12-1-2005

From Spang's Mill to Roaring Spring: The Development of a Nineteenth Century Industrial Town

Michael Berkheimer
Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Follow this and additional works at: http://knowledge.library.iup.edu/honors_theses

Recommended Citation

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Knowledge Repository @ IUP. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of Knowledge Repository @ IUP. For more information, please contact cclouser@iup.edu.
FROM SPANG'S MILL TO ROARING SPRING: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NINETEENTH CENTURY INDUSTRIAL TOWN

MICHAEL BERGHEIMER

2005
Indiana University of Pennsylvania
The Robert E. Cook Honors College and
The Department of History

We hereby approve the honors thesis of

Michael Berkheimer

Candidate for the degree Bachelor of Arts

12-16-2005
Joseph Mannard, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of History, Thesis Director

5-16-05
Gary Bailey, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of History

12-16-2005
Elizabeth Ricketts, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of History

1-23-2006
Janet E. Goebel, Ph.D.
Director, Robert E. Cook Honors College
Contents

Chapter

Introduction 5

Tables 4

1. Spang's Mill 1860: An Agricultural Community 10

2. The Coming of D. M. Bare and the Economic and Social Transformation of Roaring Spring 34

3. Roaring Spring 1900: An Industrial Town 45

Conclusion 67

Bibliography 72
Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 1860 Taylor Township Occupational Breakdown</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Real Estate Ownership of the Four Occupation Classifications,</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Dollars, 1860</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Personal Property of the Four Occupation Classifications,</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Dollars, 1860</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Population Characteristics of Taylor Township 1860</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Birthplace of Foreign Born Residents 1860</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Classification by Occupation of Foreign Born by Family</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Change in Employment from 1860 to 1900</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Women by Occupation 1900</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Population Characteristics 1900</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Churches of Roaring Spring 1900</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Homeownership Among Spang, Park, East Main Street Residents, 1900</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Homeownership Working Class Neighborhoods, 1900</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

In 1863 Daniel Mathias Bare, Sr. and his son, D. M. Bare, purchased ninety acres of land lying in central Taylor Township, Blair County. At the time of the purchase the area was known as Spang’s Mill and was originally part of the 169 acres known as the "Mill Seat Tract." Operating as the D. M. Bare Company, the father and son sought a location closer to their primary market, Hollidaysburg, and made the decision to move to Spang’s Mill from Pattonsville as it reduced the distance by half. Spang’s Mill sat just inside a mountain pass along the western edge of a glove-shaped valley known as Morrison Cove. The fertile limestone soil of the valley supported a distinctly agricultural society composed of self-sufficient farms. Gristmills dotted the streams, but the only industries in the area of note were the iron furnaces and forge located to the north in Freedom Township. When the younger Bare arrived on the newly purchased acreage in late 1863, it differed little from the surrounding countryside. In his autobiography, Looking Eighty Years Backward, Bare described it as “two small log houses, a frame store building, and old grist mill and a saw mill” sitting on ninety acres of land.

In the next four decades Bare’s entrepreneurial efforts would transform the pastoral Spang’s Mill into the bustling industrial town of Roaring Spring. The development of the town can be traced from the founding of the Spring Mill paper mill in 1865. Since it’s founding, the D. M. Bare Paper Company has served as the town’s
largest employer and the catalyst for its economic growth. The town’s reliance on the paper industry increased with the founding of the Roaring Spring Blank Book Company, which manufactured products using paper produced by the Spring Mill. By the turn of the century the paper industry employed a greater number of workers than the entire economy of Taylor Township supported in 1860 and more than half the workforce of Roaring Spring.

The population followed the jobs from field to the factory. The expansion of the paper industry within Roaring Spring required a considerable workforce and this was mainly drawn from the farms of the Morrison Cove valley. Laborers who had previously lived and worked on farms moved to Roaring Spring to find jobs in the paper factories. By 1900 the population of Roaring Spring had eclipsed that of the rest of the township just as the industry had eclipsed agriculture in importance.

The experience of Roaring Spring was not unique, but one that the entire nation underwent in the years following the Civil War. In these years the Industrial Revolution reached maturity and the nation’s economy grew dramatically. This was the age when men such as John Rockefeller, and Andrew Carnegie, the infamous “Robber Barons,” made fortunes from their industrial empires. In these decades of unrivaled growth the great trusts were incorporated, and Standard Oil and U. S. Steel grew to dominate the industries that drove the economy. Manufactured goods instead of agricultural products now fueled the fires of the American furnace. In 1859 the value of American manufactured products was $1.8 billion; by 1899 the value had risen to over $13 billion. ¹

Urbanization accompanied industrialization as a growing trend. The majority of Americans continued to live in rural areas until 1920, when the urban population finally surpassed it. The urban population grew at a tremendous rate as increasing numbers of people moved from rural communities into the cities and immigration from Europe continued to rise. This migration from the rural hinterlands and Europe gave rise to the great new industrial cites. Pittsburgh, Chicago and countless other cities grew around and as a result of the growing industry of the nation.

The rise of industrial society is a well-researched subject and community studies have been a favorite method to examine this development. Each study, by investigating the unique experience of single or related communities, adds to the understanding of the nation's experience as whole. This study attempts to work within the community study tradition to examine the economic and social changes that resulted from the industrialization of Roaring Spring. It draws especially on the techniques used in *St. Clair* by Anthony F. C. Wallace and Thomas Winpenny's *Industrial Progress and Human Welfare*. Both *St. Clair* and *Industrial Progress and Human Welfare* address the general phenomenon of the emergence of industrial America by conducting community studies.

In *St. Clair*, Wallace examines the formation, demographic composition and change of the social classes and the role of the local elites in the development of industry. Wallace investigates the ethnicity, occupations, and religious beliefs of the town's residents. He then describes the physical growth of the town, the typical house, the typical family, the kin and fraternal network, local businesses, the fraternal orders and even the diet of miners and food prices. He concludes that St. Clair was a town of white, ethnically diverse miners. The ethnic diversity divided the workers and impeded
organizational efforts, which the mine operators used to their advantage. The community was composed of nuclear families, which lived in ethnic neighborhoods. Lastly, he attributes the development of the community to deliberate actions of the local elites. Absentee owners were committed to the development of the town and the mines to the extent that it would increase their income.

_Industrial Progress and Human Welfare_ by Thomas Winpenny was also valuable to the formation of this study. Winpenny’s use of census data as a key source for the investigation of the local social hierarchy was also used in “From Spang’s Mill to Roaring Spring.” Winpenny researches the effects of textile industrialization upon Lancaster and the key role of local entrepreneurs. His research focuses on the effects of industrialization on the welfare of the workers, and he concludes that the rise of the textile industry was beneficial for the working class of Lancaster. The higher wages of the textile industry allowed the workers to enjoy a greater standard of living than in the period before their coming. Like Wallace, he examines the role that the local elite played in the industrialization of the area, and determines that industrialization was the result of deliberate action on their part, and motivated by the same desire for profits.

The methods used by Wallace and Winpenny provide the model that this study uses to examine economic and social development of Roaring Spring. The chapters “A Workingman’s Town,” and “The Development of St. Clair” in St. Clair addresses many of the same primary questions as this study: How and why did the area experience industrial development, how did this development affect the structure of society and what role did the local elite play in the development of the town and its industry? It also uses similar sources to seek the answers to these questions. Federal Censuses, autobiographies
and biographies of the local elite, and local histories served as the principal sources for both studies. Winpenny also uses these same sources for his research. Also like these works, "From Spang's Mill to Roaring Spring" is not a local history, but a study of an individual town in search of broader, historic implications. Examining the experience of a single locality allows the researcher to better understand the implications of the general trends occurring during the contemporary times. The study of Roaring Spring is a microcosm of the industrialization, urbanization, and social stratification that nation as a whole was experiencing in the decades following the Civil War.
The year 1860 serves as an appropriate date to begin a study of the Roaring Spring area. Neither the economy nor the society of central Taylor Township had undergone significant change since the first pioneers settled in the area in the second half of the eighteenth century. The Spang’s Mill Tract of 1800 differed little from the Spang’s Mill Tract in 1860. However, by 1865 the area was experiencing dynamic industrial and population growth. In just five years both the settlement that would become the town of Roaring Spring and the paper mill that would serve as the economic foundation of the town would be founded. Therefore the year 1860 portrays a community on the verge of great change while also presenting an accurate representation of the past several decades. Such a date presents a natural starting point, and one that suits the purpose of examining the economic and social changes that occurred between 1860 and 1900.
The economy of the area was incontestably based on agriculture. Over half of the two hundred households enumerated in the 1860 Federal Census of Taylor Township directly relied on the land to make a living. Roughly half of the families that relied on farming owned the farm that they worked, while the remainder of the agricultural population worked as farm laborers for others.²

The number of persons employed in agriculture was greater than the number of persons working in every other occupation in the township combined, including the iron works.³ There was very little industry south of the iron works except for the gristmills necessary for agriculture. Such a reliance on agriculture produced a uniform and non-dynamic economy that rose and fell with the quality of the harvest. The economy was not static; it did experience growth, but only quantitative growth, not qualitative economic development. The acreage of cleared land and the number of farms grew but there was a continued dependence on agriculture through 1860.⁴

² Ninety-nine households explicitly list their occupation as “farmer” or “farm laborer.” There are also additional fifty-five households that are listed as “day laborer” or simply “laborer.” The early censuses did not have precise categories for classifying workers, and it is not uncommon to find a single occupation listed multiple ways in the same census. An indeterminable number of the men listed as “day laborer” or “laborer” worked as farm laborers. For my generalizations I have tried to discern those most likely employed as farm laborers by their position in the census, which reflected their location of residence, and been conservative in my estimations of those likely to be. Those listed as “laborer” and “day laborer” in the northern part of the township, closer to the iron works of McKee Gap, have not been included as farm laborers. U.S. Bureau of the Census Manuscript Schedules, 8th Census, 1860: Pennsylvania.

³ As mentioned in footnote 1, ninety-nine persons were explicitly listed as “farmer” or “farm laborer” and a considerable number of those listed as “day laborer” or “laborer” would have worked on farms, bringing the number to well over a hundred. Since there were exactly two hundred and forty-four persons listed in the 1860 Census of Taylor Township as having an occupation, excluding retired/none listed, this means that only twenty-two of fifty-three unspecified laborers would be required to bring the total to one hundred and twenty-two or above. Such a number is very probable and demonstrates that agriculture played and indisputably primary role in the township economy. A large proportion of those employed in the iron works would have lived to the northwest, in Freedom Township, making the number of ironworkers residing in Taylor Township lower. Ibid.

⁴ The quantitative growth of the Taylor Township economy can be observed through the continual growth of population and number of farms. This can be done by comparing the 1860 Federal Census of Taylor Township to earlier censuses of the same area. The lack of qualitative growth can also be observed through the comparison of occupations listed in the censuses. If the economy were experiencing change through the
Table 1. 1860 Taylor Township Occupational Breakdown

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage of Listed Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified Laborer</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Occupations</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miner or Collier</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired/None Listed</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Laborer</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagoneer</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forgemaster</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Teacher</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagon Maker</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forge Manager</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooper</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone Mason</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron Master</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toll Gatherer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>258</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1860 Federal Census of Taylor Township

years, one would expect the occupations listed to change also but they do not. “Farmer,” “Farm Laborer,” and “Laborer” dominate the listed occupations.

* Women’s occupations include “domestic,” “washerwomen” and “seamstress” and do not include women who perform daily household work as they had no occupation listed in the 1860 census. Ibid.
The farms found in the area did not produce the great wealth found with the growth of cash crops but were self-sufficient, family farms that produced staple crops and livestock for home consumption. The climate and soil were most suited for crops such as corn, wheat, clover and timothy hay, with corn being the most popular. The soil found throughout Morrison Cove is a dark and fertile limestone-based type that is similar to that found in the Eastern Pennsylvanian counties of Lancaster and York. It is not surprising then, that the German farmers moving west from these two counties would settle in an area that would support their traditional lifestyle.

It was also common for farms in the area to have a few dairy cows, hogs, chickens and sheep. In addition to serving as a source of meat, the livestock would provide other valuable products such as milk, cheese, butter, eggs and wool for clothing. A small orchard and garden patch would often complement the crops and livestock and served as an addition to the diet of the average farmer. Apples, peaches and grapes were the predominant fruits and in the garden patch potatoes, cabbage and other similar vegetables were grown. The growing of their own food and the making of their own clothing made the farms highly self-sufficient. This high level of self-sufficiency resulted in limited opportunity for the economy to diversify.

The farmers of the Morrison Cove valley were not isolated, but they had only limited access to outside markets. The nearest market of any size required that products be shipped by wagon on a toll road to Hollidaysburg, and the local market for farm goods

---


6 In a piece written for the fiftieth anniversary celebration of Blair County, Judge John Dean discusses the early German settlers of Morrison Cove and the continuance of their traditional lifestyle. Judge John Dean, “History of Blair County,” in Tarring S. Davis, *A History of Blair County, Pennsylvania Volume I* (Harrisburg: National Historical Association, Inc., 1931), 199.

7 Sell, 23-25.
must have been very limited in a valley where most people were farmers. A few farms located near the iron works or on the road between the iron mines and the furnaces would sell eggs and fresh vegetables to hucksters or directly to men employed in those trades but most of the goods were grown for home consumption.8

Such a lifestyle did not provide for luxuries, but the farm families in the Spang's Mill area did not lead a deprived life. Indeed, on average the farmers were the most prosperous families in the area.9 As expected and required by their profession they owned by far the greatest amounts of real estate, but they also had on average the greatest amount of personal property. The farm-owning families were considerably wealthier, in terms of both real estate and personal property, than unskilled and skilled laborers, including farm laborers, and only the professionals/merchants neared the farmers' numbers in value of personal property.10

It should not be surprising that the farmers occupied such a high rung on the economic ladder. In an economy such as that of the Spang's Mill, which was so heavily reliant on agriculture, it is logical that those who owned the chief economic component would prosper.

The economic advantage held by farmers did not allow them to lead a different lifestyle from than those in professions. They may have owned the land and received the profit from its tillage, but they were not gentleman farmers who relied solely on the labor of others to work the farm. Their day-to-day life differed little from the farm laborers that they employed. They rose in the morning before daylight, helped with strenuous physical work throughout the day and shared every hardship of farm work with their laborers.

8 Dean, 199; Sell, 23-25.
9 See Table 2 for comparisons.
10 Ibid.
After the day's work was finished it was not uncommon for the laborers to eat the evening meal with the farmer's family.\textsuperscript{11}

Table 2. Real Estate Ownership of the Four Occupation Classifications in Dollars 1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Median</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>7,087</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled Labor</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Labor</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional/Merchant\textsuperscript{12}</td>
<td>5,250</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1860 Federal Census of Taylor Township

Occupations that are classified as skilled labor are as follows: carpenters, blacksmiths, stonemasons, tailors, shoemakers, wagon makers, and saddler. Occupations that comprise the professional/merchant class are: teachers, business owners, clerks, toll gatherer, engineer, and merchants. Each classification's statistics are computed using every member of that group listed except for sons listed as farmers and still living at home and the obvious unskilled laborers employed in the iron works.

\textsuperscript{11} Sell, 139.
Table 3. Personal Property of the Four Occupation Classifications in Dollars, 1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Median</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>1,207</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled Labor</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Labor</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional/Merchant</td>
<td>1,019</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1860 Federal Census of Taylor Township.

Each classification's statistics are computed using every member of that group listed except for sons listed as farmers and still living at home and the obvious unskilled laborers employed in the iron works.

The demand for general farm laborers would have been substantial, and in the years following the founding of the Spring Mill there was a continual shortage of common labor as many were attracted to the higher wages of the factory. The farm work of the time required more persons and individual effort as it was still powered by animal and human muscle. D. M. Bare, who spent his youth on various farms throughout Morrison Cove, recounts how the first mechanical reaper in the area was not used until 1856 or 1857 and that it was not until several years later that they became common. Many farms could not be run by the farmer and his children alone and necessitated the

---

13 Each classification's statistics are computed using every member of that group listed except for sons listed as farmers and still living at home and the obvious unskilled laborers employed in the iron works. U.S. Bureau of Census, 8th Census, 1860: Pennsylvania.
14 Sell, 139.
keeping of a few men to aid in the work. This demand explains why nearly a quarter of all people employed found work as general farm laborers.\textsuperscript{16}

The usual wage for a farm laborer was between five and seven dollars a month in addition to room and board.\textsuperscript{17} This wage would have provided the laborers with a place to live and a small amount of spending money. The practice of boarding also explains why most of the unskilled laborers were listed as owning no real estate in the 1860 census. If the farmer provided room and board they would have likely lived in a house and on property owned by the farmer. This situation was certainly not the true for all farm laborers as some did own and live on a modest tract of land. The relatively small amount of personal property owned by farm laborers is also accounted for by their low wages.\textsuperscript{18}

The farm laborers owned considerably less real estate and personal property than the farmers and the professional/merchants but compared favorably with the skilled professions.\textsuperscript{19} The mean quantity of personal property owned by unskilled workers is skewed a little because of a few individuals who owned considerably more than their peers, but even when these individuals are taken out of consideration the two groups remain similar in value of personal property.\textsuperscript{20} The fact that the unskilled workers were, on average, in a better economic condition than the skilled workers of Taylor Township does not fit normal expectations and must be accounted for.

In the entire township there were only eighteen persons employed in the skilled professions in 1860. The eight carpenters, two blacksmiths, two shoemakers, two wagon-

\textsuperscript{16} See Table 1.
\textsuperscript{17} Sell, 139.
\textsuperscript{18} See Table 2 and Table 3.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{20} John Skyler's personal property was valued at $4,000, Christian Martin's personal property totaled $3,500, and Martin Mannard's at personal property was valued at $1,800. U.S. Bureau of Census, 8th Census, 1860: Pennsylvania.
makers, a tailor, a stonemason and a cooper were able to meet the needs of the entire local population. The population was not large, only 1,134 individuals living in two hundred households of nuclear and extended families, so the demand for skilled services could be met by the few who possessed them. Also the limited economy of the area did not allow for a greater number of skilled workers. The majority of the farm work did not require skilled workmanship and the occasional job that did require skilled work could be accomplished by the small number of men who possessed the needed skill.

The small population and an economy so largely based on agriculture combined to present a situation where skilled workers could not prosper more than their unskilled brethren. The limited amount of available skilled work did not allow a skilled worker to maximize the earning potential of his skill. The limited opportunity in the skilled trades most likely forced some workers to seek extra work on the surrounding farms. It is also possible that the persons were generally employed as farm hands but used their skills as needed on the local farms and chose to designate their occupation as such. This is a likely scenario because eleven of the eighteen skilled laborers did not own any real estate, which means they either rented or received housing from a landowner. The latter choice is probably correct because of the prevalence of providing room and board for hired farm help.

The skilled workers who did own land generally held a greater amount than the real-estate-owning unskilled workers. Just as a few individuals inflated the mean personal property figure of unskilled workers, the non-real-estate-owning skilled workers deflate

\[ \text{Ibid.} \]
\[ \text{Ibid.} \]
\[ \text{Sell, 13.} \]
the figures for their group. As mentioned earlier, the personal property figures do not differ greatly when the outlying unskilled values are ignored.

The possible combination of occupations and the small economic differences leads to a blurring of the distinction between skilled and unskilled workers. The skilled worker in the pre-industrial era of Taylor Township lived a similar life to that of the farm laborer and the farmer. They would have relied on the farmers for the majority of their work, shoeing their horses, helping to build their barns or making their shoes. It is likely that many persons enumerated as skilled shared in the general farm work and their lives was structured as such.

The last classification of occupations, the professional/merchant class, performed roles that modern society would term white-collar. The land-owning farmers, farm laborers and skilled laborers shared a general lifestyle and set of working conditions that required large amounts of manual labor. The professionals/merchant class experience differed in that they owned the businesses or relied primarily on their minds for employment. However, each member of this small group, excepting the ironmaster Hugh Veal, still relied indirectly on the land for their living. They owned or kept the books for the gristmills that ground the farmers' grain and the general store where they bought the few goods that they did not produce themselves. They provided needed services to the local economy, and served an essential, but less important function due to their small number and the dominance of agriculture.

This group was second to the farmers in terms of wealth and the smallest in numbers. The presence of the very wealthy Veal increases both the average real estate

---

24 As mentioned earlier, eleven of eighteen skilled laborers did not own any real estate. Ibid.  
25 Ibid.
and personal property value, but even excepting his property the merchants/professionals were in a financially better situation than the skilled and unskilled workers. Even the poorer members of this group, the clerks and the schoolteachers, owned a larger value of personal property than most workers. The merchants and proprietors each owned a sizeable amount of real-estate, on which their store or mill would have sat, and a greater amount of personal property than the workers or the poorer professionals.\textsuperscript{27}

As of yet there existed little industry or commerce to create the great wealth that accompanies industrial and commercial growth. However, such growth does appear in the area once it began industrial development. In 1860 there existed but two persons who could be considered capitalists, and these two individuals did rival or exceed the wealth of the farmers. Job Spang owned the gristmill, a general store and the Mill Seat Tract of land that D. M. Bare would purchase in 1863 and on which Roaring Spring would grow. The value of Job Spang’s real-estate holdings amounted to more than the value of all but five farms, and if his holdings are considered those of his neighboring brothers the Spang family were the largest landowners in the township.\textsuperscript{28} The wealthiest person by a wide margin was Hugh Veal, ironmaster of the ironworks in McKee. His real estate holdings were equal to those of Job Spang, but his personal wealth was more than four times greater than the nearest person.\textsuperscript{29}

\textsuperscript{26} See Tables 1 and Tables 2. There were only fourteen persons classified in this group from the 1860 census. Ibid.
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{28} Job Spang’s real estate holdings were worth $15,000 and his personal wealth was valued at $1,000. His brother, James Spang’s real estate holdings were $12,500. The sum of these two properties is $27,500 making it the most valuable tract of land, $4,100 greater than the holdings of Bernard Strout’s valued at $23,400. Ibid.
\textsuperscript{29} Hugh Veal’s real estate holdings were also $15,000 but his personal wealth was valued at $25,000. The person with the next highest personal wealth was Jacob Martin, a farmer, with $6,000 in personal wealth. Ibid.
Some members of the merchants/professionals would have held a place of
distinction and honor in the community beyond their wealth. The teachers, while not paid
great amounts, were looked upon as bastions of learning and important individuals.\(^{30}\)
Despite the older generation's insistence on maintaining the Pennsylvania Dutch
traditions, many also realized that their children needed to speak and read English. In
addition to the teaching requirements the educators also performed such social roles as
organizing a literary society and served as a source of knowledge in an area where much
of the population probably had no formal education.\(^{31}\) Other persons would have also had
influence in the community. As the only store owner in the area Job Spang would have
occupied a special place in society as would the ironmaster Hugh Veal, due to his great
fortune and prominent position.

The general store and gristmills served as a place where farmers could gather and
share stories. Besides church and work, there were few places and occasions where men
could meet. It was not often when they could leave the daily duties of the farm and such
days were probably eagerly looked forward to. In this way such institutions played an
important social role in addition to their economic one.

There remains only one group of workers to discuss, women workers. Women
were not included in the labor classifications because only rarely were they the head of a
household.\(^{32}\) There is a lack of information on women workers, since real estate and
property values are listed only for heads of households. However, it is possible to

---

\(^{30}\) Bare remembers the salary of teachers in the area to be twenty-five dollars in 1850. Bare, 39.

\(^{31}\) Ibid, 39-40.

\(^{32}\) Only six of the two hundred households listed in the 1860 Federal Census of Taylor Township were
generalize from the little information available and from the few households that were headed by women.

In the households enumerated as headed by women, who were in all likelihood widows who had never remarried, the women were still never the primary source of income. In each female-headed household the women workers were older; the youngest was aged thirty-four, but all others were over fifty, and had at least one son of working age. The duty of primary provider then fell to the sons, who often worked as laborers. These women made their living by taking in wash and mending clothes. These families were some of the poorest found in Taylor Township. None of the families owned any real-estate, and the highest personal property value was fifty dollars. However, this family would have been mainly supported by a son who worked as a wagoneer, and this value is in accordance with the other wagoneers property assessment.

The remaining women workers were all employed as “domestics” and would have performed or helped with the daily household duties. Each lived and worked in the residence of another family that they were not related to. These women varied in age from sixteen to fifty-five but most were in their early to mid-twenties. None are listed as owning any real estate or personal property. The majority of families that employed domestics were not, on average, wealthier than their neighbors and none of the wealthiest families in the area employed any domestics. The families that domestics found work with were usually large farm families with many children or with an older couple. In both

32 Ibid.
33 The occupation of three of the women was “washerwoman” and the remaining three were listed as “seamstress.” Ibid.
cases the household would have needed extra help in the performing the daily duties assigned to women and hired domestics to remedy this problem.\textsuperscript{35}

Thus far the study has examined the economic patterns found in pre-industrial Taylor Township and determined that the economy relied significantly on agriculture. A great majority of the people lived on farms or relied on farms for the income. Farmers and merchants/professionals were financially more secure than the skilled and unskilled workers but every occupation classification led very similar lives. The study will next examine the demographic characteristics of the area, ethnicity, religion, and family structure. These qualities need to be studied so that the coming change of industrialization can be fully understood.

The demographic characteristics of the area were to a very high degree homogeneous. This is not extraordinary considering that the majority of the families that settled in the area migrated from the Eastern Pennsylvania counties of Lancaster and York through neighboring Bedford County.\textsuperscript{36} They came seeking similar conditions to those they left behind in the East and in their native land of Germany. They entered into Morrison Cove through the pass in the southernmost part of the Cove and set about clearing the valley and establishing farms. By the time of the Revolution the first permanent families had settled in what would become Taylor Township.\textsuperscript{37}

The majority of these families were German Dunkards or Lutherans. Judge John Dean provides a detailed description of these people in his “History of Blair County” written in 1896 to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of Blair County. According to Judge

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{36} Larry Smith, 150\textsuperscript{th} Anniversary History of Blair County, Pennsylvania. (Apollo, PA: Closson Press, 1997), 443.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid, 618.
Dean the Dunkards “sought exclusiveness, preserved their own language and neither sought or desired intercourse with others.” They were the “embodiment of thrift and industry” who lived on farms with “fences, straight, with no broken rails; the large bank barns, generally painted red, a touch of old country color; houses often of a size, that half a dozen would go inside the big barn, but always neat and presenting an air of comfort.”

Bare also discusses the preservation of the Pennsylvania Dutch language and culture in his autobiography and notes that usually only the heads of families could speak English.

The social construction of Taylor Township fit such people well and served to attract families of similar persuasion. As the lands in the eastern part of the state began to become overcrowded, people moved west in search of an area similar to the one that their forefathers had settled and prospered in. They sought an area that was suitable for their agricultural lifestyle and in which they could maintain their culture. The agricultural economy and a conscious effort to maintain the Pennsylvania Dutch heritage made Taylor Township largely a community of self-sufficient, semi-isolated farms.

The population of Taylor Township in 1860 can be very accurately generalized. The small population, largely migrants from the same areas, produced an overwhelmingly white, native-born and Protestant populace. In the 1860 Taylor Township census 100 percent of the population was white. In the previous 1850 census of North Woodbury Township, of which Taylor was then still part and which covered a

---

38 Dean, 199.
39 Bare notes that while he lived in Hickory Bottom there was only one local family, the Hafflys, who did not speak Pennsylvania Dutch. He also notes that his parents generally spoke in Pennsylvania Dutch. Bare, 25-26.
much larger area, there was only one black family that had come to the area from Virginia.\textsuperscript{41}

There were also relatively few people of foreign birth.\textsuperscript{42} Over 96 percent of the population was born in the United States, and largely of German descent. The remaining 4 percent that composed the immigrant population came from only three European countries: Germany, England and Ireland.\textsuperscript{43} Immigrants from Germany greatly outnumbered the other groups, consisting of thirty-one individuals and accounting for 72 percent foreign-born population.\textsuperscript{44} The remaining groups were significantly smaller as there were only nine English immigrants and three persons from Ireland.\textsuperscript{45}

Table 4. Population Characteristics of Taylor Township 1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage of Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>1,134</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-born</td>
<td>1,091</td>
<td>96.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Born</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania Born</td>
<td>1,129</td>
<td>99.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born out of State</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1860 Federal Census of Taylor Township

\textsuperscript{41} U.S. Bureau of Census, 7\textsuperscript{th} Census, 1850: Pennsylvania.
\textsuperscript{42} See Table 4.
\textsuperscript{43} See Table 5.
\textsuperscript{44} Three persons enumerated with Prussia listed as the birthplace have been included in the German category.
\textsuperscript{45} U.S. Bureau of Census, 8\textsuperscript{th} Census, 1860: Pennsylvania.
Table 5. Birthplace of Foreign Born Residents 1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage of Foreign Born</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1860 Federal Census of Taylor Township

This small number of immigrants would not have had a large effect on the culture of the community. As Judge Dean noted in his anniversary commemoration, the Germans who settled in Taylor Township sought to maintain their traditional lifestyle. The self-sufficiency and isolation of the farms would have allowed an environment where past traditions could be preserved. Through the 1860s, Pennsylvania Dutch would have been the predominant spoken language and many of their established practices would have been continued. Bare remembers attending as a child the Brethren Church sponsored “Love Feasts” of the summer months, and the “snitzens” and apple “bilens” of the fall. These events in all probability came to the Cove with the German settlers and served as important social gatherings and a means to express their shared and preserved culture. To the German immigrants the community and its culture may have represented an Americanized German culture but one that would have allowed quick assimilation and a degree of comfort.

---

46 Bare discusses the social gatherings and attractions at each of these events and remembers them as an important social event for both children and adults as it was one of the few occasions upon which the dispersed farmers would gather. Bare, 34, 38.
The population of other immigrant groups would have been too small for the construction of a distinct community, separate from the native-born. Seven of the nine English born lived in one family and each of the three Irishmen was married to a native-born wife and had native-born children. In each of the families headed by an Irish born father the children are of an age that suggests that they had been in the United States for a number of years. As such they most likely would have been accustomed to life on this side of the Atlantic, but possibly not in such a distinctively Pennsylvania Dutch community. The position of each immigrant family in the 1860 Federal Census of Taylor Township certainly eliminates the possibility of a small separate community, as they are spread throughout the township. The only immigrant families that lived next to each other are two small clusters of German families.

The influence of immigrants on the area was further diluted by the fact that in many cases it was only the father, or possibly both parents, that were foreign born. In a small number of cases the entire family was foreign born, but these were the exception and not the rule. The children would have grown up knowing only what their parents told of their ancestral home.

The majority of the immigrants found work as unskilled laborers. Every foreign-born Englishman worked as an unskilled laborer, as did nine of the thirteen German-born

---

47 Every child enumerated as a member of the families was native-born. In Patrick Gartland’s family the children were aged from twenty-three down to two, meaning that he had lived in the States for at least twenty-three years. John Fitzsimer’s children were between twelve and two years old, placing him the country for at least twelve years. Anthony Hoving had the youngest of the oldest children, which was four years of age. U.S. Bureau of Census, 8th Census, 1860: Pennsylvania.

48 This is based on the assumption that the order of enumeration is based on proximity of one family to another. The first cluster is composed of two families with German immigrant members listed in a row and the second cluster included three families with German born. Ibid.

49 There were twenty-two families in the 1860 Taylor Township census with at least one member that was foreign born. In sixteen of these twenty-two families it was only the father or both parents that were foreign born. Ibid.
and two of the three Irish-born. One German-born and one Irish-born made a living as landowning farmers. The Irish-born Patrick Gartland shared the distinction of owning the third largest farm in the township, while the German owned farm was of modest size. One Irishman found work as a miner, while two English-born residents found employment as a non-store owning merchant and a forgeman. The other immigrants found work on native-born owned farms with their native-born farm laborers.

Table 6. Classification by Occupation of Foreign Born by Family 1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>Ireland</th>
<th>England</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Labor</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional/Merchant</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1860 Federal Census of Taylor Township

Protestantism, especially the Brethren and Lutheran Churches, accounted for a significant portion of the believers. The exact membership numbers are impossible to obtain since few records exist from this period, and on many occasions services were held in members' houses. The Brethren Church for the Cove was located on Clover Creek, in the neighboring Huston Township, too far for Taylor Township families to...

---

50 See Table 6.
51 Patrick Gartland’s real estate was valued at $16,000, tied for the third highest value among farmers. U.S. Bureau of Census, 8th Census, 1860: Pennsylvania.
52 Ibid.
53 Only eighteen families are included in the chart because in the other four families with foreign-born members, included was either retired or a wife or child that was not listed as having a job. Ibid.
54 The Dunkards are a sect of the Brethren Church who earned their name by fully immersing their members during baptism.
travel. This forced the Dunkards to hold church in various households and schools throughout Taylor in an effort to permit the maximum number of families the opportunity to attend.\textsuperscript{55}

The Lutheran Church in Taylor Township was formed in 1851, with early services also being held in the schoolhouses. In 1856 the first building for the primary purpose of worship was erected on what would become Roaring Spring, when George Spang donated land for the construction of St. Luke's Evangelical Lutheran Church.\textsuperscript{56} Mixed in with the Dunkards and Lutherans there were a smaller number of Mennonites. The majority of this denomination most likely also held church services in their households as the closest Mennonite Church was located in Martinsburg.\textsuperscript{57}

Other smaller religious groups were present in the township in the mid-nineteenth century. It is impossible to tell for sure whether the individuals listed as Irish were Irish or Scotch-Irish as no ethnic distinction is made in the census. However, they were most likely Scotch-Irish as there was a Presbyterian Church located in Martinsburg, Bare mentions the presence of Presbyterians in his autobiography, and prior to the coming of the Dunkards there were a number of Scotch-Irish squatters in the area. In any regard, there were scattered Presbyterians living in the Cove at the time.\textsuperscript{58} A still smaller number of Methodists and Seventh Day Baptists lived in the area, as they are mentioned in Bare's book.\textsuperscript{59} There are no references to Catholics in the area during this period in any of the local histories, and no Catholic Church was organized in Roaring Spring until 1969.\textsuperscript{60}

\textsuperscript{55} Bare, 158.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid, 145-146.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid, 162-163.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid, 35.
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{60} [Centienall History Book Committee, Borough of Roaring Spring], "Roaring Spring, 1887-1987: Centennial History Book"[n.p.1987?], 33.
The nuclear family served as the basic unit of social construction, with the presence of extended family members in the household not uncommon. Of the two-hundred families listed in the 1860 census, 199 consisted of at least a husband and wife. The only person to live outside of the nuclear-extended family construction was a sixty-year-old woman who supported herself as a seamstress and was most likely a widow. Families usually consisted of parents, their children and oftentimes extended family. There are cases of grandparents, cousins, in-laws as well as other relations living permanently in another’s household. Naturally younger children lived at home, but it was not uncommon for children to remain in the household into their twenties and there are several cases of married children living in their parent’s household. Also occurring frequently in the census is the listing of aged parents with little or no property directly before or after one of their children. The older persons remained on the farm, living separately but still functioned as a member of their child’s household.\(^6^1\)

The family would have assumed many roles. The members of the nuclear-extended household would have lived, worked, and socialized almost exclusively with one another. Because of the self-sufficiency and relative isolation of the farms, family members would have left the farmstead only occasionally. Church served as the one regularly occurring occasion for the gathering of families. There were other special occasions when families would gather, such as harvest celebrations and butcherings, but the family members with which one lived were the main source of entertainment and company.\(^6^2\)

\(^6^1\) U.S. Bureau of Census, 8\(^{th}\) Census, 1860: Pennsylvania.
\(^6^2\) Bare, 34-38.
Adding to the importance of the nuclear family was the family-based economy that many of the households most certainly relied on. Whether on a farm or in a workshop, each member would have had certain daily responsibilities. These responsibilities would have varied depending on age, sex and type of work, but all family members would have worked together towards common ends. The family would have spent the majority of their days together from awakening in the morning until retiring in the evening; their meals were shared, their work was shared and their company was shared in the evening.

The great majority of Morrison Cove residents were white, native-born and Protestant. These characteristics combined to form a highly homogeneous community that shared common values, and expectations. Most residents in the central part of Morrison Cove lived very similar lives. Life revolved around the farm and the family. Every occupation was directly or indirectly dependent on the harvest. There were very few rich individuals and while the farmers were, in general, wealthier than those in other occupations, this extra wealth led to little more comfort. Landowning farmers worked, ate and lived with their hired help. The skilled and unskilled workers relied on the farmers for their income, through work on the farms and in their trade if they possessed one. Society was structured by, and around the nuclear and extended family. The family was a source of security, comfort and entertainment. It was the rare occasion that the family left the farm and each other's company, therefore the family had to fill multiple roles. The social role of the nuclear family was increased by the isolationist tendencies of the Pennsylvania Dutch heritage.
Local political offices were dominated by farmers, not surprising considering the large number of farmers in the area. In the years between the creation of the township, in 1856, and the coming of Bare in 1863, the elected offices of township supervisor was held each year by persons who were landowning farmers. However, they were not the wealthiest farmers in the township, and the value of their real estate, and personal property were in fact lower than the average real estate and person property values for 1860. The less than average wealth of the supervisors suggests that they were elected based on their individual personal qualities that garnered the respect of the community. Notably absent from elected offices were both the wealthiest individuals and the poorer laborers of all types. There is no clear explanation to for, but it would have been difficult for the poorer, non-landowning laborers to present themselves as a more worthy candidate than the farmers for whom provided many of them with work, food and housing. Politics was not limited to the wealthy, but it seems that a minimum level of wealth or property ownership was required for the public to consider the candidate worthy of office. Like the economy, and the social structure of the community, politics was also controlled by the landowning farmer.

In 1860, Spang’s Mill was an undeniably agricultural community with a fairly egalitarian society. However, it was not to last. In the following years D.M. Bare would arrive and with him would come the industrial age. By 1900, water-and-steam driven

63 The township supervisors of Taylor Township were as follows: Jacob Shoenfelt, William McInna in 1856, Jacob Duck, Abraham Shiffler in 1858, John Lower, John Smith in 1859, John Lower, David Rice in 1860, John Lower, Christian Hainly in 1861, John Lower, Shem Graybill in 1862, and Andrew Earlenbaugh, Nicholas Gruber in 1863. The other less important elected officials were also all farmers, except for the continually reelected, township assessor, John Biddle, who was a miller. J. S. Africa, History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties, Pennsylvania, Vol. 2. (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1883), 221; U.S. Bureau of Census, 8th Census, 1860: Pennsylvania.

64 The average real estate property value for the elected official was $4, 338, compared to the considerably higher average value of $7, 087. The personal property value of $963 was much closer to the 1860 average value of $1,207. U.S. Bureau of Census, 8th Census, 1860: Pennsylvania.
industry would replace farming, and the community would become increasingly stratified. The change was gradual but clearly evident. D. M. Bare and his associates, through the founding of the sister industries of a paper mill and blank book factory, would move the worker from the field to the factory.
CHAPTER TWO:

THE COMING OF D. M. BARE AND
THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION OF
ROARING SPRING

The figure of Daniel Mathias Bare looms large in the development of Roaring Spring. As the principal partner in the D. M. Bare Company, he was partner to the purchase of the “Mill Seat Tract” on which Roaring Spring was to grow and played an important role in the founding of the two businesses that formed the economic foundation of the town. The Spring Mill paper mill[^1] and the Roaring Spring Blank Book Company provided the majority of the residents of the town with jobs, and the founding of the paper mill provided the impetus for the growth of Roaring Spring and the creation of the Roaring Spring Blank Book Company[^2]. When the paper mill began operation in April 1866 the surrounding area had changed only slightly from the condition that it was in when D.M. Bare and his father had bought the property. Bare had intended to develop the area and even surveyed the building lots himself, but it took the promise of jobs to attract

[^1]: The Spring Mill operated under the company name of Morrison, Bare and Company from 1866 until 1876 when it was changed to Morrison, Bare and Cass. In 1886 the name was again changed to the D. M. Bare Paper Company. Throughout this study the name of D. M. Bare Paper Company will be used. Sell, 432; Bare 106.

[^2]: Bare made the acquaintance of George W. Cross, a manager of a blank book company in Saugerties, New York, and the two discussed the advantages of founding a blank book company in Roaring Spring using the paper produced by the Spring Mill. Ibid, 111-113.
As the Spring Mill expanded and increased production, the town grew in population and complexity. The vertical integration accomplished through the establishment of the Roaring Spring Blank Book Company and the other businesses that grew in response to the general needs of the citizens generated a large number of additional jobs.

Bare’s financial interests in the town were extensive. In addition to the Spring Mill and the Roaring Spring Blank Book Company, he was also involved in many other business ventures including the Roaring Spring Planing Mill, the Roaring Spring Department Store, the Roaring Spring Grist Mill, the Eldon Inn, the Roaring Spring Ice Plant, the Roaring Spring Bank, the Roaring Spring Light, Heat and Power Company and the Roaring Spring News. Being involved in such a large percentage of the town’s businesses, including the primary two, allowed Bare a direct influence on the character and growth of the town. He did not personally oversee each of his business interests but served as superintendent of the Spring Mill and appointed his trusted son-in-law, A. L.

---

67 Bare surveys and plots fifty building lots himself in 1865. Sell, 431.
68 Bare devotes a section of his book to each of the listed businesses and gives a brief history and description of each. For each he details how and when he became involved and mentions his business partners respective to the business. The Planing Mill was founded in 1887, with the D. M. Bare Company owning a quarter of the interest; the general store existing on the property when Bare purchased the land became the Roaring Spring Department Store in 1863 and served as the D. M. Bare and Co. company store for employees in the paper mill and blank book factory and the community in general; the grist mill also existed when the property was purchased in 1863 and was leased to private operators by D. M. Bare and Co.; the Eldon was built in 1907 by Bare, his two sons-in-law and Dr. Eldon; the Ice Plant was purchased by Bare in 1915; the Roaring Spring Bank was incorporated in 1902 and Bare served as the first president, the Roaring Spring Light, Heat and Power Co., created in 1892 sold energy created by Blank Book and was thus controlled by the operators of Blank Book Company; and the Roaring Spring News was purchased by Bare in 1913. D. M. Bare, 101-126.
69 This is evidenced through Bare’s economic influence as the principal partner in the D. M. Bare Co. which was served as the parent company to later business interests; his power as president of the Roaring Spring Bank; the many positions of community authority that Bare held, such as Postmaster, president of Borough Council, member of the Nason Hospital Board of Trustees, school board member, and elder in the Roaring Spring Church of God, which he provided the funding to build. Also, as a large landowner he controlled the selling of many building lots and put restrictions on the sale. Ibid, 120-121, 132-135, 177, 192, 199.
Garver, general manager of Blank Book soon after its conception. Bare was a founding member of a number of the companies, including the D. M. Bare Paper Company, the Roaring Spring Blank Book Company, the Planing Mill, the Eldon Inn and the Roaring Spring Bank, while the others he purchased from previous owners.

Like so many other families in the area, D. M. Bare's family had migrated from York County and brought with them their agricultural and cultural traditions. His childhood and early adulthood were probably very typical of the area. In 1834 Bare was born on a farm in Sinking Valley, Blair County, and in 1841 the family settled on another farm in the Hickory Bottom area of Morrison Cove. Bare and his siblings primarily spoke English, but his parents preferred Pennsylvania Dutch. Bare spent most of his youth working on the family farm and would throughout the majority of his life maintain a farm in addition to his business interests. At the age of twenty Bare entered the business world as a clerk for a Martinsburg merchant and then taught for three years at the Hickory Bottom school that he had previously attended and for two at the Stonerook school.

Bare states that he had been "imbued with the idea of a business life" during his time as a clerk, and in 1858 this inclination led him and his father to became the owners and operators of a gristmill and a combination plaster and clover seed mill in Waterside, south of present-day Roaring Spring. They successfully conducted business at this location until 1860, when a gristmill and general store were purchased in Pattonsville, an

---

70 Bare became the manager of the Spring Mill after John Morrison and John Eby, sometime around 1887 and Garver assumed management of the Blank Book Company in 1891. Ibid, 106-107, 112.
71 Ibid, 64.
73 Bare clerked in the store of John McFadden and taught at the Hickory Bottom school in the winters of 1852, 1853, and 1854. In the winters of 1856, and 1857 Bare taught at the Stonerook school. Ibid, 42, 58.
area the Bares believed had greater potential. The family remained in Pattonsville until they moved to the Spang's Mill area.⁷⁴

By the time D. M. Bare arrived in the area that he would develop into Roaring Spring he was a knowledgeable businessman, with a variety of business experiences. He had worked as a clerk in a store owned by another, he had owned and operated his own general store and he had operated three different types of mills and was successful in each venture. Most importantly though, the Bares had continually looked for better opportunities and demonstrated the will to undertake new enterprises. This entrepreneurial spirit served D. M. Bare well and was essential for the development of Roaring Spring.

Bare and his father purchased the land then known as Spang's Mill in 1863 under the name of the D. M. Bare and Company. This company consisted solely of Bare and his father, Daniel Bare, Sr., and was formed when the Waterside property was bought.⁷⁵ Bare, Sr. became interested in the Spang's Mill property sometime in 1863 and purchased it on September 1 of the same year. The Bares believed this property to be a better location for business since it sat thirteen miles closer to their principal market, Hollidaysburg, and since their previous location suffered from steep competition from rival mills in the southern end of the valley.⁷⁶ Bare arrived on the new property soon after its purchase and promptly began to see to the affairs of the grist mill, formerly operated by one George Spang, and a general store also located on the property.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 58-68.
⁷⁶ Hollidaysburg was the county seat and a thriving town that possessed railroad yards of its own in addition to being close to Altoona and its bustling railroad industry. According to Bare there were seven other mills active in the southern Cove area at the time despite a limited market. Ibid, 70.
When D. M. Bare and Company bought the property in 1863 it consisted of only
“two small log houses, a frame store building, and old grist mill and a saw mill” sitting
on ninety acres of land. Less than two years later the Spring Mill paper mill would start
production, building lots would to be sold, and houses would begin being built. The
arrival of Bare and his entrepreneurial vision marks the beginning of a new era for the
Roaring Spring area. It is then that the economy began to evolve from individual, family
farm agriculture to the water-and steam-driven machines of the paper industry and from a
strictly rural to a semi-urban setting.

Previous to the Bares’ purchase there were already in existence a gristmill and
small sawmill on the property. It is a mistake, though, to believe that area’s industrial
heritage extends to the pre-Spring Mill era because of these minor establishments.
Neither the gristmill nor sawmill could support the growth of any sizeable community as
they required little manpower for operation and did not produce enough wealth to support
more than the operating family. There had been a gristmill in operation on the property
since the before of the Revolution and during the near-century of its existence the “Mill
Seat Tract” grew only minimally. The presence of nothing more than a grist and
sawmill actually illustrates the agricultural character of the area since the two were the
only industries in the immediate area and were vital components of an agricultural
economy. The industrial transformation, the gradual reliance on factory production
instead of agriculture, of the area would not begin until after the Civil War with the
founding of the Spring Mill paper mill.

---

77 Bare notes the building and acreage in his description of the property. Ibid, 71.
78 The earliest histories of the area place the founding of the gristmill to sometime before 1777. The first
mill was operated by Jacob Neff, notable for his gunfight at the site with two Native Americans. Smith,
618-619.
In the years following the Civil War the paper industry experienced a great increase in markets and advances in production methods. The growth in demand for paper resulted from a combination of factors. An increasingly literate citizenry required more newspapers and books, the growing number of schools and pupils required greater amounts of paper for education and a rapidly expanding business world required an always increasing amount of paper to keep its records.\(^7^9\) The increased market was reserved almost entirely for domestic production because of the very high protective duties imposed by the Federal government.\(^8^0\) The increased demand naturally led to an increase in price, with some products even doubling in price.\(^8^1\) Rising demand and rising prices attracted much new capital to the industry and during the postwar years paper mills grew in size and number.

It was in this promising atmosphere that in 1865 a group of four men, D. M. Bare, Bare's brothers-in-law Isaac Bowers and John Eby, and John Morrison, partnered to share the capital and risk of starting a new industry.\(^8^2\) Under the economic circumstances of the time a paper mill seemed a sound investment, even more so because of the lack of local competition in the south-central counties of Pennsylvania.\(^8^3\) Isaac Bowers was one of the top five landowners in the township and had purchased roughly

---


\(^8^0\) The import duty on paper had risen and fallen in the years leading up to the Civil War but following the war it matched an all-time high of thirty per cent. Ibid, 285.

\(^8^1\) Prices, especially of high-quality paper, could be manipulated somewhat through collusion of the largest manufacturers. This group of large producers attempted to prevent price decline similar to ones that plagued the industry during the early war years. They were somewhat successful as, for example, fine book paper that sold for sixteen cents a pound before the war sold for forty cents a pound after the war. Ibid, 286-287.

\(^8^2\) Ibid, 103.

\(^8^3\) Bare boasted that the Spring Mill was "the pioneer paper mill of Central Pennsylvania," and it was not until around 1880 that a rival paper mill was built in Lock Haven, and one in Williamsburg in 1898. Bare and his partners also owned the second paper mill to be operate in the area, which was built in Tyrone around 1880. Bare, 105.
half of the “Mill Seat Tract” from Bare and had also marked the land for development by offering building lots. Eby managed Bare’s general store and then was the first general manager of the mill until he died unexpectedly in 1866 and was replaced by John Morrison, who had been an absentee investor until then.

However, paper mill did not get off to an auspicious start. In July of its first year of operation a boiler explosion shut down production for several months, and in October of the same year the plant burned to the ground. This setback caused considerable strife among the investors, and the future of the nascent industry and town was uncertain. The four men decided to risk rebuilding the mill and operation began again in 1867. The story of the Spring Mill and Roaring Spring after the initial setbacks is one of continual growth, economically and socially. The Spring Mill would increase production through the addition of new production processes, larger, faster machines, and expanded employment, especially after the founding of its sister industry, the Roaring Spring Blank Book Company. This economic expansion was reflected in the growth of religious institutions, fraternal orders, public spaces, a public school system and the incorporation of Roaring Spring borough separate from Taylor Township and distinct from Spang’s Mill economically and socially, in 1887. The paper industry would grow to eclipse agriculture in economic importance and the workers would move from the farm to the factory.

84 Bower’s real-estate was valued at $17,000 in 1870, making him the fifth greatest landowner in the township. U.S. Bureau of Census, 8th Census, 1860: Pennsylvania.; Sell, 431.
85 Eby is listed as a store clerk by Helsel and Conlon in their history and the only possible place of employment was for Bare. Helsel and Conlon, 75th Anniversary History, 9; Bare, 103.
86 Bare, 103.
87 Ibid.
During the early years of production the Spring Mill had only one small machine that used straw and gunny sacking to produce a bogus manila sheet used for grocery bags.\(^{88}\) Average daily production was approximately 1,500 pounds per day and was limited by both the size and speed of the machine and the fact that it was necessary to haul by wagon all of the paper produced to the nearest railroad to for shipment.\(^{89}\) At first the closest railroad depot was thirteen miles away in Hollidaysburg but a few years later the line was extended to Newry, reducing the trip by half.\(^{90}\) One can imagine the difficulty and restrictions imposed on production by having a thirteen-mile one-way wagon trip to ship production, and it was this limitation that restricted the growth of the Spring Mill during its early years.

Despite limitations on production the paper mill was successful, and even after only a few years of operation Bare was gaining influence and wealth. It was this increasing influence that was to allow the Spring Mill to expand production. Bare gained a seat on the Board of Directors for the Newry Railroad Company and worked to extend the railroad into Morrison’s Cove.\(^{91}\) His efforts were successful and in 1871 the Hollidaysburg and Morrison’s Cove Branch Railroad was constructed connecting what was to become Roaring Spring to Hollidaysburg through a feeder line that ran directly beside the paper mill and continued to Martinsburg.\(^{92}\) This crucial development would allow the Spring Mill to expand production by eliminating the wagon trip to Newry and later would allow for the founding of Roaring Spring Blank Book Company.

---


\(^{89}\) Warner puts the average daily production at 1,500 pounds per day while Bare puts production at 1,860 pounds per day. Warner, “Spring Mill History,” 1; Bare, 95, 104.

\(^{90}\) Bare, 95.

\(^{91}\) Bare became one five directors of the Newry branch line and this position was critical for the expansion of the railroad into Morrison’s Cove. Ibid.

\(^{92}\) Ibid.
The period from the extension of the railroad to the first years of the new century was one of expansion for the industry of Roaring Spring. A second paper machine was added in 1878 and was larger and faster than the original machine. Production tripled to 4,500 pounds per day, which then more than doubled again in 1881 to 12,300 pounds per day. The final and third machine was added in 1892, and by 1905 production had reached 52,000 pounds per day. The addition of new machines required additional workers and a larger factory and in 1898 the Spring Mill was remodeled, allowing for greater production.

The production process and type of paper produced also changed during this time. Around 1870 the mill switched from producing gunnysack to white paper. This switch made the addition of rags necessary for production and was motivated by the higher price for white paper. In 1875 wood pulp was introduced to production, and by 1880 straw use was discontinued. The use of wood pulp required the addition of a pulp mill, built in the same year the switch was made, and a wood yard. The pulp mill and wood yard also increased employment.

The years following the post-Civil War years witnessed modest advances in the technology of paper production that resulted in bigger, faster machines that produced far more paper in less time. Papermaking had entered into its modern era with the invention of the Fourdrinier by Louis Robert in 1799 and the first use of drying cylinders in 1821. The Spring Mill, as other paper mills, continued to rely on technology similar to that of

---

93 Warner and Bare differ on the date of the addition of the second machine, Warner placing it in 1873 and Bare in 1878. Bare’s date is probably correct as it is also the date found in various county histories. Ibid, 104.
94 Ibid, 104-105.
95 According to Bare gunny-bagging sold for nine or ten cents a pound while white paper sold for twelve cents a pound. Ibid, 104-105.
earliest paper machines through the middle of the twentieth century, but with alterations for electricity and increasing size. The use of electricity allowed the machines to run at a faster speed than water or steam power. The continual increase in size of the machines permitted the sheet of paper produced to increase in width and these larger, electricity driven machines increased production greatly.⁹⁶

The addition of the new machines, the wood yard and the pulp mill did not alter the nature of the work in the Spring Mill greatly. The new paper machines and the pulp mill still required the same unskilled or semiskilled work. The primary job of the workers was tending the machines and keeping them running, and when they malfunctioned to fix them. The most notable difference between the original, and the new paper machines was the running speed and width that increased as each machine new was added. This resulted in greater production but not a change in the nature of work.

In 1886 Bare met George Cross, the manager of a blank book factory in the state of New York. This acquaintance would lead to the founding of the Roaring Spring Blank Book Company in 1887. With the success of the Spring Mill, Bare was in a position to invest in other business interests; Bare decided with his two sons-in-law and three other men that a blank book factory would be a profitable undertaking. Bare provided the entire start up capital for the enterprise by himself, a sign of the success of the paper mill.⁹⁷

Bare also served as the first president of the Roaring Spring Blank Book Company. The vertical integration allowed by the selling of paper produced by the Spring Mill to Blank

---


⁹⁷ Bare fronted the entire twenty-five thousand dollars needed to start the business. The other partners were E.G. Bobb and A. L. Garver, both Bare’s sons-in-law, H.C. Lorenz, the owner of the lone insurance company in town, D. R. Wike, and George Cross, the man who urged Bare to build a blank book factory in Roaring Spring. Bare, 111.
Book did prove a profitable undertaking and the Blank Book Company increased production and employment from its conception through 1900.98

The original 1887 building suffered the same fate of the first paper mill structure and burned to the ground in its first year of existence. When the factory was rebuilt it was enlarged but soon proved inadequate to meet production needs. In 1895 a three-story addition was built, followed in 1900 by another, even larger three-story addition.99 The principal products manufactured were ledgers, tablets and notebooks that were shipped to such distant places as the Philippines, South America and Puerto Rico in addition to the domestic market and Canada.100

Bare’s influence on the early economic development of Roaring Spring was dramatic, as was the economic transformation that occurred in the area. Bare played a decisive role in the founding of the Spring Mill, provided the entire capital needed for the founding of the Roaring Spring Blank Book Company, sat on the board of directors that extended the railroad to Roaring Spring, and owned the land that the town would grow on. He or his sons-in-law managed these businesses and oversaw their growth. The founding and growth of the area’s industries, chiefly the D. M. Bare Paper Company and the Roaring Spring Blank Book Company, marked the change from the agricultural society examined earlier and to the industrial society explored in the next section.

98 The paper used by Blank Book accounted for one-third of the production of the Spring Mill and provided a constant and dependable market. The factory was continuously expanded from the time of its founding through 1900; see above. Ibid, 112-113.
99 The original factory was one-story 100 foot square wooden frame building. The rebuilt factory was a two-story brick building of the same dimension, the first three story addition was brick and 100 by 50 feet, the second three story addition was a limestone building, 60 by 187 feet. The last addition was very picturesque and has become an iconic building in the area. Ibid, 112-113.
100 Ibid, 113.
Roaring Spring applied to become an independent borough, separate from Taylor Township, on June 22, 1887, and on October 3 of the same year the new town was removed from the jurisdiction of the township by the Blair County court. Even at this early date the area now differed enough from its still highly agrarian surroundings to warrant the establishment of an independent political unit. In the year of its founding, Roaring Spring was still experiencing great economic and societal change. The two great instruments of change were in place; the D. M. Bare Paper Company had been in operation for twenty-two years, while the Roaring Spring Blank Book Company was newly founded. The 1887 population of Roaring Spring was approximately eight hundred persons, over two-thirds of the entire township population of 1860. Despite the dramatic changes present at the time of the town’s inception, the transformation from an agrarian, egalitarian community to a stratified, industrial town was not complete.

The study must look at a more recent date to more fully explore the effects caused by the growth of the paper industry. By the beginning of the twentieth century a great number of the town’s principal businesses and institutions had been in operation for

---

101 Helsel and Conlon, 10.
an adequate length of time to bring about the consequences of their operation. The year
1900 marked the beginning of a new century and the certain emergence of a new era in
the history of Roaring Spring. By this date a distinctly different economic and social
structure had evolved from that of 1860. This date then serves as an appropriate year to
examine the changed economic and societal conditions of the town.

In the decades following the founding of the Spring Mill the economy of Roaring
Spring had undergone dramatic growth and diversification. By the turn of the century the
economic foundation of the area had evolved from self-sufficient agriculture to the
manufacturing of paper and paper products. In fact this change was so complete that in
the town of Roaring Spring the number of farmers enumerated in the census had dropped
to only two persons. However, the decline in farming was more than compensated for
by growth in all other areas of employment and increased diversification in occupations.

The economy of the town had grown considerably since 1860 and in 1900
provided employment for nearly three hundred more persons than in 1860. This growth
was largely due to the development of the paper industry, which alone required more
workers than the entire 1860 economy. A large portion of these workers would have
been unskilled workers and account for the over 300 percent growth in this category since
1860. There was also great growth in the other occupations as well; the number of skilled

---

103 The surrounding area around the town of Roaring Spring was still heavily dependent on farming in 1900
as it is still today. However, within the town’s boundaries farming underwent a steep decline. U.S. Bureau
of Census, 12th Census, 1900: Pennsylvania
104 Five hundred and thirty-one persons were employed in 1900 while two hundred and fifty-eight were
Census, 1860: Pennsylvania
105 Two hundred and eighty-eight persons were certainly employed by the D. M. Bare Paper Company and
the Blank Book Paper Company. Two hundred and fifty-eight persons were employed in the entire
workers grew almost 400 percent and the merchants/professionals grew by nearly 700 percent.\textsuperscript{106}

Table 7. Change in Employment from 1860 to 1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number 1860</th>
<th>Number 1900</th>
<th>Percentage Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled Workers</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>307%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Workers</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>390%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchant/Professionals</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>690%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1900 Federal Census of Roaring Spring, 1860 Federal Census of Roaring Spring

The development of the paper industry had both direct and indirect effects on the expansion of the local economy. First, it directly spurred growth by providing an increased number of jobs. The number of Roaring Spring residents employed in the paper industry continued to grow as the two factories increased capacity and production. By the early twentieth century the number of people employed at the Spring Mill had reached one hundred and ninety men and twenty women while Blank Book employed over two hundred persons, half of whom were women.\textsuperscript{107} The importance of the two paper companies can be demonstrated by the fact that they accounted for over 50 percent of the employment in the town in 1900.\textsuperscript{108} This large workforce, settled largely in Roaring

\textsuperscript{106} The number of skilled workers increased from eighteen to seventy, an increase of 390 percent and the number of merchants/professional grew from eight to fifty-five, an increase of 690 percent. See Table 7. U.S. Bureau of Census, 12\textsuperscript{th} Census, 1900: Pennsylvania; U.S. Census Bureau, 8\textsuperscript{th} Census, 1860: Pennsylvania.

\textsuperscript{107} These statistics are from 1909 and would have been slightly lower for 1900. Sell, 433-434.

\textsuperscript{108} 288 of 531, or 54 percent, of persons listed as either specifically working at one of the two paper companies or as a “day laborer.” A great majority, if not all of the persons listed as “day laborer” must have
Spring itself, indirectly stimulated growth by requiring a greater number of businesses and trades to supply its needs, which resulted in an increase in commercial interests and skilled labor.

As the population moved from self-sufficient farms, which produced the majority of needed items, and into the town and its industries the need arose for merchants to supply goods such as food, clothing and entertainment. In 1860 the only commercial business in the area was a small general store that later served as the D. M. Bare and Company Store.\textsuperscript{109} As the town grew and its needs increased so did the number and diversity of its business establishments. By 1900 there existed, in addition to Bare's general store, a grocery store, a hardware store, an ice cream parlor, a drugstore, a furniture store and a hotel. Within the next five years the Roaring Spring Bank, the town's first newspaper and printing company the Roaring Spring Review, and the Eldon Inn were all founded.\textsuperscript{110} The number of establishments and their variety illustrate the growing economy and the increased diversity since 1860. The isolated, agriculture community of 1860 created little demand for such businesses and would have been hard-pressed to support them. The development of such establishments required a population that was not overly self-sufficient and thus required their services. This requirement was met in expansion of the industrial workforce, which provided the means and demand for the businesses to develop.

The paper industry dominated the Roaring Spring area, but it was not the sole industry of importance in the town. The other industries did not employ hundreds of

\textsuperscript{109} The general store was included when Bare purchases the Spang's Mill property in 1863. Bare, 70.
\textsuperscript{110} 75\textsuperscript{th} Anniversary History, 64, 68, 84, 86; U.S. Bureau of Census, 12\textsuperscript{th} Census, 1900: Pennsylvania
persons, as did the D. M. Bare Paper Company or the Roaring Spring Blank Book Company, but still played an important role in the town through the services they provided. The presence of the Spring Mill and the Blank Book factory allowed Roaring Spring to acquire certain modern conveniences before other towns in the area of its size. As with the other industries in the town, D. M. Bare played a critical role in their development.

The Roaring Spring Planing Mill was founded in 1887 with the intention that it would provide the lumber and the skilled carpenters to physically construct the buildings of Roaring Spring. To this end the company was largely successful, and Bare declares that the "Planing Mill Company has built nearly all the buildings in Roaring Spring and many outside of the town." The Planing Mill provided the town with professionally built houses and most of the residents must have taken advantage of this opportunity. Its presence provided employment for a number of skilled carpenters and accounts for the dramatic growth in the number of persons working in this profession. The D. M. Bare Company was a founding partner and throughout the company’s existence owned a considerable interest in the Planing Mill.

Roaring Spring was first provided with electricity in 1892, an early date for a town of its size and location. In this year Dr. A. L. Garver, general manager of the Blank Book company, and Bare’s son-in-law, made the decision to install electric lights in the Blank Book factory to extend working hours. Upon Garver’s orders the equipment

---

111 Bare, 115-116.
112 Twenty-one carpenters were enumerated in the 1900 Census of Roaring Spring compared to only nine in the 1860 Census of Taylor Township. U.S. Bureau of Census, 12th Census, 1900: Pennsylvania; U.S Bureau of Census, 8th Census, 1860: Pennsylvania.
113 The D. M. Bare Company originally owned a quarter of the company, but then in 1897 bought the entire company at a public sale. D. M. Bare then divided the interest evenly with D. R. Wike, and later Bare’s son-in-law became the owner of a third of the company. Bare, 115.
installed was able to produce a greater amount of power than was needed by the factory. This excess electricity was then sold to the public, first through the Roaring Spring Blank Book Company; later the Roaring Spring Light, Heat and Power Company was established.\textsuperscript{114} Power was provided twenty-four hours a day and would have allowed the citizens of the town to enjoy electrically lighted streets and homes, and any of the new conveniences that were for sale in the town’s various stores. The exhaust steam from the electrical generators was also used to heat a number of residences and businesses located near the factory.\textsuperscript{115}

Roaring Spring also received telephone service at an early date. In 1880 the D. M. Bare Paper Company subsidized the Altoona Telephone Company to extend service to the Spring Mill. In 1895 another telephone company, the United Telephone and Telegraph Company, extended service to the Roaring Spring area. Certainly not every house had a telephone but service was available and by 1920 there were one hundred and ten subscribers in the town. In 1904 the United Telephone and Telegraph Company combined service with the Morrison Cove Telephone Company, and Roaring Spring became connected with the rest of the valley in which it sets.\textsuperscript{116} Telephone service connected the town to the political and economic happenings of Altoona and Hollidaysburg and further eliminated the isolation of the area.

Besides electric light and telephone service, Roaring Spring also enjoyed another amenity before other communities in the area. Running water was pumped from two local streams by a system of pipes into the houses of the town as early as 1893. As the town and demand for running water grew a reservoir was constructed on the personal property

\textsuperscript{114} The Roaring Spring Light, Heat and Power Company was organized in 1917. Ibid, 124-125.
\textsuperscript{115} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid, 204.
of D. M. Bare. To further prevent water scarcity, a pump in Blank Book continuously filled the reservoir via a pipeline that was run from the Spring Dam to the reservoir.  

There were a number of other institutions that served the Roaring Spring of 1900 that were not present in 1860. Nason Hospital was founded in 1896, by Dr. Albert Nason, as a private sanitarium. In 1900 it was rechartered as a charitable hospital and a nurses' training school. The hospital served the needs of area largely through considerable donations by D. M. Bare and was responsible to a larger area since the nearest hospital was located in Altoona. A town board of health was established in 1893 to maintain state health regulations and Dr. A. L. Garver served multiple terms as its president. In 1885 Bare donated several acres to the Roaring Spring School Board for the establishment of a public park with the "intent of the grantor in making this conveyance being to give the people of the Borough of Roaring Spring a pleasant place for recreation and rest and to provide a place for the children to play."  

These industries did not require great numbers of workers, but they provided important services to the town that were not and could not have been provided in 1860. They also demonstrate that the increased economic diversity. It is true that both eras were dominated by a single industry, agriculture in 1860 and paper in 1900, but in 1900 there existed a considerable number of other businesses and industries of importance. There were also other changes occurring during the four decades of growth from 1860 to 1900.

---

117 The Spring Dam is a naturally occurring spring that produces eight million gallons of water per day. Ibid, 97-99.  
118 Bare provided funds for the construction of an isolation building and purchased a house and lot for the Nurses’ Home. His daughter, Mrs. E. G. Bobb was the longtime president of the Ladies’ Hospital Association which coordinated donation drives. Ibid, 176-177.  
120 Bare had previously decided to survey lots on this land as it lies directly behind some of the grandest houses in the town but changed his mind and decided to preserve the “Sugar Grove” for a park. Ibid, 182-183.
The number of women engaged in some type of wage work grew tremendously. Of the 531 persons employed in some manner in 1900, 137 or 26 percent of them were female. In 1860 there were only 16 women enumerated with occupations. The nature of work done by women had also changed. In 1860 every woman listed with an occupation performed some extension of her normal household duties. Each worked as a domestic, seamstress, or washerwoman. Women still worked in these occupations in 1900, but the majority of women now worked as unskilled laborers in either the Spring Mill or Blank Book factory. Nearly half of the workers employed by the Roaring Spring Blank Book factory were female in 1909. These numbers are slightly higher than those found in the 1900 Census of Roaring Spring but also come from a decade later. Women also filled other roles. In 1860 every schoolteacher in the township was a male, but in 1900 two-thirds were female. Another distinctly female occupation available was as a nurse in Nason Hospital. In total, by 1900 women found work in seventeen different occupations and one even owned and operated a business, an ice cream parlor.

---

122 See Table 7.
123 Sell, 433-434.
124 Four of six teachers were female in 1900. In 1860 all three teachers were male. 1900: Pennsylvania; U. S. Bureau of Census, 8th Census, 1860: Pennsylvania.
125 See Table 7.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage of Employed Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified Laborer</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specified Blank Book</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seamstress</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specified Spring Mill</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurse</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milliner</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musician</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boarding House/Hotel Keeper</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales Lady</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ice Cream Parlor Keeper</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Post-master</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typewriter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typesetter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookkeeper</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>137</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1900 Federal Census of Roaring Spring
Changes in the nature of work also occurred. Work as a farmer or farmhand was determined by the season, the weather and the particular jobs that had to be completed that day. There was no official starting or ending time, and little work done after sunset. It was not uncommon for the farm laborers to both work and live with their employers and many even ate meals at the same table. However, by 1900 the average worker no longer worked on the farm alongside his employer. Now he or she most likely worked for the D. M. Bare Paper Company or the Roaring Spring Blank Book Company alongside other working class persons like themselves. Machines, not the season or the weather, now dictated the speed and type of work for many of the persons employed in the paper factories. The majority of the workers were unskilled and earned their pay tending the three great paper machines in the Spring Mill or the binding machines of Blank Book.\textsuperscript{126} Work was also now organized by the clock, with strict starting and ending times. Work was also no longer limited by the length of the day. The Spring Mill began twenty-four hour operation in soon after production started in 1866 and the generators that produced the town's electricity were primarily installed to allow work to continue during a second shift at the Blank Book Company.\textsuperscript{127}

The economic development of the paper industry and the growth of Roaring Spring also resulted in a significantly changed community. No longer were persons isolated by choice and by the nature of self-sufficient farming. They now lived in houses clustered together along the streets of the town and largely worked together in one of the two paper industries. Their houses were built by professional carpenters, lit by electricity,

\textsuperscript{126} The majority of persons who indicated specifically that they worked in the Sprig Mill listed their occupation as "machine tender" or "machinist." Employees at the Roaring Spring Blank Book recorded their occupation as "book binder" or "book maker." In both cases the work would have involved tending machines.
\textsuperscript{127} Sell, 432.
heated by steam, and had running water. Telephone service connected the residents of Roaring Spring to others throughout Morrison Cove and to the larger towns of the county. Instead of growing the family’s food and spinning its clothes, persons would now shop at the grocery and general store. For the adventurous, a train could take them to Hollidaysburg or Altoona. Such a lifestyle would have been unimaginable on the scattered farms of 1860.

Neighbors and friends now saw each other daily and not just on a few special occasions as in 1860. In the pre-industrial era, the general store and the church served as the almost exclusive locations where people could gather, and then only occasionally as need or distance allowed. But by 1900, there existed several public and private places for socializing. The Barley Hotel and the ice cream parlor were private establishments where persons could gather, gossip and spread news. Later the Eldon Inn provided a more formal setting for socializing and the public park was open to all for activities. These places provided opportunities for residents to relax and find entertainment outside of the house.

The distinctly German culture of the area disappeared as time progressed. In the town and county histories it receives no further mention after the coming of Bare to the area. Certainly by 1900 only faint traces of the culture could have remained, at least in the Roaring Spring area. In the schools only English was taught, and each generation must have become more assimilated and Americanized. Bare does touch on the subject and says the “children gradually become more English” through schooling.\footnote{Bare, 26.} Also, the number of persons of German birth in the area dropped significantly; in 1900 there was
only one person living in the town who was born in Germany. As the available farmland gradually disappeared, the migration of German persons from the eastern counties diminished. The isolation of the family farm eventually gave way to the industrial and commercial development of the area and the residents came increasingly in contact with one another and with different ideas. The new circumstances that arose with these developments were not conducive to the preservation of the Pennsylvania Dutch culture.

The culture and community experienced great change in the four decades since 1860 but the demographic characteristics remained constant. Indeed, the Roaring Spring of 1900 was even more homogenous than Taylor Township of 1860. Just as in 1860, but even more so in 1900, the population can be accurately described white, native born and Protestant. The population was still entirely white and the number of foreign born had dropped to only four persons. The small number of immigrants, only four persons, do not warrant detailed examination.

---

129 U.S. Bureau of Census, 12th Census, 1900: Pennsylvania
130 There were two persons born in England, and one person born in both Scotland and Germany. U.S. Bureau of Census, 12th Census, 1900: Pennsylvania
Protestantism was another dominating characteristic of Roaring Spring in 1900. A quick look at the churches present in the town at the turn of the century confirms this; each was a Protestant denomination. As the town and its population grew the denominations were able to build formal churches to worship in. The days of meeting in individual members' homes or the schoolhouses disappeared as the congregations grew in number and found the financial means to erect churches. The distance from home to church was greatly diminished as both the churches and their members moved into the town, and this allowed greater and more regular attendance. With the establishment of formal church buildings in Roaring Spring also came the preachers with full-time responsibility to an individual church.

131 The churches present in Roaring Spring in 1900 were the Church of God, The Methodist Episcopal Church, St. Luke's Evangelical Lutheran Church, The Christ Reformed Church, The Roaring Spring Church of the Brethren, and the Mennonite Church. Bare, 131-165.
132 Bare discusses each church present in 1900. See Table 9. Ibid.
133 Ibid.
Table 10. Churches of Roaring Spring 1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Year of First Church Construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. Luke's Evangelical Lutheran Church</td>
<td>1856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Methodist Episcopal Church</td>
<td>1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of God</td>
<td>1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mennonite Church</td>
<td>1898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Christ Reformed Church</td>
<td>1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Roaring Spring Church of the Brethren</td>
<td>1910</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The nuclear family remained the central social unit, but did not maintain the all-encompassing role that it played in earlier times. First work was no longer a family affair that took place in and around the home. Father and son no longer toiled in the fields while mother and daughter kept house. Now, regardless of sex, the family members likely worked in the paper industry, and not necessarily together. This led to an increase in the number of friendships and acquaintances outside the nuclear family and also resulted in the family members spending less time together. Work became a time to be away from the family and a time to be among coworkers. The nuclear family was no longer the almost exclusive source of contact with other persons.

Secondly, there was a marked growth in the number of young, single, and unrelated persons who lived as boarders in the homes of others. In 1860, the only single persons who lived outside of the home of their nuclear family were the domestics who
lived and worked in the houses of their employer.\textsuperscript{134} By 1900, there were fifty-three single persons who lived as boarders in the home of non-family members. These persons were all single, and usually young men who worked in the paper industry. The higher wages paid by the paper industry attracted laborers who had previously worked on the surrounding farms and after the establishment of the paper industry there is a noted shortage in the availability of farm laborers.\textsuperscript{135} The exceptions to this rule were the women who worked as domestics and continued to work and live in the homes of their employers and the nurses, and staff of Nason Hospital who lived in the nurse’s house.\textsuperscript{136}

These young men would have been drawn from their family home to Roaring Spring by the opportunity to work in the Spring Mill or Blank Book factory. They came by themselves and found lodging in the homes of local families. Every male boarder enumerated as a laborer lived with a family with at least one family member who also worked as laborers; taken a step further this means that no non-working class family had boarders living with them who were not domestics.\textsuperscript{137} Families had an economic incentive to take in boarders since they would have provided extra income for the household.

At the same time, the number of extended family members living within the home of relatives decreased.\textsuperscript{138} Under the old agricultural societal structure, it would not have been uncommon for extended family members, even entire families or in-laws in some cases, to live and work on the farms of their relatives. Often times a single family could

\textsuperscript{134} U.S. Bureau of Census, 8th Census, 1860: Pennsylvania
\textsuperscript{135} Sell, 139.
\textsuperscript{136} There were twenty women listed as boarders. Of this twenty, nine worked as nurses or staff in Nason Hospital, and the remaining eleven were employed as domestics. U.S. Bureau of Census, 12\textsuperscript{th} Census, 1900: Pennsylvania
\textsuperscript{137} Twenty-seven of the thirty-three males listed as boarders were enumerated as laborers. Ibid.
\textsuperscript{138} Ibid.
not maintain a farm by itself, and the presence of extended family provided extra workers and lessened the need for farm laborers. But as the workforce moved into the factories and off the farm, it was no longer practical for such a large number of extended family members to live with relatives, as they could no longer provide for them. In the cases where there was extended family present, it was now often younger cousins or nieces and nephews who worked either for the D. M. Bare Paper Company of the Roaring Spring Blank Book Company.¹³⁹

Thirdly, the nuclear family was altered because it was no longer the exclusive source of entertainment and socializing. As discussed before, there were now a number of locations whose primary function was to provide a place and atmosphere for socializing. The fact that families were now living much closer together allowed greater opportunities to frequent these establishments and also for personal visits to one another’s homes. As the community grew there also developed a number of fraternal orders that provided opportunity for social gathering and a growing conscious of community. By 1900 there existed within the town a chapter of the Grand Army of the Republic, a chapter of the Sons of Veterans, two lodges of the International Order of Odd Fellows, a women’s auxiliary of the International Order of Odd Fellows, an order of the Free and Accepted Masons.¹⁴⁰ These organizations had fairly sizeable memberships, and involvement within the fraternal orders must have been an option for the majority of the community.

Leadership positions within at least some of the orders were open to many; the Odd Fellows had a carpenter, a blacksmith, and a house painter as Grand Noble in three

¹³⁹ U.S. Bureau of Census, 12th Census, 1900: Pennsylvania
¹⁴⁰ Bare, 212-215.
consecutive years and the officers in the G. A. R. have similar backgrounds. These organizations provided services to the community, such as caring for widows and orphans, and as another opportunity for fraternizing.

As Roaring Spring grew economically the egalitarian nature of the community present in 1860 began to disappear. Many of the families that lived in the town still would have lived similar lives, working in the paper industry and sharing comparable economic situations, but a few families enjoyed a lifestyle different from that of the average citizen. These families were the relatives of D. M. Bare, the few professionals living in the town and the other business owners. The families of these men lived in three distinct clusters within the town. D. M. Bare, his sons-in-laws, and a few professionals erected grand houses next to each other on a section of Spang Street that sat next to the Spring Dam. The houses they built are the largest and grandest in the borough still today. When these houses were built they would have sat in an area of the town that was not yet developed, but that set close to the business district and were among the residences furtherest from the Spring Mill. There were no laborers living in this section of Spang Street.

The next cluster of the economically advantaged was on Park Avenue, which sat directly in front of the public park. Bare describes these houses as “dwellings which have

---

141 In 1882 the International Order of Odd Fellows had 124 members, over an eighth of the entire population of the entire town. In the same year the G. A. R. had 50 members. By 1920 the one Odd Fellows order had 152 members and the other order 55, the G.A.R. 126, the Free and Associated Masons 144, the women’s auxiliary of the Odd Fellows 65 and the Sons of Veterans 49. Such large memberships in a town the size of Roaring Spring must mean that membership within the fraternal orders must have been open to a large portion of the residents. Bare, 212-214; Africa, 227; U.S. Bureau of Census, 9th Census, 1870: Pennsylvania, U.S. Bureau of Census, 12th Census, 1900: Pennsylvania

142 The persons who lived in this section were D. M. Bare and his two of his sons-in-law, Dr. A. L. Garver and E. G. Bobb, general managers of the Roaring Spring Blank Book Company and the D. M. Bare Paper Company respectively. D. S. Brumbaugh, the only attorney in the town, M. G. Glenn a prominent preacher, and H. B. Lawrence, Justice of the Peace. U.S. Bureau of Census, 12th Census, 1900: Pennsylvania
been the pride of the town. This area was not as exclusive, as it included skilled and lower-level white-collar workers, and was closer to working-class neighborhoods and the Spring Mill. Among those who lived on this street were Dr. Nason, founder of Nason Hospital, James Bobb, a foreman for the D. M. Bare Paper Company and a few skilled and white-collar workers. There were no unskilled-worker households on Park Avenue. The last and smallest cluster was found near the business district and was largely occupied by business owners and the remainder of the professionals. These houses, like the others, were substantial and built of brick. This was the least exclusive district of the non-working-class neighborhoods and included a number of working-class families because of the location near the Spring Mill and Blank Book factory. However, there is a distinct line of houses that on East Main where these individuals lived.

The majority of women who worked as domestics or servants were found in these three districts. All but three domestics found employment on Spang Street, Park Avenue or East Main. It is not possible to trace each domestic to the household where they worked, but of those for whom it is possible, none performed the household duties for a working-class family.

The remainder of the town was overwhelmingly working-class neighborhoods. These areas, Locust Street, Cherry Street, and Poplar Street, along with sections of Main and East Main, were close to the Spring Mill and the Blank Book factory and were

---

143 Bare, 182.
144 Occupations of persons living on Park Avenue besides Nason and Bobb were: Carpenter, agent for the Pennsylvania Railroad, merchant, dry goods salesman, salesmen, huckster, clerk, minister and bookkeeper.
145 The eclectic nature of occupations found on this street making listing all the occupations inconsequential, but among the prosperous in this cluster were two Spring Mill foremen, a manager in the Blank Book factory, a repair boss for the Pennsylvania Railroad, the owners of the ice cream parlor, livery store, undertaking business, furniture business and grocery store. U.S. Bureau of Census, 12th Census, 1900: Pennsylvania
146 Ibid.
composed mostly of the laborers who worked there. Mixed in along these streets were also the households of the majority of the skilled tradesmen.\textsuperscript{147} Not one house on Locust Street was occupied by a family not reliant on skilled or unskilled labor, while on Cherry there were only four non-working-class households, and only three non-working-class families lived on Poplar Street.\textsuperscript{148}

Since a large number of these houses still stand in town it is possible to compare them to the houses that the more wealthy, non-working class lived in. These houses are noticeably different is the size and construction material. Working class neighborhoods were filled with houses that while smaller than the grand, brick houses of Spang, Park and East Main, were not diminutive. They were almost all two-story, wooden structures that were less ornate but not plain. They were not ramshackle but well built by the professional carpenters of the Planing Mill. Often times many of the working class homes shared a similar design with the surrounding houses, while the houses of the more wealthy are all distinct from the houses that surround them. The workers of the D. M. Bare Paper Company and the Roaring Spring Blank Company did not live in squalor and slums but in well-built houses that, while easily distinguishable and separate from the wealthier families, were adequate.

Examining the ratio of home ownership between the more affluent areas and the working-class neighborhoods gives further evidence of a stratified community. A much greater percentage of those who lived in the prosperous areas of Spang, Park, and East Main Street owned their homes than among the other sections of town. Of the twenty-four households located in these areas, twenty-two were owned by the occupants. This 92

\textsuperscript{147} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{148} Ibid.
percent homeownership cannot be matched by the working-class neighborhoods, as only 46 percent of these households owned the home in which they lived in. The ability of those who lived in the more affluent sections of Spang, Park and East Main Streets to own their own houses, which were larger and more ornate than other houses in the town, is another illustration of the emerging difference between the working class and the local elites.

Table 11. Homeownership Among Spang, Park, East Main Street Residents, 1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Own</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source 1900 Federal Census of Roaring Spring

Table 12. Homeownership Working Class Neighborhoods, 1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Own</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source 1900 Federal Census of Roaring Spring

---

149 See Tables 10 and 11. U.S. Bureau of Census, 12th Census, 1900: Pennsylvania
Roaring Spring had undergone considerable change since 1860. At the turn of the century the town was an industrial community reliant on the success of the D. M. Bare Paper Company and the Roaring Spring Blank Book Company for continued existence. Over half of the working population found employment in these two factories, while the rest of the economy was dependent on the various material needs of the workers. Agriculture was still important in the surrounding countryside but had declined remarkably inside the town. All classifications of workers experienced great growth in numbers and women were now an important part of the workforce outside of their traditional domestic roles.

The social construction of the town had become increasingly stratified with the advent of industry. The families that owned or managed these new industries, along with the small professional class of lawyers and doctors, formed a local elite that built impressive houses and formed exclusive neighborhoods. The majority of citizens lived in the larger working districts, and worked under the supervision or relied on the services of those who lived in the other sections of town.

The role nuclear family changed as it fulfilled fewer roles in the daily life of the citizenry. Family members no longer spent their time exclusively in each other’s company. They now worked and socialized outside of the household. Many businesses and public spaces along with the fraternal organizations provided entertainment and social opportunities with other community members. There was also the addition of
unrelated boarders to a considerable number of working-class families. These boarders likely had no family living in the area and had to adapt to homes they lived in.
CONCLUSION

This study has examined the economic and social consequences that resulted from the growth of the paper industry in the Spang's Mill area. It has attempted to demonstrate that the outcome was the transformation from an agricultural, rather egalitarian, community into the industrial, and more socially stratified town of Roaring Spring. The process of change commenced with the coming of the D. M. Bare and his entrepreneurial vision and was completed by the beginning of the twentieth century.

In 1860 the workforce was overwhelmingly composed of farmers and their farm laborers. Self-sufficient farms dominated the economy. Society was structured around the farm; the nuclear family lived and worked together, and beside their hired labor. The majority of people lived similar lives; the relative advantage in wealth of the farmers afforded them little extra luxury. Each day the farmers toiled with the laborers in the field, ate their meals with their hired hands, and all enjoyed the same entertainments. The egalitarian nature of the community also applied to politics. The elected supervisors of the township were invariably farmers, but not the wealthiest individuals, and the average wealth of the elected persons was below the 1860 average for farmers. Through 1860 the traditional Pennsylvania Dutch lifestyle was maintained. Pennsylvania Dutch was the primary language of most residents, and the community gathered to celebrate the traditional religious, and seasonal holidays.
By the turn of the century, the economy and society had undergone dramatic changes. The majority of the workforce now tended the machines of the paper industry and lived in their own sections of Roaring Spring. The economy was also larger and more diversified in 1900. The paper industry alone supported more families than the entire economy of 1860, and the number of occupational fields more than doubled. The culture had become Americanized as the isolation of the family farm gave way to town living, and the new generation was educated in public schools. English replaced Pennsylvania Dutch as the language of choice for many, and the tradition of gathering for seasonal agricultural events disappeared as farming diminished in importance and numbers. The catalyst for both the economic and social change was the paper industry. It turned the agricultural laborers into an industrial workforce and attracted people from the surrounding countryside to the town of Roaring Spring.

Bare's calculated venture of investing in a paper mill in 1865 grew into a small industrial empire. The D. M. Bare Paper Company and the Roaring Spring Blank Book Company provided the impetus for much of the growth of Roaring Spring, as they provided work for over half of the town's labor. As a controlling partner in both industries, and a significant portion of the other businesses in the town, Bare oversaw the economic growth and change of Roaring Spring. Bare also directed the social growth of the town. He contributed generous amounts of money to the maintenance of Nason Hospital and for the construction of the Eldon Inn, he donated the land on which the public park was created, and influenced the formation of neighborhoods by surveying lots in the town. Roaring Spring looked to him as its founder and leader and even offered to the honor of naming the borough Baretown, a distinction that Bare declined.
The development of Roaring Spring between 1860 and 1900 reflects the national trends of industrialization, urbanization, and stratification. The changes that Roaring Spring underwent were taking place all over the nation and each newly emerged industrial town has its tale of development. This case study has told the story of one such town and hopefully in doing so has contributed a piece to the greater understanding of our nation's history.
Works Consulted


U. S. Bureau of Census Manuscript Schedules, 8\textsuperscript{th} Census 1860; Pennsylvania.

U. S. Bureau of Census Manuscript Schedules, 12\textsuperscript{th} Census 1900; Pennsylvania.


