother Theresa letter is in the collection of the Historical Society of St. Marys and Benzinger Township, 99 Erie Avenue, St. Marys, Pennsylvania.

For the next 150 years the sisters continued to play an important role in the community's development: first as educators, and later as caregivers when, in 1931, they accepted responsibility for operating the community hospital.

The work of both the Sisters of Norte Dame and the Benedictine Sisters reinforced the strong sense of community that began when the town formed as a religious sanctuary. Together, the values persistent in the Roman Catholic faith augmented by the education system provided by the Sisters played an important role in the formation of a stable society. Indeed, St. Marys developed a cohesive cultural identity very unusual for an extractive community.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the mill town of Ridgway and the Catholic German farming community of St. Marys seemed worlds apart, without any commonality. Yet both shared an important similarity: both were locally controlled, and both developed as complete communities that controlled their individual destiny. Within these new communities, woodsmen, farmers, Yankees, Germans, Protestants, and Catholics—all assembled to form the nucleus around which development took form.

In 1843, ten years after the settlement of Ridgway and a year after the settlement of St. Marys, the region surrounding the two settlements was divided among three counties: McKean to the west and north, Clearfield to the south, and Jefferson to the southwest. This placed the land and its natural resources outside of the political control of the Ridgway lumbermen/capitalists. Finding this lack of control unacceptable, the leaders moved to create a new county.

Elk County's lumbermen-capitalists, mostly Democrats, wanted complete economic and political control of the land so that they could build communities that reflected their unique way of life. Unconcerned about the eighteenth-century reform movement involving temperance, abolition, and the use of the King James Bible in public schools, and more concerned about local

control and avoiding state and federal interference, the lumbermen-capitalists sought to create independent, permanent, and modern communities for their families that would not be dependent upon the political influence of outsiders and where they could create both social and economic security in a state that offered little in the way of community development. Thus, the formation of an independent county under local control represented the ideal political platform upon which to build a future. After an unsuccessful attempt, in 1837, on April 18, 1843, following the election of Judge James Gillis to the state legislature, Gillis used his political influence to pass Act 150 creating Elk County.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Wessman *A History of Elk County*, 15– 6; *Accessible Archives*, chapter IV, 1.



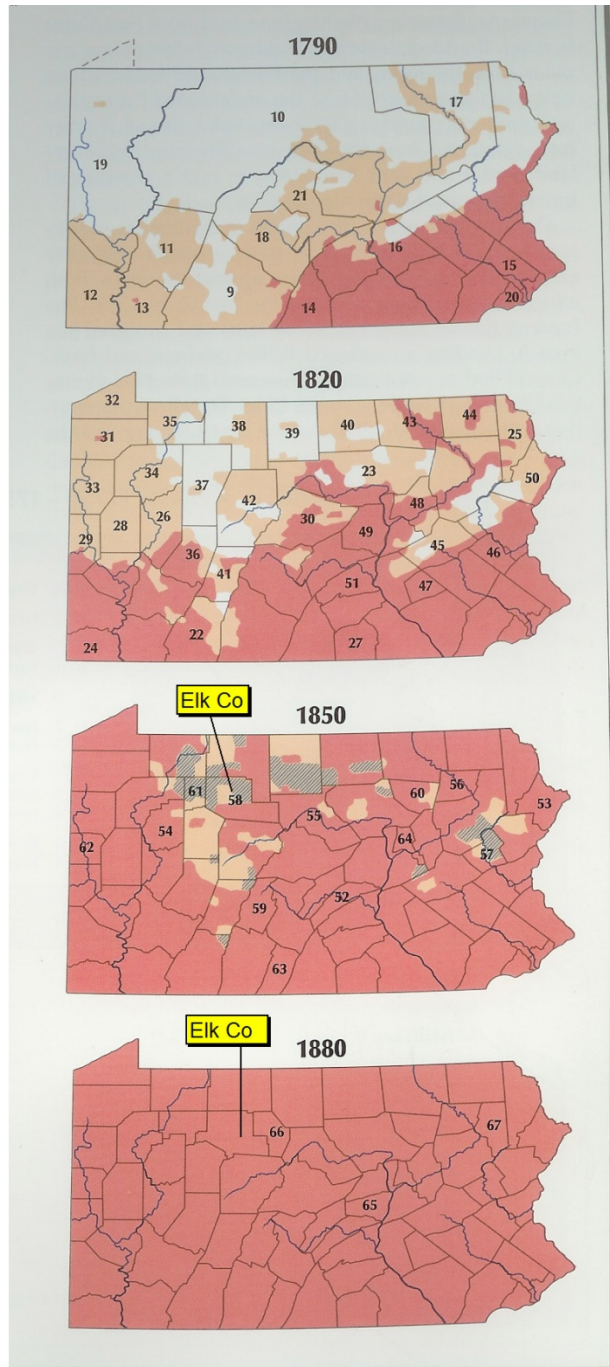


Figure 3.6. Map showing the formation of Elk County out of Clearfield, Jefferson, and McKean counties (1820 Map McKean #34, Jefferson #37, and Clearfield # 42) (1850 Map Elk #58).<sup>51</sup>

<sup>51</sup> *The Atlas of Pennsylvania*, 83

Once established, the new county contained nine townships, including Bennezette, Jay, Benzinger, Jones, and Fox townships in the east, and Highland, Spring Creek, Ridgway, and Horton townships in the west. Between 1843 and 1871 the county lost and gained bits and pieces along its eastern boarder. Then, in 1871, Millstone Township joined the county's western border as the he tenth township. Residents of eastern Forest County—dissatisfied when their county seat shifted from Marienville in the eastern part of Forest County to Tionesta in the western part of the county—separated from Forest County and joined Elk County. After 1871 the county lines became permanent, even though disputes continued as to the exact location of the western boarder.

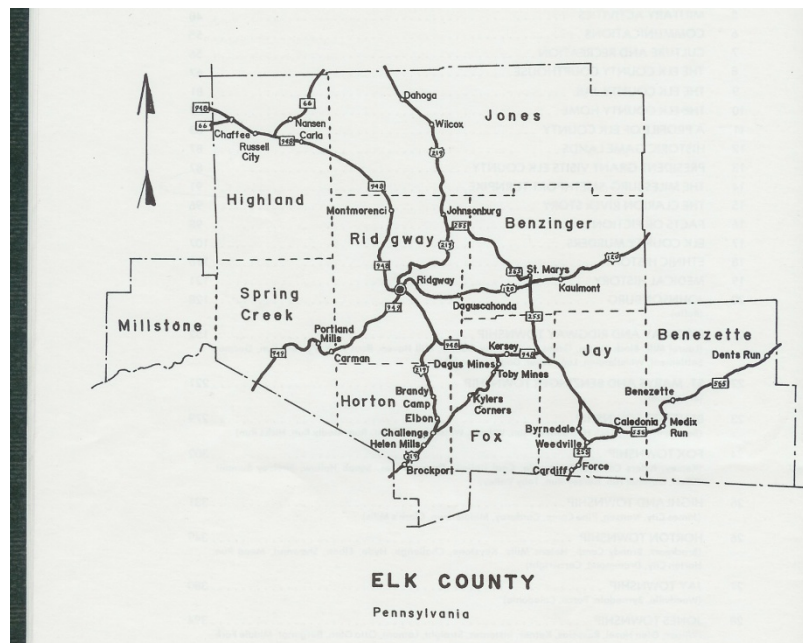


Figure 3.7. Elk County township map.<sup>52</sup>

However, for several years before and after its formation the new county faced several obstacles. The people in neighboring counties, who were losing land and tax revenue, opposed

<sup>52</sup> Wessman, *A History of Elk County*.

the new county. Some residents in Elk County, worried about increased taxes, also opposed the formation of a new county. Although Elk County officially existed after April 18, 1843, agreement on the location of the county seat remained unresolved. Four sites were proposed, including 100 acres on Boot Jack Mountain, the crossroads to the village of Brandy Camp, the mouth of Trout Run near the village of Benezette, and “the old village of Ridgway.” The location of the county seat remained so much in question that on June 25, 1844, the Elk County commissioners issued a public notice stating that they had no official knowledge that a “seat of Justice had been formed for said county.” Not until March 19, 1845, did the commissioners awarded a contract to B. T. Hasings to build a court house on land donated by John Ridgway, the son of Jacob Ridgway, in the village of Ridgway. In 1848, politicians in St. Marys challenged the location. Three years after Ridgway became the county seat, A. I. Wilcox, a member of the state House of Representatives, and Timothy Iver of the state Senate proposed a bill that, if passed, would move the county seat to St. Marys.<sup>53</sup> The bill—supported by William Stokes, an attorney from Philadelphia and a partner of Benzinger and Eschbach who moved to St. Marys in 1844—might have passed had it not been for the well-organized opposition, probably led by Judge Gillis and John Ridgway. St. Marys may have acted prematurely. After 1848, the community experienced remarkable growth, expanding from 964 residents in 1847 to 1,162 residents in 1850, making it nearly five times larger than Ridgway. By 1860 the combined population of St. Marys and Benzinger Township reached 1,929 residents and exceeded Ridgway’s population by 1,450 residents. Had St. Marys bided its time, the political power that accompanies growth may have been enough to move the county seat to St. Marys.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> *Accessible Archives*, chapter IV, 2

<sup>54</sup> Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 85

More importantly, however, the formation of the county, and particularly growth in the villages of Ridgway and St. Marys, furthered the independence of the people and created a sound infrastructure upon which to develop. The natural resources in the county, now controlled by local lumbermen and not by distant capitalists, spurred growth and made way for greater political and financial independence. Building upon this new independence, local leaders in both communities worked diligently to influence the construction of a railroad, knowing full well that it would bring more opportunities and new extractive industries, including coal mining, tanning, chemicals, and paper companies. A railroad also meant more jobs for the growing numbers of people arriving from the eastern United States, the British Isles, Sweden, Germany, and other countries in western Europe. Fundamentally, a railroad could redefine Ridgway and St. Marys as a supplier of the important extractive resource critical to a growing nation awakened by the Industrial Revolution.<sup>55</sup>

One cannot emphasize enough the importance local control and the formation of communities in which culture and independence played a powerful role. The culture and independence that resulted in both communities supported not only a lifestyle that advanced the quality of life but also anchored strong community foundations that carried the communities into the twentieth century.

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<sup>55</sup> Homer T. Rosenberger, *The Philadelphia and Erie Railroad: Its Place in American Economic History* (Potomac, Maryland: Fox Hill Press, 1975), 432, "Driving the Last Spike."

#### **4. DEVELOPING THE WILDERNESS: THE RAILROAD ERA AND THE BEGINNING OF CHANGE**

Although the economic development of Ridgway and St. Marys was in the hands of local entrepreneurs, they also depended on external forces to move the heavy and bulky products to outside markets; a railroad proved to be the only solution. Financier Nicholas Biddle's plan to connect Philadelphia to Erie by rail eventually resulted in a railroad through Elk County that assured the development of the two communities. The invention of the Shay locomotive and the construction of local logging railroads completed the necessary infrastructure and initiated the golden age of logging and mining in Elk County. However, the completion of the railroad required political maneuvering by influential land speculators in Elk, Warren, and McKean Counties. In 1864, after thirty years of planning, manipulating, and reorganizing, the railroad that had been envisioned by Biddle finally linked Philadelphia to Erie and the Great Lakes and opened the land to unbridled development.

Prior to the railroad, rivers provided the only practical means of transporting both logs and lumber. In the western part of the county, logs cut on the nearby hillsides were skidded to the mills by horse or ox teams or floated on small tributaries to the mills along the Clarion River. The lumberman built splash dams on streams and creeks that fed the Clarion River and in the spring the release of the impounded snowmelt carried the logs to the mills. After the logs were milled, rafts transported the lumber to markets in Pittsburgh.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 19 and 20.

In eastern Elk County, along the Bennett Branch of the Sinnemahoning Creek, lumbermen branded the logs that they floated to the mills in Lock Haven and Williamsport. Crews of river drivers followed the logs along more than 100 miles of river and performed the dangerous job of keeping the logs moving and breaking up the frequent log jams. But the rivers provided access to only a small percentage of the trees and none of the coal in the county; therefore, a better way to access the extractive resources needed to be found.<sup>57</sup> A railroad, at that time, represented the only option.

Like the vast stands of white pine, hemlock, and hardwood trees, the rich deposits of soft coal required a railroad to reach markets. Prior to the railroad, mining in the county only provided coal for local consumption. Because coal did not require the elaborate network of logging railroads or specialized logging locomotives, it was easier to adapt rail transport for the county's coal resources, and coal thus emerged as the first post-railroad extractive industry.

In 1835, Nicholas Biddle, president of the Second Bank of the United States, believed that a railroad from Philadelphia to Erie could be as important to Pennsylvania's development as the Erie Canal was in opening the interior of New York. Biddle and his backers believed that the harbor at Erie was the premier harbor on the eastern Great Lakes, and thus a railroad from Erie to Philadelphia would be very rewarding, not only for Philadelphia but for all of northern Pennsylvania. Biddle's influence and the financial backing of his Bank resulted the chartering of the Sunbury and Erie Railroad.<sup>58</sup>

In 1838, Biddle hired Edward Miller, a noted civil engineer who at that time worked for the Little Schuylkill and Susquehanna Railroad. After Miller considered several possible routes,

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<sup>57</sup>Samuel A. King, "A Log Drive to Williamsport in 1868," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 29 (April 1962), 151–174. Mr. King was an assistant professor of history at the DuBois campus of the Pennsylvania State University. King describes a river drive of more than 200,000 logs driven from DuBois to Williamsport on the Sinnemahoning Creek and the Susquehanna River, carried out by the joint enterprise of John DuBois and Hiram Woodward.

<sup>58</sup> Homer Rosenberger, *The Philadelphia and Erie Railroad*, 63–69.

he chose the Driftwood-to-Warren route across the Eastern Continental Divide, near the future site of St. Marys. Historians and civil engineers questioned Miller's choice, because the route he selected ignored the longer but easier route from Driftwood through DuBois to Franklin, which would have provided direct access to Cleveland and Chicago. Instead, the shorter route chosen by Miller crossed two of the highest and steepest passes in Pennsylvania's northern Allegheny Mountains and necessitated shorter trains and pusher locomotives. The West Creek summit east of St. Marys is 1,682 feet above sea level. The Clarion summit near Kane in McKean County is 2,006 feet above sea level and is the highest summit on all of the potential routes. The alternative Driftwood-DuBois route crossed the divide through the Flag Swamp, a slope so gradual that it is navigable by canoe during high water.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Homer T. Rosenberger, *The Philadelphia and Erie Railroad*, 121–124, 667–668, and 718.

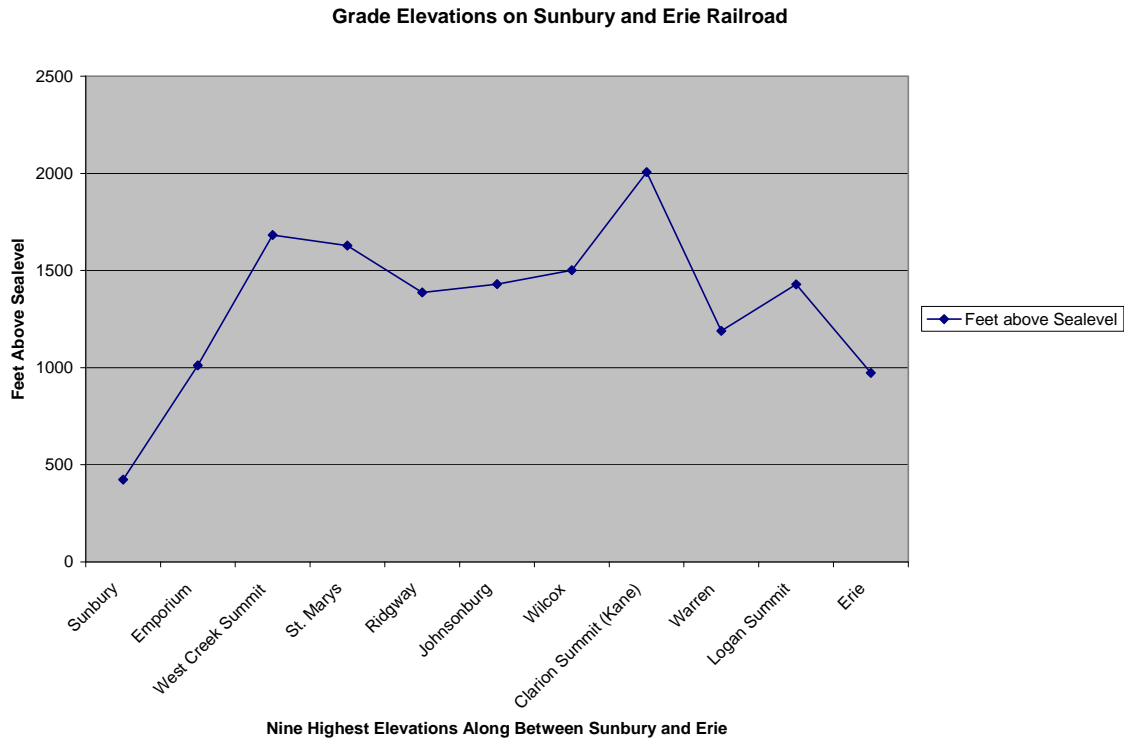


Figure 4.1. Elevation table for the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad.<sup>60</sup>

Miller never disclosed why he chose the shorter Driftwood-Kane-Erie route instead of the easier route through DuBois, but two powerful land speculators—Jacob Ridgway and Thomas Struthers, who controlled extensive timber acreage in Elk and Warren counties—may have influenced his choice.<sup>61</sup>

The Driftwood-Warren route runs northwest through the contiguous counties of Cameron, Elk, McKean, and Warren. Jacob Ridgway, the first large landowner in Elk County, needed a railroad to access the logs on the 40,000 acres he owned in the county. Ridgway used his influence both

<sup>60</sup> Rosenberger, *The Philadelphia and Erie Railroad*, 718

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.



as a member of the first Board of Managers of the railroad and as a powerful merchant in Philadelphia to bring about the Driftwood-Warren route.<sup>62</sup>

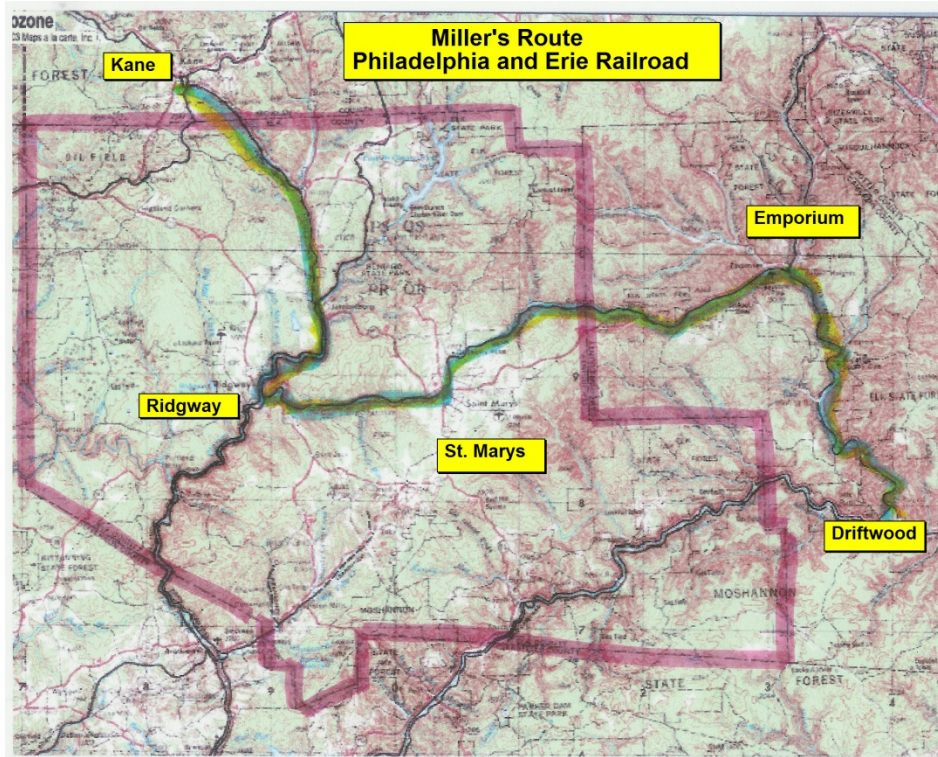


Figure 4.2. Miller route of the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad

Like Ridgway in Elk County, Thomas Struthers, a land speculator in Warren County, controlled extensive acreage in northwest of Elk County. Struthers settled in Warren County in 1828 and established a law practice, devoting his time to land speculation, politics, and railroad promotion. Throughout his life, he bought and sold more than half a million acres in western Pennsylvania and western New York. Struthers needed a railroad to develop his resources, and he actively supported Miller's Driftwood-Warren route, which passed through his land. Struthers, who like Ridgway was influential, served as secretary of the first Railroad

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 202. Homer T. Rosenberger identifies Jacob Ridgway as the principal land speculator in Elk County, and says he took an active interest in developing the area and the formation of a permanent community. Jacob Ridgway's biography is contained in chapter 2 of this dissertation.

Commission, formed in 1836, and presented the commission's final report to the state legislature. Later, Struthers became a member of the Board of Managers of the railroad, and he helped develop the Catawissa Railroad in eastern Pennsylvania and the Warren and Pine Grove Railroad connecting Warren to railroads in New York state, as well as additional railroads in Cincinnati, Ohio, and California. In the late 1850s, Struthers served two terms in the Pennsylvania state legislature.<sup>63</sup>

The Panic of 1837 brought the railroad's development to a halt. However, during the twelve-year hiatus that followed Elk and Warren County, landowners continued to lobby for the railroad's construction. In 1847, they rescued the plan to build the Sunbury and Erie Railroad, when Judge James Gillis, Land Agent for Jacob Ridgway, joined Struthers at the Second Philadelphia Railroad Convention. Gillis served as the convention's chairman; Ignatius Garner, a leader in St. Marys and land agent for Benzinger and Eschbach, who owned 70,000 acres around St. Marys, also participated in its proceedings.<sup>64</sup>

In addition to Struthers, Gillis, and Garner, Thomas Leiper Kane, the noted Civil War general and an attorney and land speculator, supported the Driftwood-Warren route that passed through land that he controlled. Kane, land agent for the McKean and Elk Land Improvement Company, managed 137,000 acres in McKean and northern Elk County.<sup>65</sup>

Thomas Kane was the son of John Kintzing Kane, a judge on the Eastern District Court of Pennsylvania, and he had both political and railroad connections. Kane's grandfather, Thomas

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<sup>63</sup> Rosenberger, *The Philadelphia and Erie Railroad*, 85–89 and 115–117. Rosenberger describes the effects that the Panic of 1837 had on the construction of the railroad on pp. 162–163. He also describes the Second Railroad Convention, which reorganized the railroad, and the roles that Gillis and Garner, both leaders in Elk County, played in the reorganization.

<sup>64</sup> Benzinger and Eschbach, St. Marys land developers, see chap. 2 of this dissertation.

<sup>65</sup> Rosenberger, *The Philadelphia and Erie Railroad*, 344–348. Rosenberger provides biographical information about Thomas Leiper Kane and describes Kane's influence on the route of the railroad through Elk, McKean, and Warren County.

Leiper, built one of the first tramways in the United States. Thomas Kane was educated in Paris and had studied with the French philosopher Auguste Comte. Upon his return to the United States in 1846, he studied law, and after being admitted to the bar he became clerk of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, the same court on which his father presided. In 1855, Kane moved to northwestern Pennsylvania, settled in southern McKean County, and founded the community that bears his name<sup>66</sup>.

The combined volume of land controlled by Ridgway, Benzinger, and Eschbach in Elk County, Struthers in Warren County, and Kane in McKean County totaled more than 237,000 acres spread along the proposed railroad route. Although it was not the best route across the Eastern Continental Divide, the route did prove to be an invaluable tool for the regional land barons, giving them the necessary transportation system critical in the exploitation of the area's natural resources.

Construction of the railroad began in 1851 in both Sunbury and Erie. In 1861, the Pennsylvania legislature changed the name of the railroad to the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad (P&E), and in 1862 the Pennsylvania Railroad (PPR) leased the line from the P&E for 999 years. In October of 1864, the eastern and western construction crews met and the final spike was driven near the village of Rolf in western Elk County, completing the project twenty-seven years after Biddle had begun his effort to link Philadelphia and Erie by rail. As is often the case, "one man's folly is another man's fortune." The slow and steep route from Driftwood to Warren, chosen by Edward Miller in 1838, was not in the best interests of the Philadelphia developers, but it assured the survival of Ridgway and St. Marys and brought permanency and growth to the region. The money to build the new railroad came from stock offerings, bond issues, and financial support from the Pennsylvania Railroad. At the beginning of construction in 1851, the

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 342–347.

Philadelphia and Erie Railroad issued stock worth \$2,000,000. Warren County invested \$200,000, and Elk County invested \$100,000, demonstrating the importance of the railroad to the two counties. In addition to the stock offered, between 1852 and 1865 the railroad issued mortgage bonds valued at \$20,000,000, but no complete records of bond purchases remain. The sale of bonds probably did not cover the \$12,022,395.96 cost of construction, because in 1862 the P&E turned to the PPR for financial help. The PRR agreed to advance the P&E enough money to complete construction, and in return the PRR accepted \$3,800,000 in un-issued 6% bonds.<sup>67</sup>

The construction of the railroad benefited the region's coal industry almost immediately, but the lumber industry had to wait for the construction of logging railroads and the advancements in locomotive technology. In 1882, the introduction of the Shay locomotive removed one of the remaining obstacles. The Shay locomotive had a flexible vertical drive system, unlike the rigid frame and horizontal drive system of conventional locomotives. Because of its tight turning capacity and its powerful over-the-wheel drive system, the Shay locomotive could more easily maneuver on the winding rail beds in the steep, rugged landscape.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 418–427 and 510–513. Rosenberger provides detailed information regarding financing the railroad's construction and its acquisition by the Pennsylvania Railroad.

<sup>68</sup> Michael Koch, *Steam and Thunder in the Timber: Saga of the Forest Railroad* (Denver Colorado: World Press Inc., 1979), 41–45; M. L. Shay's Locomotive, Rollins, Web page, <http://www.mrollins.com/shay.html>. The first prototype Shay locomotive was built by Ephraim Shay in 1880, a patent was awarded in 1881, and the first locomotives were produced in 1882.

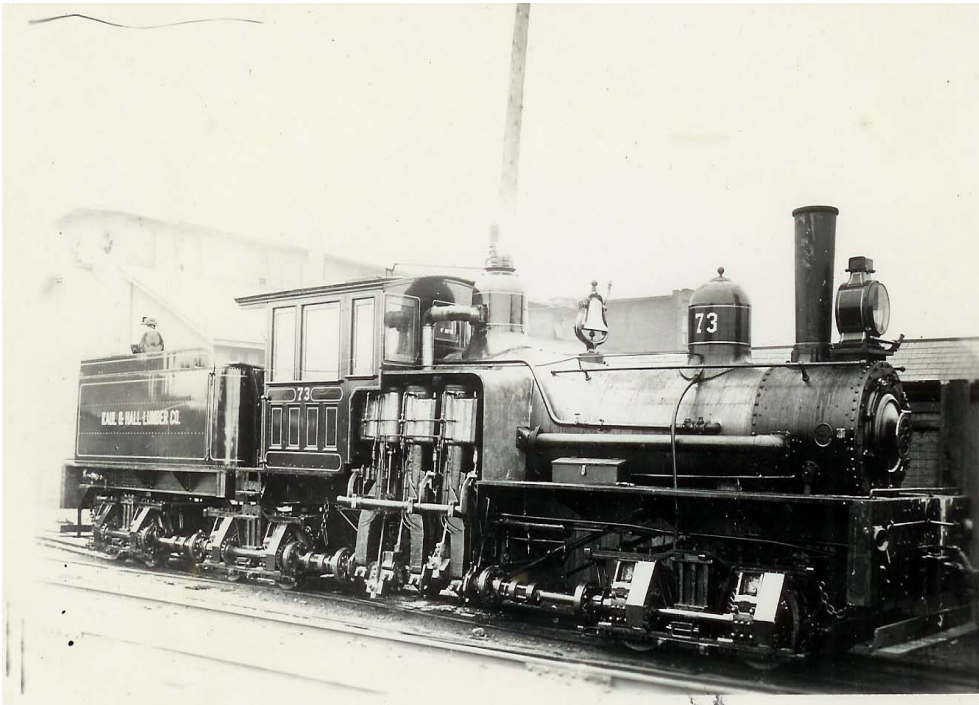


Figure 4.3. Hall and Kaul Lumber Company Shay Locomotive Number 73<sup>69</sup>

Based on Thomas Tabor's inventory of the locomotives in existence between 1894 and 1926, it appears that Shay locomotives made up 42% of the 92 steam locomotives used in Elk County's logging, milling, and tanning operations. Porter locomotives, manufactured in Pittsburgh, made up another 15%, and Climax locomotives made up 10%. Other locomotives used to a lesser

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<sup>69</sup> William A. Bauer, interview. Mr. Bauer is a local railroad and logging historian. For the past five decades he has collected documents, memorabilia, and historical accounts of railroads and logging operations in and around Elk County. He, along with his family and friends, formed a nonprofit organization that built, owns, and operates the Bucksgahuda and Western Railroad, a mile-long narrow-gauge railroad. The railroad includes a working replica Shay locomotive, nineteenth-century water tank, and a replica of a station on the Pittsburgh, Shawmut, and Northern Railroad. The railroad is open to the public during the summer and fall. A number of the photographs and information about the logging railroads in Elk County, contained in Thomas Tabor's book *Tanbark, Alcohol and Lumber*, came from the Bauer collection. Mr. Bauer is a member of the Board of Directors of the Historical Society of St. Marys and Benzinger Township, and he plays an active role in its administration. Mr. Bauer lives at 127 Parkway Road, St. Marys, Pennsylvania.

extent in the county included Lima, Baldwin, Alco, Rhode, Heister, and Struthers Wells engines.<sup>70</sup>

Overcoming the last stumbling block required a way to move the logs from the forest to the mills, and a network of local logging railroads solved the final problem. Between 1870 and 1910 the local lumbermen constructed an extensive network of standard-gauge logging railroads that reached nearly all of the isolated valleys, hollows, and mountainsides in the county.<sup>71</sup> The extensive network of railroad spurs provided access to the stands of white pine, hemlock, and hardwood trees inaccessible during the river logging era prior to the construction of the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad. Eventually, more than fifty railroad spurs in Jones and Benzinger Township alone maneuvered along streambeds and worked their way up ridgelines using an elaborate system of gradual switchbacks that allowed access to even the most isolated areas. Hall and Kaul, dominant among the lumbermen/capitalists, owned more than thirty of the logging spurs that connected to the St. Marys, Western, and Buffalo trunk line.

At one time or another, almost every square mile in the county echoed with the crack of the ax or the hum of the crosscut saw, accompanied by the pungent aroma of coal-fired boilers that powered an array of Shay, Porter, and Climax steam locomotives as they moved their heavy loads from the forests to the sawmills. Along with the sounds and smells of the expansive logging operations came a small army of workers who filled low spots, built timber-frame bridges, constructed track beds, and laid miles of iron rails. From north to south and east to west, on both sides of the divide and in every township, evidence of a vibrant lumber industry emerged. A logging railroad served a different purpose than the through-lines. Constructed

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<sup>70</sup> Taber, *Tanbark, Alcohol and Lumber*, list of mills, railroads, and locomotives contained on the last three unnumbered pages of volume 10.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. Taber provides maps of the logging railroads owned by Kaul and Hall on p. 1006 and a map of logging railroads in and near Jones Township on p. 1037.

inexpensively, they could be moved quickly. Standard-gauge railroads made up twenty-three of the twenty-nine logging railroads. The six narrow-gauge railroads in the county served small logging operations or operated inside mills and tanneries. Most of the Elk County lumbermen preferred the big standard-gauge locomotives because they thought and planned on a grand scale, requiring logging railroads that connected, without breaking gauge, to the Pennsylvania Railroad.<sup>72</sup> Logging railroads, often built without ballast, utilized a system of laying the rails directly on top of parallel logs, instead of the perpendicular ties, making it much easier to move the rails to other locations after cutting the trees in a particular area. Corduroy railbeds, made up of crossties laid tightly side-by-side rather than spaced 24 or 30 inches on center, solved the problem of crossing swampy areas in the mountain valleys. Each logging rail line operated for only a short time, and after the trees were harvested in one location, the lumbermen abandoned the makeshift beds and moved the iron rails to new locations.<sup>73</sup>

It took time for the lumbermen to transition into the new transportation infrastructure, and in the interim, before the invention of the Shay locomotive and the construction of the logging railroads, coal mining emerged as the economic mainstay of the county.

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<sup>72</sup> William A. Bauer, interview.

<sup>73</sup> William A. Bauer's private collection of logging railroad photographs.



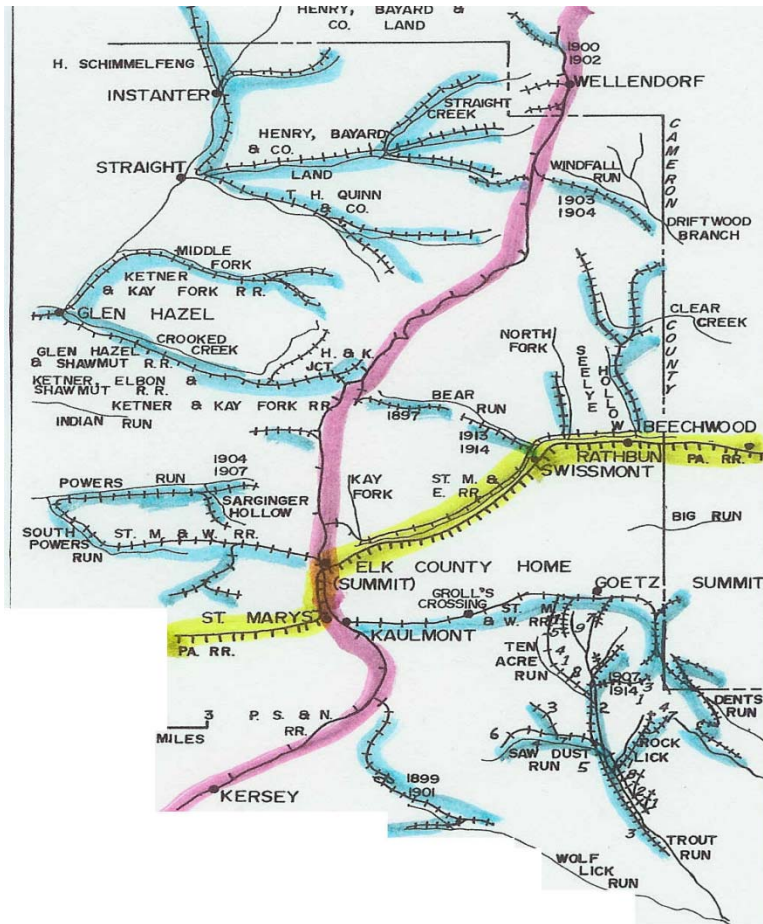


Figure 4.4. Hall and Kaul logging railroads in the St. Marys Region of Elk County<sup>74</sup>. Blue: local logging rail beds. Yellow: Pennsylvania Railroad. Pink: Buffalo, St. Mary and Southwestern, later the Pennsylvania, Shawmut and Northern

<sup>74</sup> Customized map modified from Thomas Taber's map in *Tanbark, Alcohol and Lumber*, vol. 10, 1006.



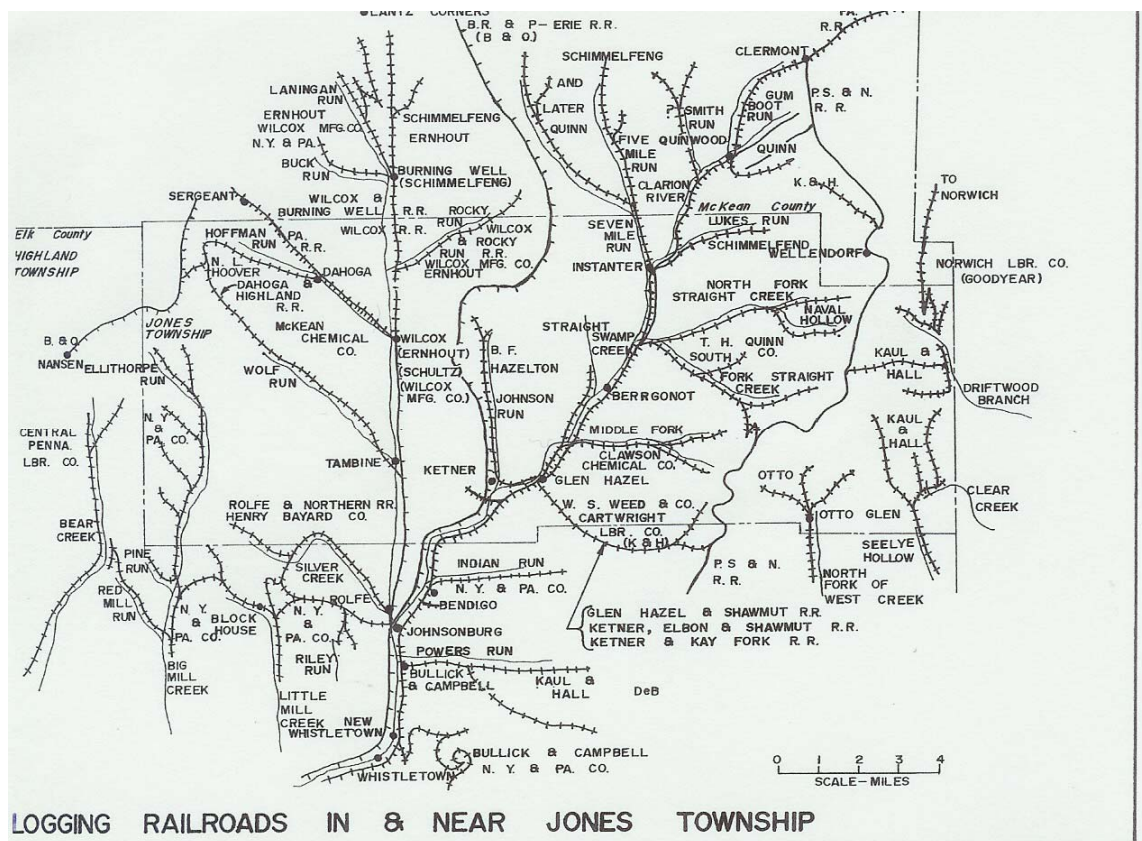


Figure 4.5. Jones, Benzinger and Jay Townships logging railroads located in the northern part of Elk County<sup>75</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Taber, *Tanbark Alcohol and Lumber*, vol. 10, 1037.



Figure 4.6. Building rail on logging railroad.<sup>76</sup>



Figure 4.7. Logs laid parallel to the rail provided temporary beds for logging railroads.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Taber, *Tanbark, Alcohol and Lumber*, vol. 10, 1064.



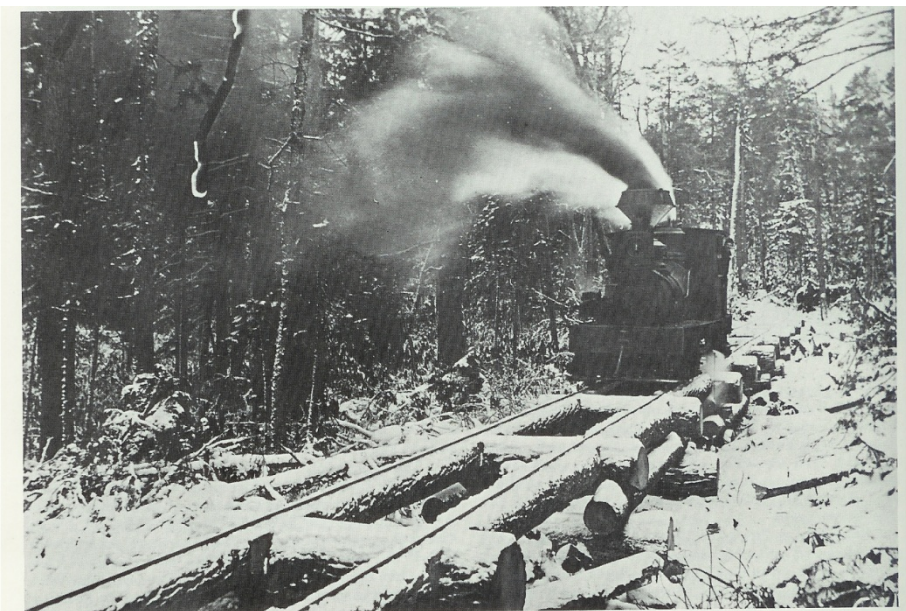


Figure 4.8. Completed logging railroad in Elk County using rail-on-log method of construction.<sup>78</sup>

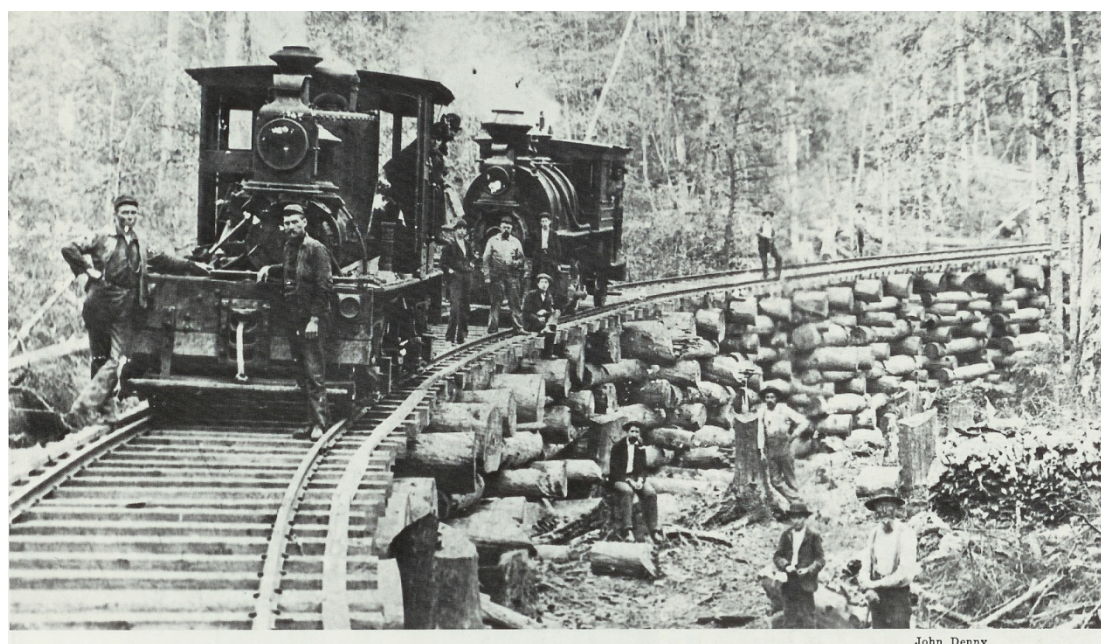


Figure 4.9. Logging railroad crossing low ground using a platform of logs to elevate road bed.<sup>79</sup>

Looking back upon the history of the county, in the minds of many locals, the more romantic logging and lumbering industry seemed to dominate economic development of the

<sup>78</sup> Tabor, *Tanbark, Alcohol and Lumber*, vol. 10, 1092.

<sup>79</sup> Tabor, *Tanbark, Alcohol and Lumber*, 1036.

county, and the importance of coal mining has almost been lost in the historical recollection of the era. However, in the days following the completion of the railroad, local entrepreneurs began mining coal deposits near St. Marys and in the southern part of the county. Mining operations tended to be more permanent than logging operations and did not require a constant repositioning of rail beds after the removal of the trees in a particular location. Mining also did not require specialized locomotives, unlike logging, which was dependent upon the Shay locomotive and similar vertical-shaft-driven locomotives that were not invented until 1880. Hall and Kaul recognized mining's potential, and they invested in several mining operations in the St. Marys vicinity that helped finance their future lumbering businesses.

Coal mining in Elk County began at least 24 years before the construction of the railroad in 1864. Most of the early mining activity took place in what is now Fox Township in southwestern Elk County, and most of the coal was used for local consumption. Coal mines in Fox Township in the pre-railroad era included Enos Hayes's mine in Toby Valley, near the headwaters of Toby Creek, which opened in the early 1840s. Other early mine openings included Nathaniel Hayes's mine near Shelve Summit in 1847 and Dr. Charles Early's mine near the headwaters of Little Toby Creek in 1848.<sup>80</sup> The only pre-railroad mine in the St. Marys area, the "One Eyed Miller Mine" located north of Maurus Street and south of St. Joseph Road on the northwest side of Sisters Hill, began about 1857.<sup>81</sup>

Following the construction of the railroad, mining developed as the first major export industry in the county. In the mid 1860s and early 1870s, mining operations included the St. Marys Mining Company, the Northwest Mining and Exchange Company, and Burr Cartwright's mining operations in Horton and Jay townships, including his acquisition of the Shawmut

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<sup>80</sup> Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 32 and 33.

<sup>81</sup> Paul Krellner, "Grist from Old Mills," *St. Marys Daily Press*, 6/11/81.

Mining Company and the Noble Mining company, along with mines owned by Hall and Kaul in the St. Marys area, including the Silver Creek Mine, The Cascade Mine, the Hazel Dell Mine, and the Keystone Mine. These operations replaced river-based logging and milling as the county's economic mainstay.

To support their mining operations, Hall and Kaul built the St. Marys and Western Railroad connecting St. Marys to the coalfields in the villages of Shawmut, Brockport, Hyde, Brandy Camp, and Elbon (Noble spelled backwards). The St. Marys and Western Railroad, completed in 1893, became the first south-to-north line built exclusively to transport coal; it connected with the Pennsylvania Railroad in St. Marys and provided freight access to markets in the east. Later, in 1894, to support the growth of logging in the eastern and northern part of the county, Hall and Kaul built the St. Marys and Buffalo Railroad, which ran from St. Marys north to the county line near the village of Clairmont in McKean County. Then in 1897, the Hall and Kaul connected the St. Marys and Western and the St. Marys and Buffalo, forming the St. Marys Southwestern and Buffalo Railroad.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Taber, *Tanbark, Alcohol and Lumber*, vol. 10, 1006.

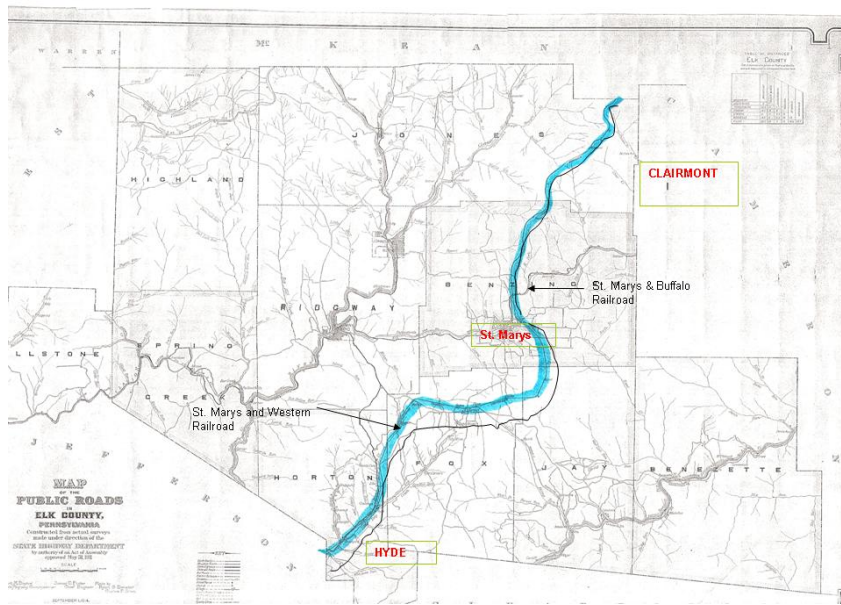


Figure 4.10. Map of St. Marys and Western and St. Marys and Buffalo, which were joined to formed the St. Marys Western and Buffalo Railroad through Elk County.

With the construction of the logging railroads and the invention of the Shay locomotive, the lumbermen began removing the trees growing in the steep and isolated landscape, and in the twenty years following its construction, logging and lumbering increased dramatically. Between 1860 and 1880 the number of lumbermen, who were the most powerful capitalists in the county, increased 400%. In 1860, only six lumbermen operated in Ridgway and St. Marys, but by 1880 that number increased to thirty-four.<sup>83</sup>

The railroad also shrank the county's time continuum. In the early days prior to the railroad, travel throughout Elk County proved difficult, as only forest paths connected the villages. In the best weather, the round trip by foot between Ridgway and St. Marys took a full day. Although a horse reduced the travel time, in the winter and during the spring mud season travel became unreasonably difficult. Not until the construction of the railroad did travel between

<sup>83</sup> Eighth Census of the United States, 1860 Census Manuscript, Pennsylvania, Elk County, Ridgway, Benzinger Township, St. Marys; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880 Census Manuscript, Pennsylvania, Elk County, St. Marys Ridgway; Taber *Tanbark Alcohol, and Lumber*, 1025.

the two towns improve, but even then the communities remained isolated. In 1869, a passenger leaving Ridgway at 12:45 PM arrived in St. Marys at 1:18 PM but had to return on the 2:39 PM westbound train, only one hour and twenty one minutes after arriving, or wait until 3:34 AM the next morning. However, a passenger departing St. Marys bound for Ridgway at 2:39 PM could not return until 5:15 AM the next morning or 12:45 PM the following afternoon. In 1869, a round trip between Ridgway and St. Mary required about one hour actual travel time and cost about 3.5 cents per mile, or \$.70 round trip. At that time, a railroad engineer, one of the better-paid employees, earned only \$1.67 a day, making a round trip fare more than one third of a day's pay.<sup>84</sup> But, by the last decade of the nineteenth century, railroad advancements had enhanced travel opportunities and reduced travel time between St. Marys and Ridgway to about 25 minutes. In 1899, six passenger trains, three westbound and three eastbound, picked up and deposited travelers between 6:00 AM and 7:00 PM, Monday through Friday. Inter-community travel became so convenient that J. K. P. Hall, after moving to Ridgway in 1889, kept his office in St. Marys.<sup>85</sup> In effect, the railroad compressed the county, effectively reducing travel times between Ridgway and St. Marys and connecting both communities to towns and cities east and west of Elk County. In 1899, a passenger boarding a train in St. Marys at 7:25 am arrived in Philadelphia at 6:23 pm, New York at 9:39 pm, or Washington, DC, at 7:15 pm. The traveler could also access Pullman accommodations at Williamsport, Pennsylvania.

The railroad, and particularly the Miller route through the heart of the county, provided the mechanism for the development of Ridgway and St. Marys. Hall and Kaul understood the importance of the railroad and effectively used it to exploit the county's natural resources. Thus,

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<sup>84</sup> Rosenberger, *The Philadelphia and Erie Railroad*, 522, Pennsylvania Railroad Passenger Schedule 1869.

<sup>85</sup> William Bauer, interview. Mr. Bauer obtained the travel-time information from employee timetables at Renovo, Pennsylvania. Copies of these timetables are in the collection of the Pennsylvania Historical and Technical Society in Lewistown, PA; *Elk County Gazette*, October 12, 1899. Microfilm copies are available at the Historical Society of St. Marys and Benzinger Township.

the railroad, including the through-route designed by Edward Miller in 1838 and the Hall and Kaul entrepreneurship on the local level, represented the essential elements necessary for the development of the county and the long-term future of the two communities.

For 141 years following its completion, the Driftwood-Warren route represented the cutting edge of progress in the region. However change remains constant, and in 2005 while writing chapter 4 of the present dissertation, the Genesee and Wyoming Railroad, current owners of the legendary grade over the Eastern Continental Divide between Emporium and St. Marys, removed the rails and ties. No longer did the route teem with the log and coal trains of the nineteenth century or the coke and ore trains of the twentieth century, and thus the Driftwood-to-Warren route lapsed into oblivion. The now-abandoned rail bed is one of the last physical vestiges of the extractive railroad era that played such an important role in evolution of Elk County.



## **5. THE EXTRACTIVE ECONOMY: COAL, LUMBER, LEATHER, CHEMICALS, AND PAPER**

The land provided the natural resources and the settlement of Ridgway and St. Marys provided the human potential, but the railroad provided access to both resources and markets. With a railroad in place, the exploitation of the natural resources led to the growth of the coal, lumber, leather, chemical, and paper industries. Harvesting the natural resources and the development of the communities resided in the hands of local entrepreneurs, who created permanent extractive communities complete with social structures necessary for the formation of modern communities. Post-railroad development took place in multiple phases and built upon the extractive achievements and strong community structures established in the early part of the century. Although Ridgway remained a Yankee sawmill town dependent upon the forest resources, coal mining represented the first railroad industry to develop. When mining emerged in the 1860s and 1870s, it happened not in Ridgway, the extractive hub of the county, but in the town of St. Marys and Benzinger, Fox, Horton, and Jay townships. Not until the late 1870 and 1880s did the technology and local railroad infrastructure exist necessary to support the growth in the forest industries that first included lumber and tanning, followed by chemicals and paper. While the railroad eventually made harvesting the forest resources possible, in the years between its construction and the formation and the development of local logging railroads and specialized logging locomotives, coal mining became the county's economic mainstay and the first heavy post-railroad extractive industry. Both local and outside interests invested in coal mining. The first outside corporate investors included the Northwest Mining and Exchange Company and the

Shawmut Mining Company. Not much is known about the Northwest Mining and Exchange Company, but investors from Boston owned the Shawmut Mining Company. Neither of these companies influenced the social, economic, or political development of the county, because their base of operations, in the extreme southern part of the county, placed them outside the population centers. Also, by the time they arrived, the county's leadership lay securely in the hands of local entrepreneurs. While these outside interests controlled mining in the smaller townships of the county, coal mining in St. Marys remained firmly in the hands of local individuals. The St. Marys Coal Company was managed by John Croyell, a local merchant, and Dr. Eben Russ, a local physician, while the Cascade, Keystone, and Elk Creek mines were owned by Hall and Kaul; together, these operations accounted for most of the county's coal exports.<sup>86</sup>

Without the coal reserves, the transition from the pre-railroad logging era to the post-railroad logging era may have altered the development of logging and milling in the county. Local historian William Bauer believes that James Hall and Andrew Kaul may have used their coal money to finance their land acquisitions and mill construction. If this is true, and if Hall and Kaul had not acquired the financial resources coal provided, the development of the county and the future of the communities could have followed a very different path. Although Hall and Kaul are remembered as successful lumbermen, bankers, and politicians, their coal-mining interests are equally important and set the stage for their future success. Without them, the partnership may not have survived, and the economic transition from extraction to manufacturing at the end of the nineteenth century might not have happened.

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<sup>86</sup> Schaut, *History of St. Marys: The Formative Years*, 37–39; *Accessible Archives*, chapter XXI, 12, “Focus Coal.”

The railroad made possible the removal and export of coal from the two major bituminous coal seams, the Upper Freeport Seam and the Lower Kittanning Seam. These two seams extended into eastern Elk County, and beginning in the early 1860s a flurry of mining activity took place in the town of St. Marys and the townships of Benzinger, Fox, Jay, and Horton.<sup>87</sup>

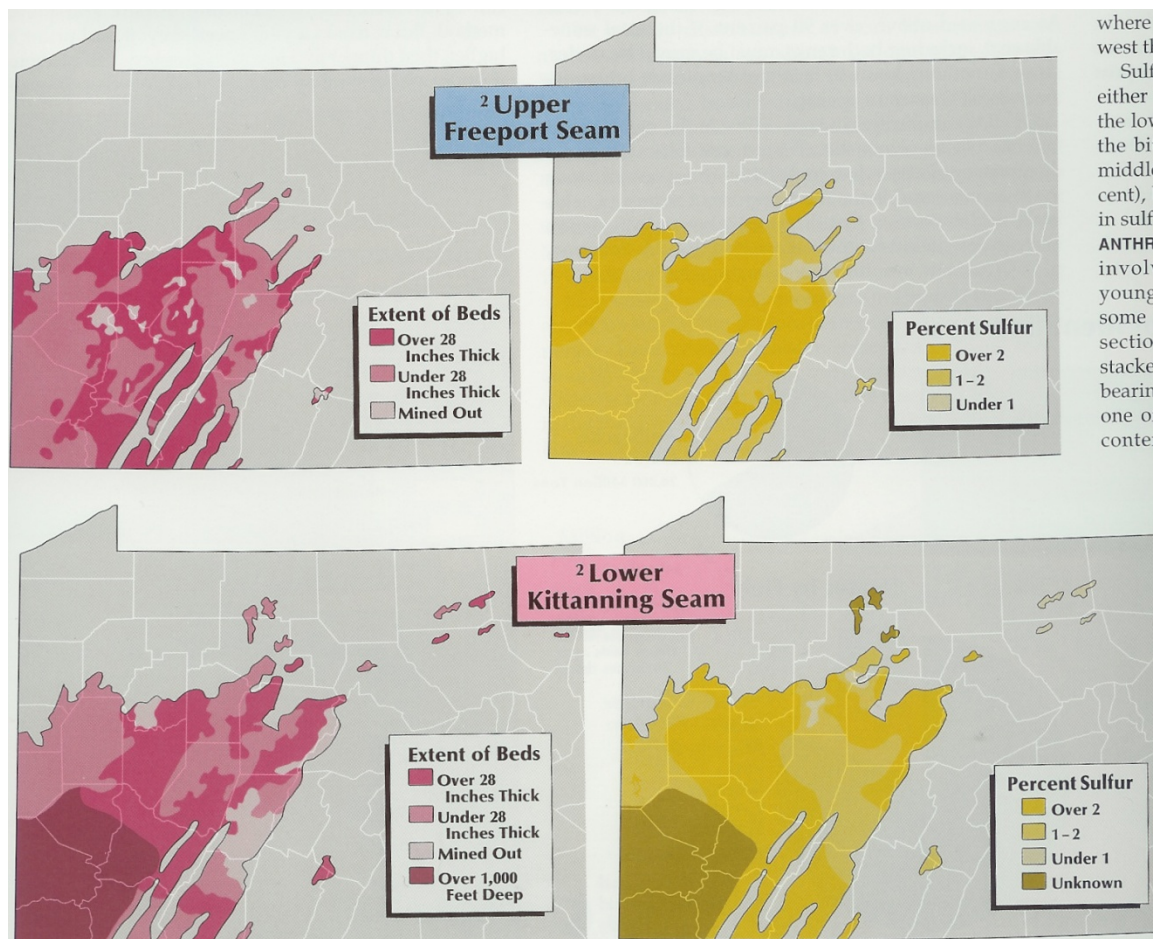


Figure 5.1. Upper Freeport and Lower Kittanning soft coal seams in western Pennsylvania.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>87</sup> *The Atlas of Pennsylvania*, 38 and 39.

<sup>88</sup> *The Atlas of Pennsylvania*, 39.

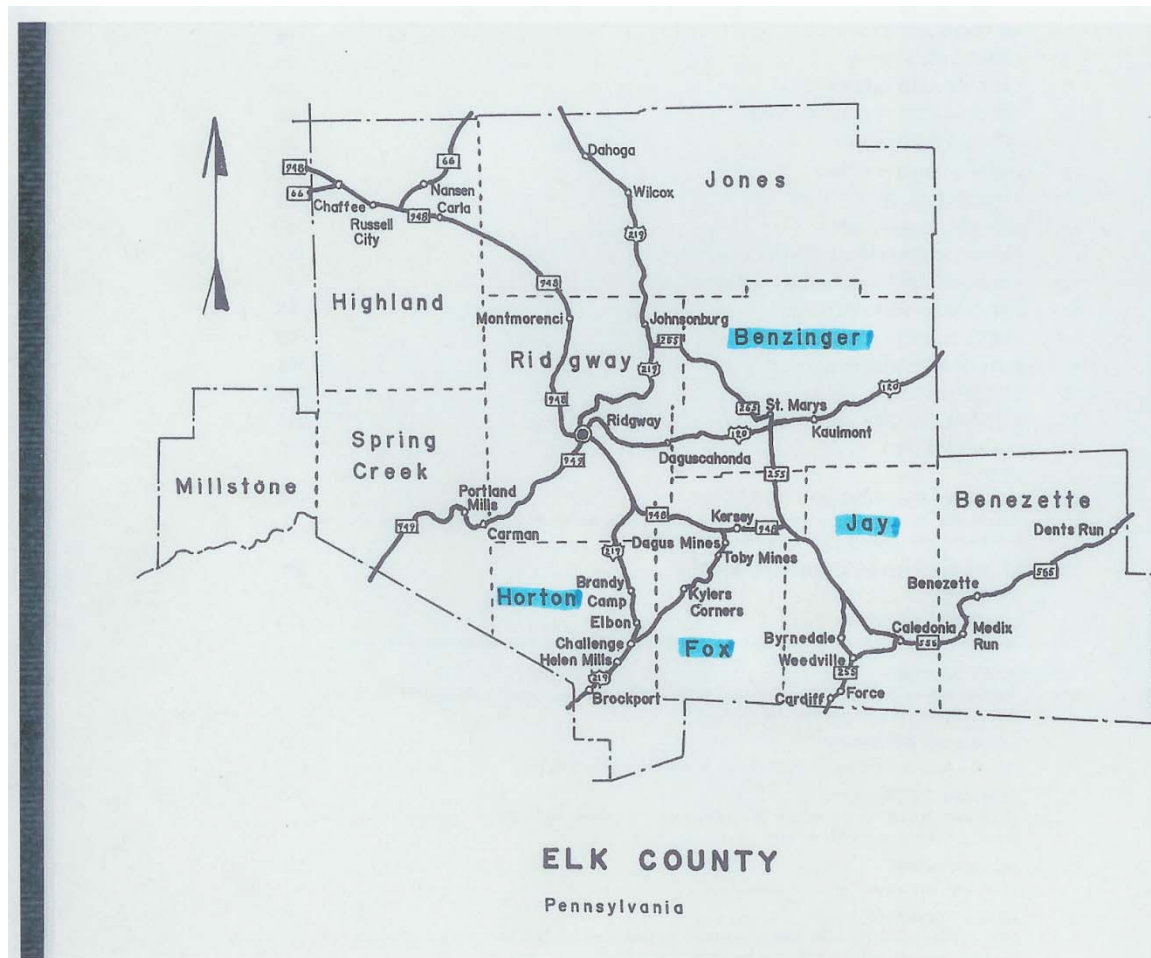


Figure 5.2. Elk County township map. Blue highlight represents townships where most coal was mined.<sup>89</sup>

The Northwestern Mining and Exchange Company, the Cartwright Mining Company, and the St. Marys Coal Company dominated mining in the county between 1860 and 1900. The Northwestern Mining and Exchange Company, owned by outside interests, together with Burr Cartwright's mining companies accounted for about 70% of the coal mined between 1860 and 1867.<sup>90</sup> Of all the local coal operators and lumberman in Elk County, only Burr Cartwright came close to achieving the size and success that Hall and Kaul achieved. Cartwright, born in Buffalo, New York, in 1850, attended Hethcote School until the age of nineteen. After that he gained

<sup>89</sup> Customized map of Elk County highlighting townships where coal mining persisted.

<sup>90</sup> Schaut, *History of St. Marys: The Formative Years*, 27; Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 303–329.

employment in the lumber business in Buffalo, and in 1879 he moved to Ridgway as the lumber purchasing agent for the Scatchard & Sons Company. In 1883, Burr Cartwright, D. O. Oyster, Alfred Short, W.W. Mattison, and W. H. Horton formed the Ridgway Lumber Company, which operated a mill in the southern part of the county near the Jefferson County line. In 1886 Cartwright and Horton left the Ridgway Lumber Company and formed a partnership to timber and peel bark on 8,000 acres of land in Horton Township owned by the Northwest Mining and Exchange Company. The Northwest Mining and Exchange Company owned mines in Horton and Fox townships, and around their mines the villages of Dagus Mines and Coal Hollow formed. In 1888 Cartwright and Horton separated, and Cartwright's new business venture, the Cartwright Lumber Company, began a four-year period of spectacular growth. First Cartwright acquired the Noble, Brock, and Shawmut mining companies operating in Horton and Jay townships, and around these mines the towns of Cardiff, Byrndale, Force, and Elbon, formed. Eventually Cartwright controlled all of the timbering in Horton Township; he employed 500 workers, operated forty miles of standard-gauge logging and mining railroads, built five sawmills, acquired 18,000 acres in Jones Township, owned two general stores, and formed the Shawmut Clay Manufacturing Company. The *Ridgway Advocate* described Cartwright as a "man in a hurry" and as one who invested \$10 dollars for every \$1 dollar he made.<sup>91</sup> Then, at the end of 1892, disaster struck. First, in December of that year, a fire destroyed his mill at Horton City. On the heels of the fire, the Panic of 1893 forced his highly leveraged businesses into bankruptcy. By 1894 Cartwright had lost his mines, his railroads, his mills, and his forestland and found himself working for Hall and Kaul, who had purchased most of his assets for

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<sup>91</sup> Taber, *Tanbark, Alcohol and Lumber*, 1018–1025.

\$68,000—less than his total debt.<sup>92</sup> The partners respected Burr Cartwright as a bright, hard-working, and honest businessman and hired him to manage their railroads and mines.<sup>93</sup>

Between 1863 and 1902, the St. Marys Coal Company operated mines east and north of St. Marys and represented the first major export mining operation in the St. Marys area. In 1863 the company hired Joseph Patton to manage its mining operation. When Patton, an Irish Protestant, arrived in St. Marys, he brought with him a number of experienced miners from England, Scotland, and Ireland.<sup>94</sup> Shortly after his arrival, Patton organized a Presbyterian congregation, the first Protestant church in the predominantly Catholic community. The new Shiloh Presbyterian Church ministered to the immigrant miners, and the first Sunday school met in the mining company's office.<sup>95</sup>

Coal mining must be considered as extremely important to the economic growth of the county, and as the first extractive industry in the railroad era, it played an important role in development.<sup>96</sup> One key indicator of mining's importance is the number of jobs it created. In St. Marys and Ridgway, mining jobs increased from 72 in 1860 to nearly 300 in 1880 most of which were in St. Marys, where 14 new mines operated.<sup>97</sup> Without coal, the transition to logging and lumber could not have happened the way it did, and the local entrepreneurs may not have been able to survive until the construction of the local logging railroads and advancements in locomotive technology enabled them to harvest the lumber.

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<sup>92</sup> On coal mining in Fox Township, see Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 317–319, and 323; on coal mining in Horton Township, see 365–370; and on coal mining in Jay Township, see 383–384. Taber *Tanbark, Alcohol and Lumber*, 1018–1025.

<sup>93</sup> Taber, *Tanbark, Alcohol and Lumber*, vol. 10, 1021–1025, *Accessible Archives*, “Focus Mining.”

<sup>94</sup> Schaut, *History of St. Marys: The Formative Years*, 37–39 and 27; *Accessible Archives*, chapter 11; Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 Manuscript Census, Pennsylvania, Benzinger Township and Ridgway.

<sup>95</sup> Tenth Census of the United States, 1880 Manuscript Census, Pennsylvania, St. Marys and Benzinger Township.

<sup>96</sup> Schaut, *History of St. Marys: The Formative Years*, 39.

<sup>97</sup> Krellner, “Grist from Old Mills”; Tenth Census of the United States, Census Manuscript, Pennsylvania, Elk County. Pivot tables were created from the census data to identify the number of miners and where they lived.

The fact that coal mining, and not lumbering, led the way in the transition of St. Marys from a struggling farming community to the county's leading extractive and manufacturing center at the end of the nineteenth century is critical to understanding the conversion to manufacturing that took place during the twentieth century. The mines of the St. Marys Coal Company opened in 1863, followed by Hall and Kaul's Silver Creek Mine, Elk Creek Mine, and Cascade Mine, which opened between 1876 and 1878. These operations advanced the growth of St. Marys and set the stage for the logging and milling industry in the later part of the nineteenth century.<sup>98</sup>

Undoubtedly, without the coal reserves, development would have taken a different course and the outcome would have been far different. The importance of coal can not be emphasized enough. In addition to filling the economic gap in the days before railroad logging, coal provided a lucrative source of revenue and jobs. Coal revenues also changed the economic dynamics of the county by financing the slow transition of the county's economic center from Ridgway to St. Marys. In addition, the jobs coal extraction created allowed St. Marys to start its transition away from farming and into a wage-based economy.

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<sup>98</sup> *Accessible Archives*; Krellner, "Grist from Old Mills."





Figure 5.3. Shay locomotive bringing logs out of Glen Hazel.<sup>99</sup>

Eventually, with its infrastructure in place, the railroads provided the means to timber the interior of the county. By 1890, with the coal mining era nearing its end, the logging era put Elk County on the map as one of the leading lumbering counties in Pennsylvania, and between 1872 and 1905, Andrew Kaul and James Hall's partnership grew into the largest logging and milling operation in the county. But the partners were not the only successful lumber capitalists.<sup>100</sup> By the end of the nineteenth century, 28 lumber companies competed for pine, hemlock, and hardwood, and their extraction and processing demanded more and more laborers. As a result, between 1850 and 1880 the population of the two communities increased by 356%.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>99</sup> William Bauer's collection of Elk County railroad photographs.

<sup>100</sup> Taber, *Tanbark, Alcohol and Lumber*, 1001.

<sup>101</sup> Taber, *Tanbark, Alcohol and Lumber*, vol. 10, Northern Elk County, and chapter 10.5. This chapter describes 34 other companies dependent on forest resources in Elk County.

<sup>101</sup> Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 85; *Accessible Archives*, chapter 10. chapter 10.2 provides information on lumber companies associated with or connected to Hyde, Hall, and Kaul; chapter 10.3 discusses the



Table 5.1. Population, Ridgway and St. Marys, 1850 to 1880.<sup>102</sup>

|           | 1850  | 1860  | 1870  | 1880  | 30 Yr. Change | 30 Yr. % Change |
|-----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------------|-----------------|
| St. Marys | 1,168 | 1,929 | 2,714 | 3,437 | 2,269         | 194%            |
| Ridgway   | 241   | 779   | 1,884 | 2,981 | 2,740         | 1,137%          |
| Total     | 1,409 | 2,708 | 4,598 | 6,418 | 5,009         | 356%            |

By the early 1880s, growth in both logging and milling created a new prosperity. The availability of resources and jobs and the development of new industries—including tanning, chemicals, and paper—attracted investors and workers alike. Logging railroads penetrated the remote valleys, where loggers harvested the great white pine, the ancient hemlock, and the majestic hardwoods trees.<sup>103</sup>



Figure 5.4. Jobbers skidding logs from the forest to the railhead for delivery to a mill.<sup>104</sup>

Jones Township Lumbering; and chapter 10.4 details the Martin Quinn sawmill and chemical plants in northern Elk County, and chapter 10.5 describes 34 other companies dependent on forest resources in Elk County.

<sup>102</sup> Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 85–86.

<sup>103</sup> Taber, *Tanbark, Alcohol and Lumber*, vol. 10, includes a list of sawmills on the last three un-numbered pages following page 1099 and map on page 1037.

<sup>104</sup> William Bauer's railroad and logging photograph collection.

Local lumbermen and jobbers owned the sawmills and logging camps, and the great corporate mills common in Wisconsin and Michigan, such as the Diamond Match Company, Ford Motor Company, and the Chicago Lumber Company, never operated in Elk County.<sup>105</sup>



Figure 5.5. Weisner logging camp in the Trout Run Valley.<sup>106</sup>

Lumbering began in the logging camps, and evidence of up to three logging camps can still be found in a single valley, the result of the multiple cutting periods: first the white pine, followed by hemlock and hardwood. Some of the lumbermen-capitalists owned the logging camps, but many hired independent jobbers to cut the trees and move the logs to the mills.

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<sup>105</sup> Theodore J. Karamanski, *Deep Woods Frontier: A History of Logging in Northern Michigan* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 59, 43, and 163.

<sup>106</sup> William Bauer's collection of railroad and logging photographs.





Figure 5.6. Fritz logging camp, located in the Trout Run Valley, east of St. Marys.<sup>107</sup>

The logging camps in Elk County differed from the legendary camps in West Virginia, Maine, and the upper Midwest, where large numbers of lumberjacks lived in isolated camps for extended periods. The camps in Elk County remained local, and many of the woodsmen lived at home or in boarding houses and became part of the community fabric.<sup>108</sup> A number of the hollows in Elk County retain the names of the logging camp operators. Examples include Tonner, Seeley, and Whitman hollows in the North Fork Valley of the Sinnemahoning Creek,

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<sup>107</sup> William Bauer's collection of railroad and logging photographs.

<sup>108</sup> William Bauer, interview.

and Geitner, Kronnenwetter, and Salter hollows in the Trout Run Valley of the Bennetts Branch of the Sinnemahoning Creek. The camps kept at least 28 mills stocked with logs for more than 30 years.<sup>109</sup>

A number of the post-1880 sawmills cut only hemlock for the growing number of tanneries, or hardwood for the chemical companies. Most of these mills operated for less than ten years, and several failed during the Panic of 1893. But the big mills flourished. The largest mills, owned by Hall and Kaul, Martin Quinn, John Ernhout, Henry Bayard and Burr Cartwright, each produced more than 70,000 board-feet of lumber a day.<sup>110</sup>

Historian Thomas Tabor inventoried 28 of the major sawmills operating in Elk County between 1850 and 1926, and while his inventory is not complete, it does describe the major operations. Of these 28 mills, only one—the Portland Lumber Company, founded by J. S. Hyde in 1850—preceded the railroad era. Only four mills operating more than ten years, and of these, only two—the McKean Chemical Company mill and Hall and Kaul’s “big” mill in St. Marys—sawed lumber until the 1920s.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Taber, *Tanbark, Alcohol, and Lumber*, last three pages of vol. 10, chapters 10.4 and 10.5.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., last three unnumbered pages of vol. 10; charts and tables in chapter 4 of this dissertation.



Figure 5.7. Hall and Kaul's Barnhart steam-operated loader, essential to the efficient loading of logs onto railroad cars. This machine is considered by some to be nearly as important to logging as the Shay locomotive.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> William Bauer's collection of railroad and logging photographs; Andrew Kaul IV, interview; Barnhart Log Loader Web pages, [http://www.railways.incanada.net/Articles/Article1990\\_2.html](http://www.railways.incanada.net/Articles/Article1990_2.html), <http://www.steaminthewoods.com/BarnhartLoader/barnhart.htm>.

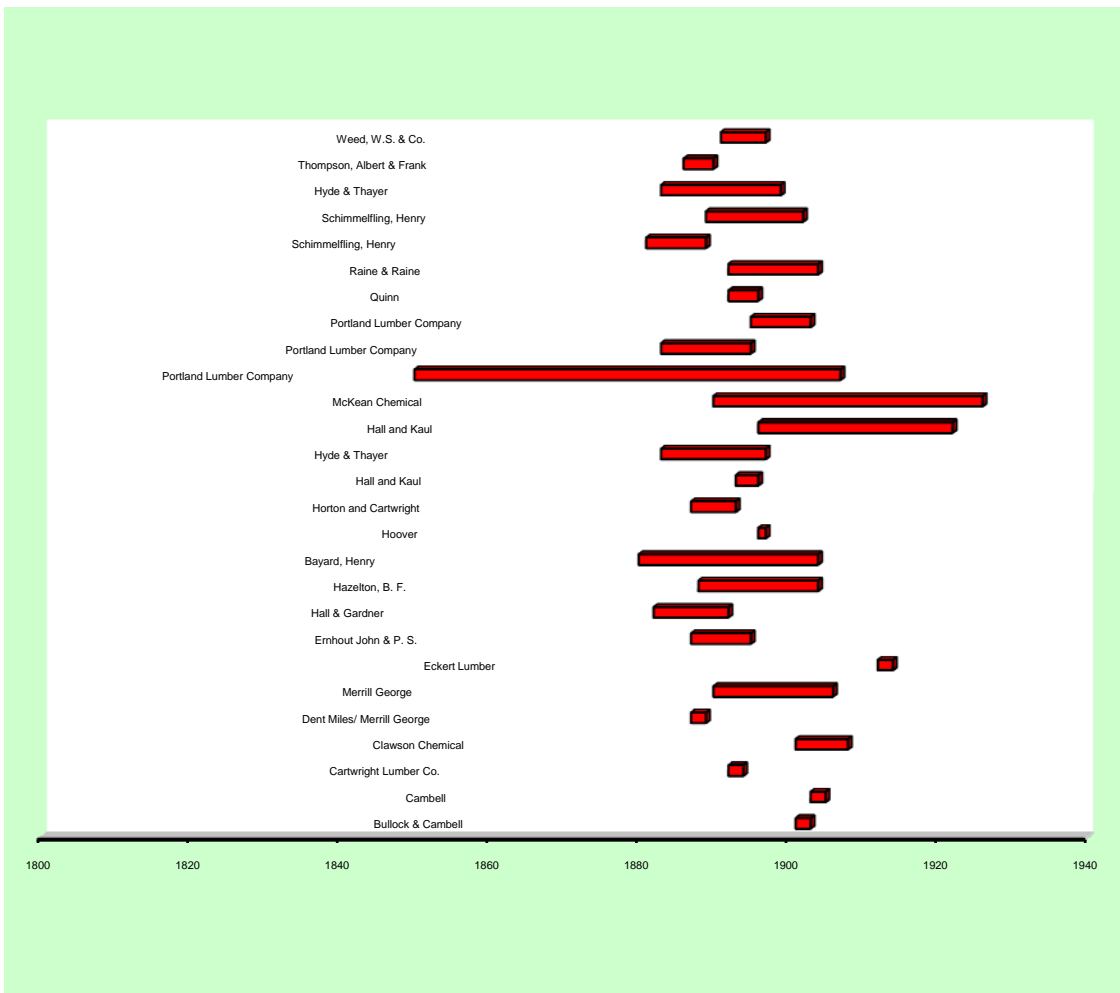


Figure 5.8. Sawmills in Elk County, 1850–1926.<sup>113</sup>

Of the twenty-eight mills described by Tabor, six were built or acquired by Hall and Kaul. Fifteen of the twenty-eight mills sawed only hemlock, revealing the importance and magnitude of the tanning industry in the county. Only five mills sawed pine, hemlock, and hardwood, and Hall and Kaul owned all of the all-purpose mills. Twenty of the twenty-eight mills cut less than 70,000 board-feet a day, and of the eight remaining large mills that sawed more than 70,000 board-feet a day, Hall and Kaul owned three.

<sup>113</sup> Taber, *Tanbark, Alcohol, and Lumber*, last three un-numbered pages of vol. 10.



Table 5.2. Sawmills Operating in Elk County between 1850 and 1926.<sup>114</sup>

| Map I.D. | Mill Owner                 | Successor        | Description     | Product                 | Capacity (bf/day) | Location       | Dates     |
|----------|----------------------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|-------------------|----------------|-----------|
| 1*       | Bullock & Cambell          |                  | n/a             | hemlock                 | small             | Powers Run     | 1901–3    |
| 2*       | Cambell                    |                  | band saw        | hemlock                 | small             | Power Run      | 1903–5    |
| 3        | Cartwright Lumber Co.      | Hall & Kaul      | band saw        | hemlock                 | n/a               | Glen Hazel     | 1892–94   |
| 4*       | Clawson Chemical           |                  | circular saw    | hardwood                | 20,000            | Middle Fork    | 1901–1908 |
| 5*       | Dent Miles/ Merrill George |                  | circular saw    | hemlock                 | 40,000            | Dents Run      | 1887–89   |
| 6*       | Merrill George             |                  | circular saw    | hemlock                 | 40,000            | Dents Run      | 1890–1906 |
| 7*       | Eckert Lumber              |                  | small band saw  | second growth           | small             | Swissmont      | 1912–14   |
| 8*       | Ernhout John & P. S.       |                  | circular saw    | hemlock                 | 100,000           | Wilcox         | 1887–95   |
| 9*       | Hall & Gardner             |                  | band saw        | hemlock                 | 100,000           | Halton         | 1882–92   |
| 10*      | Hazelton, B. F.            |                  | band saw        | hemlock                 | n/a               | Glen Hazel     | 1888–1904 |
| 11*      | Bayard, Henry              |                  | band saw        | hemlock                 | 100,000           | Rolfe          | 1880–1904 |
| 12*      | Hoover                     |                  | band saw        | n/a                     | 40,000            | Dahoga         | 1896–97   |
| 13*      | Horton and Cartwright      |                  | band saw        | pine, hemlock           | 70,000            | Mead Run       | 1887–93   |
| 14       | Hall and Kaul              | Hall & Kaul      | band saw        | pine, hemlock, hardwood | 70,000            | Laurel Run     | 1893–96   |
| 15       | Hyde & Thayer              |                  | circular saw    | pine, hemlock, hardwood | 60,000            | Ridgway        | 1883–97   |
| 16       | Hall and Kaul              | Hall & Kaul      | double band saw | pine, hemlock           | 200,000           | St. Marys      | 1896–1922 |
| 17*      | McKean Chemical            |                  | n/a             | n/a                     | small mill        | Tambine        | 1890–1926 |
| 18*      | Otto, H.M.& John           |                  | small circular  | hardwood                | small mill        | North Fork     | 1883–95   |
| 19       | Portland Lumber Co.        | Hall, Kaul, Hyde | circular saw    | pine, hemlock, hardwood | 100,000           | Portland Mills | 1850–1907 |
| 20       | Portland Lumber Co.        | Hall, Kaul, Hyde | circular saw    | pine, hemlock, hardwood | 40,000            | Vineyard       | 1883–95   |
| 21       | Portland Lumber Co.        | Hall, Kaul, Hyde | circular saw    | pine, hemlock, hardwood | 40,000            | Croyland       | 1895–1903 |
| 22*      | Quinn                      |                  | band saw        | hemlock & hardwood      | 100,000           | Straight       | 1892–96   |
| 23*      | Raine & Raine              |                  | circular saw    | hemlock                 | small mill        | Rainesville    | 1892–04   |
| 24*      | Schimmelfling, Henry       |                  | circular saw    | hemlock                 | small mill        | Burning Wells  | 1881–89   |

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

|     |                             |                        |                       |        |             |               |
|-----|-----------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|--------|-------------|---------------|
| 25* | Schimmelfling,<br>Henry     | band saw               | hemlock               | 65,000 | Instanter   | 1889–<br>1902 |
| 26* | Hyde & Thayer               | circular later<br>band | pine,<br>hemlock      | 60,000 | Laurel Mill | 1883–99       |
| 27* | Thompson, Albert &<br>Frank | circular saw           | hemlock               | n/a    | Island Run  | 1886          |
| 28* | Weed, W.S. & Co.            | band saw               | hemlock &<br>hardwood | n/a    | Glen Hazel  | 1891–97       |

Blue # Hyed, Hall & Kaul Mills – Red\* # Other Mills

The location of mills revealed another interesting characteristic about the lumber industry. Although the railroad provided access to all parts of the county, the majority of the mills, now almost exclusively powered by steam, continued to be clustered along the Clarion River. Only four of the twenty-eight mills operated east of the continental divide, but these eastern mills included Hall and Kaul's big mill in St. Marys, the largest mill in Elk County and one of the largest mills in Pennsylvania.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Taber, *Tanbark, Alcohol and Lumber*, 1003.



Twenty-eight Saw Mills in Elk County 1850 to 1920 (Blue – Hall & Kaul) (Red Others)

Colors and Numbers Keyed to Table on Previous Page.

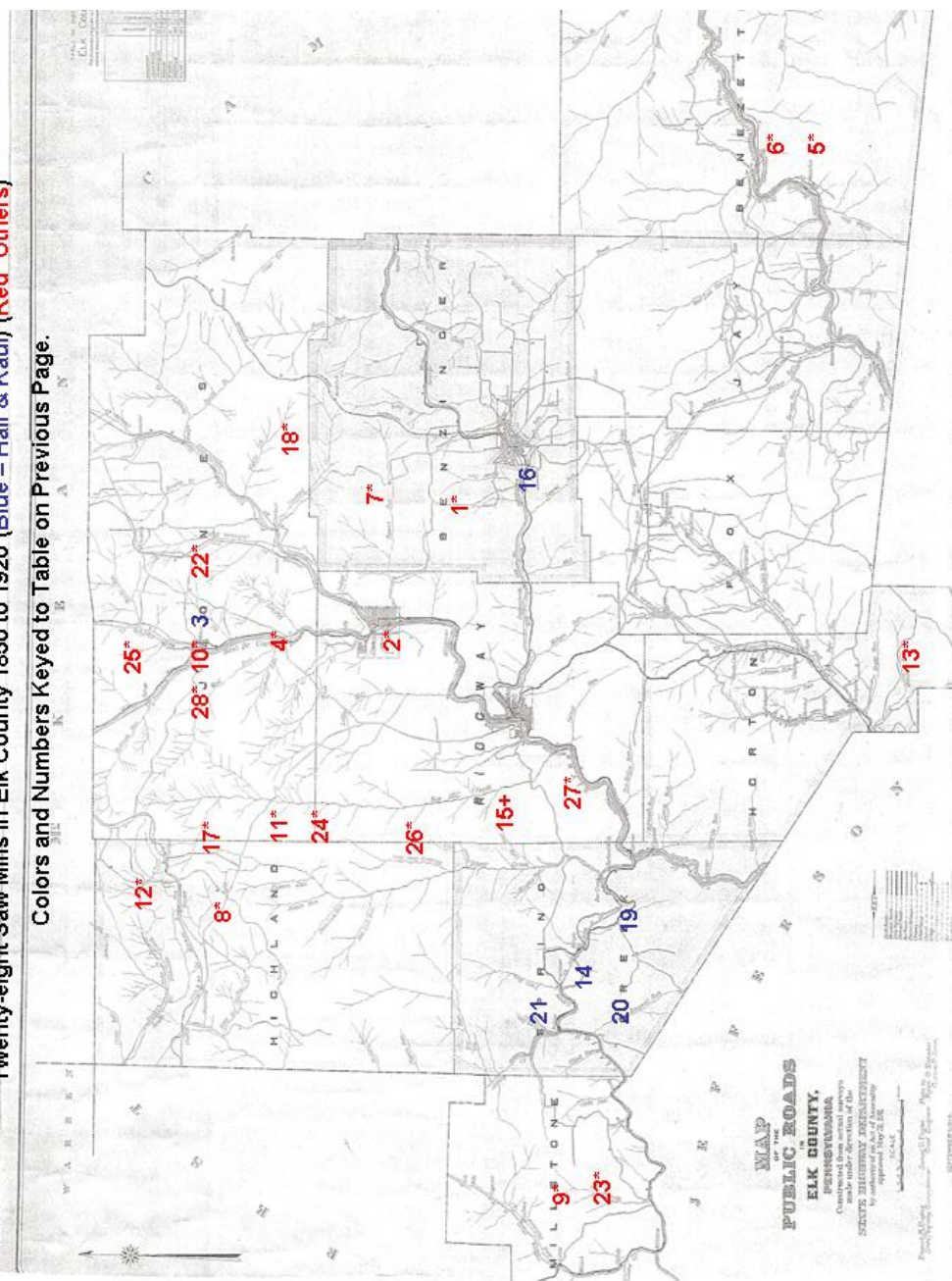


Figure 5.9. Map of sawmills in Elk County with Hall, Kaul, and Hyde Mills identified.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>116</sup> Taber, *Tanbark, Alcohol and Lumber*, last three un-numbered pages of Volume 10

While the white pines represented the most valuable trees in the forest, hemlock and hardwoods provided the raw materials for manufacturing leather, chemicals, and paper.<sup>117</sup> Modern tanneries began appearing in the early 1880s followed by chemical plants in the late 1880s and 1890s and a paper mill in 1888. The new industries increased the number of extractive jobs and attracted many more workers to the county resulting in greater ethnic diversity. Between the 1880 and 1890, immigrants from Sweden, Switzerland, Austria, Italy, and Canada moved to Elk County seeking jobs in the growing forest industry.<sup>118</sup>

In 1860, 43 extractive businesses operated in Elk County, and lumber companies accounted for 37 of them, or 82%. However, while the number of companies only increased slightly by 1880, from 43 to 52, the change in manufacturing reflected in the modest increase represented a big adjustment to the economic base of the county. By 1880, nine new tanneries dramatically changed the economic profile of the county and represented an enormous increase in invested capital, cost of raw material, cost of labor, and value of products produced. These nine tanneries accounted for 72% of the invested capital and a significant portion of the cost of raw materials and the cost of labor. In 1880, the tanneries in Ridgway employed 193 workers. When we include the 80 jobs created by the Hall, Kaul and Kestler Tannery, built in St. Marys in 1884, the combined number of tanning jobs increases to 273. However, the 273 tanning jobs in Ridgway and St. Marys understate tannery employment in the county, because the figure does not include the jobs at the tanneries in Wilcox, Arroyo, and Rolfe.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Tabor, *Tanbark Alcohol and Lumber*, 1049–1060, chapter 10.4, “The Quinns,” and chapter 10.5, “The Tanning Industry.”

<sup>118</sup> Tenth and Twelfth Census of the United States, 1880 and 1900 Census Manuscript, Pennsylvania, Elk County, and Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, pivot tables, and filters created from the census data.

<sup>119</sup> The Tenth Census of the United States, 1880 Census, Statistics of Manufacturing, table V, Selected Statistics of Manufacturers, by Counties, ETC: 1880, p. 343, Pennsylvania, Elk County, p. 507, Manufacturers by Counties, 1860. The chemical plants and the paper mill were founded in the late 1880s and 1890s and did not appear in the 1880 census.

Table 5.3. Manufacturing in Elk County, 1860 vs. 1880<sup>120</sup>

|                       | <b>1860</b> | <b>1880</b> | <b>Change</b> | <b>20-year Change</b> |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| Number of Companies   | 43          | 52          | 9             | 21%                   |
| Capital Invested      | \$399,600   | \$2,277,910 | \$1,878,310   | 470%                  |
| Cost of Raw Materials | \$92,925    | \$224,861   | \$ 131,936    | 142%                  |
| Cost of Labor         | \$74,010    | \$1,470,861 | \$1,396,851   | 1,887%                |
| Value of Products     | \$190,021   | \$2,304,867 | \$2,114,846   | 1,113%                |
| Total                 | \$568,649   | \$6,280,431 | \$5,521,952   |                       |

The tanning industry, unlike the lumber industry, experienced a very different genesis. It began as a small, limited venture when Enos Gillis built the first tannery in Ridgway in 1830. For the next 40 years not much happened, but after the construction of the railroad, new tanneries quickly formed, drawn to the county by the plentiful hemlock forests and the tannic acid contained in the hemlock bark. Tannic acid represented a key ingredient in tanning leather. Although tanning and lumbering represented very different industries in Elk County, a connection did exist, and local lumbermen owned several of the Elk County tanneries, including Enos Gillis, W. H. Horton, and Hall and Kaul.

By the mid-1890s, tanneries operated in Ridgway, Wilcox, St. Marys, Arroyo, Instanter, Rolfe, Medix Run, and Portland Mills, and they, along with the lumber companies, became a mainstay of the economy and a major source of employment.<sup>121</sup> The great stands of Eastern Hemlock provided an almost endless source of tannic acid. Crews of bark peelers stripped the hemlock bark from the trees while the logs were still in the woods. Tannery construction took place near the source of bark and not the source of hide for two reasons. The bark needed to be moved to the tannery soon after peeling, because the longer it remained exposed to the elements

<sup>120</sup> Eighth and Tenth Census of the United States, 1860 and 1880, Census of Manufacturing.

<sup>121</sup> Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Manufacturing Census, Pennsylvania, Elk County.

the more tannic acid leached from the bark. In addition, hides could be transported more easily and efficiently than the massive quantities of bark required in the tanning process.



Figure 5.10. Bark slabs ready to be moved to a tannery.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> William Bauer collection of railroad photographs.



Figure 5.11. Train moving logs and bark out of the Dents Run in eastern Elk County.<sup>123</sup>

After peeling the bark from the hemlock trees, woodsmen stacked the bark strips on flatbed railroad cars that moved it to the tanneries, where it was dried.<sup>124</sup> Extracting the tannic acid from the bark required that the bark first be crushed into a fine powder and then soaked in leach tanks filled with very hot water. After cutting the hides to size, workers submerged the hides in filter tanks containing the hot tannic solution extracted from the bark. Following the first treatment, laborers dried and re-stacked the hides, then treated them a second time. The tanning vats held about 100 hides, and the tanning process took two weeks. After tanning, laborers softened, colored, and prepared the hides for market. The dried bark residue that remained in the vats provided fuel to heat the water for the next tanning cycle.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Taber, *Tanbark, Alcohol and Lumber*, 1084–1090.



The tanning industry, well suited to the county's natural resources, changed dramatically in 1893, when 63 tanneries in eastern United States merged to form the United States Leather Company—the largest tanning combine in the country. The United States Leather Company created three tanning subsidiaries—the Penn, Union, and Elk Tanning Companies. Five of the Elk County tanneries joined the Elk Tanning Company, and one joined the Union Tanning Company. The new combine, controlled by New York businessmen and incorporated in New Jersey, located the headquarters of its Elk Tanning Company subsidiary in Ridgway.

The five tanneries owned by the Elk Tanning Company represented the first major investment in the county's natural resources controlled by outside investors and not local capitalists. However, the management of the Elk Tanning Company remained under local control, managed by C. D. Osterhold and George Childs, former owners of Ridgway's Eagle Tanning Company. This management of the new company by local leaders who were part of the community, rather than outside officials of the corporate parent, meant that nothing would change regarding the development of the community.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 176, Taber, *Tanbark, Alcohol and Lumber*, 31.



Figure 5.12. Elk County, virgin hemlock.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> William Bauer's collection of photographs.

Of all of the tanneries owned by the U. S. Leather Company and its three subsidiaries, its tannery in Wilcox, in northern Elk County, became the largest tannery in the United States, processing a thousand hides a day.<sup>128</sup> The Hall, Kaul and Kestler Tannery in St. Marys remained independent, never joining the combine. This decision proved beneficial for the owners, because the tannery remained in business until the 1950s.

Chemical companies or acid plants represented the fourth major industry in Elk County to take advantage of the forest resources, but they were the least influential of the new industries. More than eight chemical plants in Elk County produced basic wood chemicals and not the more complex chemicals of the time. Making or distilling wood-based chemicals did not require a significant capital investment or highly technical equipment. The chemical industry used all available logs, regardless of size or species, and contributed to much of the clear-cutting that took place, utilizing both the tops of mature trees, as well as immature trees as small as one inch in diameter that could be processed without being split. The logs, cut into four-foot lengths and transported to the chemical plants by rail, were loaded into iron cars and rolled into retort ovens. The retort ovens baked the logs until the wood began smoldering. This smoke then passed through a series of distilling tanks, where the different chemicals were rendered and collected as the smoke decreased in temperature. The chemical plants produced wood alcohol, creosote, acetic acid, and wood tar. Iron smelters purchased the charcoal residue for use as fuel in their smelting ovens.<sup>129</sup>

Elk County's chemical entrepreneurs included Martin Quinn in the village of Straight, the Bayless brothers in Glen Hazel, the Wright Chemical Company in Glen Hazel, the Clawson

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Joseph Rieseman, *History of Western Pennsylvania*, vol. 1. (Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc. 1943), 357 and 358.



Chemical Company in Glen Hazel, and McKean Chemical Company in Dahoga. At one time, five chemical plants operated in northern Elk County near the small village of Glen Hazel.<sup>130</sup>

The only time outside capitalists controlled the economic and social development of one of the large Elk County community occurred in the town of Johnsonburg, where the Armstrong Company of Philadelphia, a manufacturer of paper and paper bags, built a paper mill. The company, controlled by Meylert M. Armstrong and his brother, who lived in East Orange, New Jersey, first built a paper mill in Lock Haven in Clinton County, under the name of the Pennsylvania Pulp and Paper Company. Then, in 1888, they acquired land in Johnsonburg, where they built the Clarion Pulp and Paper Company, which later changed its name to the New York and Pennsylvania Company. Meylert Armstrong, the most influential investor in the Johnsonburg mill, never lived in Johnsonburg, but his nephew, Samuel Armstrong, moved to the town as the assistant chemist after receiving an education in Europe, and later became the mill superintendent.<sup>131</sup> Paper mills, like the tanneries, required considerable capital investment, and a true company town developed around the Armstrong Company in Johnsonburg. The fact that the community barely existed before 1888 made outside control inevitable. Prior to the mill, only a cluster of a buildings at the confluence of the east and west branch of the Clarion River, eight miles north of Ridgway, identified the small settlement, which had not been large enough to develop a sustainable population with a strong cultural fabrics. Thus the town grew and developed around the mill and the arrival of new citizens, including both laborers and managers. While the absentee managers influenced the development of their mill town, they never attempted to control development beyond the village of Johnsonburg.

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<sup>130</sup> Taber, *Tanbark, Alcohol, and Lumber*, chapter 10.3, 1055–1060, chapter 10.4.

<sup>131</sup> Wessman, *The History of Johnsonburg* (Johnsonburg , PA: Elk County Historical Society and Johnsonburg Chamber of Commerce), 120.

Prior to the existence of the paper mill, Ridgway and St. Marys were the largest towns in the county. However, the town of Johnsonburg flourished after the construction of the paper mill, and by 1900, nearly 4,000 inhabitants lived in the new town, making it the second-largest incorporated borough in Elk County.<sup>132</sup>

Wood chips produced in chipping mills from logs of varying species provided the raw material for paper. The chips were sealed in a digester tank along with chemicals, water, and steam, where they were soaked for several hours. This process broke down the bond holding the wood fibers together, turning the chips into pulp. Workers then washed the binding residue away and added clay filler to the pulp. Next they spread the mixture in thin layers on screens, where gravity and suction removed the water and transformed the wet pulp into raw paper. The final steps include a starch bath that hardened the surface of the paper and, finally, a pass through iron rollers that controlled the paper's smoothness and thickness.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Taber, *Tanbark, Alcohol, and Lumber*, chapter 10.5.

<sup>133</sup> Wessman, *A History of Johnsonburg, Elk County, Pennsylvania: 1810–1985*, 24 and 25.

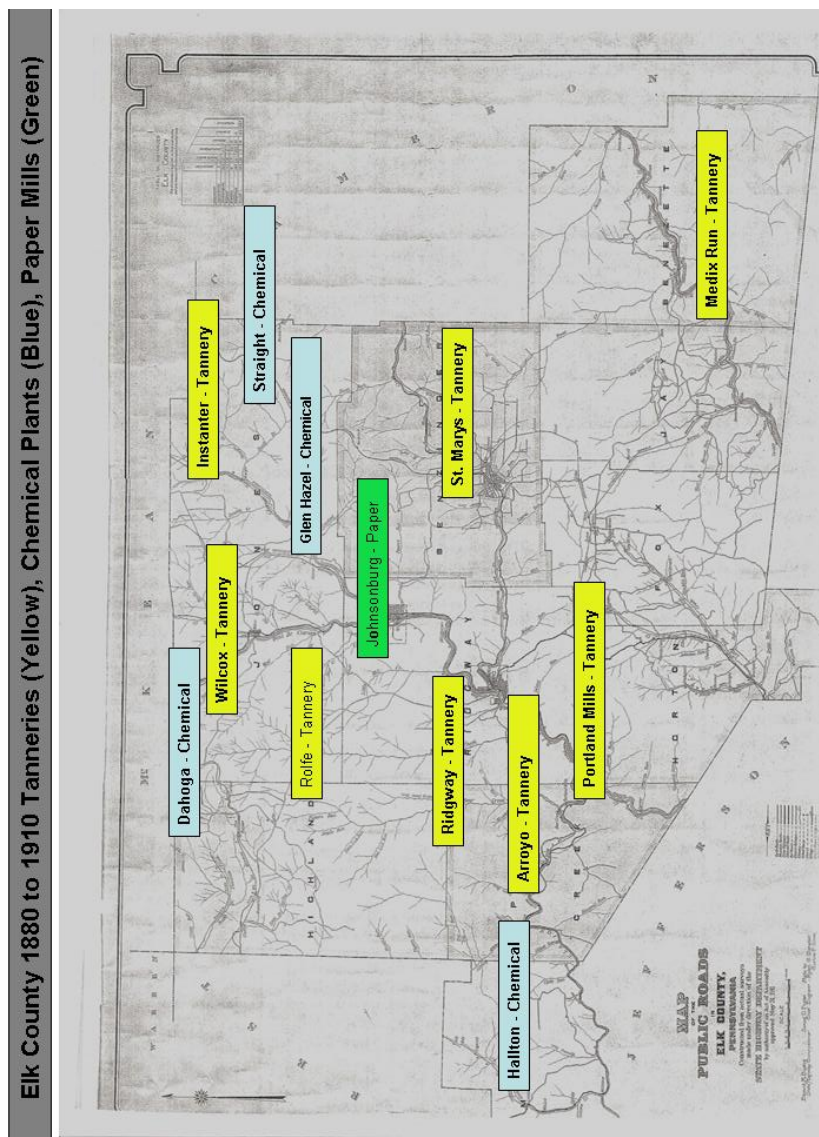


Figure 5.13. Locations of tanneries, chemical plants and paper mill in Elk County, 1890s.

By 1900, over half of the county's population lived in St. Marys, Benzinger Township, Ridgway Township, and the Borough of Ridgway and the Borough of Johnsonburg. But growth also occurred in other parts of the county, in Halton, Arroyo, Portland Mills, Wilcox, Glen Hazel, Strait, Instantan, Dagus Mines, Kersey, Toby, Brandy Camp, Force, Cardiff, and Byrnedale, all small villages that grew around a single mill, mine, tannery, or chemical plant.<sup>134</sup>

<sup>134</sup> Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 85–86.

Table 5.4. County Population by Township and Borough, 1850 to 1880<sup>135</sup>

| <b>Population</b>   | <b>1850</b> | <b>1860</b> | <b>1870</b> | <b>1880</b> |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Johnsonburg Borough | -           | -           | -           | -           |
| Ridgway Borough     | -           | -           | -           | 1,100       |
| St. Marys Borough   | -           | 692         | 1,084       | 1,501       |
| Benezette Township  | 24          | 277         | 902         | 835         |
| Benzinger Township  | 1,168       | 1,237       | 1,630       | 1,976       |
| Fox Township        | 764         | 1,333       | 1,188       | 2,256       |
| Highland Township   | 33          | 29          | 98          | 261         |
| Horton Township     | -           | -           | 631         | 688         |
| Jay Townshhip       | 327         | 392         | 534         | 600         |
| Jones Township      | 235         | 383         | 1,091       | 1,427       |
| Millstone Township  | -           | -           | 173         | 209         |
| Ridgway Township    | 241         | 579         | 800         | 1,480       |
| Spring Township     | 91          | 394         | 358         | 467         |
| Elk County          | 3,584       | 6,853       | 8,489       | 12,800      |

However, the strong community structure in both Ridgway and St. Marys explains Elk County's unique development. Long before the railroad brought modernity to the county, functional communities formed around local control and the prevailing cultural norms of each community. When the large corporate tannery and paper mill arrived in the 1880s and 1890s, these outside investors simply became players in a community structure established long before their arrival; consequently, the community's survival never depended upon their leadership.

The development and the continued exploitation of the natural resources created stability and permanency. The coal mines, sawmills, tanneries, chemical plants, and paper mill brought a new economic vigor to the county. Modern communities, once dependent upon river lumbering and semisubsistence farming, grew and prospered with the help of a sizable influx of new capital brought to the region by outside investors in the coal, tanning, and paper industries. However, regardless of these outside influences, the local leadership, intent upon maintaining local control, continued to invest and reinvest within the county, solidifying their commitment to preserving

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<sup>135</sup> United States Census, 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, Pennsylvania, Elk County.

the ethnic, religious, and intuitional values established well before the railroad era. What had once been a struggle to survive in the wilderness changed for the better as contemporary communities replaced the primitive settlements. However, the development after 1864 emphasized the importance of the railroad. Absent the Driftwood-to-Warren route, development might have been delayed for decades, and when it did happen, it may have been controlled by different leaders, possibly from the outside the county. In such a scenario, St. Marys and Ridgway may have disappeared, remembered today only as ghost towns in the folklore of northwestern Pennsylvania. But development requires much more than a railroad. The continuum of time, resources, human capital, circumstances, and the interconnection of these conditions dictated the outcome, and altering any of these continuums would have changed the end result.

## 6. HYDE, HALL, AND KAUL: THEIR EXTRACTIVE ENDEAVORS

The natural resources and the railroad represented the tangible assets essential to the development of Ridgway and St. Marys. However, leadership represented the variable asset that controlled the way in which the communities developed; and any change in circumstances or timing affecting the leadership variable would change the outcome. Thus, the right individuals at the right time could and did dramatically impact the development of both communities. Joseph S. Hyde, James Knox Polk Hall, and Andrew Kaul were the right individuals at the right time. Ridgway and St. Marys were very different from most extractive communities, where outside interests, only concerned about extracting the natural resources, controlled development. In Ridgway and St. Marys, local leaders working from within led in the formation of communities, complete with social structures that fostered permanent development and where individuals proved to be the essential ingredients for success. J. S. Hyde, Andrew Kaul, and James Hall's economic and political impact affected the long-term development of both communities to a greater degree than did than any of the other contemporary leaders.

“Who were the Hydes, Halls and Kauls? J. S. Hyde was the starting point, the Kauls worked in the Halls married in.”<sup>136</sup> While this observation made by historian Thomas Tabor is true in the literal sense, it is misleading with respect to J. K. P. Hall, whose contribution far exceeded his marriage to Hyde's daughter. J. S. Hyde became the most powerful lumberman in the pre-railroad era, and his influence extended into the post-railroad era, when his logging and

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<sup>136</sup> Tabor, *Tanbark Alcohol and Lumber*, 1015.

milling operations helped strengthen the lumber dynasty built by Hall and Kaul in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Joseph Hyde, an itinerate woodsman from New England, first moved to Ridgway in 1837, then left in 1840 but returned in 1844. After marrying James Gillis's niece and acquiring Gillis's sawmills and gristmills, Hyde set about increasing his holdings of both land and mills; by 1850 he had become the largest and most successful lumberman operating on the headwaters of the Clarion River. Hyde's landholdings and mills extended along the river from the northern part of the county on Big Mill Creek, south to the Jefferson County line. His mills at Mountmorenci, Ridgway, and Portland Mills sawed white pine logs into lumber, which was then floated by raft to Pittsburgh, Louisville, and New Orleans.<sup>137</sup>



Figure 6.1. Log raft under construction on the Clarion River south of Portland Mills in Elk County. Log rafts were constructed upside down and then flipped right-side up into the river.<sup>138</sup>

A typical lumber raft of that era measured 100 feet long and 25 feet wide. Not until the post-railroad era did any of the other lumbermen in Elk County supplant Hyde's logging and milling

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<sup>137</sup> Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 17; James DeFebaugh, *History of American Lumber Industry* (Chicago: The American Lumberman, 1907), vol 2., 615–616.

<sup>138</sup> Robert Imhof, Ridgway, Pennsylvania, collection of Clarion River historical photographs.

domination. Following the construction of the railroad and the successful efforts to extract coal, Hall and Kaul replaced Hyde as the most important lumberman in the county.

Andrew Kaul played the central role in the Hall and Kaul partnership, because he understood the lumber business and the value of land and timber, and he could build and manage sawmills. Kaul, a Roman Catholic, grew up in a culture where community values and allegiance to church and family were important touchstones in daily life. Born in St. Marys in 1845 to German immigrant parents, Andrew spent his early years working on the family farm east of St. Marys. His transition from the farm to the forest began in 1863, when he started working with Joseph Lanzel. Lanzel, an early jobber in the area, harvested white pine along the Bennetts Branch of the Sinnemahoning Creek in eastern Elk and western Cameron counties. In 1865, a year after joining Lanzel, Kaul married Walburga Lanzel, Joseph Lanzel's daughter; in 1868, Andrew made his first land acquisition, buying a 400-acre stand of white pine in the Iron Run area east of St. Marys.<sup>139</sup>

James Knox Polke Hall was born in 1844, named by his father (a staunch Jacksonian Democrat) after the famous Tennessean who ran for the U.S. presidency that year. His contribution to the Hall and Kaul partnership far exceeded his marriage to J. S. Hyde's daughter.<sup>140</sup> Rather, Hall's legal, financial, and administrative qualities proved critical to the success of their endeavors. Hall, a Protestant Yankee, moved to St. Marys in 1864, where he fit neither the ethnic or religious profile of his adopted immigrant Catholic community; given Hall's legal and business acumen, however, he must have foreseen great opportunity in the growing village. Raised in Milesburg, in Center County, Hall received some formal business education before moving to St. Marys. He first came to study law in the law office of his older brother

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<sup>139</sup> *Accessible Archives*, chapter XXI, 7.

<sup>140</sup> *Accessible Archives*, chapter XXI, 4; The wives of James Hall, Andrew Kaul, and J. S. Hyde are described in chapter VII, 15–20.



John, who had moved to the community a few years before James. James Hall joined the Elk County Bar in 1866, and in 1867 he and several local investors founded the St. Marys National Bank. His most important association happened in 1872, when he entered into partnership with Andrew Kaul. James Hall lived in St. Marys until 1889, when he moved to Ridgway, the hometown of his wife, Kate Hyde. Hall's marriage undoubtedly strengthened the Hall and Kaul business empire, because it connected Hall and Kaul to Hyde's extensive logging and milling businesses. The Hall and Kaul partnership continued until 1898, when the partners incorporated their business as the Kaul and Hall Lumber Company. Their friendship and business association lasted until Andrew Kaul's death in 1905. Ten years later, on January 15, 1915, James Hall passed away.<sup>141</sup> At the time of Andrew Kaul's death, the Kaul and Hall Lumber Company stock holdings indicated that each partner held an almost equal share of the company's ownership, with only one unrelated minority stockholder, George Simons, who was a faithful employee and a friend of the partners.

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<sup>141</sup> *Assessable Archives*, chapter XXI, 4; Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 167.

Table 6.1. Stockholders of the Kaul and Haul Lumber Company, March 1, 1913<sup>142</sup>

| Stock Holder       | Number of Shares |
|--------------------|------------------|
| J. K. P. Hall      | 1,900            |
| William E. Hall    | 500              |
| Sarah Stackpole    | 50               |
| George C. Simons   | 50               |
| Andrew Kaul estate | 1675             |
| John Kaul          | 625              |
| Frank Kaul         | 200              |
| Total              | 5,000            |

James Hall and Andrew Kaul, both deeply involved in the economic, political, and social fabric of the communities, led in the development of both Ridgway and St. Marys. Unlike so many extractive entrepreneurs who, upon making their fortune, moved on to greener pastures, Hall and Kaul lived in the Elk County for the remainder of their lives and played important roles in the continued effort to build complete and permanent communities. Throughout their more than 30-year association, Hall and Kaul successfully extracted the natural resources, and at the end of the logging and mining era, they reinvested their capital into new ventures. Hall and Kaul's insight and skill in the business of land acquisition, mining, and resources extraction combined with a personal commitment to their communities to garner considerable financial profits. But more importantly, their success led to the unique transition, at the end of the nineteenth century, away from extracting coal and timber and toward manufacturing carbon.

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<sup>142</sup> A. B. Dixon, Public Accountant, Report on Dissolution of Kaul and Hall Lumber Company, July 10, 1935, Kane, Pennsylvania, p. 3. The Audit of Dissolution was among the documents given to the St. Marys and Benzinger Township Historical Society by the officers of the Hall Corporation (formerly the Stackpole Corporation) following the termination of the corporation in 2004.

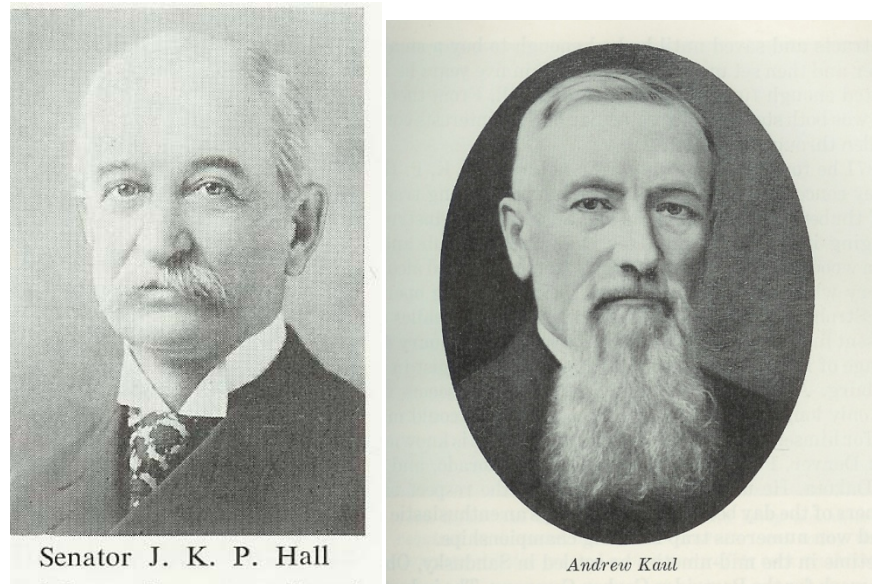


Figure 6.2. James Hall and Andrew, Kaul<sup>143</sup>

The Hall and Kaul partnership, methodically structured over 30 years, amassed a vast mining and lumber enterprise that exceeded in size and longevity all of the other extractive businesses in the area and profoundly influenced the development of Elk County. In December of 1874 the partners made their first joint timber purchase, acquiring 2,637 acres in northern Benzinger Township near Powers Run; a year later they purchased an additional 1,000 acres in the same area. In 1876 they opened the Elk Creek Coal Mine, in 1877 the Silver Creek Mine, and in 1878 the Cascade Mine, all located in the St. Marys area. In 1880, Hall and Kaul purchased 5,000 acres along the North Fork of West Creek, near the village of Beechwood in Cameron County. At the same time they purchased a half interest in a mill near Beechwood. Between 1881 and 1886 they bought 9,000 additional acres in this area. In 1882 Hall and Kaul joined with Joseph Hyde, Hall's father-in-law, in the Portland Lumber Company and constructed a mill on Vineyard Run in southwestern Elk County, near the Jefferson County border.

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<sup>143</sup> Harry S. Conrad, *Fifty Seven Years of Progress: 1906 to 1963* (Harrisburg, PA: Telegraph Press, 1964) 45; Kaul, *Black Magic*, 13.



Figure 6.3. Hall and Kaul's Big Mill in St. Marys, built in 1896<sup>1</sup>

In 1885 Hall and Kaul built a larger mill in Rathburn, near Beechwood. This mill served as their principal operation until 1896 when they moved to St. Marys and constructed one of only three double-band sawmills in Pennsylvania. The mill's "400 horsepower Corliss steam engine powered six 70-horsepower boilers. A 40-inch wide leather belt drove the line shaft from the Corliss engine. Besides the two band saws the mill also had a smaller gang saw. The "Big Mill," as it was locally referred to, sawed 200,000 board feet of lumber per day."<sup>144</sup>

In 1887, Hall and Kaul joined with lumberman Samson Short and purchased 18,000 acres in Benzinger, Fox, and Jones Township on the eastern side of the county. The following year,

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<sup>144</sup> Taber, *Tanbark, Alcohol and Lumber*, 1003, 1004, and 1005.

Short sold his interest to Hall and Kaul, and, between 1888 and 1890; the partners purchased an additional 16,000 acres in the same area. In 1890, the partners bought 10,000 acres near Halton along the Clarion River Valley south of Ridgway from the John G. Hall Estate, the older brother of Jim Hall.<sup>145</sup>

Following Burr Cartwright's bankruptcy in 1893, Hall and Kaul made one of their most important acquisitions, acquiring Cartwright's timber acreage, mines, and railroads which included 18,000 acres near Glen Hazel in the northern part of the county, and his mining and railroad interests in southern part of Elk County. The acquisition of Cartwright's timberlands and coal mines proved to be extremely profitable, because just five years later Hall and Kaul sold the Cartwright mines, along with their railroad, for a reported \$3,000,000.<sup>146</sup>

Hall and Kaul's accumulation of land, mines, and mills over the 19 years between 1874 and 1893 necessitated the formation of a network of railroads that connected their enterprises to the Pennsylvania Railroad in St. Marys. In 1897 they connected their St. Marys and Southern Railroad and their St. Marys Buffalo and Western Railroad, forming the Buffalo, St. Marys and Southwestern Railroad, a standard-gauge north-south railroad through the county. This combined line connected their mining operations in the southern part of the county and their logging operations in the northern and eastern part of the county to the Pennsylvania Railroad in St. Marys.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid 1001

<sup>146</sup> Paul Pietrak, *The Pittsburgh, Shawmut and Northern Railroad Company*, (North Boston, New York: Paul Pietrick, 1969) 38.

<sup>147</sup> Taber, *Tanbark, Alcohol and Lumber*, 1018–1025.

Table 6.2. Hall and Kaul Land Acquisition, 1874 to 1893.

| <b>Date of Purchase</b> | <b>Acreage</b> | <b>Location</b>                   |
|-------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1874                    | 2,637          | Powers Run, west of St. Marys     |
| 1875                    | 1,000          | Powers Run, west of St. Marys     |
| 1880                    | 5,000          | Beachwood, east of St. Marys      |
| 1881- 1886              | 9,000          | Beachwood, east of St. Marys      |
| 1887                    | 18,000         | Benzinger, Fox, and Jay Townships |
| 1888-1890               | 16,000         | Benzinger, Fox, and Jay Townships |
| 1,890                   | 10,000         | Halton and Horton Township        |
| 1893                    | 18,000         | Glen Hazel                        |
| Total Acquisition       | 79,637         |                                   |

Once securely established in the forest industry, the partners needed a way to market their lumber. Unlike many of the smaller loggers who worked for the tanneries and chemical companies and did not have a way to market lumber outside of the county, in March of 1887, Hall and Kaul formed the Pennsylvania Lumber Company, which maintained offices in both St. Marys and Philadelphia. The new company marketed white pine, hemlock beams, and hardwood throughout eastern United States, where their 28-foot-long hemlock beams represented one of their signature products. These unusually long beams were in great demand by contractors in Philadelphia and New York, who needed long floor and roof beams for the wide brownstone homes popular in that era. Hall and Kaul also marketed lumber for other lumbermen in Elk County, including Martin Quinn, whose mill at Straits was the second largest in the county.<sup>148</sup>

The number of mills owned by Hall and Kaul is a measure of their importance compared to other lumbermen in the county. Hall and Kaul's six sawmills all ranked among the largest in the county, each sawing more than 40,000 board feet of lumber a day. Their largest mill, located in St. Marys, sawed 200,000 board feet a day. Their next largest mills, located in Portland Mills,

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<sup>148</sup> Taber, *Tanbark, Alcohol and Lumber*, 1001; conversation, Andrew Kaul IV. According to Mr. Kaul, many of the Elk County loggers did not have the resources to market lumber, and when cutting hemlock for the tanneries they only used the bark of the hemlock trees that contained tannic acid and left the trunks of the trees in the forest. The same held true regarding the loggers who cut wood for the chemical industry, who were primarily interested in the tops of the trees that did not have to be split. However, Hall and Kaul did have the resources, and they created the Pennsylvania Lumber Company to market hemlock, pine, and hardwood in eastern United States.

sawed 100,000 board feet per day. Other Hall and Kaul mills included a mill at Laurel Run that sawed 70,000 board feet per day and two smaller mills at Croyland and Vineyard Run, each sawing 40,000 board feet per day.<sup>149</sup> Hall and Kaul's six mills, three of which ranked among the four largest mills in the county, are a good measure of Hall and Kaul's lumbering domination when compared to the other lumbermen, most of whom owned only one mill. Two other lumbermen must be noted when considering the Hyde, Hall, and Kaul dynasty: William Hyde, son of J. S. Hyde, and John Hall, brother of J.K. P. Hall. William Hyde, a lumberman in his own right and a partner in the Portland Lumber Company, owned several other sawmills in the county, including the Hyde and Thayer Company mills in Ridgway and Laurel Mill. John Hall, more a lawyer than a lumberman, provided the money for the Hall and Gardner Company, which operated a mill in the southwestern corner of Highland Township. When William Hyde and John Hall's mills are added the mills owned by the Joseph Hyde, James Hall, and Andrew Kaul, the total number of mills owned by the extended family increases from six to nine, or about 32% of the mills identified in Thomas Tabor's inventory of mills.<sup>150</sup>

Tanning represented the one industry where the partners were not heavily involved. The abundance of eastern hemlock supported the nine capital-intensive tanneries in the county, and in 1880, the invested capital of these tanneries exceeded the combined invested capital of all the other 43 companies in the county.<sup>151</sup> Hall and Kaul, however, were only became marginally involved in the tanning business, electing to concentrate their investments in the mining and lumbering industries where they could minimize their capital investment and maximize their return on investment. They did; however, invest in Kestler Lesh & Company, a tanning company

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<sup>149</sup> Taber, *Tanbark, Alcohol and Lumber*, Last three unnumbered pages on Volume 10; Table on page 77, chapter IV of this dissertation.

<sup>150</sup> Taber, *Tanbark, Alcohol and Lumber*, Inventory of saw mills listed on the last three un-numbered pages Volume 10.

<sup>151</sup> Tenth Census of the U. S., 1880 Census of Manufacturing, Pennsylvania, Elk County.

headquartered in Boston, Massachusetts, and in 1884 built the St. Marys Tannery, which processed 2,200 hides per week and employed 80 workers.<sup>152</sup>

In 1897, Hall and Kaul, now firmly established as the leading lumber and mining operators, realized that after years of mining and logging, the declining resources signaled an end of extractive era's profitability. In an unexpected but fortuitous move, the partners sold their recently acquired Cartwright mining interests and the Buffalo St. Marys and Southwestern Railroad to New York investors headed by John Byrne. Byrne purchased these assets for a reported \$3,000,000, because he wanted a rail line connecting his railroads in western New York to what he thought were the lucrative coal and forest resources in Elk County.<sup>153</sup> After purchasing Hall and Kaul's mining and railroad interests, on July 1, 1899, Byrne formed the Pittsburgh Shawmut and Northern Railroad. The railroad connecting Hornell, New York, to Brockwayville, Pennsylvania, quickly fell on hard times, as coal mining continued to decline in the region. In 1905 the railroad declared bankruptcy; however, it continued to operate until 1945, when it finally closed, setting a longevity record for an American company operating under receivership.<sup>154</sup>

While building their mining and sawmill empire, Hall and Kaul also established themselves as powerful political leaders. According to anecdotal accounts, supported by reports in the *Elk County Gazette*, the partners controlled the Elk County Democratic Party. Andrew Kaul served as associate judge in the Elk County Court, and James Hall served in the Pennsylvania State Senate from 1903 to 1912 and later served one term in the United States House of Representatives. Hall's younger brother Harry Alva Hall, also an attorney, served in

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<sup>152</sup> Accessible Archives, chapter V1 s 634-657; Andrew Kaul IV interview.

<sup>153</sup> James Defebaugh, *History of Lumber Industry in America* (Chicago: The American Lumberman, 1907), vol. 2, pp. 615–616; Paul Pietrak, *The Pittsburgh, Shawmut and Northern Railroad Company* (North Boston, NY: Paul Pietrick, 1969), 38.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.



the Pennsylvania state senate in 1893, and later received the appointment as the United States attorney for western Pennsylvania. In addition to their political influence, their commercial holdings added to their overall dominion in the county. The partners owned the county's largest bank, the largest department stores in Ridgway and St. Marys, and several smaller commercial establishments and utilities, including the St. Marys Water Company and the St. Marys Gas Company.<sup>155</sup>

Table 6.3. Hall and Kaul Business Holdings, 1872 to 1900.

| <b>Business</b>   | <b>Name</b>  | <b>Location</b> | <b>Date</b> |
|-------------------|--|-----------------|-------------|
| <b>Mines</b>      | Silver Creek Mine  |                 | 1877        |
|                   | Elk Creek Mine   |                 | 1876        |
|                   | Cascade Mine   |                 | 1878        |
|                   | Shawmut Mines (Cartwright's Mines)                         |                 | 1893        |
|                   | St. Marys Western and Buffalo                              |                 |             |
| <b>Railroads</b>  | Numerous Logging Railroads                                 |                 |             |
| <b>Lumber</b>     | Hall and Kaul Partnership                                  |                 | 1872        |
|                   | Kaul and Hall Lumber Company Mills                         | Glen Hazel      | 1893        |
|                   |  | Laurel Run      | 1893        |
|                   |  | St. Marys       | 1896        |
|                   | Portland Lumber Company (Hall & Kaul, J. S, Hyde, Wm Hyde) | Portland Mills  | 1893        |
|                   |  | Vineyard        | 1882        |
|                   |  | Croyland        | 1895        |
|                   | Pennsylvania Lumber Company (Lumber Marketing Company)     | St. Marys       | 1887        |
|                   | St. Marys Tannery  | St. Marys       | 1884        |
| <b>Tanning</b>    |  |                 |             |
| <b>Banking</b>    | St. Marys National Bank                                    | St. Marys       | 1867        |
| <b>Commercial</b> | Hall, Kaul & Hyde Company Department Store                 | Ridgway         |             |
|                   | Hall, Kaul & Hyde Company Department Store                 | St. Marys       |             |
|                   | J. K. P. Hall Combination Store                            | St. Marys       | 1873        |
| <b>Utilities</b>  | St. Marys Water Company                                    | St. Marys       | N/A         |
|                   | St. Marys Gas Company                                      | St. Marys       | N/A         |

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<sup>155</sup> Harrison C. Stackpole interview, Harrison Stackpole was the son of Harry C. Stackpole founder of the Stackpole Carbon Company and grandson of J.K. P. Hall; Accessible Archives, <http://www.accessible.com/amcnty/PA/McKeanElkCamPot/Elk21.htm>, chapter XXI, s 4 – 5 and 7.

For most of the nineteenth century J. S. Hyde, Andrew Kaul, and James Hall's coal, lumber, railroad, banking, and retail empire, along with their political influence, affected the way Elk County developed. At the end of the century and with \$3,000,000 in cash, the proceeds from the sale of their railroads and the mines, Hall and Kaul used this money to invest in new opportunities. While they divided their new investments among several ventures including brewing, clay mining, and clay pipe manufacturing, their investments in the developing carbon manufacturing industry proved to be their most successful venture. The two carbon companies the partners formed eventually grew to exceed in size and importance all they had achieved during the heady days of logging and mining in the wilds of northwestern Pennsylvania.<sup>156</sup>

Had the continuum of time and place not brought Hall and Kaul together precisely when it did, development may have been very different. Although both individuals would undoubtedly succeed in whatever course they choose, and while others in their absence would have mined the coal and harvested the trees, any disruption in the Hall and Kaul synergy could well have changed the fate of both communities and the development of the carbon industry in St. Marys. Without Hall and Kaul's capital reinvestment at the end of the mining and lumber era, the two towns could well have declined and disappeared, a fate not uncommon among many extractive towns. But Hall and Kaul, imbedded in the community fiber of both Ridgway and St. Marys, planted deep roots that continued to nurture development during three succeeding generations. Because of their unusual community involvement and entrepreneurial skills, the partners became the most important local leaders during the extractive era, and their willingness to stay the course set the stage for the manufacturing era at the end of the century. Although the partner's involvement in manufacturing carbon only lasted until their deaths in the first decades of the twentieth century, the companies they created survived for nearly 100 years. Under the

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<sup>156</sup> Pietrak, *The Pittsburgh, Shawmut and Northern Railroad Company*, 38.

leadership of their children and grandchildren, these new companies became pioneers in the research and development of cutting-edge graphite technology that achieved national acclaim and put St. Marys on the map as a high tech center of carbon manufacturing.

## **7. CULTURE IN EXTRACTIVE COMMUNITIES: ETHNICITY, RELIGION AND POLITICS, 1860 TO 1880**

Culture represented the most important characteristic that defined and differentiated Ridgway and St. Marys, not only compared to one another but also as compared to the typical extractive company town of the era. Sustained by their unique cultures, two strong communities formed, led by local entrepreneurs who understood the importance of self-reliance and the role culture played in strengthening and sustaining development.

Native Yankee woodsmen from New England, New York, and eastern Pennsylvania inhabited Ridgway, while immigrant German farmers settled in St. Marys. The predominant religion within both communities supported and strengthened these ethnic differences, with Anglo-American Protestants controlling Ridgway and Catholics accounting for nearly all of the St. Marys inhabitants. Politics represented the one characteristic in which the communities shared a common relationship, as both communities voted Democratic.

The principal leaders, James Hall and Andrew Kaul, mirrored the cultural differences of the communities: Hall an Anglo-American Protestant, Kaul a German Catholic; Hall a lawyer and banker, Kaul a logger and lumberman. Hall and Kaul both lived in St. Marys until 1889, when Hall moved to Ridgway. Politics represented the only common denominator between the two men, other than their extractive interests, and both became Democratic leaders.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Ethnic and occupational composition of Ridgway and St. Marys in 1860 and 1880 is based on the manuscript census data. Andrew Kaul and James Hall's political involvement is documented in interviews with Andrew Kaul IV and Harrison Stackpole and in *Accessible Archives* <http://www.accessible.com/amcnty/PA/McKeanElkCamPot/Elk21.htm> chapter XXI *History of the Counties of McKean, Elk, Cameron and Potter, 1890*. James Hall biography 4, Andrew Kaul biography 7. Voting results were obtained from the election returns published in the Elk County Gazette. Microfilm copies of the Gazette are in the collection of the St. Marys and Benzinger Township Historical Society, 99 Erie Avenue, St. Marys, Pennsylvania. Early Churches and congregations histories are documented in Wessman, *A History of Elk County* s 194 – 198 and Schaut, *History of St. Marys: The Formative Years*, 63.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, when the logging and milling industry evolved out of the northern hardwood and softwood forests of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania and before the Great Migration changed the ethnic mix of America, the first woodsman and lumbermen were mostly native-born Yankees. While the Great Migration eventually brought western Europeans to Elk County as workers between 1820 and 1870, after 1870, many of the newer immigrants hailed from eastern and southern Europe. Nevertheless, through the end of the century, the majority of the inhabitants in Ridgway remained overwhelmingly native-born woodsmen, lumbermen, and artisans.<sup>158</sup>

After the settlement of St. Marys 1842, the cultural make-up of the region changed. Ridgway, a quintessential mill town, only existed because of the natural resources, and its leadership, comprised almost exclusively of independent lumberman and businessmen, built a community complete with churches, institutions and, schools that served the native-born population. In St. Marys, German Catholic immigrants—at first seemingly unconcerned about the extractive resources—attempted to create a farming community, and like their counterparts in Ridgway, upon settlement they immediately set about establishing a church, schools, and institutions that reflected their religious mission.

Because of their distinct, but equally strong, cultural identities, St. Marys and Ridgway grew and prospered. In both towns religion played an important role and served as the foundation around which values, independence, and a sense of community formed. Hall and Kaul, whose influence and power reflected the dominant ethnic and religious make-up of their respective communities, both worked to protect and strengthen the local culture. In both Ridgway and St. Marys, culture included not just ethnicity and religion but also involved gender, politics, and

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<sup>158</sup>Seventh and Eight U. S. Census, 1850 and 1860 Census Manuscript, Pennsylvania, Elk County, St. Marys and Ridgway.

vocations. Women played a significant role in the development of both communities through their contributions to the formation of solid family structures, schools, religious institutions, and family economies. Politics represented common ground, and while Ridgway had growing Republican minorities that was stronger than St. Marys' throughout the nineteenth century, Democrats continued to control both towns. In addition to ethnicity, religion, and politics, a strong connection also existed between culture and occupation. In Ridgway, the woodsmen and lumbermen remained overwhelmingly native-born Americans. In St. Marys, the settlers remained almost exclusively German farmers that emigrated primarily from Bavaria. This mix of dominant cultures served as the foundation around which development took place.

Ethnicity and religion represented the most obvious differences between the two communities. By 1860, Anglo-American Protestants from Pennsylvania, New York, and New England made up 57% of the Ridgway heads of household, and German Catholics made up 65% and 84% of the heads of household in the St. Marys Borough and Benzinger Township.<sup>159</sup> In stark contrast, native-born Anglo-Americans accounted for only 13% of St. Marys' heads of household and only 3% of Benzinger Township's heads of household. Meanwhile, in Ridgway Germans made up only 6.4% of the heads of household. Ridgway grew throughout both the initial settlement period and the railroad logging eras because of the increase of sawmills, tanneries, and other forest-related industries that draw new inhabitants from eastern and southern United States and western Europe.<sup>160</sup> St. Marys's growth, on the other hand, resulted from German immigrants who arrived from Bavaria, the Rhineland, Hanover, Baden, Nassau, Wurttemberg, Hesse-Cassel, and Hesse-Darmstadt. Many of these new residents arrived in the

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<sup>159</sup>Eighth Census of the U.S, 1860 Census Manuscript, Pennsylvania, Elk County

<sup>160</sup>Tabor, *Tanbark, Alcohol, and Lumber*, chapter 10.3, "Jones Township Lumbermen," 1037, 1041, 1042, 1043, 1052, and 1059; chapter 10.4, "The Quinns [Chemical Plants]"; chapter 10.5, "The Tanning Industry"; chapter 10.6, "Elk Miscellany."

community with the mistaken expectation that they had moved to land well suited for farming, the result of the misinformation they received through an aggressive recruiting campaign throughout southern Germany conducted by local leaders and land speculators.<sup>161</sup> Irish immigrants who moved to the county in 1860s to work on railroad construction made up the largest ethnic group in Ridgway and the second largest ethnic group in St. Marys. The number of Irish immigrants continued to increase between 1860 and 1880, but because of the growth of other immigrant groups in both communities they declined as a percentage of the total population.

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<sup>161</sup> J. T. Manz, *The Colony of St. Marys in Pennsylvania, North America 1846* (St. Marys, PA: Historical Society of St. Marys and Benzing Township), appendix C. The document is a republication of an article in *The American Catholic*, translated by Joseph Schneider, Library of Congress. The original pamphlet was produced in St. Marys or Baltimore by members of the Brotherhood who wanted to encourage migration from Southern Germany to St. Marys (pp. 1–5). Much of the information seems quite misleading especially regarding the agricultural and transportation merits of the new community.

Table 7.1. Population Change, Ridgway and St. Marys, 1850–1880<sup>162</sup>

|                  | 1850  | 1860  | 1870  | 1880  | 30 Yr.<br>Change | 30 Yr. %<br>Change |
|------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------------------|--------------------|
| <b>St. Marys</b> | 1,168 | 1,929 | 2,714 | 3,437 | 2,269            | 194%               |
| <b>Ridgway</b>   | 241   | 779   | 1,884 | 2,981 | 2,740            | 1137%              |
| <b>Total</b>     | 1,409 | 2,708 | 4,598 | 6,418 | 5,009            | 356%               |

Time, however, produced change, and in 1880—almost twenty years into the railroad era—Ridgway’s population growth outpaced that of St. Marys, even though the latter town continued to be significantly larger. Native-born Americans represented 64% of the Ridgway population while the Irish population declined. Immigrants from other northern and western European countries increased. Swedes, not represented in 1860, by 1880 accounted for 8.4% of the population. Also in 1880, immigrants from Canada, Scotland, Switzerland, and England joined the immigrants from Sweden, making up 16% of Ridgway’s population.<sup>163</sup> In St. Marys, native-born Americans increased from 13% in 1860 to 40% in 1880, and in Benzinger Township they increased from 3% in 1860 to 28% 1880. However, many of the 1880 heads of households had descended from the original German immigrants. While German immigrants and their offspring represented the majority of the town’s population, other settlers arrived from Delaware, Massachusetts, Maryland, Illinois, New York, and Kentucky, together making up 4% of the heads of household. In addition, new immigrants arrived from Austria, Canada, England, and France. Table 7.2 reveals how the communities changed and how they differed based on place of birth of the dominant groups, which included native-born Americans, German, Irish, and Swedes.<sup>164</sup>

<sup>162</sup> Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 85, 86.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

<sup>164</sup> Eighth and Tenth Census of the U. S., 1860 and 1880 Census Manuscript; Pennsylvania, Elk County, Ridgway, St. Marys, Benzinger Township.



Table 7.2. Ethnic Change 1860 to 1880 Heads of Household, St. Marys, Benzinger Township, and Ridgway<sup>165</sup>

|        | St. Marys<br>1860 | St. Marys<br>1880 | Change | Benzinger<br>1860 | Benzinger<br>1880 | Change | Ridgway<br>1860 | Ridgway<br>1880 | Change |
|--------|-------------------|-------------------|--------|-------------------|-------------------|--------|-----------------|-----------------|--------|
| U.S.   | 13%               | 40%               | 27%    | 3%                | 28%               | 25%    | 57%             | 64%             | 7%     |
| German | 65%               | 44%               | -21%   | 84%               | 48%               | -36%   | 7%              | 8%              | 1%     |
| Irish  | 10%               | 7%                | -3%    | 4%                | 10%               | 6%     | 32%             | 12%             | -20%   |
| Swedes | 0%                | 0%                | 0%     | 0%                | 1%                | 1%     | 0%              | 8%              | 8%     |

A more detailed examination of the place of birth of the heads of household reveals that most of the native born were either from Pennsylvania or New York. Most of the New Yorkers lived in Ridgway, as a result of the movement of woodsmen and lumbermen from the forests of New York to the uncut forests of western Pennsylvania and the lumber camps and mills around Ridgway. The Irish arrived in both Ridgway and St. Marys with the construction of the railroad. By 1880, more Irish lived in Ridgway than in St. Marys, and while their numbers increased between 1860 and 1880, they represented a smaller part of the population as new immigrants, especially from northern Europe, moved to Ridgway. Prominent among these new immigrants, Swedish immigrants became the second largest immigrant group, displacing the Irish, and were only outnumbered only by native-born Pennsylvanians and New Yorkers. The Germans who dominated St. Marys and Benzinger Township were heavily Bavarian, especially in Benzinger Township, where the farms were located. In the borough of St. Marys, Bavarians out numbered immigrants from other German states, but there were more non-Bavarian Germans in the borough than Bavarians.

<sup>165</sup> Eighth and Tenth U. S. Census 1860 and 1880 Census Manuscript; Pennsylvania, Elk County, Ridgway, St. Marys, Benzinger Township and Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, pivot table and filters created from the census data.

Table 7.3. Place of Birth of Heads of Household Ridgway and St. Marys, 1860<sup>166</sup>

| <b>Place of Birth</b> | <b>St. Marys</b> | <b>Benzinger</b> | <b>Ridgway</b> | <b>Total</b> |
|-----------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|--------------|
| U.S.                  | 3.6%             | 3.2%             | 56.5%          | 17.44%       |
| Germany               | 66.1%            | 85.1%            | 6.5%           | 63.08%       |
| Ireland               | 10%              | 4.1%             | 31.5%          | 11.63%       |
| Sweden                | 0                | 0                | 0              | 0            |
| All Other Countries   | 10%              | 7.4%             | 5.4%           | 7.82%        |

Table 7.4. Place of Birth of Heads of Household, Ridgway and St. Marys, 1880<sup>167</sup>

| <b>Place of Birth</b> | <b>St. Marys</b> | <b>Benzinger</b> | <b>Ridgway</b> | <b>Total</b> |
|-----------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|--------------|
| U.S.                  | 50.5%            | 49.8%            | 67.6%          | 58.7%        |
| Germany               | 40.1%            | 31.1%            | 5.4%           | 20.1%        |
| Ireland               | 6.2%             | 7.1%             | 8%             | 7.4%         |
| Sweden                | 0                | 1.11%            | 11.27%         | 7.76%        |
| All Other Countries   | 3.1%             | 10.76%           | 7.64%          | 13.6%        |

Summing up the ethnic composition of Ridgway and St. Marys, by 1880, while people from throughout eastern United States, and European inhabited both communities the vast majority were from Pennsylvania, New York, Germany, Sweden and Ireland. <sup>168</sup>

Religion represented the other significant characteristic that differentiated Ridgway from St. Marys. An argument can be made that Ridgway's religious heritage formed around the more non-evangelical Protestant groups, even though a small number of Methodists began meeting in a private home in 1833, but they did not build a church until 1887, fifty-four years later. The increase and diversification in the number of churches in Ridgway might have reflected Jacob Ridgway's Quaker tolerance. Although Jacob Ridgway, a devout Quaker and successful merchant in Philadelphia, never lived in the town that bears his name, members of his family did, and he and his son John maintained a close connection with the community and influenced its

<sup>166</sup> Appendix D.

<sup>167</sup> Appendix D.

<sup>168</sup> Appendix D, Tables listing the states and countries of birth of the heads of household in St. Marys, Benzinger Township, and Ridgway. Eighth and Tenth Census of the United States 1860 and 1880 manuscript census, Pennsylvania, Elk County; Tables created using Microsoft Excel spreadsheet and pivot tables using the census data.

early development. In 1866, Episcopalians built the first church in Ridgway on land donated by John Ridgway. Many of the most powerful lumberman and businessmen supported the new church, including J. S. Hyde, James Hall, John Hall, Claudius Gillis, Lyman Wilmarth, and B. F. Ely. The funeral of J. S. Hyde took place in Grace Episcopal Church, and Hyde's daughter, Kate, became the church's major benefactor, leading the effort to build a new stone church in 1907. Kate Hall's children and grandchildren remained devout Episcopalians throughout the twentieth century.

Following the construction of the Episcopal Church in 1866, between 1869 and 1882, Lutherans, Congregationalists, Swedish Congregationalists, Roman Catholics, and Presbyterians—all denominations less evangelical than Methodists or Baptists—formed.<sup>169</sup> While many of the early Ridgway Protestants were not evangelical, this did not create a spiritual bond with the St. Marys Roman Catholics. However, a strong bond did exist between James Hall, a Protestant, and Andrew Kaul, a Catholic. Hall became an Episcopalian after he married Kate Hyde and while not a highly religious individual, Kate was.<sup>170</sup> Of all of the non-evangelical denominations that shared a similar style of worship with Roman Catholics, none are closer than the Episcopalians.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> Although a small Presbyterian congregation formed in St. Marys in 1867 to minister to the few Protestant coal miners who worked for the St. Marys Coal Company, most of these miners did not stay, and none assumed leadership roles in the community.

<sup>170</sup> Conversation with Lyle G. Hall, the grandson of James Hall. Lyle, an Episcopalian priest, verifies his grandmother's spiritual devotion.

<sup>171</sup> Paul Kleppner, *Cross of Culture*. Kleppner describes the ritualists and pietists and associates each with religious denominations. *Ritualistic* or free-will liturgical Christians believe that the practice of religion is a passive process that emphasizes formal doctrine, confession, and ritual, "a perspective whose central theme is *right belief*." Pietists believe that religion is deeply personal, involving a relationship with a transcendental God. It emphasizes conversion, personal piety, and informal worship, "a perspective whose prime emphasis is on *right behavior*." Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 194–200.

Table 7.5. Religion in St. Marys and Ridgway, 1833 to 1899<sup>172</sup>

| Denomination               | Community | Date settled | Membership   | Ethnic influence |
|----------------------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|------------------|
| Methodist                  | Ridgway   | 1833         |              | Anglo-American   |
| Roman Catholic (German)    | St. Marys | 1842         |              | German           |
| Episcopal                  | Ridgway   | 1866         |              | Anglo-American   |
| Presbyterian               | St. Marys | 1867         | 13           | Anglo-American   |
| Roman Catholic             | Ridgway   | 1869         | Few families | Irish/German     |
| Swedish Congregationalists | Ridgway   | 1871         |              | Swedish          |
| First Evangelical Lutheran | Ridgway   | 1872         | 35           | German           |
| Roman Catholic (Irish)     | St. Marys | 1874         |              | Irish            |
| Presbyterian               | Ridgway   | 1875         |              |                  |
| First Congregational       | Ridgway   | 1880         | 37           |                  |
| Bethlehem Lutheran         | Ridgway   | 1882         | 24           | Swedish          |
| Free Methodist             | Ridgway   | 1887         |              |                  |
| Faith United Methodist     | Ridgway   | 1893         | 173          | Swedish          |
| Swiss Reformed             | Ridgway   | 1894         | 100          | Swiss            |
| Baptist Church             | Ridgway   | 1899         |              |                  |

The first Episcopalians met in the court house until 1866, when they built the Grace Episcopalian Church, the first formal church edifice in Ridgway. Next, in 1867, a small Roman Catholic congregation began meeting in private homes under the leadership of a Catholic priest from St. Marys. A Swedish Congregational Church organized by Swedish immigrant tannery workers opened in 1871.<sup>173</sup> These three churches were followed by the First Evangelical Lutheran Church in 1872, the First Congregationalist Church in 1880, the Bethlehem Lutheran Church in 1882, the Free Methodist Church in 1887, the Faith United Methodist Church in 1893, the Swiss Reformed Church in 1894, and a Baptist Church in 1899 that existed only until 1927.<sup>174</sup> Irish Catholic railroad laborers made up a sizeable portion of the Roman Catholic congregations in Ridgway and in St. Marys; Irish Catholics built their own church in 1874, leaving the St. Marys Church, where they were significantly outnumbered and where the sermons were delivered in German. In St. Marys, the Germans were all Roman Catholic, but in

<sup>172</sup> Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 196–197; Schaut, *History of St. Marys: The Formative Years*, 12 and 28.

<sup>173</sup> Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 196–197.

<sup>174</sup> Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 194–198.

Ridgway Germans worshiped in both the Lutheran and Roman Catholic churches.<sup>175</sup> Ridgway's religious diversity far exceeded that of St. Marys, and by 1880, seven churches—six Protestant and one Roman Catholic—served its growing population. By the end of century, the number of Protestant churches in Ridgway increased to eleven. In St. Marys, the German immigrants built the first log church immediately upon its settlement in 1842; that building burned down a few years later, and they set about building a large stone church, completed in 1853, that exists today. Only two additional congregations formed during the nineteenth century: the Shiloh Presbyterian Church, built in 1867, and the Irish Catholic Sacred Heart Church, built in 1874.<sup>176</sup>

Despite the religious differences between the people of Ridgway and St. Marys, the religious conflicts that occurred in many America communities never occurred in Elk County primarily because the wilderness that separated the two communities insured their cultural isolation.<sup>177</sup> Two external factors also contributed to the social tranquility in the county. German immigrants began arriving in America in the late 1600s, and by 1880 they represented the second-largest ethnic population, making their gradual integration into the Anglo-American society a more amicable process was the case with other smaller and newer immigrant groups. Also, German immigrants were more accepted because they arrived in America with more assets, more skills, more education, and stronger backing from their extended families in southern Germany, as compared to many other ethnic groups, especially the famine-ravaged Irish.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> Ibid., 196, "Formation of the First Evangelical Lutheran Church in Ridgway."

<sup>176</sup> Schaut, *History of St. Marys: The Formative Years*, 12 and 28.

<sup>177</sup> No mention is made of violence or serious antagonism between the people in Ridgway and St. Marys in the following historical accounts of Elk County: Wessman, *A History of Elk County*; Brem, *The History of the St. Marys Church*; Schaut, , *History of St. Marys: The Formative Years*; Alcuin Dornsich; Charles Schaut, *1942-, St. Marys, PA—1967* (St. Marys, PA: Daily Press Printing Company) 1967.

<sup>178</sup> Thomas Sowell, *Ethnic America: A History* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), 13 and 43–57; Philip Taylor, *The Distant Magnet: European Immigration to the USA* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 176. Other sources that document German immigrants in America include Nora Faires, "Ethnicity in Evolution: The Germans

Politics represented the third cultural component that defined the two communities; however, in the case of politics similarities and not differences resulted. In both Ridgway and St. Marys the political views of the lumbermen/capitalists and the majority of the people gravitated around cohesive Democratic values. Absent in both towns were the divisive tensions that developed around the reform issues prevalent in many politically pluralistic communities of the late nineteenth century. Temperance, use of the King James Bible in public schools, abolition, and sabatarianism never became part of the political discourse, either within or among the two communities. In addition, because Pennsylvania exercised almost no control over communities, both Ridgway and St. Marys were free to develop in ways consistent with their individual ethnic, religious and political identity.

Politics, although not as significant a characteristic as ethnicity and religion, did influenced the development of the two communities. But unlike ethnicity and religion, extreme political differences never existed. Democrats made up the majority of the workers and leaders in both communities and although the ethnic and religious make-up of each town remained constant, their political composition changed slowly. Although Democrats outnumbered Republicans throughout the nineteenth century, after the Civil War and the restructuring of the American party system, more and more Ridgway voters voted Republican, while St. Marys remained firmly Democratic.<sup>179</sup> During the 1844 presidential election, the year following the

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in Pittsburgh and Allegheny City,” PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh; Keil, *German Worker Culture: Germans in Chicago*; and Luebke, *Immigrants and Politics: Germans in Nebraska* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988).

<sup>179</sup> *Elk County Gazette*, 1874 to 1912. Copies of the *Gazette* are on microfilm at the Historical Society of St. Marys and Benzinger Township. Voting records in the Voter Registration and Election Office, Elk County Court House, Ridgway, PA.

founding of St. Marys, only 29% of the votes cast in Ridgway and St. Marys went to the Whig candidate.<sup>180</sup>

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Ridgway lumbermen, most likely Jacksonian Democrats, maintain a strong connection to the land, the wilderness, and the Democratic Party. However, after the formation of the Republican Party in the 1850s, many Ridgway Democrats, like many northeastern Democrats, found the Republican Party attractive, while the old Democratic Party rapidly became the party of southerners and Catholic immigrants.<sup>181</sup>

In Ridgway, the proportion of Republican voters in presidential elections continuously increased between 1872 and 1900. In 1872 only 36% of the voters in the presidential election voted for the Republican candidate, while in 1900, 59% of the Ridgway voters voted Republican.

Regardless of the shift in voting patterns in nineteenth-century America, the two dominant leaders of the Democratic Party in Elk County, James Hall and Andrew Kaul, worked to keep the two communities Democratic. The only time the county voted Republican in the nineteenth century occurred during the 1896 presidential election, when many Democrats distanced themselves from William Jennings Bryan and his Midwestern Populist ideology. In the campaign leading up to the election, Henry Alva Hall, a leading Democrat and the brother of James Hall, broke away from the Democratic Party and endorsed the Republican candidate, William McKinley.<sup>182</sup> Despite the voting shift in Ridgway and Bryan's evangelical Protestant sentiments, St. Marys' population continued to vote Democratic, suggesting a stronger commitment to the Democratic Party than to an individual candidate. While the majority of St.

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<sup>180</sup> Voting records at the Office of Voter Registration and Elections, Elk County Court House, Ridgway, PA.

<sup>181</sup> Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *The Jacksonian Era: 1828–1848*, 205–206, 261–266; Jacksonian Democrats; Digital History online database.

[http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article\\_display.cfm?HHID=637](http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID=637)

[http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article\\_display.cfm?HHID=311](http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID=311).

<sup>182</sup> "Senator Hall Resigns," *Elk County Gazette*, October, 1 1896.

Marys residents supported Bryan during the 1896 and 1900 elections, a slight shift toward McKinley did happen, but following the McKinley era, many who supported McKinley (or maybe more accurately opposed Bryan) shifted back to the Democratic Party.<sup>183</sup>

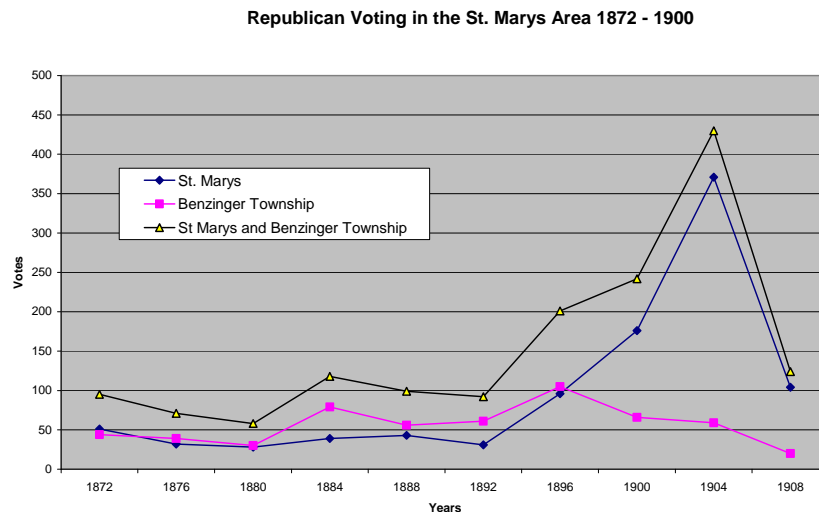


Figure 7.1. Republican voting in St. Marys, 1872 to 1906

The increase in Republican voting occurred not only in Ridgway but throughout the county, reflecting the economic and cultural changes taking place. The industrial development, made possible by the railroad, brought expansion beyond the borders of St. Marys and Ridgway. By 1900, many of the new residents inhabiting the mining, mill, tannery, and chemical towns in Jones, Horton, Spring Creek, Fox, and Jay Townships also voted Republican.

At the end of the nineteenth century, regardless of the voting change taking place, Elk County remained a Democratic stronghold, influenced by St. Marys' voters, who made up 20%

<sup>183</sup> Kleppner, *Cross of Courage*, 338 to 343. Kleppner sights Bryan's puritanical background and his moralistic approach to social issues as the reason many immigrant Democrats—including German Catholic, German Lutheran, and Irish—did not vote for him during the presidential election of 1896.



of the county's population. In St. Marys, 82% of voters voted Democratic in the 1900 presidential election. Democratic candidates in the county also received heavy support from the large number of Irish Catholics and Germans voters. Irish workers in Elk County voted Democratic the way Irish immigrants did throughout nineteenth-century America, and many of the Lutheran and Roman Catholic German also voted Democratic.<sup>184</sup>

Democrats also controlled the courthouse in Elk County. From 1875 through 1900, Elk County voters never elected a Republican candidate to the principal county offices of sheriff, county treasurer, district attorney, or prothonotary. Democrats also won two of the three county commissioners seats in every election over the same 25 year period. Only in the election of 1884 did a Republican candidate for commissioner receive more votes than the second place Democratic, but no Republican candidate received the most votes for the commissioner in the nineteenth century. Not until 1908 did a Republican succeed in winning a major county office.<sup>185</sup>

The important cultural issues dividing other communities in the late nineteenth century did not affect life in Elk County. As noted before, because of the powerful Democratic influence in the county, temperance, abolition, the use of the King James Bible in public schools, or the celebration of the Sabbath never emerged as divisive issues.<sup>186</sup> Perhaps James Hall and Andrew Kaul's extensive business holdings and considerable power and influence allowed them to control community issues, since so many residents depended upon them for both jobs and essential economic services. But the most important reason that the issues that divided many other communities of the day did not cause problems between Ridgway and St. Marys people lay

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<sup>184</sup> Paul Kleppner, *Cross of Courage*, 70 and 80. German Catholics almost all voted Democratic and many of the German Lutherans also may have voted Democratic, as Paul Kleppner notes: "They [Lutherans] shared the Catholic commitment to a parochial school system with equal vehemence against Godless public schools that produced only rationalists and Pharisees....and could have led the German Lutherans to a strong commitment to the Democratic Party."

<sup>185</sup> *Elk County Gazette*, 1875 to 1908 Election returns reported during the month of November; Appendix B.

<sup>186</sup> Ray Beimel interview.

in the fact that the wilderness separated the people and thus isolated them from one another. The ten miles of wilderness between Ridgway from St. Marys protected the cultures of each town and while great differences in lifestyles existed, in ethnicity and religion, their political comparability drew them together.

In the critical 20-year period between 1860 and 1880, a transition in leadership also occurred as the new railroad lumbermen replaced the old mining and river lumbermen—a time during which Hall and Kaul’s consolidation of their mining, logging, milling, banking, and political empire placed the partners on the verge of becoming the wealthiest and most powerful leaders in the county.

By 1880, two stable and locally controlled towns emerged complete, with highly effective social, religious, and political structures. Both communities benefited by economic independence, and neither suffered the uncertainty experienced by many extractive “company towns,” where absentee ownership controlled development. Native-born Yankees Protestants in Ridgway, mostly from Pennsylvania and New York, and immigrant Germans Catholics in St. Marys, mostly from Bavaria, represented the dominant ethnic groups that formed the nucleus of strong, independent, and locally controlled communities. The other residents from 17 different states and 11 foreign countries only made up 24% of the population of the two towns. Ten churches in Ridgway and three in St. Marys ministered to the people. Both communities were Democratic, but Ridgway gradually became more Republican.

Around these ethnic, religious, and political frameworks two very different but very self-reliant communities formed, in which a diverse group of occupations, institutions and social structures developed that reflected the culture of the people and set the stage for the development of modern societies.

## **8. CREATING STRONG COMMUNITIES: 1860 AND 1880**

The cultural composition of a community includes more than ethnicity, religion, and politics; it includes the nature of occupations, the role of women and families, the social structures formed by the people, and the institutions that developed. In both Ridgway and St. Marys, independent communities developed strong family-based lifestyles, where women and men alike forged lasting institutions and organizations that strengthened the quality of life and reflected their individual cultural values. Unlike so many extractive company towns of the era that vanished following the removal of the natural resources, the people in Ridgway and St. Marys worked diligently to create lasting safe havens where their children and grandchildren might prosper.

Occupation, while not a cultural characteristic in the true definition, is closely connected to ethnicity and religion, because what one did for a living often had significant cultural connections. One thing differentiating Ridgway and St. Marys was their occupational structures. Anglo-American Protestants in Ridgway and German Catholics in St. Marys moved to the High Plateau seeking economic opportunity consistent with their respective backgrounds.

In 1880, Ridgway's extractive emphasis and St. Marys' family farming emphasis remained clearly distinguishable, especially when we compare the number of itinerate boarders and the number of employed sons living at home in the two communities, a difference that speaks volumes about the two communities. When comparing Ridgway's 495 young single male boarders to St. Marys's 41 boarders the difference between an extractive and farming community becomes apparent. In St. Marys, only 28 of the 41 boarders worked as laborers. The persistence

of boarders is an important characteristic of industrial mill towns, where young single workers drifted in and out of jobs. In contrast, the persistence of employed sons living at home in St. Marys characterized a family farming community, where strong familial tradition tied fathers and sons to the family farm.<sup>187</sup>

Table 8.1. Employed Boarders and Sons of Head of Households, Ridgway and St. Marys, 1860 and 1880<sup>188</sup>

|               | <b>1860</b>      |                | <b>1880</b>      |                |
|---------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|
|               | <b>St. Marys</b> | <b>Ridgway</b> | <b>St. Marys</b> | <b>Ridgway</b> |
| Boarders      | 9                | 96             | 50               | 495            |
| Employed Sons | 16               | 12             | 248              | 43             |

Jobs defined the communities and accentuated their differences. Between 1860 and 1880, the numbers of lumbermen, woodsmen, laborers, farmers, miners, and artisans reflected the major occupations in each community. Within these occupations, heads of household, boarders, and employed sons living at home represented important groupings that revealed how the communities differed and how they changed with development. Women played an equally important role in the development of both communities, both the formation of civil societies and in the sustainability of permanent communities.

A comparison of the occupations contained in the 1860 and 1880 censuses reveals two different characteristics. Industrial and extractive occupations prevailed in Ridgway and farming persisted in St. Marys. This data also reveals how time and success in the development of the extractive industries changed both communities.

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<sup>187</sup> Eighth and Tenth Census of the U. S., 1860 and 1880 Census Manuscript, Pennsylvania, Elk County; Microsoft Excel pivot table based upon census data.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid.

The lumbering industry best characterized Elk County in the late nineteenth century, and the increase in the number of lumbermen-capitalists supported the existence of an industrial mill-town economy. In the late 1840s and 1850, as many as 12 lumbermen lived in Ridgway during the height of the river lumbering era, but by 1860, near the end of the era, only six lumbermen lived in Ridgway, and none lived in St. Marys.<sup>189</sup> However, in 1880, at the beginning of the railroad lumbering era, six lumberman resided in St. Marys, and in Ridgway the number of lumbermen increased to 27. The Ridgway lumbermen—men of land, wealth, and power—controlled the economy and politics of the region for most of the nineteenth century. Not until the end of the century did the economic center of influence shift to St. Marys following the development of the Kaul and Hall partnership and the construction, in 1896, of their “big mill” in St. Marys. Although Hall moved to Ridgway after he married J. S. Hyde’s daughter, the partner’s base of operation remained in St. Marys.

An examination of workers in the two communities in 1880 demonstrates a fundamental difference. Ridgway, a community half the size of St. Marys, reported twice as many heads of household employed in industrial and extractive occupations as did its larger neighbor, St. Marys. In Ridgway, the majority of the heads of household worked as general laborers, railroad laborers, woodsmen, and tannery workers, supporting the town’s industrial establishment. In St. Mary, working heads of household were evenly split between farmers and laborers.<sup>190</sup>

The number of artisans also differentiated the two communities. Nineteenth-century extractive towns needed a variety of skills, including carpenters, millwrights, mechanics,

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<sup>189</sup> A “lumberman” is defined as one who owns and or manages a lumber company, logging operation, or sawmill and who often was among the elite in a community; Eighth Census of the U. S., 1860 Census Manuscript, Pennsylvania, Elk County.

<sup>190</sup> Tenth Census of the United States, 1880 U. S. Census Manuscript, Pennsylvania, Elk County .

blacksmiths, and stone masons, and the number of artisans in Ridgway reflected the demand for specific skills.

In 1860, 30 artisans lived in Ridgway, and 79 lived in St. Marys. On a per-capita basis, however, artisans seemed underrepresented in St. Marys, where they made up only 3.1% of population, compared to 6.2% of the population in Ridgway. This difference continued in 1880, when artisans represented 3.7% of the St. Marys population and 4.8% of the Ridgway population.<sup>191</sup> However, a better way of analyzing the number of artisans is to measure them as a percentage of the employed population and not the total population. The employed population reflects the economic vitality of a community and is a better indicator of a community's economic strength, and it also discounts family size that may distort the data in a per-capita analysis. In 1860, artisans represented 16% of Ridgway's employed population and 27% of St. Marys' employed population, suggesting an overrepresentation in St. Marys. This overrepresentation continued in 1880, when St. Marys artisans made up 12.5% of the workforce, compared to only 9.4% of the employed workforce in Ridgway.

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<sup>191</sup> Eighth and Tenth Census of the United States, 1860 and 1880 Census Manuscript, Pennsylvania, Elk County ; Microsoft Excel pivot table created using census data.

Table 8.2. St. Marys and Ridgway Artisans, 1860 and 1880<sup>192</sup>

| <b>Town</b>                      | <b>Population</b> | <b>Artisans</b> |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| <b>Total Population, 1860</b>    |                   |                 |
| Ridgway                          | 534               | 33 or 6.2%      |
| St. Marys                        | 2,545             | 79 or 3.1%      |
| <b>Total Population, 1880</b>    |                   |                 |
| Ridgway                          | 1,943             | 94 or 4.8%      |
| St. Marys                        | 3,466             | 129 or 3.72%    |
| <b>Employed Population, 1860</b> |                   |                 |
| Ridgway                          | 206               | 33 or 16%       |
| St. Marys                        | 383               | 79 or 27%       |
| <b>Employed Population, 1880</b> |                   |                 |
| Ridgway                          | 999               | 94 or 9.4%      |
| St. Marys                        | 1,030             | 129 or 12.5%    |

In a typical farming community, artisan skills are different from the skills required in a mill town, and this helps explain the difference between both the numbers and the nature of artisan skills in Ridgway compared to St. Marys. As a result, the number of artisans in Ridgway reflected the specific skills dictated by the demand and supply of labor in a mill town. In St. Marys; however, demand and supply of labor and specific skills required in an extractive town had little to do with the number of artisans. Instead, aggressive recruiting in the farming regions of southern Germany contributed to the artisan population in St. Marys. Many of the St. Marys artisans migrated to the community because their profession provided them with more financial resources with which to finance their move, and they were attracted to an exclusive Catholic community where they could practice their religion in relative isolation. Upon arriving in St. Marys and after spending much of their savings on the move from Germany, many probably could not afford to relocate to a different community, and even if they could, finding another Catholic farming community in Protestant America would be extremely difficult.<sup>193</sup> Such

<sup>192</sup>Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> Manz, *The Colony of St. Marys in Pennsylvania, North America 1846*, appendix C, 1–5.

problems did not face the artisans who moved to Ridgway, because much information existed about the specific skills needed in the established mill town, and thus the supply of skilled labor and the demand for skilled labor were in better balance than in St. Marys.

Although farming continued to dominate a large segment of the occupation pool in St. Marys, by 1880 mining represented a growing part of the community's job base. In St. Marys, 75 heads of household and 89 sons living at home earned a living in the mines, while in Ridgway only 12 heads of household, none of the employed sons living at home, and only 15 of the 495 boarders worked as miners. More coal miners lived in St. Marys than in Ridgway because the coalfields reached into the eastern part of the county, including the St. Marys area, and because Hall and Kaul's Buffalo, St. Marys and Southwestern Railroad connected the coalfields to St. Marys.<sup>194</sup>

Farming persisted as a significant occupation only in St. Marys. In 1860, 11 heads of household in Ridgway listed their occupation as farmer, compared to 231 in St. Marys, and while the number of St. Marys farmers declined between 1860 and 1880 from 231 to 126, a significant number of families persisted in the occupation. However, by 1880, the employed sons living at home on the family farm influenced the St. Marys occupational profile the way boarders influenced the industrial occupational profile in Ridgway. In St. Marys, the 254 employed sons, while engaged in some aspect of farm work, also worked as miners and general laborers, and only 29 worked exclusively as farmers, leading to speculation that when family incomes needed to be supplemented employed sons sought jobs in other occupations. Farming continued to persist in St. Marys well into the twentieth century but declined compared to other occupations. Despite the reality that the poor soil, harsh weather, and mountainous terrain could not sustain an

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<sup>194</sup> Schaut, *History of St. Marys: The Formative Years*, 39; *Accessible Archives*, chapter XXI, "Highland, Horton and Jay Townships," chapter XII, "Fox Township," and chapter XI, "Benzinger Township."



independent and successful farming community, many St. Marys German immigrants and their sons remained unwilling to give up farming all together and desperately tried to survive on the farm but worked in the woods, mills, or mines to augment household incomes.<sup>195</sup>

An analysis of occupations based on grouping workers as heads of household, boarders, and employed sons living at home provides an in-depth picture of who did what, the differences between communities, and the shifts among workers within communities. When these groups are cross-referenced with occupations in both the 1860 and 1880 census, the prevalence of artisans, farmers, laborers, miners, and woodsmen provides a vivid assessment of the occupational structure of both towns and the growth of extractive communities. All other occupational classifications, including business, professionals, merchants, and domestics, make up only 24% of the remaining occupations.

In 1860, farming represented the largest occupation, primarily because of the size of the St. Marys population and the preponderance of farmers in Benzinger Township compared to the Ridgway, where almost no farming took place. Artisans and laborers represented the next most prevalent occupations in both communities, reflecting the growing number of sawmills and tanneries in Ridgway. The appearance of laborers in both towns reflected the industrial extractive nature of Ridgway's economy and the influence railroad laborers had on both towns. In 1860, heads of household represented the largest and most stable and permanent group of workers. The presence of large numbers of boarders in Ridgway compared to St. Marys represented a major economic difference between the two communities and clearly establishes Ridgway's extractive industrial base. On the other hand, the significant number of employed sons living at home in St.

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<sup>195</sup>Eighth and Tenth Census of the United States, 1860 and 1880 Census Manuscript, Elk County, Pennsylvania.

Marys represented a semi-subsistence family farming community struggling to sustain a way of life.

When similar comparisons are made in 1880, changes are readily revealed. In St. Marys, farming no longer remains one of the four most prevalent occupations, reflecting a shift away from agriculture. In its place, mining and labor jobs provided new opportunities, revealing the first indication of the community's move to a more extractive economy. In St. Marys, 61% of 248 employed sons living at home worked as laborers or miners. In Ridgway, the increase in the number of woodsmen and tannery laborers reflected growth changes not evident in the 1860 census during the pre-railroad era. The continued prevalence of artisans among the heads of households indicates that in both communities skilled workers continued to be an important part of the established permanent work force around which stable communities formed.

Table 8.3. Occupations of Heads of Household in Ridgway, Benzinger Township, and St. Marys, 1860<sup>196</sup>

|                 | <b>Ridgway</b>   | <b>Benzinger</b> | <b>St. Marys</b> | <b>Total</b> |
|-----------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------|
|                 | <b>Elites</b>    |                  |                  |              |
| Lumbermen       | 4%               | 0%               | 0%               | 1%           |
| Merchant        | 9%               | 0%               | 4%               | 3%           |
| Professional    | 7%               | 0%               | 4%               | 3%           |
| Religious       | 1%               | 0%               | 0%               | 0%           |
| Total Elite     | 21%              | 0%               | 9%               | 7%           |
|                 | <b>Skilled</b>   |                  |                  |              |
| Artisan         | 19%              | 2%               | 41%              | 17%          |
| Business        | 4%               | 0%               | 16%              | 6%           |
| Farmer          | 10%              | 94%              | 17%              | 53%          |
| Total Skilled   | 33%              | 96%              | 74%              | 76%          |
|                 | <b>Unskilled</b> |                  |                  |              |
| R.R. Manager    | 3%               | 0%               | 2%               | 1%           |
| Domestic        | 1%               | 0%               | 0%               | 0%           |
| Laborer         | 24%              | 4%               | 15%              | 12%          |
| R.R. Laborer    | 18%              | 0%               | 0%               | 4%           |
| Total Unskilled | 46%              | 4%               | 17%              | 17%          |
| Grand Total     | 100%             | 100%             | 100%             | 100%         |

Breaking occupation down into heads of household, boarders, and employed sons living at home, and then subdividing occupational as elite workers, skilled workers, and unskilled workers reveals continued differences between Ridgway and St. Marys. In 1860 this breakdown clearly reflects the agrarian nature of St. Marys and the extractive nature of Ridgway, where many more unskilled workers found employment.

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<sup>196</sup> See tables in appendix F on all occupations groups for 1860.

Table 8.4. Occupation by Type and Domestic Status of Worker, 1860<sup>197</sup>.

|                            | <b>Ridgway</b> | <b>Benzinger</b> | <b>St. Marys</b> | <b>Total</b> |
|----------------------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|--------------|
| <b>Head of Households</b>  |                |                  |                  |              |
| Elite                      | 20.9%          | 0.0%             | 9.4%             | 7.2%         |
| Skilled                    | 36.3%          | 95.7%            | 79.7%            | 78.3%        |
| Unskilled                  | 42.9%          | 4.3%             | 15.6%            | 15.9%        |
| <b>Boarders</b>            |                |                  |                  |              |
| Elite                      | 14.6%          | 25.0%            | 0.0%             | 14.3%        |
| Skilled                    | 17.7%          | 25.0%            | 80.0%            | 21.0%        |
| Unskilled                  | 67.7%          | 50.0%            | 20.0%            | 64.8%        |
| <b>Sons Living at Home</b> |                |                  |                  |              |
| Elite                      | 0.0%           | 12.5%            | 0.0%             | 3.6%         |
| Skilled                    | 37.5%          | 37.5%            | 100.0%           | 46.4%        |
| Unskilled                  | 62.5%          | 50.0%            | 0.0%             | 50.0%        |

However, in 1880 while differences continued between the two towns subtle similarities began to appear. In St. Marys, farming declined while more workers found jobs in the mines and mills reflected in the increase in unskilled laborers compared to 1860.

Table 8.5. Occupations, by Type, Ridgway, Benzinger Township, St. Marys, 1880<sup>198</sup>

|                  | <b>Ridgway</b> | <b>Benzinger</b> | <b>St. Marys</b> | <b>Total</b> |
|------------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|--------------|
| <b>Elites</b>    |                |                  |                  |              |
| Lumberman        | 2.7%           | 1.1%             | 0.0%             | 1.7%         |
| Merchant         | 1.3%           | 0.0%             | 1.3%             | 0.9%         |
| Professional     | 3.6%           | 0.8%             | 2.6%             | 2.5%         |
| Religious        | 0.6%           | 1.7%             | 11.8%            | 3.1%         |
| Total Elite      | 8.2%           | 3.6%             | 15.6%            | 8.2%         |
| <b>Skilled</b>   |                |                  |                  |              |
| Artisan          | 9.4%           | 4.4%             | 25.9%            | 11.0%        |
| Business         | 4.3%           | 1.6%             | 9.7%             | 4.5%         |
| Farmer           | 3.0%           | 21.7%            | 0.3%             | 8.4%         |
| Manager          | 0.8%           | 0.2%             | 0.3%             | 0.5%         |
| R.R. Manager     | 0.0%           | 0.0%             | 0.3%             | 0.0%         |
| Teacher          | 0.0%           | 0.3%             | 0.0%             | 0.1%         |
| Total Skilled    | 17.5%          | 28.1%            | 36.4%            | 24.5%        |
| <b>Unskilled</b> |                |                  |                  |              |

<sup>197</sup> See Appendix F tables on all occupations groups 1860

<sup>198</sup> See Appendix F, Table on all occupations groups 1880.

|                 |       |       |       |       |
|-----------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Domestic        | 6.6%  | 11.7% | 0.0%  | 6.9%  |
| Farm Laborer    | 2.8%  | 2.5%  | 0.0%  | 2.2%  |
| Laborer         | 16.5% | 22.7% | 33.1% | 21.6% |
| Miner           | 2.7%  | 20.9% | 11.5% | 10.2% |
| R.R. Laborer    | 3.7%  | 1.3%  | 1.0%  | 2.4%  |
| R.R. Train Crew | 0.0%  | 0.0%  | 2.3%  | 0.4%  |
| Tannery Laborer | 9.8%  | 0.0%  | 0.0%  | 4.8%  |
| Woodsman        | 32.1% | 9.2%  | 0.0%  | 18.7% |
| Total Unskilled | 74.3% | 68.3% | 47.9% | 67.3% |

Table 8.6. Type of Occupation by Domestic Status, 1880

|                            | <b>Ridgway</b> | <b>Benzinger</b> | <b>St. Marys</b> | <b>Total</b> |
|----------------------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|--------------|
| <b>Heads of Household</b>  |                |                  |                  |              |
| Elite                      | 13%            | 3%               | 6%               | 7%           |
| Skilled                    | 25%            | 46%              | 44%              | 38%          |
| Unskilled                  | 62%            | 51%              | 50%              | 55%          |
| <b>Boarders</b>            |                |                  |                  |              |
| Elite                      | 3%             | 0%               | 6%               | 3%           |
| Skilled                    | 9%             | 12%              | 35%              | 10%          |
| Unskilled                  | 88%            | 88%              | 59%              | 87%          |
| <b>Sons Living at Home</b> |                |                  |                  |              |
| Elite                      | 7%             | 2%               | 0%               | 2%           |
| Skilled                    | 33%            | 11%              | 32%              | 18%          |
| Unskilled                  | 60%            | 88%              | 68%              | 80%          |

Supporting the changes taking place in the occupational structure of both communities and beginning in the earliest settlement days when extractive jobs began to define the region, the formation of strong family structures played a major part of in the development of both Ridgway and St. Marys. Within this continuum, women played critical roles in the community-building process. In 1822, James Gillis, land agent for Jacob Ridgway, moved with his wife, Jane Ridgway Gillis, the niece of Jacob Ridgway, from the comforts of the merchant class in Philadelphia to the wilds of Elk County, where they established the first lumber and grist mills. One wonders if Gillis would have stayed and achieved the success that he did had it not been for

his marriage to Jacob Ridgway's niece. In 1837, Joseph Hyde, an itinerate woodsman who had worked the forests of New England, Wisconsin, and eastern Pennsylvania, arrived in Ridgway, stayed for a while working in the woods and left in 1840. However, he returned in 1844, and shortly thereafter he married Gillis's niece Elisa and acquired Gillis' land and mill. Hyde's acquisition of the Gillis business and his marriage to Elisa Gillis must have changed the wanderlust ways of his youth. After his marriage, he settled permanently in Elk County and building upon the assets he acquired from Gillis, he invested his resources in timber acreage and mill construction and emerged as the most powerful lumberman during the river lumbering era.<sup>199</sup>

Quite possibly the most important marriage occurred in 1875, when James Hall married Kate Hyde, the daughter of J. S. Hyde. James Hall's marriage to Kate Hyde joined the Hyde empire to the Hall and Kaul partnership, connecting logging and milling in the western part of the county to logging and milling in the eastern part of the county and paving the way for the creation of the largest and most powerful business venture in Elk County during the nineteenth century.<sup>200</sup> Likewise, Andrew Kaul's marriage to Walburga Lanzel, the daughter of Joseph Lanzel, an early jobber who Kaul worked for when he began his logging career, may have opened important doors for Kaul. Had it not been for Kaul's marriage into the Lanzel family, he may not have acquired the knowledge and interest in logging that resulted in the successes he achieved. Even if he had eventually become a successful lumberman, any delay in the development of his career as a logger and lumberman could have altered his association with Jim Hall, placing the formation of the Hall and Kaul partnership into jeopardy.<sup>201</sup> Walberga Kaul is also remembered for her charity to the less fortunate in the community and her leadership in the

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<sup>199</sup> Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 157–158, 164–165.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., 167; Taber, *Tanning Alcohol and Lumber*, chapter 10.2.

<sup>201</sup> *Accessible Archives*, chapter XXI, 7; Taber, *Tanbark, Alcohol and Lumber*, 1001.

Ladies Aid Society, the Altar Society, and the Rosary Society—all organizations that advanced the cultural and spiritual life of St. Marys.<sup>202</sup>

Kate Hall is important in her own right, as she became Elk County's first philanthropist. Mrs. Hall organized the Ridgway Free Library, the Elk County General Hospital, the Village Improvement Association, and the Progressive Literary Club, the first Humane Society, and the Audubon Society. She also led the efforts to build a new Episcopal Church in Ridgway, after which she persuaded her husband to move the old Episcopal Church to St. Marys.<sup>203</sup>

The contribution made by Kate Hyde Hall and Walburga Kaul to the communities they considered their permanent homes, in the towns that they helped create and where their families and their friends established deep roots, were critically important in the formation of modern communities. Through their commitment and dedication to their respective communities, they significantly influenced their husbands decision to stay in Elk County and ultimately to reinvest their capital into new local ventures at the end of logging era, a time when many other lumbermen retired or moved on to new, uncut forests.<sup>204</sup>

Women in general played a key but again different role in developing civilized and sustainable communities in both Ridgway and St. Marys. The extractive nature of Ridgway had a considerable impact upon the female homemakers. The forest industries attracted single young males who wandered from job to job seeking adventure and opportunity in the mills and logging camps from Maine to Minnesota. Although these woodsmen did not stay long in any location, when they worked in the sawmills and lumber camps around Ridgway, they needed both room and board. In 1880, Ridgway did not have enough commercial accommodations for its nearly

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<sup>202</sup> "Obituary," *Elk County Gazette*, October 14, 1923.

<sup>203</sup> Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 167–168.

<sup>204</sup> Interviews with Andrew Kaul IV, Lyle G. Hall Jr., and Harrison C. Stackpole. Andrew Kaul IV is the great-grandson of Andrew Kaul; Lyle G. Hall Jr. and Harrison C. Stackpole are the grandsons of James Hall. All three individuals believe that their grandmothers and great-grandmothers had considerable influence upon their husband's decisions to remain in Elk County.

500 itinerate workers. Consequently, many housewives opened their homes to woodsmen, laborers, and artisans needing a place to stay. While boarders provided supplemental income for the household, they added more work to an already difficult life. Of the 123 locations reporting boarders, 86 included private homes, of which nearly 55% took in more than one boarder. Only two hotels housed 30 or more boarders, accounting for only 11% of the boarders. In the typical extractive community of the late nineteenth century, where large corporations owned the land and mills, workers often lived in isolated logging camps or in company-built boarding houses. Only in independent, locally controlled communities is it likely that workers would become part of the community fabric as happened in Ridgway.



Table 8.7. Ridgway Dwellings with Boarders<sup>205</sup>

| <b>Number of Houses with Boarders</b> | <b>Number of Boarders Per House</b> | <b>Houses as a % of the # of Boarders</b> | <b>Houses with 4 or less Boarders</b> |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| 38                                    | 1                                   | 30.9%                                     | 69.9%                                 |
| 20                                    | 2                                   | 16.3%                                     |                                       |
| 11                                    | 3                                   | 8.9%                                      |                                       |
| 17                                    | 4                                   | 13.8%                                     |                                       |
| 6                                     | 5                                   | 4.9%                                      |                                       |
| 7                                     | 6                                   | 5.7%                                      |                                       |
| 8                                     | 7                                   | 6.5%                                      |                                       |
| 2                                     | 8                                   | 1.6%                                      |                                       |
| 2                                     | 9                                   | 1.6%                                      |                                       |
| 3                                     | 10                                  | 2.4%                                      |                                       |
| 3                                     | 11                                  | 2.4%                                      |                                       |
| 2                                     | 14                                  | 1.6%                                      |                                       |
| 1                                     | 15                                  | 0.8%                                      |                                       |
| 2                                     | 30                                  | 1.6%                                      |                                       |
| 1                                     | 31                                  | 0.8%                                      |                                       |
| 123                                   | Total                               | 100.0%                                    |                                       |

St. Marys' farmwives played a different but equally important role in the development of their community. Agricultural life in the rugged landscape, cold climate, and poor soil required a lot of hard work by the entire family. Although St. Marys women did not open their homes to itinerate workers as did their counterparts in Ridgway, 138 St. Marys women endured the difficult life on the farm. After 1880, when St. Marys farmers began transitioning away from agriculture, most continued to think of themselves as farmers. When they sought part-time work in the mines, tanneries, and lumber camps or when the older sons left farming all together, many of the farm chores shifted to the wives and daughters.<sup>206</sup>

Jane Ridgway Gillis, Elisa Gillis Hyde, Walberga Lanzel Kaul, Kate Hyde Hall, the Sisters of Notre Dame, the Benedictine Sisters, the women who provided room and board to

<sup>205</sup>Tenth Census of the United States, 1880 Census Manuscript, Pennsylvania, Elk County, and Microsoft Excel pivot table, filters created from the census data.

<sup>206</sup>Eighth and Tenth Census of the United States, 1860 and 1880 Census Manuscript, Pennsylvania, Elk County, and Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, pivot tables and filters created from the census data.

itinerant laborers in Ridgway, and the hard-working farm wives in St. Marys—all contributed to the economic and social development of both communities. Many other women also contributed to the development of both communities, including the daughters of Andrew Kaul, who, in 1924, built a hospital in St. Marys in honor of their father.

Economic status represented yet another significant and important difference between the two communities, and once again it reflects the differences inherent in a native community compared to an immigrant community. In Ridgway, a Yankee town, skilled lumbermen and tannery owners used their talents and capital to develop profitable businesses employing hundreds of woodsmen and laborers. In St. Marys, the relatively poor German immigrants continued their quest to garner a meager living as subsistence farmers in a land void of fertile soil and located in a harsh and unforgiving climate. An examination of real estate values and personal estate values supports the economic differences between Ridgway and St. Marys that existed in 1860.<sup>207</sup> Ridgway's industrial base created a wealthier population than did the immigrant-farming base in St. Marys. In 1860, the average personal estate and average real estate values of Ridgway workers significantly exceeded those of St. Marys workers.

Table 8.8. Real Estate Values and Personal Estate Values, 1860<sup>208</sup>

|                       | <b>Ridgway</b> | <b>St. Marys</b> | <b>Benzinger Twp.</b> |
|-----------------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| Personal Estate Value | \$1,449        | \$467            | \$224                 |
| Real Estate Value     | \$3,742        | \$1024           | \$804                 |

Another measure of the difference in wealth between the two communities included the number of servants. The 1880 census indicates that 21% of the households in Ridgway engaged

<sup>207</sup> Economic data regarding personal estate value and real estate value was not included in the census after 1860.

<sup>208</sup> Eighth Census of the United States, 1860 Census Manuscript, Pennsylvania, Elk County, and Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, pivot tables and filters created from the census data.

servants, compared to only 13% in St. Marys. The census data identified 65 servants in Ridgway, with nearly 1,000 fewer residents than St. Marys, while only 61 servants worked in St. Marys.<sup>209</sup>

Finally, the average age of the workers in a community reveals additional information about the nature of settlement and development of a community and once again differentiates Ridgway from St. Marys. Ridgway's industrial base attracted many young single males, like other extractive communities, and resulted in a lower average age of the worker group compared to St. Marys. In St. Marys, older established families seeking permanent land upon which to continue a way of life begun in the farming towns of southern Germany resulted in an older community, especially among the farmer population residing in Benzinger Township.<sup>210</sup>

Table 8.9. Average Age of Workers, Ridgway, St. Marys and Benzinger Township, 1860 and 1880<sup>211</sup>

| <b>Town</b> | <b>1860</b> | <b>1880</b> |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Ridgway     | 31.6        | 39.2        |
| St. Marys   | 40.7        | 44.3        |
| Benzinger   | 44.8        | 45.3        |

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<sup>209</sup> Eighth and Tenth United States Census 1860 and 1880 Census, Pennsylvania, Elk County, Ridgway and St. Marys.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid.

<sup>211</sup> Eighth and Tenth Census of the United States, 1860 and 1880 Census Manuscript, Pennsylvania, Elk County, and Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, pivot tables and filters created from the census data.

Occupation associated with ethnic and religious differences and political compatibility created two very different communities, but neither developed as a rough-and-tumble wilderness town in the mode of many logging and sawmill settlements of that era. The number of innkeepers in each community remained about the same. The Ridgway census listed four innkeepers, and the St. Marys census listed five. The St. Marys census also listed four brewers, but neither community became lawless frontier settlements as happened in towns like Seney, Michigan, and Hurley and Florence, Wisconsin, where saloons, brothels, and gambling establishments ran rampant.<sup>212</sup> Instead, both Ridgway and St. Marys developed as quiet, peaceful communities where families formed deep connections to one another and where no evidence can be found suggesting the kind of rowdy and disreputable conduct common among many extractive towns. An examination of the *Elk County Gazette* between 1874 and 1900 supports this view of the peaceful nature of both towns, as only isolated accounts of crime and violence are reported and where the absence of a weekly police blotter confirms that not enough illicit activity existed to support such a report.

The level of civility in Ridgway and St. Marys might have reflected Hall and Kaul's considerable power and influence, because Jim Hall and Andy Kaul, like their wives, saw Elk County as far more than an economic base; rather, Elk County became their permanent home.<sup>213</sup> Unlike many extractive company towns, where local control did not exist and where families seldom set down lasting roots, local control in Ridgway and St. Marys acted as a refining and civilizing force. The refined and civil nature of the two communities is confirmed by the low number of criminal cases recorded in the Elk County Court records. In the ten-year period between 1880 and 1890, the average criminal cases per year reached only 69, and between 1890

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<sup>212</sup> Theodore J. Karamanske, *Deep Woods Frontier, A History of Logging in Northern Michigan* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 107–114.

<sup>213</sup> Interviews, Lyle G. Hall Jr. and Andrew Kaul IV.

and 1900 the average number of cases increased to only 128, which is proportionate to the increase in county population. Indeed, these cases totals include grand jury cases and coroner juries, which reduces the number of actual cases by at least half, and when the cases involving crimes in the other eight townships in Elk County are discounted, the number of crimes that went to trial originating in St. Marys and Ridgway is further reduced, possibly to as low as 20 cases between 1880 and 1900 and 38 cases between 1890 and 1900.<sup>214</sup> A further examination of more than 150 weekly editions of the *Elk County Gazette* supplies more evidence of the peaceful nature of the two communities. In the years 1886, 1892, and 1896, the *Gazette* reports only eight accounts of criminal activity, and only one of these reports represented a serious crime involving the abduction and assault of a young girl in Ridgway Township. The other seven reported cases during the randomly selected three years included two burglaries, the theft of a horse recovered a week later, the attempted theft of an overcoat from a local store, the circulation of counterfeit silver dollars, the arrest of seven tramps found sleeping around the boiler at the Eagle Tannery in Ridgway and charged with vagrancy, and a candy store robbery involving several boxes of candy and cigars.<sup>215</sup> Because so little criminal activity existed, the editor of the *Gazette* felt a need to make up a crime involving a humorous attempt by one Mr. Rodent to rob the local post office.<sup>216</sup>

Jobs, local control, economic stability, independence, safety, and permanency led to further development resulting in the formation of social organizations and institutions designed to improve residents' quality of life beyond the occupational and economic necessities. Modern civil communities proved to be more than just a place to work. Modern communities met the people's health, welfare, recreation, and entertainment needs.

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<sup>214</sup> Court records in the prothonotary's office at the Elk County Court House, Ridgway, PA. Interview with President Judge Richard Masson, 2/27/08.

<sup>215</sup> *Elk County Gazette*, 1886, 1892 and 1896; microfilm copies of the newspaper are available at the St. Marys and Benzinger Township Historical Society.

<sup>216</sup> Appendix E, story from the October 8, 1896, *Elk County Gazette*.

Ridgway organized a fire department in 1884, and the Village Improvement Association, formed by local women, brought refined entertainment and beautification programs to the community. Following in these organizations' footsteps, the Ridgway Opera House was built in 1897, a public library in 1899, a YMCA in 1906, the Salvation Army in 1909, and the Ridgway Pastoral Association in 1911, all organizations intended to improve community life. In St. Marys, similar organizations formed, including a fire department, library, theater, bands, choral groups, fairground, and baseball park. Parish priests and lay religious organizations attended to the social needs of the people. The St. John's German Catholic Mutual Beneficial Society organized in 1853, the St. Joseph Society organized in 1857, the Catholic Men's Beneficial Society, the Catholic Ladies Benefit Association, and the Knights of Columbus all provided hospitality and mutual aid to both men and women. In both communities, general living condition improved following the introduction of electricity, gas heat and running water utility services to homes and businesses. The existence of social, entertainment, service, and recreational organizations brought gentility and modernity to both towns and enhanced the quality of life of the people in what had once been primitive communities isolated in Pennsylvania's northwestern wilderness.

In terms of ethnicity, religion, politics, occupational structure, the contributions made by women and families, and the formation of strong social structures and institutions Ridgway and St. Marys remained distinct, but shared many commonalities in their quest to create independency and self-sufficiency. Although cultural growth and development brought about change between the extractive town and the farming town, the basic nature of each community remained constant. In St. Marys the Germanic traditions transplanted from the villages of southern Germany to the Pennsylvania wilderness remained strong and dominant. In Ridgway,

meanwhile, the Yankee bloodline that began in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the cities and towns along the East Coast continued to thrive. However, unlike many extractive communities subjugated by outside interests, Ridgway and St. Marys residents directed their own destiny through their control of the natural resources and the economic and political structures of the communities they created. Together, the two communities—led by Hall and Kaul—effectively dealt with their differences while capitalizing on the economic opportunity provided by the abundant natural resources of the High Plateau and set the stage for still greater change during the final two decades of the century. Poised on the brink of these final two decades (and unlike so many company towns), the people of both Ridgway and St. Marys found themselves firmly positioned as fully developed, quiet, lawful settlements, controlled from within and prepared to maximize the benefits that the natural resources offered.

## **9. END OF THE EXTRACTION ERA AND THE MERGING OF OLD AND NEW CULTURE**

The last two decades of the nineteenth century, the high-water mark in the development of the extractive industries in Ridgway and St. Marys, represented an important time in the communities' move toward both permanency and modernity. The last 20 years of the century also witnessed the period during which the Hall and Kaul partnership matured and the partners became the most powerful capitalists in the county. During the 1890s Hall and Kaul concluded their timber land acquisitions, completed the construction of their major railroads, consolidated their mining operations, and solidified their financial and political dominancy.

Between 1880 and 1900, coal mining, logging, lumbering, tanning, chemical, and paper companies led to the formation of modern communities under direction of local leaders. James Hall and Andrew Kaul were of particular importance, because their extensive business ventures positioned the two entrepreneurs not only as the most powerful individuals in the extractive industries but also within banking, retail, utilities, and politics.

To fully understand the extent of the transition that took place during this growth period, an examination of jobs and the arrival of both new natives and new immigrants reveals significant changes taking place. While many of the new arrivals who worked in the logging camps, sawmills, coal mines, tanneries, chemical plants, or paper mill or who peeled large quantities of hemlock bark for the tanning industry remained for only a short time, others stayed, finding permanent jobs in the new manufacturing era that developed after 1899. No other period



during the nineteenth century witnessed greater expansion, and thus the years between 1880 and 1900 are pivotal years in the development of both communities. In St. Marys, the effects of growth and change became especially apparent as the former farming community effectively transitioned from subsistence farming to extraction to manufacturing.

Although the economy appeared to be secure, an increase in the level of industrial jobs linked to the extractive industries provided evidence of change. Meanwhile, during the last 20 years of the nineteenth century, Ridgway and St. Marys continued to expand as new people filled a growing variety of jobs. Ridgway's population grew 219%, St. Marys' population grew 186%, and the county population as a whole grew 157%.<sup>217</sup>

Table 9.1. Population Growth, 1880 to 1900<sup>218</sup>

|            | <b>1880</b> | <b>1900</b> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|
| Ridgway    | 1,100       | 3515        |
| St. Marys  | 1,501       | 4,295       |
| Elk County | 12,800      | 32,902      |

The industrial extractive development between 1880 and 1900 reflected a new prosperity brought about by an increasing number of lumber, tanning, milling, mining chemical, and paper companies. This extractive growth resulted in a 300% increase the number of businesses and a 700% increasing of invested capital.<sup>219</sup> The increased job opportunities resulted in population growth when new natives and immigrants workers arrived, changing the ethno/cultural composition of both towns.

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<sup>217</sup>Tenth and Twelfth Census of the United States, 1880 and 1900 Census manuscripts, Pennsylvania, Elk County; data on sawmills and their location in chapter 4, pp. 89, 90, and 92 of this dissertation.

<sup>218</sup> Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 85, 86.

<sup>219</sup> United States Census, Statistics of Manufacturing, 1900, p. 760, table 6, and *Statistics of Manufacturing*, Pennsylvania, p. 343, table V.

Table 9.2. Table of Manufacturers Establishments, 1880 and 1890<sup>220</sup>

|      | <b># of Establishments</b> | <b>Capital Invested</b> | <b>Wages</b> |
|------|----------------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| 1880 | 52                         | \$2,277,910             | \$224,861    |
| 1900 | 188                        | \$15,947,430            | \$1,454,740  |

Ridgway maintained its industrial structure, and for the first time St. Marys became a legitimate industrial town. But, growth and change happened beyond the borders of Ridgway and St. Marys. After 1888, Johnsonburg continued its expansion around the New York and Pennsylvania Paper Mill, incorporated in 1888, and many of the other smaller townships grew around an ever-increasing number of sawmills, tanneries, and chemical plants.

Table 9.3. Population of Smaller Townships in Elk County<sup>221</sup>

|                       | <b>1880</b> | <b>1900</b> | <b>1920</b> |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Benezette Township    | 835         | 1,363       | 758         |
| Fox Township          | 2,256       | 3,221       | 2,634       |
| Horton Township       | 261         | 2,885       | 1,936       |
| Jay Township          | 600         | 1,045       | 2,652       |
| Jones Township        | 1,472       | 2,066       | 2,175       |
| Millstone Township    | 209         | 1,017       | 236         |
| Spring Creek Township | 467         | 1,189       | 1053        |

While this dynamic growth in extractive composition of the county seemed sound, in fact, the supply of the once-abundant natural resources had begun to decline, signaling the end of the extractive era. Despite the evidence pointing to the decline of the natural resources, the 1890s represented a time of spectacular growth and development.

By 1900, the once-dominant ethnic German and Irish population declined as a percentage of the workforce, as new immigrants arrived from western and northern Europe and, for the first time, from eastern Europe. Austrians, Hungarians, Italians, Canadians, and Brits lessened but did

<sup>220</sup> Tenth and Twelfth United States Census, Statistics of Manufacturing, 1880 and 1900, Pennsylvania, Elk County.

<sup>221</sup> Wessman, *A History of Elk County*, 85, 86.

not marginalize the German influence in St. Marys. In 1900, although only 15% of the St. Marys workers were born in Germany, workers born in Pennsylvania of German fathers made up an additional 40% of the borough and township workforce.<sup>222</sup> In Ridgway, native-born workers represented 65% of the workforce, and Swedes now made up the largest immigrant population, increasing from 7.6% of the population in 1880 to 18.5% in 1900. A new contingent of Swiss immigrants arrived in the 1890s, making up 3.5% of the workforce. In Ridgway Township, similar native and immigrant expansion took place: native-born workers made up 52% of the population, while of working population, Swedes made up 16.6%, Swiss made up 11.3%, and Germans now made up only 8.3%.<sup>223</sup>

Table 9.4. Ethnic Diversity of Workers, Five Largest Groups, 1900 and 1880<sup>224</sup>

|                           | <b>1900</b> | <b>1880</b> |
|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| <b>St. Marys Borough</b>  |             |             |
| U.S.                      | 1161        | 1077        |
| Germany                   | 181         | 274         |
| Austria                   | 112         | 5           |
| Canada                    | 42          | 3           |
| Ireland                   | 30          | 33          |
| <b>Benzinger Township</b> |             |             |
| U.S.                      | 633         | 315         |
| Germany                   | 140         | 197         |
| Austria                   | 39          | 0           |
| Canada                    | 13          | 3           |
| Ireland                   | 13          | 45          |
| <b>Ridgway Borough</b>    |             |             |
| U.S.                      | 760         | 672         |
| Sweden                    | 219         | 112         |
| Ireland                   | 50          | 80          |

<sup>222</sup> Microsoft Excel, pivot table created from 1900 U. S. Census Manuscript data for Elk County Pennsylvania. The German influence in St. Marys was greater than reflected in the Census because it does not take into consideration second generation Pennsylvanians who's grandfathers were born in Germany. For example, the children of Andrew Kaul do not show up as German descendants in the census because Andrew Kaul was born in St. Marys the year after the settlement of the community.

<sup>223</sup> Microsoft Excel pivot table using original data obtained in the 1900 United States Census Manuscript; Pennsylvania, Elk County, St. Marys, Benzinger Township, Ridgway Borough, and Ridgway Township.

<sup>224</sup> Microsoft Spreadsheet pivot table and original data contained in the United States Manuscript Census, Elk County, Pennsylvania 1880 and 1900.

|                  |     |    |
|------------------|-----|----|
| Switzerland      | 42  | 15 |
| Canada           | 24  | 39 |
| Ridgway Township |     |    |
| U.S.             | 469 |    |
| Sweden           | 150 |    |
| Switzerland      | 100 |    |
| Germany          | 75  |    |
| Italy            | 58  |    |

Along with the change in ethnicity, a change in occupations occurred. Farming survived in St. Marys, but extractive jobs increased dramatically. The percentage of laborers, woodsman, artisans, miners, and those employed in commercial and clerical jobs grew significantly. In 1880, farmers represented 90% of the Benzinger Township's occupations, but in 1900 they accounted for only 21%. In both communities, an increase in the number of artisans, skilled laborers, and commercial and clerical workers reflected the changing economy.<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> Microsoft Excel pivot table using 1880 and 1900 occupational data taken from the 1880 and 1900 United States Manuscript Census, Pennsylvania, Elk County.

Table 9.5. Occupational Diversity, Top Five Occupations<sup>226</sup>

| <b>Jobs</b>               | <b>1900</b> | <b>1880</b> |
|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| <b>St. Marys Borough</b>  |             |             |
| Laborer                   | 515         | 129         |
| Artisan/Skilled           | 280         | 101         |
| Woodsman                  | 231         | 0           |
| Commercial/Clerical       | 186         | 43          |
| Railroad Employees        | 106         | 14          |
| <b>Benzinger Township</b> |             |             |
| Laborer                   | 407         | 145         |
| Farmer                    | 195         | 139         |
| Woodsman                  | 120         | 59          |
| Domestic                  | 40          | 75          |
| Miner                     | 25          | 134         |
| <b>Ridgway Borough</b>    |             |             |
| Laborer                   | 361         | 165         |
| Artisan/Skilled           | 268         | 94          |
| Commercial/Clerical       | 230         | 55          |
| Professional              | 117         | 36          |
| Domestic                  | 107         | 66          |

In 1880, the more than 500 boarders in Ridgway represented a major difference between two communities but by 1900 the increase in boarders in St. Marys soared and played a burgeoning role in its industrial development. In 1880, only 40 employed boarders lived in St. Marys; however, by 1900, their numbers dramatically increased to 713. With the increase in milling, tanning, and mining, young single males worked as laborers, bark peelers, woodsmen, miners, and artisans, and many of the new boarders migrated from Austria, Hungary, Italy, Sweden, Canada, Scotland, and Wales.

Occupational changes between 1880 and 1900 reflect very different communities than those that existed during the early extractive days, brought about by the arrival of many new native and immigrant laborers and artisans who found jobs in the ever-increasing number of

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<sup>226</sup> Microsoft spreadsheet pivot table and original data contained in the United States Manuscript Census Elk County Pennsylvania 1880 and 1900.

industries dependent upon the natural resources. By 1900, 83% of the workers were born in Pennsylvania. While 42% of the native workers in St. Marys and Benzinger Township were the sons and daughters of German-born parents, 60% of the workers were not, and this change represented a significant shift in the cultural base of the community.

The foreign-born population also expanded, with many new immigrants arriving in both communities from a variety of new countries. In 1880 workers from 13 different countries lived in the two communities, but by 1900 workers from 21 different countries resided in Ridgway and St. Marys. Germans continued to be the largest immigrant group, but they were joined in significant numbers by new arrivals from Sweden and Switzerland. Immigrants also arrived from China, Cuba, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Poland, Russia, and Syria, not represented in the immigrant population in 1880.

However, the demand for labor attracted not only new immigrant workers but also new native-born workers. In 1880, workers from 19 different states worked in Ridgway and St. Marys and by 1900 the number of states represented increased when workers from 28 different states added to the community's worker diversity.<sup>227</sup>

Occupational changes also supported the development of both communities. By the beginning of the new century, 47% of the labor force worked as either general laborers or on the railroad, an increase from only 24% of the work force in 1880 and reflecting the new extractive industrial nature of the communities. Accompanying the increase in laborers, artisans increased from 11% in 1880 to 14% in 1900, and for the first time commercial/clerical workers joined laborers, woodsmen, and artisans as one of the four most prevalent occupations. In 1880, the four

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<sup>227</sup> See appendix D of this dissertation, Place of Birth tables of all workers in Benzinger Township, St. Marys, Ridgway Township, and Ridgway in 1900. Data created using Microsoft Excel spreadsheet and pivot tables of original data contained in the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900 Census Manuscript, Pennsylvania, Elk County.

most prevalent occupations included laborers, woodsmen, artisans and miners, while the number of farmers declined.

Farmers and miners lost ground in 1900, each accounting for only 5.5% and 1.5%, respectively, of the worker population, down from 8.2% and 10% in 1880. Woodsmen, who comprised 18% of the workforce in 1880, shrank to 8% in 1900. The decline of both miners and woodsmen represented a systemic change in the community, but it would take several years before the change became apparent. For the first time, managers became a measurable percentage of the population, representing almost as many workers as miners and accounting for 1.4% of the population. When managers and commercial/clerical workers are combined, they accounted for over 10% of the population; this change suggested that the communities, managing their own affairs, were in control of their destinies. It seemed unlikely that so many managers and clerical workers would have been needed in a company town, where a few mill and logging bosses could fill the needs of the absentee owners and where a more formal managerial organization would not be needed.

Table 9.6. Occupation Groups in St. Marys, Benzinger Township, Ridgway, and Ridgway Township, 1900

| <b>Occupation Group</b> | <b>Benzinger Twp.</b> | <b>St. Marys</b> | <b>Ridgway</b> | <b>Ridgway Twp.</b> | <b>Total</b> |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|----------------|---------------------|--------------|
| Lumberman               | 0.48%                 | 0.56%            | 1.62%          | 1.00%               | 0.91%        |
| Professional            | 0.00%                 | 3.55%            | 9.96%          | 0.89%               | 4.03%        |
| Religious               | 0.00%                 | 3.87%            | 0.85%          | 0.00%               | 1.59%        |
| Merchant                | 0.00%                 | 2.06%            | 3.06%          | 0.00%               | 1.53%        |
| Artisan/Skilled         | 2.74%                 | 17.46%           | 22.81%         | 9.34%               | 14.50%       |
| Commercial/Clerical     | 1.19%                 | 9.54%            | 16.51%         | 2.34%               | 8.37%        |
| Farmer                  | 23.24%                | 0.44%            | 0.68%          | 4.45%               | 5.53%        |
| Managerial              | 1.67%                 | 1.75%            | 0.68%          | 1.56%               | 1.42%        |
| Municipal               | 0.00%                 | 0.37%            | 0.26%          | 0.00%               | 0.20%        |
| Domestic                | 4.77%                 | 4.61%            | 9.11%          | 3.67%               | 5.62%        |
| Laborer                 | 48.51%                | 32.11%           | 30.72%         | 69.86%              | 42.31%       |
| Miner                   | 2.98%                 | 2.68%            | 0.00%          | 0.22%               | 1.55%        |

|              |                |             |             |             |             |
|--------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Railroad     | 0.12%          | 6.61%       | 3.74%       | 5.90%       | 4.52%       |
| Woodsman     | 14.30%         | 14.40%      | 0.00%       | 0.78%       | 7.93%       |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>100.00%</b> | <b>100%</b> | <b>100%</b> | <b>100%</b> | <b>100%</b> |

In 1900, the people of Ridgway and St. Marys could look back upon the nineteenth century as a momentous time, during which the extractive industries matured and new people, both native and immigrant, arrived, filling a host of new extractive jobs. During this time, both communities developed because of the entrepreneurial spirit of the people and the serendipitous construction of the railroad through the heart of the county. The good times seemed certain to continue, but in fact, as previously noted, the extractive era was nearing its end. Although coal mining, logging, lumbering and tanning, chemical production, and paper manufacturing represented critical factors in the growth of the county, by the end of the nineteenth century the supply of coal had significantly declined, and many of the timber resources were in decline. Bituminous coal production peaked in 1899, when miners removed 1,221,979 short tons coal; only one year later, production had declined by 24%, to 926,403 tons. Among the 24 counties in Pennsylvania where bituminous coal mining took place, Elk County became one of only four counties where coal production declined; among these four counties, it ranked last in total coal extraction. In St. Marys alone, of the 14 mines started in the nineteenth century, by 1900, only two continued operating, and both of these had shut down by 1905. While a resurgence of coal mining occurred during World War I, Elk County's deep coal mining boom of the nineteenth century had about ended, a fact that Hall and Kaul must have predicted, leading to the sale of their mines and railroads in 1897.<sup>228</sup>

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<sup>228</sup>Tenth and Twelfth Census of the United States, 1880 and 1900 U.S. Manuscript Census, Pennsylvania, St. Marys, Benzinger Township, Ridgway Borough, Ridgway Township.



In the following table are exhibited the total production by counties during the last five years, and the increases and decreases in 1900 as compared with 1899:

*Bituminous coal product of Pennsylvania since 1896, by counties.*

[Short tons.]

| County.           | 1896.      | 1897.      | 1898.      | 1899.      | 1900.      | Increase,<br>1900. | De-<br>crease,<br>1900. | Per<br>cent of<br>in-<br>crease. | Per<br>cent of<br>de-<br>crease. |
|-------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Allegheny.....    | 7,856,867  | 7,216,039  | 8,889,997  | 9,972,060  | 10,051,906 | 79,846             | .....                   | 0.8                              | .....                            |
| Armstrong.....    | 614,982    | 857,637    | 818,404    | 1,054,389  | 1,312,188  | 258,799            | .....                   | 24.5                             | .....                            |
| Beaver.....       | 127,290    | 99,546     | 223,855    | 258,466    | 262,398    | 3,932              | .....                   | 1.5                              | .....                            |
| Bedford.....      | 237,414    | 436,619    | 456,507    | 493,965    | 570,055    | 76,090             | .....                   | 15.4                             | .....                            |
| Blair.....        | 360,987    | 492,976    | 404,043    | 407,356    | 496,992    | 89,636             | .....                   | 20.0                             | .....                            |
| Bradford.....     | 53,519     | 41,588     | 22,508     | 31,835     | 32,065     | 230                | .....                   | 0.7                              | .....                            |
| Butler.....       | 230,336    | 233,689    | 161,312    | 214,899    | 221,704    | 6,805              | .....                   | 3.2                              | .....                            |
| Cambria.....      | 4,649,819  | 5,416,950  | 6,740,461  | 7,208,834  | 8,190,366  | 981,532            | .....                   | 13.6                             | .....                            |
| Center.....       | 251,065    | 521,100    | 714,176    | 912,648    | 932,265    | 19,617             | .....                   | 2.1                              | .....                            |
| Clarion.....      | 371,749    | 247,839    | 278,181    | 289,763    | 404,639    | 114,886            | .....                   | 39.6                             | .....                            |
| Clearfield.....   | 4,812,017  | 5,479,047  | 6,055,739  | 6,251,442  | 6,620,834  | 369,392            | .....                   | 5.9                              | .....                            |
| Clinton.....      | 134,569    | 157,333    | 166,250    | 221,574    | 268,881    | 67,307             | .....                   | 30.4                             | .....                            |
| Elk.....          | 807,886    | 969,503    | 873,485    | 1,221,979  | 926,403    | .....              | 295,576                 | .....                            | 24.2                             |
| Fayette.....      | 8,076,200  | 9,701,691  | 12,696,063 | 14,609,289 | 15,055,242 | 445,953            | .....                   | 3.1                              | .....                            |
| Huntingdon.....   | 389,597    | 303,989    | 312,607    | 357,812    | 368,942    | 11,130             | .....                   | 3.1                              | .....                            |
| Indiana.....      | 418,642    | 541,967    | 563,791    | 616,911    | 924,782    | 307,871            | .....                   | 50.0                             | .....                            |
| Jefferson.....    | 4,508,077  | 4,697,069  | 5,625,168  | 5,841,960  | 6,199,290  | 357,330            | .....                   | 6.1                              | .....                            |
| Lawrence.....     | 198,666    | 195,286    | 185,408    | 183,556    | 187,810    | 4,255              | .....                   | 2.3                              | .....                            |
| Lycoming.....     | 83,230     | 91,735     | 98,118     | 101,923    | 99,000     | .....              | 2,923                   | .....                            | 2.9                              |
| McKean.....       | 33,133     | 31,627     | 25,622     | 23,703     | 20,214     | .....              | 3,489                   | .....                            | 14.7                             |
| Mercer.....       | 579,069    | 435,772    | 316,669    | 486,724    | 528,070    | 41,346             | .....                   | 8.5                              | .....                            |
| Somerset.....     | 787,050    | 924,607    | 1,846,398  | 2,950,343  | 4,779,307  | 1,828,964          | .....                   | 62.0                             | .....                            |
| Tioga.....        | 825,687    | 938,053    | 921,760    | 670,126    | 931,301    | 261,175            | .....                   | 39.0                             | .....                            |
| Washington.....   | 4,039,976  | 3,862,061  | 4,753,673  | 4,987,360  | 4,856,138  | .....              | 131,222                 | .....                            | 2.6                              |
| Westmoreland..... | 8,559,076  | 9,923,812  | 11,414,989 | 14,181,269 | 14,980,535 | 799,266            | .....                   | 5.6                              | .....                            |
| Small mines.....  | 600,000    | 600,000    | 600,000    | 600,000    | 600,000    | .....              | .....                   | .....                            | .....                            |
| Total.....        | 49,657,453 | 54,417,974 | 65,165,133 | 74,150,175 | 79,842,326 | 6,125,361          | 433,210                 | .....                            | .....                            |
| Net increase..... | 4,659,775  | 4,860,621  | 10,746,859 | 8,985,042  | 5,692,151  | .....              | .....                   | 7.7                              | .....                            |

a Decrease.

Figure 9.1. Bituminous Coal Production in Pennsylvania 1899 and 1900, by county<sup>229</sup>

By the end of the century, logging and milling operations also declined, and while a few mills continued operating, including Hall and Kaul's new big mill in St. Marys, milling and logging never again approached the scale of activity experienced in the 1890s. The number of post-railroad sawmills peaked in the mid-1890s, when more than 27 mills operated throughout the county, but by 1900, only 13 of the 27 mills remained, and by 1920 only two survived.<sup>230</sup> Further evidence of the decline in extractive industries can be measured by the reduction in the

<sup>229</sup> Department of Interior publication, "Mineral Resources of the United States," (Department of Interior) Coal, 435, Hillman Library, University of Pittsburgh.

<sup>230</sup> Sawmill table, chart, and map in chapter 4 of this dissertation.

number of individuals employed as miners and woodsmen and the significant increase in those employed as laborers.

Table 9.7. Occupation Change, St. Marys and Ridgway, 1880 and 1900<sup>231</sup>

| <b>Occupation</b> | <b>1880</b>      |                  |                | <b>Total</b> |
|-------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|--------------|
|                   | <b>St. Marys</b> | <b>Benzinger</b> | <b>Ridgway</b> |              |
| Miner             | 45               | 134              | 27             | 206          |
| Woodsman          | 0                | 59               | 321            | 380          |
| Laborer           | 129              | 145              | 264            | 538          |
| <b>Total</b>      | <b>174</b>       | <b>338</b>       | <b>612</b>     | <b>1124</b>  |
|                   | <b>1900</b>      |                  |                |              |
|                   |                  |                  |                |              |
| Miner             | 43               | 25               | 2              | 70           |
| Woodsman          | 231              | 120              | 7              | 358          |
| Laborer           | 515              | 407              | 628            | 1550         |
| <b>Total</b>      | <b>789</b>       | <b>552</b>       | <b>637</b>     | <b>1978</b>  |

Although the declining natural resources signaled a change in the economic engine driving the community, during the last year of the nineteenth century, a small and seemingly inconsequential company began operations in St. Marys. Its development, however, would alter the community and the county in ways no one could foresee. In 1899, Andrew Kaul started the Speer Carbon Company. His new company manufactured carbon powder and carbon cores for the dry-cell battery industry, and its future growth led to the development of a new manufacturing era that dwarfed the combined productivity of the milling, tanning, chemical, and mining industries of the nineteenth century.

While it took time for the extractive industries decline to the degree that they no longer sustained the communities, Andrew Kaul's 1899 investment in a carbon company redefined the future in ways uncommon in most logging and mining towns. Although small rural communities tend to develop differently from one another based upon resources and circumstances, few, if

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<sup>231</sup> Microsoft Excel pivot table and 1880 and 1900 U.S. Manuscript Census, Pennsylvania, Elk County, Miners, Woodsman and Laborers in St. Marys and Ridgway. Tenth Census of the United States, 1880 United States Census Manuscript, Pennsylvania, Elk County, St. Marys, Benzinger Township, Ridgway. Census data confirms that most laborers were employed at sawmills, tanneries, and chemical plants, because few other industries existed.

any, transitioned from one industry to a completely unrelated industry under the leadership of the same individuals. The transition by people accustomed to extracting natural resource to one in which they worked in manufacturing plants represented a dramatic transformation in resources and talents. More importantly, however, the economic transformation represented a fundamental commitment to something far more important than the exploitation of the natural resources. Rather, this transformation, led by Hall and Kaul, reflected a deeper commitment to the future of their families and friends and the continuation of a way of life in the communities they had helped to develop.<sup>232</sup>

At the end of the nineteenth century, the successful amalgamation of people, jobs, and cultures had transformed the society and brought civility to the wilderness. Victorian homes graced Hall Avenue and Center Street in Ridgway, and similar dwellings presided over Center, Brussels and North Michael streets in St. Marys. Theaters, music halls, department stores, and hotels added to the newfound civilization in the wilderness. In the 1880s the Babylon Amusement Park, west of St. Marys, entertained both local residents and revelers who came in on excursion trains from all along the line. The park offered a steam-powered carousel, bowling alley, rifle range, beer cellar, and dancehall, and while the park fell into disrepair by the turn of the century it was one of the first indications of the culturing of the region. Traveling theater troupes from as far away as New York City performed in the new ornate Temple Theater in St. Marys, where the town's elite watched the performances from private boxes. In 1879 the county built a new brick courthouse in Ridgway, and in 1889 Ridgway civic leaders opened the county's first public library. The St. Marys Racing Association built a harness racetrack where local

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<sup>232</sup> Personal communication, Dr. Van Beck Hall, Dr. Robert Daugherty, and Dr. Samuel Hayes, University of Pittsburgh, Department of History. During conversations with these historians, I was told that it was unusual for individuals who successfully developed the natural resources in a rural area to reinvest their capital in a totally unrelated industry.

racehorse owners, including Andrew Kaul and Jim Hall, competed in the Lake Erie Racing Circuit, and a semiprofessional baseball team, formed in St. Marys.<sup>233</sup> In the 40 years since the construction of the railroad, both permanency and civility transformed the primitive settlements of the mid–nineteenth century into modern communities where the citizens of both towns took great pride in the accomplishments of their parents and sought comfortable futures for their children. At the end of the century, solid communities awaited either the demise of the extractive industry or a new bright future in a newly constituted manufacturing economy.

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<sup>233</sup> Alcuin A. Dornisch, *The St. Marys Daily Press*, Babylon Park story, November 1, 1989, 10; Schaut, *History of St. Marys: The Formative Years*, 137–138 and 225; Krellner, “Grist from Old Mills.”

## 10. EXTRACTION TO MANUFACTURING: THE GREAT TRANSITION

At the end of the nineteenth century, the virgin forests had all but disappeared, and much of the easily accessed coal had been mined. Hall and Kaul's mill in St. Marys represented one of the last vestiges of the golden era of extraction.<sup>234</sup> Most of the other lumbermen retired or moved on to new uncut forests. Hall and Kaul did neither, and instead reinvested their capital into manufacturing carbon. This new venture represented an unusual transition from one industry into a completely new industry, a transition that could not have happened in a typical extractive community controlled by outside investors, where at the end of the extraction period these communities often disappeared. Only in a community where local leaders and supported by a strong community base could such a transition into an entirely new industry take place.

However, development of the carbon industry depended not only on internal, but also on external forces. The technology required to manufacture competitive carbon products required knowledge not present in Elk County. Thus, the development of the carbon companies required a continuous migration of intellectuals such as technicians, engineers, physicists, chemists, and administrators, and this new skill pool helped both St. Marys and Ridgway grow and prosper. Many of the new arrivals stayed for a time and then moved on, but many others stayed and became imbedded into the fabric of the community. The new carbon economy led to new institutions that supported development in communities now competing in the national industrial

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<sup>234</sup>Table of sawmills in chapter 4 of this dissertation.

marketplace. Local residents formed United Funds, Chambers of Commerce, service clubs, professional societies, country clubs, and artistic and literary organizations that helped modernize the community and meet the social and intellectual demands of an expanding labor market in the new manufacturing era.

The new manufacturing industry that Kaul and then Hall invested in would eventually exceed, in both size and profitability, their mills and mines. Hall and Kaul's carbon companies manufactured dry-cell batteries and carbon products for the electric motor, electric light, automotive, steel, electronic, and chemical industries.<sup>235</sup> But why invest in carbon manufacturing? A carbon company could be located almost anywhere, since it required only capital, entrepreneurial spirit, and expertise. Hall and Kaul, imbedded in the basic fabric of both communities and concerned about their children's future, refocused their entrepreneurial skills, invested their capital, and imported the necessary expertise.

Carbon is a vital component of life and a complex and flexible element able to combine with other elements in more than 300,000 forms. At the turn of the century, American industry began to shift from steam power that fueled the mills and factories to electric motors needing carbon brushes. St. Marys became a good location for carbon production, because it was located close to the Bradford oilfields in McKean County that produced petroleum-based coke, the

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<sup>235</sup> A variety of local sources have been used in the development of the history of the carbon and powder metal companies in St. Marys. Several company histories, written by company officials, are in the collection of the Elk County Historical Society and the St. Marys and Benzinger Township Historical Society. I have collected anecdotal information about the carbon industry through my close connection to the Stackpole Carbon Company, the Stackpole and Hall families, members of the Kaul and Reuscher families, and other owners and managers of powder metal companies, including my father who authored the history of the Stackpole Carbon Company, *Fifty Seven Years of Progress: 1906–1963*. Finally, the minutes of the St. Marys Industrial Council, housed at the St. Marys Chamber of Commerce, provide extensive information about corporate employment and corporate involvement in the social structure of the community. The council formed in 1947 and terminated in 1984. I served as secretary of the St. Marys Industrial Council from 1971 until its termination.

essential ingredient in industrial carbon. The Bradford petroleum industry also produced the natural gas that fueled the carbon baking ovens.<sup>236</sup>

Industrial carbon is used to make electrodes, brushes, and resistors. Electrodes or conductors establish electrical contacts with nonmetallic parts in a circuit, provide the heat for manufacturing steel filaments for light bulbs and conduction cores for batteries. Brushes transfer electricity to moving parts in electrical motors where, without their application, friction would quickly destroy the motor. Resistors provide resistance to the flow of current and are an important component in the tuning and volume controls for radios and other electrical equipment that requires varying the flow of electricity from a power source.<sup>237</sup>

Carbon manufacturing begins with gray petroleum coke. First the coke is heated, or calcined, to drive off all of the volatile matter. The refined coke, ground into a fine flower, is mixed with pitch in a steam bath that binds the coke and pitch together into a cake-like batter termed “green carbon.” The green carbon can then be extruded into rods or pressed into plates. Rods are used for electrodes, and the plates are machined into brushes and anodes. The rods or plates are then baked in electric or gas ovens for up to 40 days at 1,500 degrees Fahrenheit. Heating carbon in special electric furnaces at temperatures approaching 4,000 degrees Fahrenheit produces graphite, a more refined form of carbon. The graphitizing process changes the chemical structure of the carbon by arranging the elements into ordered structures that improve both the conductivity and insulating values of the carbon. The grade of carbon determines its application, and the mixing and baking process creates an endless variety of unique grades, each with different molecular characteristics. For example, two similar electrical motors might require carbon brushes of different grades. Carbon companies took great pains to protect their grade

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<sup>236</sup> Harry S. Conrad, *Fifty Seven Years of Progress; 1906 to 1963* (Harrisburg: Telegraph Press, 1964), 2.

<sup>237</sup> Andrew Kaul III, *Black Magic: The Story of Manufacturing Carbon: 1899 to 1949* (St. Marys, PA: Speer Carbon Company, 1949), 7–11

formulas, and after developing a grade that met a customer's specific needs, they closely guarded the formula.



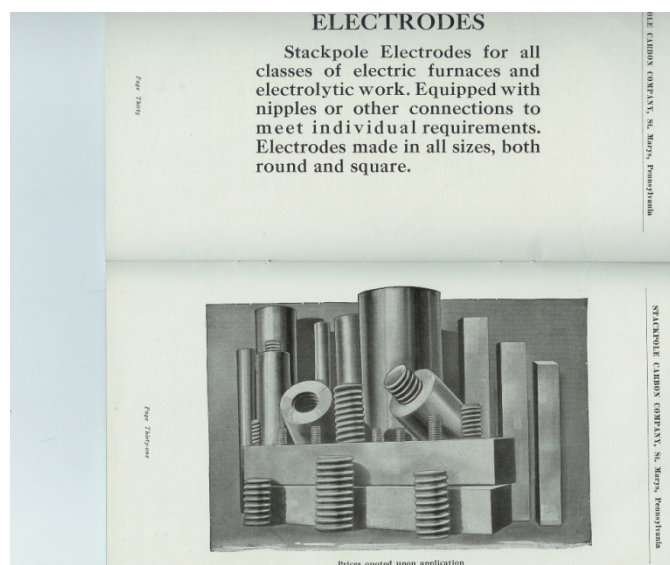
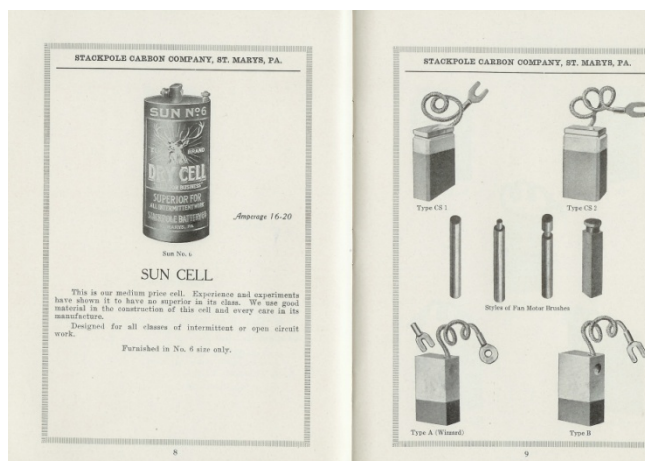


Figure 10.1. Carbon core dry-cell batteries, carbon brushes, and carbon electrodes manufactured by Stackpole Carbon Company and advertised in the company's 1913 and 1917 sales catalogue.<sup>238</sup>

<sup>238</sup> Stackpole Carbon Company published product catalogues in 1913 and 1917 that described their carbon manufacturing process, their products, and the prices of their products. A copy of the catalogues are in my collection of historical publications given to me by my father, Harry S. Conrad.

In 1899, Andrew Kaul (then 54) and James Hall (55) had reached the age where many successful businessmen were content with their accomplishments and retire, allowing their prodigy to invest their inheritance in opportunities of their own choosing. But Hall and Kaul were different. Their commitment to the towns they had helped build and the future of their children kept them engaged in the pursuit of new opportunities. Into this new and growing industry Andrew Kaul made his final major investment.<sup>239</sup> Hall became a stockholder in Kaul's carbon company, but he did not take an active part in the company's management and instead chose to devote his time to the partners' other businesses.

The transition to carbon manufacturing began with a chance meeting between the local capitalist and outside industrialists. Sometime between 1897 and 1899, while hunting in Elk County, John Speer met Andrew Kaul, also an avid hunter and fisherman.<sup>240</sup> Speer lived in Sandusky, Ohio, worked for the Partridge Carbon Company, and knew how to make industrial carbon products. No account of Kaul and Speer's first meeting survives, but Speer must have impressed Kaul, because Kaul agreed to back Speer if he moved to St. Marys and organized a carbon company. On May 29, 1899, Andrew Kaul, John Speer, and a few other local individuals incorporated Speer Carbon Company "to manufacture electric machinery and supplies of carbon for electric lights, motor and generator brushes, battery material and any combination of carbon with wood, metal, or any other substance of material."<sup>241</sup> John Speer, Andrew Kaul, Louis Streuber, James Wolcott, and Burr Cartwright (the same Burr Cartwright whose mining, railroad, and milling business Hall and Kaul acquired in 1894) made up the first board of directors. The

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<sup>239</sup> Kaul, *Black Magic*, 7–11 and 34–37; Douglas Dobson, interview; Mr. Dobson is the retired president of the Stackpole Corporation. Larry Whiteman, interview; Mr. Whiteman was the vice-president of the Carbon Division of the Stackpole Carbon Company.

<sup>240</sup> No account of Kaul and Speer's first meeting survives, but local folklore attribute the meeting to Speer being in Elk County on a hunting trip, probably in 1897 or 1898.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, 14–15.

officers of the new company included Andrew Kaul as president, Andrew Kaul Jr. as secretary and treasurer, and John Speer as general manager.

The new company made carbon flour and carbon rods for the dry-cell battery industry and shipped large quantities of heavy materials to battery manufacturers outside the region. Because of the lack of battery manufacturers in the area, in 1906 John Speer convinced Harry Stackpole, one of his new hunting and fishing friends, that a dry-cell battery company would be a good investment. Speer convinced Stackpole that he could purchase the necessary raw materials from Speer Carbon Company reducing Speer's shipping costs for the heavy and bulky material and thus benefiting both companies. Harry Stackpole, the assistant cashier of the St. Marys National Bank, had limited capital obtained from the sale of a family-owned laundry, but more importantly, Harry Stackpole had married J. K. P. Hall's daughter. On August 6, 1906, Stackpole, with backing from James Hall, started the Stackpole Battery Company. The leadership of the new company included: J. K. P. Hall as chairman of the board and Harry Stackpole as president, along with Bert Darr, B. E. Wellendorf, and William J. Mills as directors.<sup>242</sup>

While the story about how Speer Carbon Company and Stackpole Carbon Company formed has circulated throughout the community for many years, the only documented account is contained in Harry Conrad's history of Stackpole Carbon Company, *Fifty Seven Years of Progress*, written in 1967. Conrad, born and raised in Juniata County, moved to St. Marys in 1914 to work for his cousin Harry Stackpole at his new carbon company, and he stayed until his death in 1976. He retired from the company in 1964 after serving as president and a member of the Board of Directors. Conrad attributed the account of the companies' formation to stories told to him by Harry Stackpole.

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<sup>242</sup> Stackpole Battery Company, articles of incorporation, author's personal collection, and *ibid.*, 57

Like Andrew Kaul, Harry Stackpole (with J. K. P. Hall's support) had the capital and enthusiasm but lacked industry knowledge. However, John Speer helped his friend by contacting Robert Mickey, who worked for the National Carbon Company in Cleveland, Ohio, and who understood the carbon business. Speer asked Mickey to help find a battery specialist to manage Stackpole's new company. Mickey recommended W. J. Mills of Elizabeth, New Jersey, an employee of the Eastern Carbon and Battery Company. Mills accepted the position and moved to St. Marys as general manager, bringing with him four employees, all experienced battery-makers. Under Mills's leadership, the five individuals formed the technical backbone of the first workforce.<sup>243</sup>

Robert K. Mickey joined John Speer and W. J. Mills, becoming one of the early technical migrants to St. Marys; while his contribution did not directly play a major role in the development of the county as did Speer and Mills, his involvement did indirectly impact development, and he represented one of the first professional migrants in the manufacturing era. After helping Harry Stackpole find a battery specialist, Mickey thought that the Stackpole Battery Company might be a good place to work, and Harry Stackpole hired him as a sales engineer. But when he arrived early in 1907, he found the new plant not yet ready to start production. Needing something to do in the interim, Mickey started what he thought might be a temporary business, replacing the carbon filaments in burned-out light bulbs and reselling them to local people. Mickey and local businessmen Alfred and Charles Schaut started the Novelty Incandescent Lamp Company, and Mickey never made the move to the Stackpole Battery Company. After a few years, two lumbermen from Cameron County, Josiah Howard and Henry Auchu, took an interest in the company and offered to build a new plant if the company moved to Emporium, 20 miles east of St. Marys. After the move, the Schaut brothers left the venture,

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<sup>243</sup> Conrad, *Fifty Seven Years of Progress*, 1–5.

but Mickey continued as president, keeping the small plant in St. Marys. The company expanded their product line to include manufacturing miniature lamp bulbs for the automobile industry, and eventually the Buick Automotive Company purchased the Novelty Incandescent Lamp Company and financed the acquisition with General Motors stock. Not long after buying the company, General Motors sold it to General Electric. A few years later, three Emporium employees, B. G. Erskin, Guy S. Felt, and Joseph Wortman, bought the company from General Electric and renamed it Sylvania Electric Products Inc. Thus, a case can be made that when Andrew Kaul started Speer Carbon Company, he set the stage for not only Stackpole Carbon Company, but he and Harry Stackpole also played an indirect role in the creation of what is now Osram Sylvania. Today, the Sylvania plant in St. Marys is one of the largest light bulb producers in the country and one of the few companies in St. Marys not in the carbon or powder metal industries.

In 1912, seven years after Andrew Kaul's death, Stackpole decided that he could manufacturer carbon material for batteries and changed the name of the company to the Stackpole Carbon Company. After 1912, Speer focused on heavy electrodes, while Stackpole specialized in automotive and electrical motor brushes. Later the companies diversified their product lines to include resistors, ferrites, anodes, and precious metal contacts, and while they were competitors, both companies focused on different product niches.<sup>244</sup>

Although the knowledge of how to make carbon, graphite, and the related products may have been imported, the capital for the new carbon companies remained local, assuring the continuation of local control. However, the presence of outside professionals brought into the communities to establish and manage the companies, and later the recruitment of technicians who designed both products and machines, represented an important change differentiating the

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<sup>244</sup> Harry Conrad, *Fifty Seven Years of Progress*, 3 -4.

manufacturing age from the extractive era. Some of the imported specialists (such as John Speer and Harry Conrad) stayed and became involved community leaders, while others (such as W. E. Mills and Robert Mickey) worked for a few years and moved on. In contrast, during the extractive era, when outside lumbermen-capitalists moved to the area and purchased land and built sawmills or opened mines, they hired local people to operate their businesses.

The formation of Speer Carbon Company and Stackpole Carbon Company represented the first time that the Hall and Kaul families went their separate ways in a major business venture. However, while the two companies were separate, they continued to be linked, as evidenced by John Speer's involvement in helping organize the Stackpole Battery Company. In the early 1920s after both Jim Hall and Andrew Kaul's death, Jim Hall's son William E. Hall became a director of Speer Carbon Company; and in the early 1950s he became vice-president and later chairman of the board.<sup>245</sup> According to Lyle G. Hall Jr., the grandson of J. K. P. Hall, James Hall's son William inherited his Speer Carbon Company stock, and his son Lyle inherited his Stackpole Carbon Company stock. Although William Hall served as director and officer of Speer Carbon Company, he played a limited role in its management, because he lived and practiced law in New York City. Lyle Hall, on the other hand, played an active leadership role at Stackpole Carbon Company, and after H. S. Stackpole's death in 1945, Lyle became president of the company.<sup>246</sup>

Andrew Kaul never owned stock in the Stackpole Battery Company because he died the year before its creation; however, one might speculate that if Kaul had been alive when the Stackpole Battery Company started, Kaul might have been offered stock in the new venture in

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<sup>245</sup> Kaul, *Black Magic*, 36–38.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid., 34; Lyle G. Hall Jr., interview. Lyle Hall Jr. is the grandson of J. K. P. Hall.

the same way that he had offered Jim Hall stock in his carbon company.<sup>247</sup> With the exception of William Hall's involvement in Speer Carbon Company, the Hall and Kaul relationship drifted apart. Never again did the two families link together in a major business venture as they had done during the heady days of logging and lumbering in the wilds of northwestern Pennsylvania. The last remnant of the Hall and Kaul partnership is the Hall and Kaul Oil and Gas Company, a landholding company that today owns and manages the remaining forestlands jointly held by the families and which is on the verge of being sold. The partnership that once controlled more than 80,000 acres in Elk County now has fewer than 5,000 acres. Only on one other occasion did the families attempt to reunite the Hall and Kaul dynasty. In the 1950s, Andrew Kaul III and Lyle G. Hall Sr. discussed merging the two companies. However, merger plans failed when the two could not agree on who would lead the combined company. Andrew Kaul wanted his principal manager, George Fehrenbach, to become the president of the new company, but Lyle G. Hall wanted *his* principal manager, Harry Conrad, to play the same role. Unable to resolve this difference, the merger efforts terminated on the day before it was to be consummated.<sup>248</sup> A few years later Andrew Kaul sold Speer Carbon Company to British Oxygen. The sale represented the first time a locally controlled company was sold to outside interests, and while no one realized its significance at the time, the sale was a portent of the future.<sup>249</sup>

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, the children of Andrew Kaul, James Hall, and Harry Stackpole played active roles in the management of the two companies. For a while, during the second half of the century, third- and fourth-generation children joined their

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<sup>247</sup> Interview, Lyle G. Hall Jr.

<sup>248</sup> Conversation with Harry S. Conrad, Margaret Conrad, Harrison C. Stackpole, and William Keading, comptroller, Speer Carbon, at the time of the proposed merger.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid.

fathers in the family businesses, but by the end of the century, most of the decedents of Kaul, Hall, and Stackpole had moved on to new careers in new locations.

When Andrew Kaul built his carbon plant in St. Marys, his hometown, he solidified St. Marys' position as the principal industrial center of the region. Harry Stackpole, a native of McVay Town in Juniata County, who then lived in Ridgway, had no other option but to locate his company in St. Marys, close to Speer Carbon Company, if he wanted to maximize his production efficiency. Shortly after the startup of the Stackpole Carbon Company plant in St. Marys, Harry Stackpole moved to St. Marys, where he remained for the rest of his life.

But Hall and Kaul's investment in carbon companies did not represent their only hedge against either their future or the future of the county. In 1899, Andrew Kaul's sons Frank and William, along with Burr Cartwright and a few other investors, built a large brewery that exported beer to markets throughout the northeast. Then, in 1901, Hall and Kaul invested in yet another untapped natural resource—clay, building the first of two clay plants in St. Marys. Deposits of clay surrounded the community, and the partners built their clay pipe plants adjacent to the clay mines. The Brewery operated until prohibition, and while it reopened for a short time following the repeal of prohibition, it closed in the late 1930s, never to reopen again. However, the clay pipe plants operated until the 1960s. While none of these companies ever achieved the size and scope of the carbon companies, they added to both the manufacturing diversity of the community and the job pool. But more importantly, these companies affirmed the partners' commitment to Elk County and its long-term future, and they provided evidence that the investment in the carbon industry represented much more than just a shot in the dark that succeeded.



The creation of Speer Carbon Company and the Stackpole Carbon Company repositioned the county for a century of spectacular growth. By 1940, three new carbon companies emerged out of Speer Carbon Company and the Stackpole Battery Company, and following World War II, at least 18 additional companies formed in St. Marys and Ridgway. All of these new companies could trace their roots back to Speer Carbon Company or Stackpole Carbon Company. Most of the post–World War II companies manufactured powdered metal products rather than carbon, but the technology for making powdered metal has much in common with manufacturing carbon products. Both require designing and making machine tools and dies, blending and pressing metal powder, and baking or sintering the finished product. Thus the carbon companies served as incubators for the new postwar powder metal entrepreneurs.

Between 1925 and the beginning of World War II, three new carbon companies formed, following during the war by a host of powder metal companies that evolved out of the original carbon companies. First, in 1927, Benedict R. Reuscher (a descendent of the early Bavarian immigrants in St. Marys) worked for Speer Carbon Company, where he developed a system of molding shunts or contact wires into metal-carbon brushes. Prior to Reuscher’s development, shunts were riveted in place, a process that sometimes caused faulty electrical connections.<sup>250</sup> Because of John Speer’s commitment to the electrode and resistor markets, he had no interest in Reuscher’ invention; consequently Reuscher and fellow Speer Carbon Company employee Adolph Schmidhemmer, an experienced technician in mixing of powder metals for carbon brush companies in Germany, left Speer Carbon Company and started Keystone Carbon Company. Not able to secure financial backing from Hall and Kaul’s bank, Reuscher and his partner obtained financial support from a bank in Emporium, Pennsylvania, east of St. Marys, where they built their first plant. By 1931, Keystone’s growth necessitated a larger facility, and since Reuscher

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<sup>250</sup> Stackpole Carbon Company product catalogue, 148, depicts a wire shunt on a carbon brush.

and many of his employees lived in St. Marys, he moved the company to St. Marys, where it remains today. While Reuscher's carbon business prospered for many years, his most significant technical contribution came when he became one of the early pioneers making machine parts from powdered metal, setting the stage for the postwar powdered metal boom. Today powdered metal parts manufacturing represents one of the most important developments of the twentieth century, almost replacing the expensive, time consuming, and limited operations inherent in machining metal parts.<sup>251</sup>

Next, Howard B. Eynon started the Pure Carbon Company in Wellsville, New York, in the late 1920s. However, the Depression created serious financial problems for the company. Harry Stackpole and Lyle Hall agreed to back Eynon if he moved the company to St. Marys. The agreement required the Pure Carbon Company to continue its engineering and sales operations, while Stackpole Carbon Company would manufacture Pure Carbon Company products, giving them access to the carbon grades developed by Pure Carbon technology. As part of the agreement, Stackpole and Hall acquired about half the stock of the Pure Carbon Company, and in the 1950s, they bought Howard Eynon's remaining shares, making Pure Carbon Company a wholly owned subsidiary of Stackpole Carbon Company. Pure established a separate niche in manufacturing mechanical carbon products, a market Stackpole never energetically pursued. Pure Carbon Company's signature products included carbon seals used in pump motors and eventually in jet and rocket engines.<sup>252</sup>

Finally, St. Marys Carbon Company, the last and smallest pre-World War II carbon company, began in St. Marys in 1933, when Jerome Lanzel, a partner and brother-in-law of Ben

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<sup>251</sup> Interview, Richard Reuscher, president of Keystone Powder Metals Company, 1991. The interview was conducted for William Conrad, "The Carbon Capitalists: An Economic History of St. Marys, Pennsylvania," written for Dr. Samuel Hayes. Richard Reuscher is the son of Benedict Reuscher, the founder of Keystone Carbon Company.

<sup>252</sup> Conrad, *Fifty Seven Years of Progress*, 16–17.

Reuscher, left Keystone Carbon Company. Jerome Lanzel's grandfather, Joseph Lanzel, happened to be the same Joseph Lanzel who helped Andrew Kaul began his lumbering career in the 1860s and whose daughter married Andrew Kaul. St. Marys Carbon specialized in metal-carbon brushes for the secondary brush markets, and like Keystone, its plant in St. Marys today is owned and managed by the descendents of Jerome Lanzel.

Industrial development, however, did not end with the five carbon companies built before World War II. After the war and the refinement of powder metal parts technology, a host of new companies grew out of the carbon companies. Because manufacturing powder metal is very similar to the process used to make carbon, and because it is not as capital intensive, the move from carbon to powder metal was a natural and rewarding transition. A number of skilled workers at the carbon companies who could make dies and build machinery started their own powder metal companies in both St. Marys and Ridgway. Some of these powder metal entrepreneurs actually began operating out of their homes, using their garage to house their first lathe and press. By the end of the twentieth century, in the two communities alone no less than 18 new companies became part of the carbon capitalist family, joining the original five carbon companies, all of which traced their roots back to 1899 and Andrew Kaul.<sup>253</sup> Today, of all 23 companies listed on the carbon capitalists family tree, only Keystone Carbon Company, St. Marys Carbon Company, Eastern Sintered Alloys, Elco Sintered Alloys, Center Carbon, Metco Industries, and Contact Technology remain locally owned and managed.<sup>254</sup>

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<sup>253</sup>The carbon capitalists family tree is based upon a lifetime of knowledge about the carbon and powder metal companies in Elk County and my relationship with the owners and managers of many of the companies.

<sup>254</sup> Corporate family tree created by William Conrad.

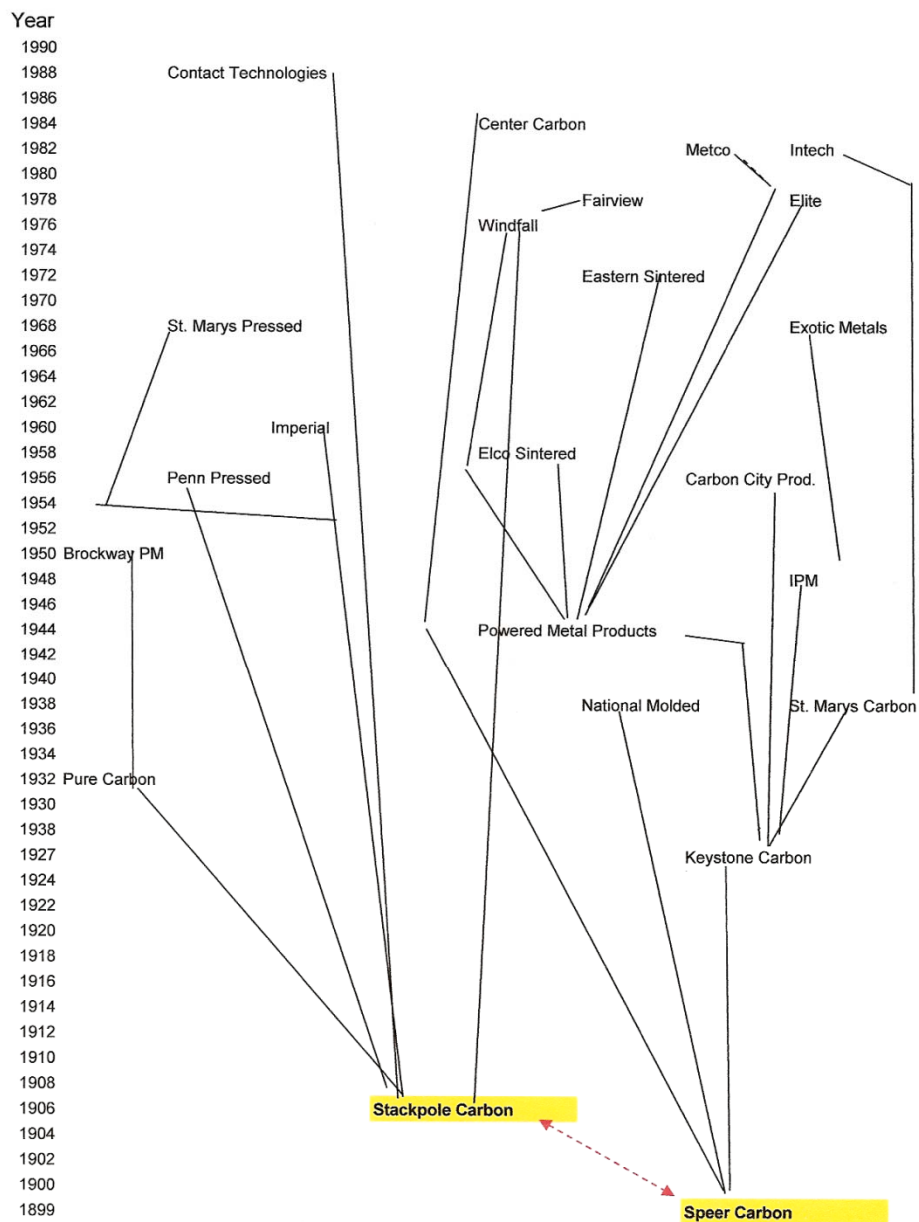


Figure 10 - 2. Carbon Capitalist Family Tree

Figure 10.2. Carbon capitalist family tree.

The growth that followed the formation of the carbon companies changed the county in unimaginable ways. The success in the carbon industry—an industry that participated in the development of automotive, aerospace, electronic, and chemical sectors—required an ongoing effort to develop new products demanded by the materialism of the new postwar era. Such development required the talents of highly skilled machinists, draftsman, and machine and tool designers, often trained on the job and many of whom were the descendents of the skilled German artisans of the nineteenth century. However, the science involved in developing new products and new manufacturing systems required the expertise of highly trained professional engineers, chemists, and physicists, most of whom came to St. Marys from universities and large corporations throughout the United States and Europe.

In the years following World War II and especially during the prosperity of the 1950s and 1960s—a period many in Elk County considered its Gilded Age—a host of professional and skilled technicians arrived, along with accountants, sales, marketing, human resource, and management executives. This happened at a time when St. Marys and Ridway hosted not only carbon manufacturing plants but also the corporate headquarters of the companies. During the 20 years between 1950 and 1970, no less than 11 PhDs were employed at Stackpole Carbon Company, Speer Carbon Company, Keystone Carbon Company, and Pure Carbon Company. In addition, more than 60 engineers worked in research, product design, and process design departments. Most of these professionals were recruited from outside the community. However, most of the senior managers of the companies were either the owners of the companies or employees who had worked for the companies for a long time, many of whom were local. Thus, the mixture of highly skilled local and imported professionals helped the companies achieve national acclaim within the industries in which they participated. The contribution to the war

effort during World War II represents one of the best examples of the technical capabilities that existed within the carbon companies.

Keystone Carbon Company manufactured a key powder metal component for proximity fuses used in bombs. Until Keystone's development, bombs often exploded only after impact, and thus the ground absorbed most of the force. Keystones developed nickel cups with closely held porosity tolerances, solving the detonation problem. Making such a cup to allow detonation prior to impact, making the explosion more tactically effective, required a precisely controlled process design. Tooling for the cup posed added problems, which Keystone resolved by using tungsten carbide. Once in production, Keystone supplied up to 10,000 nickel-plated cups a day.<sup>255</sup>

Stackpole Carbon Company developed a generator motor brush for military aircraft that did not disintegrate at very high altitudes. The Stackpole brush proved critical, because the typical brush of the day failed due to its inability to self-lubricate at very high altitudes in the oxygen-rarified atmosphere. Working with Dr. Howard Elsew at the Westinghouse Research Department, Stackpole engineers developed the only high-altitude generator brush used during both World War II and the Korean War.<sup>256</sup>

The most exciting development happened at Speer Carbon, where company engineers developed specialized carbon rods used in the Chicago Pile One Reactor designed by Enrico Fermi, Walter Aimm, and Zerb Anderson. The fusion process used carbon rods to control the rate at which fusion occurred. Finding carbon pure enough to facilitate a nuclear chain reaction posed problem for the University of Chicago scientists. At the time, only very small quantities of

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<sup>255</sup> *Keystone Carbon Company: Pioneers In Powder Technology for Fifty Years* (St. Marys, PA: Keystone Carbon, 1977), 8. Interview with Richard Reuscher, son of Keystone Carbon Company founder Benedict R. Reuscher.

<sup>256</sup> Conrad, *Fifty Seven Years of Progress*; Interviews with Doug Dobson, retired president of Stackpole Carbon Company.

such pure carbon existed, and fusion required vast amounts. Speer Carbon engineers developed a process using petroleum coke instead of mineral coke to produce pure carbon in large amounts. Speer's process also used chlorine and fluorine gas to flush away the impurities that broke off the graphitized carbon and prevented the cooled impurities from settling back into the graphite rods. However because they could not manufacture enough carbon to fill the needs of the reactor, they shared their technology with the National Carbon Company, a larger competitor, and together the two companies manufactured the quantity of high-quality carbon rods needed for the reaction process and the development of the atomic bomb.<sup>257</sup>

By the 1950s St. Marys had become a true manufacturing town, with hundreds of factory workers performing both skilled and unskilled jobs, many of whom were represented by the United Electrical Radio Workers Union that organized in the late 1930s. The United Electrical Radio Workers represented skilled and unskilled laborers at all five of the carbon companies. The local union came into existence as a result of a long and bitter strike that began in 1937 and ended in 1941, when Stackpole Carbon Company signed the first labor contract with the union. For the next 50 years, IUE Local 509 represented the employees of the five carbon companies, negotiating a series of three-year contracts that all expired in the same year; this led to an almost communitywide negotiating strategy rather than negotiating on a company by company basis. While strikes occurred in 1947, 1956, 1960, 1966, 1975, and 1984, they seldom occurred at the same company twice in a row, many of the strikes were short-lived, and none were violent. Although six strikes in 40 years might seem to be a lot, to the people living in St. Marys the community did not seem to be a hotbed of labor strife. A young person growing up in St. Marys

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<sup>257</sup> Stephen Groueff, *Manhattan Project: The Untold Story of the Making of the Atomic Bomb* (Boston, MA: Little Brown and Company, 1967); interview with Fred Martin, plant manager of the Speer Carbon Company and one of three Speer Carbon Company employees who received clearance by the United States government to work on the Manhattan Project. The interview took place in 1992 and was used for a paper I wrote for Dr. Samuel Hayes.

during the forties, fifties, and sixties whose parents worked at the largest carbon company would only have experienced, firsthand, one strike during their formative years, an experience not uncommon among most residents of the community.<sup>258</sup> Looking back on the labor relations during the local ownership era, both union and management officials agreed that, by and large, union-management relationships in St. Marys were always very good, and the issues always focused on wages or pensions. Work procedures, work rules, and production standards were seldom an issue.<sup>259</sup> The fact that labor and management leaders knew one another probably contributed to the lack of a confrontational labor environment, as well as the fact that they saw one another frequently in social, religious, and recreational settings and in some cases were probably related to one another. The carbon companies reached their employment peak in the late 1960s. At a time when Stackpole Carbon Company employed 2,500 workers, Airco Carbon (formerly Speer Carbon Company), and Keystone Carbon Company each employed more than a 1,000 workers, Pure Carbon Company employed 450 workers, and St. Marys Carbon employed 230 workers.<sup>260</sup>

The development of the carbon companies and the related influx of professional employees also altered the community's cultural profile and as a result brought about the growth and change in the commercial and service sector of the community. The nearly exclusively Roman Catholic town of the nineteenth century experienced far greater diversity during the

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<sup>258</sup> I grew up in St. Marys, and during my youth only one strike occurred at Stackpole Carbon Company the largest employer in the county and where my father worked. The next Stackpole Carbon Company strike took place 15 years later, in 1975, after I had graduated from college and returned to St. Marys, where I was employed. Neither of these strikes was violent, and while they caused great hardship for the workers whose lives were disrupted, the overall climate in the community remained civil and peaceful, and once the strike ended personal relationships and friendships between union members and nonmembers resumed.

<sup>259</sup> Interviews were conducted with Union Presidents, John Pratelli and Roman Stebich and company Presidents, Douglas Dobson, Stackpole Carbon Company and David Quinn, Pure Carbon Company. The interviews were conducted in 1991 while working on a paper for Dr. Samuel Hays, University of Pittsburgh.

<sup>260</sup> Employment information obtained from the records of the St. Marys Industrial Council. The council began in 1947 and terminated in 1984. The minute books of the council are housed at the office of the St. Marys Chamber of Commerce.



manufacturing era than ever before. Jewish merchants operated many of the downtown retail stores, and the influx of professionals from the outside filled the Presbyterian Church, the Methodist Church, and the Episcopal Church. In the 1960s, two Baptist Churches, a Christian Missionary Alliance Church, and an Assembly of God Church formed. Earlier in the century, Italian, Polish, and eastern European immigrants found employment first at the new clay pipe and brick factories, and later many of these new citizens gained employment at the carbon companies.

The cultural fabric of the community also changed. The new manufacturing age brought with it more time and more opportunity for recreation and relaxation and a heightened focus on quality of life issues. In 1924, local industrialists build a country club with a nine-hole golf course on land provided by the Kaul family, and by 1927, St. Marys became a hotbed for tennis. Fifteen clay courts, about half of which were located in the backyards of local residents, provided tennis in almost every neighborhood, including the St. Joseph Convent, where the Sisters played in full habit.<sup>261</sup> Service clubs, including Kiwanis, Rotary, and Lions, began meeting, and fraternal organizations built elaborate social clubs, including the Protective Order of Elks, the Loyal Order of Moose, the Knights of Columbus, and the Eagles Fraternal Order. Concert associations and bands formed, and Boy and Girl Scout troops and a Boys Club organized, offering structured activities for children. At the same time, the community recognized the need of the less fortunate and in 1924 formed a Community Chest that raised money for local nonprofit organizations. Then, in 1951, the son and grandsons of J. K. P. Hall funded a family foundation designed to meet the educational, health, and human service needs of the growing community. Foundations seldom existed outside of metropolitan areas, making the

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<sup>261</sup> Krellner, "Grist from Old Mill"; "Tennis in St. Marys," *St. Marys Press*, 7/2/1981.

Stackpole-Hall Foundation quite unusual. Today, the foundation assets are nearly \$30,000,000, and it continues to fund a wide range of needs throughout Elk County.

While this development happened around the carbon companies located in St. Marys, similar development unfolded in Ridgway, where the Ridgway Dynamo and Engine Company (later the Ridgway Works of the Elliott Company) manufactured electrical engines for the U.S. Navy submarine program and employed 1,200 workers at its height. Other Ridgway manufacturing companies formed after 1900 included the Russell Car and Snow Plow Company, Ridgway Color and Chemical Company, and Molded Materials Company, at one time owned by Stackpole Carbon Company. But the most famous of all the Ridgway companies might have been the Hyde Murphy Company, the survivor of the Ridgway Planing Mill and the Ridgway Sash and Door Company. The Hyde Murphy Company, incorporated in 1901, manufactured high-quality homes, buildings, and elaborate woodwork that was sold to schools, colleges, churches, mansions, and public buildings throughout the country, including the Smithsonian Institute. The one difference between the St. Marys companies and the Ridgway companies is that all of the carbon companies in St. Marys were locally owned and locally managed, while few of the Ridgway companies were locally owned, the Hyde Murphy Company being one of the exceptions. Following on the footsteps of economic development, the community also experienced the formation of social, fraternal, and recreational institutions, including a YMCA, country club, opera house, library, and community parks, all similar to what happened in St. Marys.

The highly technical and successful developments taking place in the twentieth century could not have happened had the communities been the typical nineteenth-century extractive communities. Only through the formation of locally controlled towns that developed strong

institutional structures could this kind of development happen. Only because of the successes achieved in the mines and mills would the capital have been available to invest into a totally new manufacturing future. Only because of individuals, deeply imbedded in the fabric of the community, with the capital to invest, could the manufacturing era have succeeded. As a result of the extractive successes followed by manufacturing achievements, by the 1950s St. Marys had acquired the status—within the steel, automotive, industrial motor, and home appliance industries—as the “Carbon Center of the World.”



Figure 10.3. Billboards erected by local service clubs in the 1950s on the main highways into St. Marys (1954).<sup>262</sup>

But the Gilded Era could not last forever. Finally, in the 1980s, the effects of a global economy impacted both the carbon and powder metal industries. The circumstance that the communities had avoided for nearly 150 years now became a reality—the transition away from

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<sup>262</sup> Photograph courtesy the Historical Society of St. Marys and Benzinger Township.

the locally owned and locally managed companies to manufacturing facilities owned by large national and international conglomerates. Beginning in the 1980s, many of the prosperous local companies caught the eye of global corporations seeking lucrative acquisitions, such as happened when Speer Carbon Company sold to British Oxygen in the 1960s. In the early 1990s, Stackpole Carbon Company sold its carbon division to the French company Carbone, and its Pure Carbon subsidiary to the British company Morgan Crucible. About the same time, Keystone Carbon sold its thermister division to Bo Thorpe Corporation, another British company. Outside investors, including some international companies also purchased most of the locally owned and managed powder metal companies. Today, both Ridgway and St. Marys are vibrant manufacturing centers, but only a very few of the companies remain locally owned and managed. This change has had a significant impact upon the communities due to the loss of middle- and upper-management jobs that for a time helped diversify and change the cultural complexion of both communities. Now, as only a manufacturing center, job opportunities for young professionals wishing to return to their home town are almost nonexistent. While factory jobs remain and the economy continues to be stronger than in most communities in north-central and western Pennsylvania, the cosmopolitan nature of the community has disappeared. Gone is the diversity of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, when a great variety of cultures and professions filled an array of jobs offered at the local corporate headquarters.

However, 150 years of prosperity can not be ignored. Today it is hard to believe that this prominent center of carbon and powder metal technology started in a rough and rugged wilderness. This unique transformation resulted because of the blend of natural resources, local community structures, railroads, cultural isolation, and the Hall and Kaul leadership. The natural resources provided the foundation for development, the railroad provided the critical

infrastructure, the landscape isolated and protected the cultures, but in the end, people made the difference. In one conversation, Harrison Stackpole—the son of H. C. Stackpole and the grandson of J. K. P. Hall—related a story told by his father. “My Father attributed the skilled German mechanics and their work ethic as the foundation around which the development and design of the machinery and equipment critical to both the carbon and powder metal companies resulted.”<sup>263</sup> Thus while the number of artisans migrating to St. Marys from Germany in the late 1800s may have seemed to be an overrepresentation of skills compared to the demand for labor, their decedents became the catalyst around which the new carbon industry developed.

Finally, the Hall and Kaul leadership represents the most important factor in the development that took place. Without the partners’ willingness to reinvest their capital into a new industry and their paternal attachment to their communities, there is little doubt that at the end of the logging era, the two communities, like so many other nineteenth-century mill and mining towns, would have been reduced to little more than sleepy country crossroads once the trees had been cut and the coal mined. Instead, at the end of the nineteenth century these two quiet, organized, and peaceful communities emerged providing a sound and stable platform upon which to base the new manufacturing era that developed during the twentieth century.

Given the more than 150 years of development, the question becomes, is there something different about extractive development? Certainly, the answer is yes! The development that occurred in Elk County happened because the wilderness and the natural resources around which Ridgway and St. Marys formed simply did not exist in many other locations. However, development is more complicated than just the presence of the natural resources. In Elk County, local development was dominated by formal and highly structured communities controlled by local entrepreneurs. As such, these communities were unlike most extractive communities,

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<sup>263</sup>Harrison Stackpole, interview.

whose destiny lay in the hands of outsiders; instead, Ridgway and St. Marys controlled their own destinies. But ultimately, development boils down to leaders and the timing of their involvement. The unique blend of who, when, and where created a special synergy allowing Hall and Kaul to build the extractive empire that emerged in the late part of the nineteenth century and set the stage for the manufacturing era that followed. If one were to remove or alter the timing of the leadership, the outcome would change. Thus, extractive development is more delicate and less forgiving than is development in places not dependent upon the natural resources and a few individuals. The options are far fewer, and the potential to recover from mistakes or failures is far less.

The Elk County experience proved to be unique. In both Ridgway and St. Marys the land, the culture, and the human resources contributed to a distinctive form of development. Throughout the 80-year period from 1820 to 1914, circumstances and individuals constantly changed the communities, but the basic social structure remained intact. Ridgway continued as an Anglo-American Protestant community, while St. Marys remained a town tied to its German Catholic origins. Yet, despite their differences, the two communities, led by shrewd entrepreneurial leaders, made the successful leap from extracting the natural resources to manufacturing carbon. Into this new and highly industrial climate, the children and grandchildren of James Hall and Andrew Kaul led the communities to new and exciting achievements. In the end, what had been gained in the forests and coal mines of the High Plateau transformed the communities into modern industrial centers that today are poised on the brink of the twenty-first century's global economy.

## Appendix A : Agricultural Census Data, Inside and Outside High Plateau

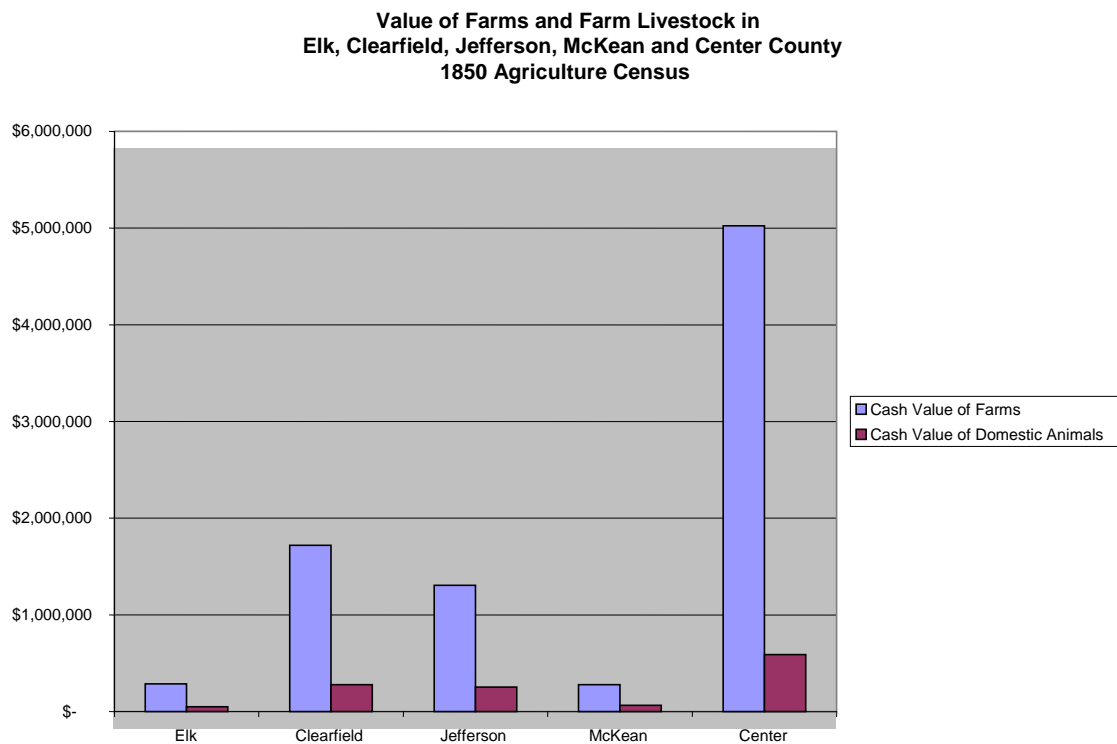


Figure A.1 Value of farms and farm livestock in Elk, Clearfield, Jefferson, McKean, and Center County. Agricultural values taken from the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 Agricultural Census, Elk, Clearfield, Jefferson, McKean, and Center Counties.

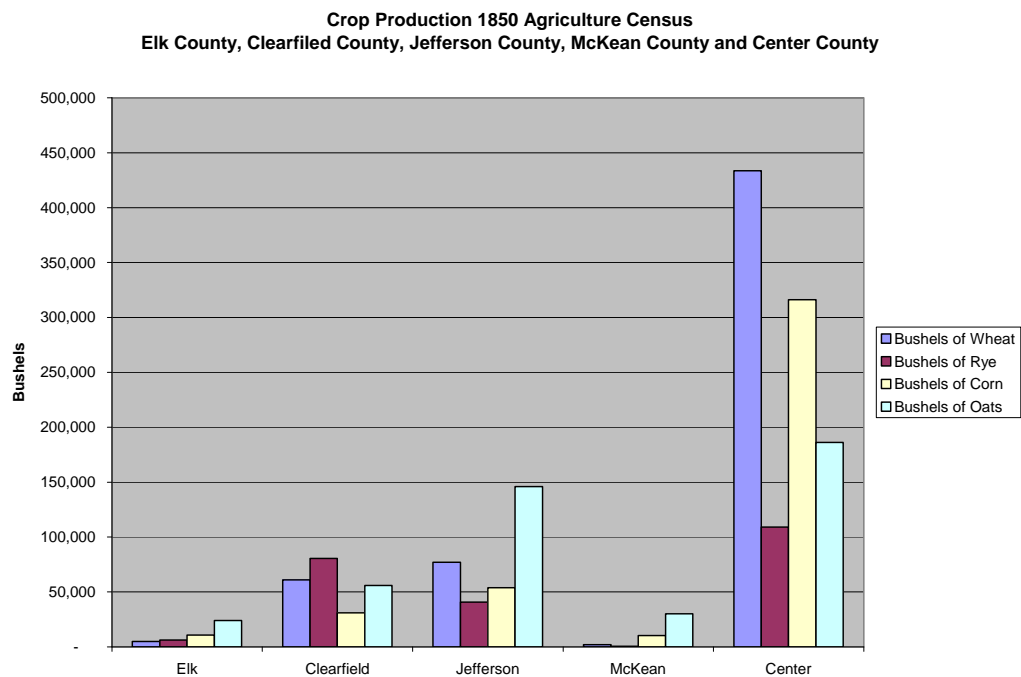


Figure A.2 Crop production in Elk, Clearfield, Jefferson, McKean, and Center County. Agricultural values taken from the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 Agricultural Census, Elk, Clearfield, Jefferson, McKean, and Center Counties.



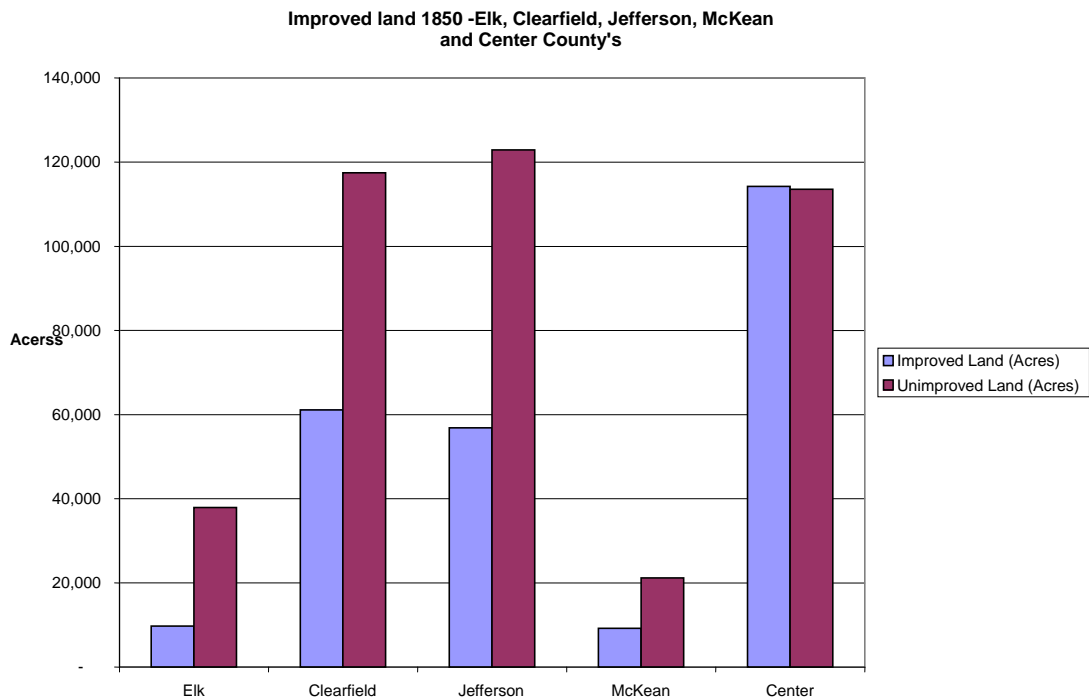


Figure A.3 Improved land in Elk, Clearfield, Jefferson, McKean, and Center County. Agricultural values taken from the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 Agricultural Census, Elk, Clearfield, Jefferson, McKean, and Center Counties.

## Appendix B Voting

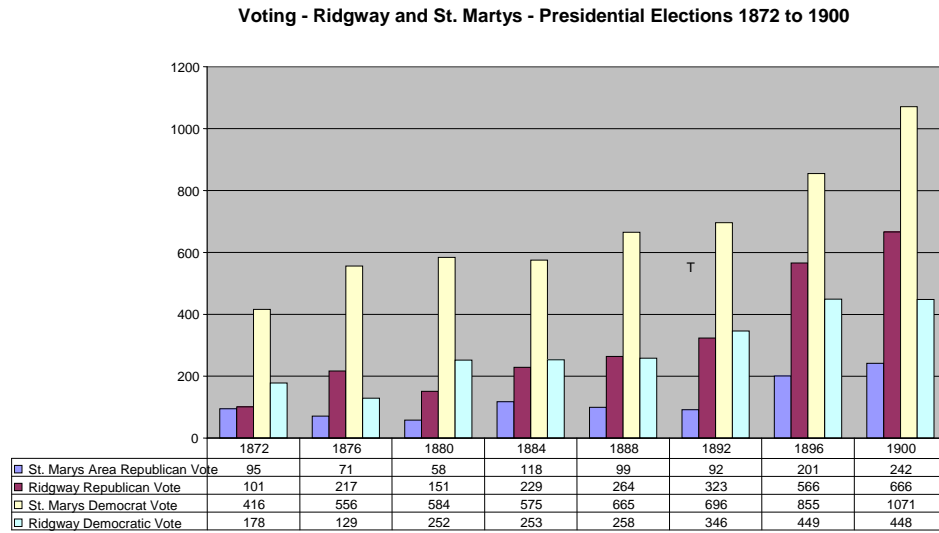


Figure B.1 Voting results published in the Elk County Gazette, St. Marys, Pennsylvania, between 1873 and 1932, and election results in Office of Voter Registration and Elections, Elk County Court House, Ridgway, Pennsylvania.

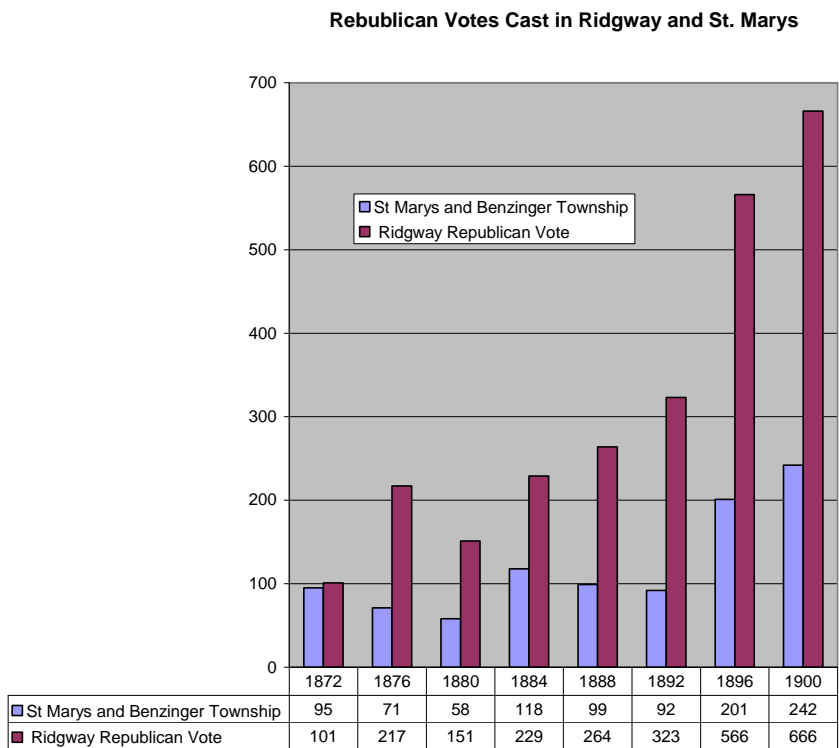


Figure B.2 Republican votes cast in Ridgway and St. Marys, 1872–1900.

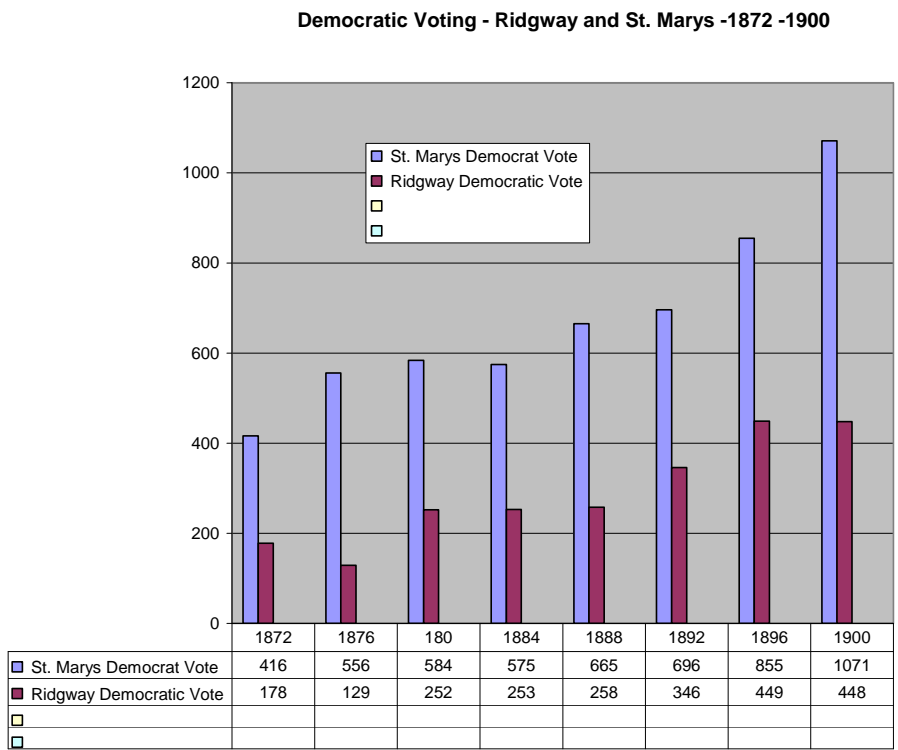


Figure B.3 Democratic voting in Ridgway and St. Marys, 1872–1900.

## Appendix C J. T. Manz, The Colony of St. Marys in Pennsylvania

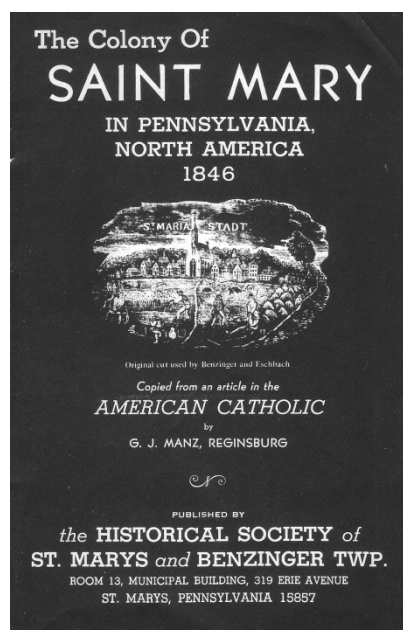


Figure C.1 Cover page of J. T. Manz, *The Colony of St. Marys in Pennsylvania, North America 1846* (St. Marys, PA: Historical Society of St. Marys and Benzinger Township).

state of affairs there), have united to give them, in their county of Elk in Pennsylvania (of about 91,000 acres), the chance to obtain what they cannot reasonably expect in this country: "The free, complete and undisturbed exercise of their religion; the bringing up of their children in the faith of their fathers; instruction in every required branch of knowledge; safety in their acquired property; a free, independent and quiet existence, with people of the same faith, the same language, the same manners and the same customs. Their neighbors and fellow-citizens are their former compatriots; each one of them owns a special tract of land, free to administer it for the good of his family, being responsible for it only to God and his own conscience.

Any community of men is in need of certain laws to assure its existence. For this reason, the undersigned have decided on some fundamental conditions required of anyone who desires to become a member of the colony. Those conditions are explained to every one before acquiring any land; they are even printed so that no one can find fault if at any time they are called upon to fulfill those conditions.

St. Mary is situated on the 41st deg. 30 min. north latitude. The country is very healthy; even the newly cultivated land is free from fever, something very uncommon in America, where it is admitted as a general rule, that all new colonies are visited by sickness, so that in the richest districts, like Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and Tennessee, thousands of immigrant families suffered to such an extent that they never recover their former health, or that they are unable to cultivate their land properly. Unfortunately, the new immigrants seldom give this point enough consideration. They are often misled by the cheapness or the richness of the soil, and overlook the unhealthiness of the country, and thus thousands seem to brave the dangers of crossing the sea, only to buy a cheap grave in our old forests and leave their families in misery, or even perish for want of food. Nearly all the colonists on new lands are of a sickly appearance. Not so in the colony of St. Mary. No better proof of the health of this colony can be had than a little journey through its streets. From every house, one can see red-cheeked and happy-looking people, as we are used to see them in Bavaria, Westphalia and other parts of Germany. The climate is about the same as in the southern

part of Switzerland. The winter is mild and not too long and the summer is not too hot. All kinds of grains, fruits and vegetables can be raised just as well as in Germany and the northern part of Italy. The air is a pure and elastic mountain air, with all the benefits thereof and without the sudden changes in temperature. The harvest usually takes place in the first days of July. The landscape is lovely and rolling, and the hills are covered with the richest green grass or with wheat and corn. In one word, nature seems to have taken especial care to prepare this land for the growing of wine, grains, and for all kinds of industrial enterprises.

Water, the second most important factor in a colony, is the purest, the coolest and the healthiest that could be found in the whole country. The colony is crossed by a great many streams. Some of them are large enough to be used for mills. The Toby or Clarion, which runs in the Allegheny, is navigable in the spring and is an excellent waterway to Pittsburgh, the Far West, and the South, through the Ohio and the Mississippi. In the East, not far from the colony, is the canal from Philadelphia to the Northwest, as far as Milesboro. There is also the western branch of the Susquehanna and the Sinnema-honing, which forms an excellent means of communication with Chesapeake Bay, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and Boston. A projected and already planned railroad to Lake Erie will soon serve as a communication with the great inland sea.

The soil itself is all through, such as we call in Germany, "wheat-soil," of the best quality. It is composed of rich and loose clay, and in only a few places is it hard to cultivate. The big and healthy-looking trees which cover the hills are the best proof of the quality of the soil. The finest specimens of trees are the black and the small white walnut, the chestnut tree, the finest species of oaks, growing in America; the broad-leaved ash tree, the cherry tree, often over a hundred feet high; the hemlock, the sugar-maple, the beech, the tulip tree, etc. It would be useless to point out what such a soil is capable of producing. Anybody can see that such a soil, in such a climate, worked by an average skillful hand, will yield enough and to spare. The subsoil, for a depth of 10 to 100 feet, is of the same good quality, with the exception of a few places. There are also found coal fields of excellent quality, rich iron-ore, copper and silver. The ironworks

Figure C.2 Translated Reproduction of Recruiting Brochure used in Southern Germany (St. Marys, PA: Historical Society of St. Marys and Benzinger Township).

recently started, promise to be of great importance in the future. Lime, potter's earth, brick-clay and fine quarry-stone, are found in abundance. The streams and the rivers of the settlement contain a great quantity of fish and crabs. The woods are filled with pheasants, small partridges and rabbits, the large Canadian deer and the so-called Virginia deer. To match the variegated ornament of the dark green of the forests, there is great quantity of richly-colored birds. The smaller bushes in the forests consist mostly of the "Rhododendron Maximum," and different kinds of azalea grape vines, with small and sweet grapes, reach often a height of 80 feet, in every part of the settlement, and this is a proof that grapes can be grown with good results.

This is the general material situation. But daily experience shows that friction is unavoidable in a settlement, where people belonging to different denominations, live together. It will be most agreeable to each immigrant to be free from such unpleasantness as he has just avoided in the fatherland. For this reason, this colony, will be purely a Catholic one, by which, in this free country neither public nor private opinion will be offended, as a number of exclusive Protestant settlements also exist without offense to anyone. As a Religious Order is the most desirable method of organization, therefore, the committee, in their experience, simplicity of character, piety, self-abnegation, strong Catholicity, and great missionary results, have confided the spiritual direction of the colony to the Redemptorist Fathers. The congregation of Our Saviour accepted to take charge of the spiritual direction of the colony. Thus, we are assured of the welfare of the souls of the colonists. It is a sad experience of daily occurrence in America, that a great many German Catholics, either by scarcity of pastors or by their remoteness from church, are unable to fulfill their religious duties for twenty years or even longer. But what is yet worse, they often fall into such a state of indifference that the chances for their salvation are very slim indeed. Their children are brought up without receiving Christian instruction, and even sometimes without being baptized. Thus, they grow up almost like animals, ignoring their duties toward God, their parents and their fellow-citizens. This sad experience and the desire to protect from such an evil our countrymen and their children, has caused us to give

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to religious welfare the foremost place in our colony. This will be our first aim, and helping we hope to succeed. For this reason, we have built a church, for it is so ordered that we should first think of God, and after only of us. The first church is consecrated to the Blessed Virgin, and after her we have called the colony. "St. Mary-Town" is already too small, on account of the great number of children which "the Mother" has gathered around her. Preparations have therefore been made to build a new and larger church; and the committee hopes that the money required for this undertaking will be contributed for the glory of God and the good of the people.

Next, our special care will be given to the safe-guarding of the faith and the education and instruction of the coming generation. At present, the instruction is given by the congregation of the Holy Saviour; but as the teaching of schools is not a part of their Order, one school and one institution for boys, and also a similar institution for German girls, will be provided for, and both will be under the care of some Religious Order. Owing to the great neglect into which has fallen the education of youth in America, those two institutions well answer the need felt in the whole country. Later on, probably, the Redemptorist Fathers will establish in the colony, their mother-house, and their novitiate for the whole country.

The few conditions to which must submit anyone who wishes to settle in the colony, and which corresponds to the laws and customs of the country, are the following:

#### CONDITIONS FOR ADMISSION.

That each member must care for himself and his family, and that immediately upon the entry into the colony he acquires the ownership of the purchased land.

As it may be easily understood, he must pay in full for the tract of land purchased. In the sale of the land are not included all minerals and ores contained in the soil, which are reserved for the contractors of the colony.

The price of the land differs, according to the condition of the soil and the distance from the town.

In order to prevent the above-mentioned evil (non-fulfillment of religious duties), which would befall families scattered over the forests far from any settlement, we have laid out a town in which

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Figure C.3 Translated Reproduction of Recruiting Brochure used in Southern Germany (St. Marys, PA: Historical Society of St. Marys and Benzinger Township).

## Appendix D Place of Birth, Heads of Household

Created using Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, filters, and pivot tables based on data from the Eight and Tenth Census of the United States, 1860 and 1880 Census Manuscript.

Table D.1 Place of Birth of Heads of Households: St. Marys, Benzinger Township, and Ridgway, 1860

| Place of Birth      | St. Marys<br>USA | Benzinger     | Ridgway       |
|---------------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|
| CN                  | 0.00%            | 0.00%         | 2.17%         |
| ME                  | 0.00%            | 0.00%         | 3.26%         |
| MD                  | 0.00%            | 0.00%         | 2.17%         |
| MA                  | 0.00%            | 0.00%         | 3.26%         |
| MI                  | 0.72%            | 0.00%         | 1.09%         |
| NH                  | 0.72%            | 0.00%         | 1.09%         |
| NJ                  | 0.00%            | 0.00%         | 3.26%         |
| NY                  | 0.72%            | 3.24%         | 16.30%        |
| OH                  | 0.00%            | 0.00%         | 2.17%         |
| PA                  | 11.51%           | 0.00%         | 19.57%        |
| RI                  | 0.00%            | 0.00%         | 1.09%         |
| VT                  | 0.00%            | 0.00%         | 1.09%         |
| <b>Total U.S.</b>   | <b>13.67%</b>    | <b>3.24%</b>  | <b>56.52%</b> |
|                     | Germany          |               |               |
| Baden               | 5.76%            | 2.78%         | 0.00%         |
| Bavaria             | 32.37%           | 63.43%        | 4.35%         |
| Germany             | 2.88%            | 0.00%         | 0.00%         |
| Hanover             | 7.19%            | 3.24%         | 0.00%         |
| Hesse               | 0.00%            | 1.39%         | 0.00%         |
| Hesse-Cassel        | 1.44%            | 0.46%         | 0.00%         |
| Hesse-Darmstadt     | 1.44%            | 0.00%         | 0.00%         |
| Nassau              | 1.44%            | 4.17%         | 0.00%         |
| Oldenburg           | 0.72%            | 0.00%         | 0.00%         |
| Prussia             | 12.95%           | 8.33%         | 1.09%         |
| Wittenburg          | 0.00%            | 0.93%         | 0.00%         |
| Wurtemberg          | 0.00%            | 0.46%         | 1.09%         |
| <b>Total German</b> | <b>66.19%</b>    | <b>85.19%</b> | <b>6.52%</b>  |
|                     | Other Countries  |               |               |



| Place of Birth               | St. Marys     | Benzinger    | Ridgway      |
|------------------------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|
| Ireland                      | 10.07%        | 4.17%        | 31.52%       |
| Austria                      | 1.44%         | 0.46%        | 0.00%        |
| Belgim                       | 0.72%         | 0.00%        | 1.09%        |
| Bohemia                      | 0.00%         | 0.93%        | 0.00%        |
| Canada                       | 0.72%         | 0.46%        | 0.00%        |
| England                      | 0.72%         | 0.00%        | 1.09%        |
| France                       | 2.88%         | 5.09%        | 2.17%        |
| Holland                      | 2.16%         | 0.00%        | 0.00%        |
| Hungary                      | 0.72%         | 0.00%        | 0.00%        |
| Poland                       | 0.72%         | 0.00%        | 0.00%        |
| Scotland                     | 0.00%         | 0.00%        | 1.09%        |
| Switzerland                  | 0.00%         | 0.46%        | 0.00%        |
| <b>Total Other Countries</b> | <b>10.07%</b> | <b>7.41%</b> | <b>5.43%</b> |

Table D.2 Place of Birth of Heads of Household, St. Marys, Benzinger Township, Ridgway, 1880

| Place of Birth     | St. Marys     | Benzinger<br>USA | Ridgway      | Total         |
|--------------------|---------------|------------------|--------------|---------------|
| CT                 | 0.00%         | 0.00%            | 0.20%        | 0.10%         |
| DE                 | 0.26%         | 0.16%            | 0.00%        | 0.10%         |
| IL                 | 0.52%         | 0.00%            | 0.00%        | 0.10%         |
| KT                 | 0.26%         | 0.00%            | 0.10%        | 0.10%         |
| LA                 | 0.00%         | 0.16%            | 0.00%        | 0.05%         |
| MA                 | 0.78%         | 0.47%            | 0.40%        | 0.50%         |
| MD                 | 0.78%         | 0.16%            | 0.70%        | 0.55%         |
| ME                 | 1.04%         | 0.16%            | 1.71%        | 1.09%         |
| MI                 | 0.00%         | 0.00%            | 0.10%        | 0.05%         |
| MN                 | 0.26%         | 0.00%            | 0.00%        | 0.05%         |
| NH                 | 0.00%         | 0.00%            | 0.70%        | 0.35%         |
| NJ                 | 0.26%         | 0.32%            | 0.50%        | 0.40%         |
| NY                 | 3.37%         | 1.74%            | 18.61        | 10.39%        |
| OH                 | 0.26%         | 0.00%            | 0.70%        | 0.40%         |
| PA                 | 42.49%        | 46.68%           | 43.0%        | 44.09%        |
| RI                 | 0.00%         | 0.00%            | 0.30%        | 0.15%         |
| SC                 | 0.00%         | 0.00%            | 0.10%        | 0.05%         |
| VA                 | 0.26%         | 0.00%            | 0.10%        | 0.10%         |
| VT                 | 0.00%         | 0.00%            | 0.30%        | 0.15%         |
| <b>Total U.S.A</b> | <b>50.52%</b> | <b>49.84%</b>    | <b>67.6%</b> | <b>58.75%</b> |
|                    |               | Germany          |              |               |
| Baden              | 2.59%         | 0.95%            | 0.00%        | 0.80%         |
| Bavaria            | 22.80%        | 17.41%           | 0.00%        | 9.84%         |
| Germany            | 0.00%         | 0.16%            | 5.43%        | 2.73%         |
| Hanover            | 0.78%         | 0.00%            | 0.00%        | 0.15%         |

| Place of Birth                | St. Marys     | Benzinger     | Ridgway       | Total         |
|-------------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Hesse                         | 1.04%         | 0.16%         | 0.00%         | 0.25%         |
| Nassau                        | 3.63%         | 0.00%         | 0.00%         | 0.70%         |
| Prussia                       | 3.37%         | 10.44%        | 0.00%         | 3.93%         |
| Westphalia                    | 0.26%         | 0.00%         | 0.00%         | 0.05%         |
| Wurtemberg                    | 5.70%         | 2.06%         | 0.00%         | 1.74%         |
| <b>Total Germany</b>          | <b>40.16%</b> | <b>31.17%</b> | <b>5.43%</b>  | <b>20.18%</b> |
| <b>Ireland</b>                | <b>6.22%</b>  | <b>7.12%</b>  | <b>8.05%</b>  | <b>7.41%</b>  |
| <b>Other Countries</b>        |               |               |               |               |
| Austria                       | 0.78%         | 0.00%         | 0.00%         | 0.15%         |
| Belgium                       | 0.26%         | 0.00%         | 0.00%         | 0.05%         |
| Bohemia                       | 0.26%         | 0.16%         | 0.00%         | 0.10%         |
| Canada                        | 0.26%         | 0.47%         | 3.92%         | 2.14%         |
| Denmark                       | 0.00%         | 0.32%         | 0.00%         | 0.10%         |
| England                       | 1.04%         | 3.96%         | 1.11%         | 1.99%         |
| France                        | 0.52%         | 1.27%         | 0.30%         | 0.65%         |
| Holland                       | 0.00%         | 0.16%         | 0.10%         | 0.10%         |
| Scotland                      | 0.00%         | 3.64%         | 0.70%         | 1.49%         |
| Sweden                        | 0.00%         | 1.11%         | 11.2%         | 5.91%         |
| Switzerland                   | 0.00%         | 0.32%         | 1.51%         | 0.84%         |
| Wales                         | 0.00%         | 0.47%         | 0.00%         | 0.15%         |
| <b>Total Other Immigrants</b> | <b>3.11%</b>  | <b>11.87%</b> | <b>18.91%</b> | <b>13.67%</b> |

Table D.3 Place of Birth of Heads of Household, St. Marys, Benzinger Township, Ridgway, 1900

| Place of Birth | Benzinger<br>Twp. | St.<br>Marys<br>USA | Ridgway | Ridgway<br>Twp. | Total |
|----------------|-------------------|---------------------|---------|-----------------|-------|
| AK             | 0.00%             | 0.06%               | 0.00%   | 0.00%           | 0.02% |
| AL             | 0.00%             | 0.06%               | 0.00%   | 0.00%           | 0.02% |
| CO             | 0.00%             | 0.06%               | 0.00%   | 0.00%           | 0.02% |
| CT             | 0.00%             | 0.06%               | 0.42%   | 0.00%           | 0.13% |
| DE             | 0.11%             | 0.00%               | 0.00%   | 0.11%           | 0.04% |
| HN             | 0.00%             | 0.00%               | 0.08%   | 0.00%           | 0.02% |
| IL             | 0.00%             | 0.00%               | 0.17%   | 0.00%           | 0.04% |
| IN             | 0.00%             | 0.06%               | 0.00%   | 0.00%           | 0.02% |
| IO             | 0.00%             | 0.06%               | 0.00%   | 0.00%           | 0.02% |
| KA             | 0.00%             | 0.00%               | 0.08%   | 0.00%           | 0.02% |
| KT             | 0.00%             | 0.31%               | 0.08%   | 0.00%           | 0.13% |
| MA             | 0.00%             | 0.50%               | 0.51%   | 0.00%           | 0.35% |
| MD             | 0.11%             | 0.25%               | 0.34%   | 0.00%           | 0.20% |
| ME             | 0.00%             | 0.63%               | 0.00%   | 0.77%           | 0.57% |
| MI             | 0.11%             | 0.57%               | 0.08%   | 0.00%           | 0.24% |
| MN             | 0.00%             | 0.06%               | 0.00%   | 0.00%           | 0.02% |
| MO             | 0.11%             | 0.00%               | 0.00%   | 0.00%           | 0.02% |

| <b>Place of Birth</b>           | <b>Benzinger<br/>Twp.</b> | <b>St.<br/>Marys</b> | <b>Ridgway</b> | <b>Ridgway<br/>Twp.</b> | <b>Total</b>  |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|----------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| NB                              | 0.00%                     | 0.13%                | 0.00%          | 0.00%                   | 0.04%         |
| NH                              | 0.00%                     | 0.06%                | 0.00%          | 0.00%                   | 0.02%         |
| NJ                              | 0.00%                     | 0.25%                | 0.08%          | 0.44%                   | 0.24%         |
| NY                              | 2.75%                     | 5.28%                | 13.61%         | 11.26%                  | 8.14%         |
| OH                              | 0.00%                     | 0.19%                | 0.76%          | 0.44%                   | 0.37%         |
| PA                              | 67.62%                    | 63.82%               | 48.35%         | 38.85%                  | 55.57%        |
| VA                              | 0.00%                     | 0.13%                | 0.25%          | 0.11%                   | 0.13%         |
| VT                              | 0.11%                     | 0.00%                | 0.08%          | 0.00%                   | 0.04%         |
| WA                              | 0.00%                     | 0.06%                | 0.00%          | 0.00%                   | 0.02%         |
| WI                              | 0.00%                     | 0.13%                | 0.00%          | 0.44%                   | 0.13%         |
| WV                              | 0.00%                     | 0.13%                | 0.00%          | 0.00%                   | 0.04%         |
| <b>Total USA</b>                | <b>72.54%</b>             | <b>72.86%</b>        | <b>64.92%</b>  | <b>52.43%</b>           | <b>66.67%</b> |
| <b>Foreign Countries</b>        |                           |                      |                |                         |               |
| Austria                         | 4.46%                     | 7.04%                | 0.08%          | 0.11%                   | 3.36%         |
| Belgian                         | 0.00%                     | 0.00%                | 0.00%          | 0.11%                   | 0.02%         |
| Canada                          | 1.49%                     | 2.64%                | 2.03%          | 0.44%                   | 1.82%         |
| China                           | 0.00%                     | 0.00%                | 0.08%          | 0.00%                   | 0.02%         |
| Cuba                            | 0.00%                     | 0.13%                | 0.00%          | 0.00%                   | 0.04%         |
| Denmark                         | 0.00%                     | 0.06%                | 0.17%          | 0.00%                   | 0.09%         |
| England                         | 0.92%                     | 0.25%                | 0.68%          | 0.55%                   | 0.55%         |
| France                          | 0.00%                     | 0.13%                | 0.17%          | 0.00%                   | 0.09%         |
| Germany                         | 16.02%                    | 11.37%               | 3.80%          | 8.39%                   | 9.70%         |
| Hungary                         | 0.00%                     | 0.00%                | 0.00%          | 0.44%                   | 0.35%         |
| Ireland                         | 1.49%                     | 1.88%                | 4.23%          | 2.21%                   | 2.48%         |
| <b>Foreign Countries, Cont.</b> |                           |                      |                |                         |               |
| Italy                           | 0.00%                     | 0.94%                | 0.59%          | 6.40%                   | 1.76%         |
| Norway                          | 0.00%                     | 0.00%                | 0.00%          | 0.11%                   | 0.02%         |
| Nova Scotia                     | 0.00%                     | 0.00%                | 0.00%          | 0.22%                   | 0.04%         |
| Poland                          | 0.00%                     | 0.00%                | 0.00%          | 0.22%                   | 0.04%         |
| Russia                          | 0.00%                     | 0.31%                | 0.17%          | 0.00%                   | 0.15%         |
| Scotland                        | 0.57%                     | 0.44%                | 0.59%          | 0.00%                   | 0.42%         |
| Sweden                          | 0.00%                     | 1.13%                | 18.51%         | 16.67%                  | 8.72%         |
| Switzerland                     | 0.00%                     | 0.69%                | 3.55%          | 11.04%                  | 3.36%         |
| Syria                           | 0.00%                     | 0.00%                | 0.00%          | 0.66%                   | 0.13%         |
| Wales                           | 0.00%                     | 0.13%                | 0.42%          | 0.00%                   | 0.15%         |
| <b>Total Immigrants</b>         | <b>27.46%</b>             | <b>27.14%</b>        | <b>35.08%</b>  | <b>47.57%</b>           | <b>33.33%</b> |

## Appendix E Elk County Gazette Microfilm Collection

ernment beyond its Constitutional limitations. I believe that all paternal legislation tends to socialism and is hurtful to the best interests of our country.

This is my confession of political faith. These are the fundamental principals of government laid down by Jefferson, which for more than a hundred years have formed the creed of the great party be organized. I have been a life-long Democrat, because I believe that upon the survival and enforcement of these principals depends the perpetuity of all republican institutions.

The platform adopted by the recent so-called Democratic Convention at Chicago is opposed to everything the Democratic party has stood for, everything it has taught and every declaration it has made in the past.

It is not the platform of a Democratic convention, but of a convention of socialists masquerading under the name of the greatest party that was ever organized to protect the rights of the common people; a convention composed of men who are not Democrats, but who by false pretenses succeeded in having themselves elected as delegates to a Democratic convention in order to destroy the party and to deny the principles upon which it was founded, at the same time taking possession of its organization. The machinery of the party today is in the hands of the representatives of the revolutionary element of our population. Its candidate is preaching the gospel of hate, sowing the seeds of enmity between the rich and poor and striving to array the employed in hostility to the employer.

This campaign is not between the Republican party upon the one side and the Democratic party on the other, as we have heretofore understood the terms. It is a battle in which the forces of law, social order and patriotism are arrayed against those of anarchy, dishonesty and disorder. With those who would take from the thrifty the ac-

YELL & RUSS. Call and see them, learn prices and you will be convinced of its truth.

**MAKING ATTEMPT TO ROB THE POST-OFFICE.**

**The Robber Caught.—Death of the Thief.**

Last Thursday evening our Postmaster having received a private intimation (from a reliable source) that an attempt would be made to get into the postoffice that night, kept his own counsel and arranged a trap by which he hoped to be enabled to catch the thief. Everything worked as he anticipated and he succeeded in entrapping Mr. Rodent who however made the most desperate and violent efforts to escape, consequently he found it necessary to call in assistance. He at once applied to the President of the Council who very willingly granted him all the assistance in his power and delegated Canes Rex to assist in preventing the escape of the prisoner, who became more violent than ever and succeeded in liberating himself and was running away, when Canes Rex becoming enraged at that pounced upon Mr. Rodent and before any one could interfere ruthlessly murdered him. No inquest was held, although the President of Council is also the Coroner

Dr. Shaeffer, Superintendent of public instruction has issued a proclamation designating Friday, October 23, as autumn arbor day, and earnestly urging directors, superintendents, teachers and pupils to observe the day with appropriate exercises, both by the planting of trees and by the dissemination of information on the growth and care of trees and their value to present and future generations.

It beats all how circumstances alter cases. It isn't so very long since some Republicans searched the dictionary in vain to find words in which to express their contempt for certain Democrats

daughter in the <sup>10/9/96</sup> Beneficent Academy the same day.

**BIRTH.**

To Mr. and Mrs. B. Severn Thursday Sept. 24, 1896, a daughter.

CABRAGE sells for five cents a head on the streets.

A dance will be given this evening at Tierney's hall in honor of Miss Gertrude Kennedy.

Joseph Schlimm, the contractor, has the contract for the cellar of Mr. Frank Givin's house, on Brussell's street.

THERE was a terrible rain, accompanied by high wind, in this vicinity last Tuesday night and Wednesday morning.

Just started an Upholstering repair Shop in the Wittman Building, Centre street. All kinds Upholstered furniture neatly repaired.

Fall and Winter samples for 1896-7, have just been received from Wanamaker & Brown, clothiers, Geo. Schlimm Agt., for St. Marys.

A game of ball will take place this afternoon at half past two o'clock between St. Marys and Emporium at the ball grounds, weather permitting.

Geo. Schlimm, Agt., for Wanamaker & Brown, clothiers, has just received a full line of Fall and Winter samples for 1896-7. Call and see the new styles.

A BEAUTIFUL assortment of high art novelties the new style of rough goods for ladies' gowns at lower prices than have ever been known are now offered for sale at the Store of CORYELL & RUSS. Before purchasing the material for your new gowns be sure to call and examine them and learn the prices.

A practical women of this town remarked the other day that she read the advertisements in a newspaper more closely than anything else. "And long

Figure E.1 Elk County Gazette October 8, 1896, microfilm collection, St. Marys and Benzinger Township Historical Society.

## Appendix F Employment and Domestic Status

Table F.1 Employed persons by Job and Domestic Status, 1860

| <b>Occupation</b>         | <b>Ridgway<br/>All Employed</b> | <b>Benzinger</b> | <b>St. Marys</b> | <b>Total</b> |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------|
| <b>Elites</b>             |                                 |                  |                  |              |
| Lumberman                 | 2.9%                            | 0.0%             | 0.0%             | 1.0%         |
| Merchant                  | 4.4%                            | 0.0%             | 3.8%             | 2.5%         |
| Professional              | 8.3%                            | 1.3%             | 5.6%             | 4.9%         |
| Religious                 | 0.5%                            | 0.0%             | 0.0%             | 0.2%         |
| <b>Total Elite</b>        | <b>16.0%</b>                    | <b>1.3%</b>      | <b>9.4%</b>      | <b>8.6%</b>  |
| <b>Skilled</b>            |                                 |                  |                  |              |
| Artisan                   | 16.0%                           | 2.2%             | 46.3%            | 18.8%        |
| Business                  | 4.4%                            | 0.0%             | 13.1%            | 5.0%         |
| Farmer                    | 5.3%                            | 89.7%            | 18.8%            | 40.5%        |
| R.R.Manager               | 1.9%                            | 0.0%             | 1.9%             | 1.2%         |
| <b>Total Skilled</b>      | <b>27.7%</b>                    | <b>91.9%</b>     | <b>80.0%</b>     | <b>65.5%</b> |
| <b>Unskilled</b>          |                                 |                  |                  |              |
| Domestic                  | 7.3%                            | 0.0%             | 0.0%             | 2.5%         |
| Laborer                   | 39.3%                           | 6.7%             | 14.4%            | 20.0%        |
| R.R. Laborer              | 9.7%                            | 0.0%             | 0.0%             | 3.4%         |
| <b>Total Unskilled</b>    | <b>56.3%</b>                    | <b>6.7%</b>      | <b>14.4%</b>     | <b>25.9%</b> |
| <b>Heads of Household</b> |                                 |                  |                  |              |
| <b>Elites</b>             |                                 |                  |                  |              |
| Lumberman                 | 4.4%                            | 0.0%             | 0.0%             | 0.9%         |
| Merchant                  | 8.8%                            | 0.0%             | 4.7%             | 3.3%         |
| Professional              | 6.6%                            | 0.0%             | 4.7%             | 2.8%         |
| Religious                 | 1.1%                            | 0.0%             | 0.0%             | 0.2%         |
| Sub Total - Elite         | 20.9%                           | 0.0%             | 9.4%             | 7.2%         |
| <b>Skilled</b>            |                                 |                  |                  |              |
| Artisan                   | 18.7%                           | 1.9%             | 43.0%            | 17.7%        |
| Business                  | 4.4%                            | 0.0%             | 16.4%            | 5.8%         |
| Farmer                    | 9.9%                            | 93.8%            | 18.0%            | 53.4%        |
| R.R.Manager               | 3.3%                            | 0.0%             | 2.3%             | 1.4%         |
| Total Skilled             | 36.3%                           | 95.7%            | 79.7%            | 78.3%        |
| <b>Unskilled</b>          |                                 |                  |                  |              |
| Domestic                  | 1.1%                            | 0.0%             | 0.0%             | 0.2%         |
| Laborer                   | 24.2%                           | 4.3%             | 15.6%            | 11.9%        |

|                            |       |       |        |       |
|----------------------------|-------|-------|--------|-------|
| R.R. Laborer               | 17.6% | 0.0%  | 0.0%   | 3.7%  |
| Total Unskilled            | 42.9% | 4.3%  | 15.6%  | 15.9% |
| <b>Boarders</b>            |       |       |        |       |
| <b>Elites</b>              |       |       |        |       |
| Lumbermen                  | 2.1%  | 0.0%  | 0.0%   | 1.9%  |
| Merchant                   | 1.0%  | 0.0%  | 0.0%   | 1.0%  |
| Professional               | 11.5% | 25.0% | 0.0%   | 11.4% |
| Total Elite                | 14.6% | 25.0% | 0.0%   | 14.3% |
| <b>Skilled</b>             |       |       |        |       |
| Artisan                    | 14.6% | 25.0% | 80.0%  | 18.1% |
| Business                   | 2.1%  | 0.0%  | 0.0%   | 1.9%  |
| R.R. Manager               | 1.0%  | 0.0%  | 0.0%   | 1.0%  |
| Total Skilled              | 17.7% | 25.0% | 80.0%  | 21.0% |
| <b>Unskilled</b>           |       |       |        |       |
| Domestic                   | 13.5% | 0.0%  | 0.0%   | 12.4% |
| Laborer                    | 53.1% | 50.0% | 20.0%  | 51.4% |
| R.R. Laborer               | 1.0%  | 0.0%  | 0.0%   | 1.0%  |
| Total Unskilled            | 67.7% | 50.0% | 20.0%  | 64.8% |
| <b>Sons Living at Home</b> |       |       |        |       |
| <b>Elites</b>              |       |       |        |       |
| Professional               | 0.0%  | 12.5% | 0.0%   | 3.6%  |
| Total Elite                | 0.0%  | 12.5% | 0.0%   | 3.6%  |
| <b>Skilled</b>             |       |       |        |       |
| Artisan                    | 12.5% | 0.0%  | 100.0% | 21.4% |
| Business                   | 18.8% | 0.0%  | 0.0%   | 10.7% |
| Farmer                     | 6.3%  | 37.5% | 0.0%   | 14.3% |
| Total Skilled              | 37.5% | 37.5% | 100.0% | 46.4% |
| <b>Unskilled</b>           |       |       |        |       |
| Laborer                    | 50.0% | 50.0% | 0.0%   | 42.9% |
| R.R. Laborer               | 12.5% | 0.0%  | 0.0%   | 7.1%  |
| Total Unskilled            | 62.5% | 50.0% | 0.0%   | 50.0% |

Table F.2 Employed persons by Job and Domestic Status, 1880

| <b>Occupation</b>  | <b>Ridgway</b> | <b>Benzinger</b> | <b>St. Marys</b> | <b>Total</b> |
|--------------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|--------------|
| <b>Boarders</b>    |                |                  |                  |              |
| Lumberman          | 0.4%           | 0.0%             | 0.0%             | 0.4%         |
| Merchant           | 0.4%           | 0.0%             | 0.0%             | 0.4%         |
| Professional       | 2.0%           | 0.0%             | 5.9%             | 2.0%         |
| Religious          | 0.4%           | 0.0%             | 0.0%             | 0.4%         |
| <b>Total Elite</b> | <b>3.2%</b>    | <b>0.0%</b>      | <b>5.9%</b>      | <b>3.1%</b>  |
| Artisan            | 6.1%           | 9.1%             | 29.4%            | 7.0%         |
| Business           | 1.8%           | 3.0%             | 5.9%             | 2.0%         |
| Manager            | 0.6%           | 0.0%             | 0.0%             | 0.6%         |

|                            |              |              |              |              |
|----------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| <b>Total Skilled</b>       | <b>8.5%</b>  | <b>12.1%</b> | <b>35.3%</b> | <b>9.5%</b>  |
| Domestic                   | 1.4%         | 0.0%         | 0.0%         | 1.3%         |
| Farm Laborer               | 2.2%         | 0.0%         | 0.0%         | 2.0%         |
| Laborer                    | 19.0%        | 54.5%        | 58.8%        | 22.4%        |
| Miner                      | 3.0%         | 6.1%         | 0.0%         | 3.1%         |
| R.R. Laborer               | 2.0%         | 0.0%         | 0.0%         | 1.8%         |
| Tannery Laborer            | 8.9%         | 0.0%         | 0.0%         | 8.1%         |
| Woodsman                   | 51.7%        | 27.3%        | 0.0%         | 48.6%        |
| <b>Total Unskilled</b>     | <b>88.3%</b> | <b>87.9%</b> | <b>58.8%</b> | <b>87.3%</b> |
| <b>Sons Living At Home</b> |              |              |              |              |
| Lumberman                  | 2.3%         | 1.1%         | 0.0%         | 1.0%         |
| Professional               | 4.7%         | 0.5%         | 0.0%         | 1.0%         |
| <b>Total Elite</b>         | <b>7.0%</b>  | <b>1.6%</b>  | <b>0.0%</b>  | <b>2.1%</b>  |
| Artisan                    | 25.6%        | 4.3%         | 18.3%        | 10.3%        |
| Business                   | 7.0%         | 1.6%         | 11.7%        | 4.5%         |
| Farmer                     | 0.0%         | 3.7%         | 1.7%         | 2.7%         |
| Teacher                    | 0.0%         | 1.1%         | 0.0%         | 0.7%         |
| <b>Total Skilled</b>       | <b>32.6%</b> | <b>10.6%</b> | <b>31.7%</b> | <b>18.2%</b> |
| Farm Laborer               | 9.3%         | 5.9%         | 0.0%         | 5.2%         |
| Laborer                    | 18.6%        | 30.9%        | 30.0%        | 28.9%        |
| Miner                      | 0.0%         | 36.2%        | 35.0%        | 30.6%        |
| R.R. Laborer               | 9.3%         | 2.7%         | 3.3%         | 3.8%         |
| Tannery Laborer            | 14.0%        | 0.0%         | 0.0%         | 2.1%         |
| Woodsman                   | 9.3%         | 12.2%        | 0.0%         | 9.3%         |
| <b>Total Unskilled</b>     | <b>60.5%</b> | <b>87.8%</b> | <b>68.3%</b> | <b>79.7%</b> |



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