

# UPPER OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW



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### UPPER OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW

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THE COVER: The Incline to Mozart Park in 1899 from the W.J.B. Gwinn Collection. The Incline operated from 1893 to 1907. Mozart Park was a recreational area which resulted from the philanthropy of Henry Schmulbach.

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#### TABLE OF CONTENTS

PRINTING AND CULTURE IN EARLY WHEELING  
Doug Fetherling . . . . . 2

MOZART PARK AND THE INCLINE  
Montana X. Menard and Robert A. Lowe. . . . . 10

ETHNICITY IN WHEELING  
James Forrester, Professor of Political Science . . . . . 17

BOOK REVIEWS:  
THE WHEELING AREA: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY  
by Kenneth R. Nodyne and Dennis E. Lawther.  
Reviewed by Rev. Clifford M. Lewis, S.J. . . . . 24

REDCOATS, REDSKINS, AND RED-EYED MONSTERS  
WEST VIRGINIA: ITS HISTORY AND ITS PEOPLE  
by E. Lee North.  
Reviewed by Paul D. Casdorff. . . . . 29

T.H. Breen and Stephen Innes, "MYNE OWNE GROUND" RACE  
AND FREEDOM ON VIRGINIA'S EASTERN SHORE, 1640-1676  
Reviewed by P. Bradley Nutting. . . . . 30

CONTRIBUTORS . . . . . 32

## PRINTING AND CULTURE IN EARLY WHEELING

by

Doug Fetherling

"I awoke one morning and found myself famous."<sup>1</sup> That sentence (now a familiar quotation) was written by Lord Byron in a letter to his publisher in 1812. What prompted it was the enthusiastic reception given his new book, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. Informed that the work was selling well even in the wilderness of America, Byron continued: "These are the first tidings that ever sounded like *Fame* to me — to be redde [sic] on the banks of the Ohio!"<sup>2</sup>

In actual fact, though, Byron need not have been so surprised.<sup>3</sup> The Ohio Valley frontier of the time was reasonably well acquainted with new and accepted literature from Europe and from the larger American centers in the East. In abstract terms, one might say this was because the very presence of the physical frontier has often carried with it an appreciation of the artistic frontiers, the avant-garde having often been found in the West, wherever the West happened to be at any given moment. But in a narrower and more down-to-earth way, the residents of the northern Ohio Valley owed their familiarity with books and ideas to a small handful of frontier printers and booksellers, a group who were active in Wheeling long before it became a city in 1836.

It is reasonable to assume that Wheeling's first printer was Alexander Armstrong, who launched a publication called *The Wheeling Repository* in 1808. As one writer in this review has pointed out, the *Repository* "was more of a literary magazine than a newspaper," in its format as well as its content.<sup>4</sup> But that was typical then and for long afterward of the Ohio and Mississippi regions, which were full of small indigenous journals devoted largely to verse, fiction and essays by local amateurs. Their character reflected the fact that printing businesses generally consisted only of the proprietor himself and perhaps a few apprentices. But then their size was in harmony with the market for their periodicals, and printers found it necessary to supplement their income with whatever related work they could find.

Even without tangible proof that survives, it would still be natural to conclude, based on what is known about other cities in the same period, that early Wheeling printers were stationers, job printers and booksellers as well. In Wheeling and elsewhere, some were certainly book publishers, too, if only by virtue of the way they occasionally produced spelling books, almanacs, directories, hymnals and herbals: staples which could be counted on to sell steadily from year to year. In fact, the crafty frontier printer was one who could find a single book to support him through the years. The most famous example in the upper valley is that of Zadok Cramer, a Quaker printer and bookseller of Pittsburgh who, for a dozen years starting in 1801, published *The Navigator*, a boatman's guide to the Ohio River.

No Wheeling printer seems to have enjoyed the same kind of entrepreneurial success as Cramer, but it is clear that printing and bookselling in the retail sense, which soon started to become separate functions, enjoyed prosperity in the area. In 1830, a Scottish traveller named James Stuart would note about Wheeling in his journal: "There are several very handsome book-stores, but the hotel kept by Denniston is by no means a good one."<sup>5</sup> The booksellers would occasionally take out advertisements in the local papers to announce newly arrived shipments. Extrapolating from these and from the situation in other similar centers at the time, one concludes that area residents were reading what other educated people in the English-speaking world were reading.

In visiting the bookshops, Stuart probably saw political books, including biographies of the founding fathers; practical, how-to manuals, such as those containing stock architectural plans; the classics of English literature including Swift, Addison, "Junius" and Lord Chesterfield's *Letters*; the new literature typified by Southey's *Remains of H.K. White* and Motley's *Dutch Republic*; and, of course, devotional works running the gamut from the perennial *Foxe's Book of Martyrs* to the most recent Bible commentary or dissenting tract. In fact, religious controversy was so much a part of the society at the time that it is altogether fitting that many Wheeling printers and booksellers sprang, directly or otherwise, from the prevailing atmosphere of ecclesiastical discussion.

The decade 1820-1830 seems to have been the watershed in this regard: a time when religious printing fed secular printing and both prospered in tandem. In 1822, for instance, a newspaper entitled the *Virginia North Western Gazette* began, using equipment from some defunct earlier local newspaper. The *Gazette* came closer to being what is thought of as a newspaper rather than a magazine. The following year, Alexander Campbell commenced his religious printing at Buffaloe or Buffaloe Creek, as Bethany was called until 1827. His arrival was in many ways the key development in the story of the local printing trades, for not only did he print an enormous volume of his debates, tracts, sermons and periodicals, he also, and perhaps inadvertently, spurred much activity in the more worldly sector.

Among Christian historians, Campbell is known primarily as the founder of what was commonly called the Campbellite sect and is now the Church of Christ. In that connection, his name engendered controversy long after his death. Locally he may be best remembered as the founder of Bethany College. But such was his broader renown that as late as 1890 national publishers could bring out a work, by an Iowa minister named T. McK. Stuart, entitled *Errors of Campbellism, Being a Review of All the Fundamental Errors of the System of Faith and Church Policy of the Denomination Founded by Alexander Campbell*.<sup>6</sup> In our own day, the controversy has faded and Campbell has receded, in more general historical circles, to little more than a footnote regarding his 1829 debates with Robert Owen, the communalist who established New Harmony,

the famous utopian colony in Indiana. But in *his day*, Campbell was indeed a figure to contend with, one of the generation of builders who influenced everything he touched, which in this case extended to printing and publishing. Indirectly, he even has a place in the broad history of American literature, primarily through his connection with the remarkable Howells family.

The first of the family to come to the New World was one Thomas Howells, a Welshman who arrived in time to have actually met George Washington and who settled in what were often vaguely called the "western lands." Howells was a "Friend by conviction" — that is, a convert to the Quaker faith — and he passed the affiliation along to his son, Joseph Howells, who worked variously in the mills of Short Creek, Steubenville, and Mt. Pleasant, Ohio. Later Joseph Howells farmed in Mingo Bottom and later still was a wool grader in Wheeling, where his premature anti-slavery sentiments made him unpopular. His final years were spent operating a combination drug store and book shop (not an uncommon coupling at the time) in Hamilton, Ohio. This is significant because it is apparently what led the later Howellses to follow the printing and publishing life.

In 1828, Joseph's son, William Cooper Howells, went to work briefly as a typesetter on one of the Wheeling newspapers before beginning an equally brief association with Campbell. He helped set up the monthly issues of *The Christian Baptist* and also helped set type for the transcripts of the Owen-Campbell debates. Unfortunately, we do not have a very complete picture of Campbell's "little country printing office." However, it was obviously modern and large, judging by the fact that 46,000 copies of books, pamphlets and the like were produced there between 1823 and 1830, when *The Christian Baptist* was succeeded by Campbell's second magazine, the larger and more famous *Millennial Harbinger*, which ran till four years after Campbell's death in 1866.

One of the most colorful surviving anecdotes about the place was perpetuated by none other than Mark Twain. When a printer's apprentice in his native Hannibal, Missouri, Twain (or Samuel Clemens, as he then was) trained alongside another man named Wales McCormick, who remained a lifelong friend. Earlier in his own career, McCormick had worked under Campbell. He liked to tell how, when setting a sermon up in type, he had, for convenience sake, abbreviated "Jesus Christ" as, simply, "J.C." Campbell was furious and made McCormick remake three pages of laboriously set type. McCormick complied, but in the new version gave Him a middle initial, "H."

In the recollections that have been preserved, Howells was a curious figure, a strange combination of the entrepreneurial and the visionary. The fact that he admired Robert Owen's anti-clericalism would have made him feel constrained in working for Campbell. Perhaps for this reason, he soon left Campbell's employ and returned to Wheeling where he began a monthly magazine aimed primarily at women and called *The Gleaner*.

It was typical of the day in its scope and intent. Also typically, it lasted less than a year. Undeterred, Howells began another Wheeling publication, *The Eclectic Observer and Workingman's Advocate*, which he largely wrote himself. As the title would suggest, it was more concerned with social issues than with the gentilities that had occupied its predecessor. This interest in turn led Howells to attempt making a profit from the religious and social ideas then so hotly contested.

In this period, a new ingredient in regional publishing was becoming obvious. It was common, and would become commoner still, for regional printers to do their own editions of some national or international book for local sale. In Europe the tradition was as old as printing itself; its revival in the new world was aided by the laxity of the copyright laws. In 1840, for example, a Wheeling printer, William Wilson, brought out his own edition of *The Trial and Triumph of Faith*, a collection of sermons by a Scottish divine named Samuel Rutherford which had already been published many times elsewhere; the Wilson edition carried endorsements by various Wheeling area clergymen. The *new* twist, and one that would give rise in ensuing years to an entire regional literature, was the printing of original works by local authors, of which there seemed to be no shortage.

This was the era, for instance, when books such as Withers' *Chronicles of Border Warfare* (Clarksburg, 1831) appeared, and when Cincinnati was one of the great publishing centers of the country. It was an era, also, when a St. Clairsville man had already celebrated events in Europe by writing an epic poem on Napoleon in the style of the Aeneid, and when local historians and fiction writers were springing up all over the Ohio River drainage.<sup>9</sup> In this atmosphere it occurred to Howells to make his fortune by becoming a bookseller. The manuscript he chose was one entitled *The Rise, Progress and Downfall of Aristocracy* by a Wheeling crank named William Mathers. This was a book squarely within the non-existent tradition of Presbyterian communism. Howells himself would term it a "queer compound of politics and theology, in which things are mixed up in a most Quixotic manner."<sup>10</sup> He published it in the same month he got married, having promised the bride that its sales would give them the security they needed to start a family. But of course the book was an abject commercial failure, and once again Howells had to repair his fortunes.

After five years in Wheeling, he struck out for a newspaper job in St. Clairsville and then worked for Elisha Bates, proprietor of *The Monthly Repository* in Mt. Pleasant and, as it were, the Alexander Campbell of the orthodox Quakers. Later, in 1834, he started a genuine newspaper of his own in Chillicothe and also, perhaps not entirely coincidentally, abandoned Quakerism and pronounced himself a Swedenborgian. There followed a period in which he worked alternately as a typesetter and a farmer. At length he returned once more to Wheeling. It was in Martinsville, now Martins Ferry, that his son was born in 1837. The son

was William Dean Howells, who would grow up to share with Mark Twain both a close friendship and the distinction of being one of the two most famous, most successful and most influential American novelists of the late 19th century.

By this time, printing and related activities were of established importance in the Wheeling area. In 1835, Samuel H. Davis began his *Wheeling Daily Gazette*, one of a number of newspapers, such as the *Wheeling Argus* in the following decade, which struggled on a few years before giving way to successors. By 1839, the newspaper scene consisted primarily of a unique accommodation by which John M. M'Creary published a newspaper, also called the *Wheeling Gazette*, every other day from his second-story office at 86 Main Street, corner of Monroe (now Twelfth) Street, while his rival, James E. Wharton, published the *Wheeling Times and Advertiser* on alternate days from 2 Union Street. The date 1839 is taken for examination here because it is also the year M'Creary published *The Wheeling Directory and Advertiser*, which provides an excellent look at the field as it was at that time.

This little book was compiled by one J.B. Bowen (who must have resided outside the city limits as he himself is not listed in the directory). It shows Wheeling to have been a busy spot indeed. Heavy industry was beginning to make its presence felt, and the steamboat traffic must have been near or at its zenith, judging by the number of river captains, pilots and crewmen who lived in town. Studying the book, one also notes how the city had not yet resolved itself into districts based on class, as businessmen, lawyers, doctors ("in physic and surgery," not to mention the many who simply listed their occupations as "gentleman," lived side-by-side with artisans and even laborers.

One also comes away amazed at the diversity of occupations listed, including some with an anachronistic ring to them now. Wheeling in 1839, for instance, had a portrait painter, several teachers of music both sacred and profane, the inevitable coal miners, iron men and glass workers — but also a perrwig maker; many coopers, wheelwrights, tallow chandlers, cordwainers, draymen and pork salters; as well as, in the case of women, mantuamakers and practitioners of "femine cover celibacy" (that is, mid-wives). But the *Directory* is also interesting for its tacit comment on the prosperity of printing.

It indicates, for instance, that the city then had three paper mills employing a total of 68 persons. One of these made "only coarser kinds of paper" and a second "writing and printing paper," with the products of the third not specified. The first of these firms, run by the Fisher family, also operated a booksellers and stationer's shop at the corner of Main and Union streets, as well as, somewhat incongruously, a smithery and wagon- and plough-making operation elsewhere in the city. Another of the paper mills was operated by the Lambdin family, who also conducted a dry goods and grocery firm at 117 Water Street, not far from their mill at No. 49. Also listed are paper mill foremen, papermakers and paper finishers (no doubt artisans employed by the three mills) as having homes

in the city proper, and there were residents as well who had positions in what could be called the printing sector.

A bookseller and stationer named L. Caton, for instance, kept a shop at 103 Main Street and lived at 133 Sixth Street. J.R. Garwood, "general periodical agent and bookbinder," maintained an office and workroom "in Union st, 4rd story, entrance at no. 15." Another binder was William Ewing, on the second story of 152 Main. Presumably these were all independent artisans and not employed in the binderies of the two newspapers, which also boasted job printing and book manufacturing and, as can be seen from the late Delf Norona's annotated bibliography *West Virginia Imprints 1790-1863*, undertook a bewildering variety of such tasks.<sup>11</sup>

In fact, Wharton of the *Wheeling Times and Advertiser* even went one step further in its diversification under the broad umbrella of printing. The first floor of his premises was given over to a "news and reading room." Such was the designation of a room stocked with books, newspapers and magazines from outside the region and from abroad and charging an hourly or daily fee for people wishing to read them on the premises. Presumably such institutions filled a genuine need before the establishment of Wheeling's first subscription library in 1860.

All this is to say that a great many people involved in journalism, printing and publishing seem to have made their way through Wheeling before the true pattern of such activity became consolidated. They seem to have been earnest small businessmen in the main, though links between this community and the world of religious and social heterodoxy are often apparent, and in one slightly later case the link is especially evident. Like the fact that William Dean Howells was born in Martins Ferry, it also helps tie the Wheeling area, however tenuously, to the larger world of literary achievement. This is the matter of William Henry Chaney, whom a church deacon once described as "one of the Devil's unaccountables."

Chaney was born in Maine in 1821 and as a teenager joined the U.S. Navy but jumped ship in Boston in 1840. Like so many others with an indelicate past, he decided to go west. Accordingly, he made his way to Pittsburgh and took passage on a flatboat bound for New Orleans, where he looked forward to becoming some sort of river pirate. Instead, he was laid low with a fever, and the boatman unceremoniously put him ashore at Wheeling, where he decided to remain a time.

The details are sketchy at best, but it is said that Chaney studied for the bar (which probably meant an informal course while working in some lawyer's office). He became a newspaperman as well, and was said to have alternated between the two fields. It was only later that he assumed the honorific "Professor" Chaney and began his life as a travelling astrologer and freelance philosopher. While in Wheeling, Chaney took the first of his six wives, all or most of whom seemed to have enjoyed only common law status. One of the later ones was a spiritualist named Flora Wellman, who had a son by Chaney in San Francisco in

1876. Public documents list the son as John Griffith Chaney, but he grew up to become world famous as Jack London.<sup>12</sup>

As far as can be determined, Professor Chaney left Wheeling in the early 1850s, when even a casual eye could see that the city was entering its boom period. It was within a space of just a few years either side of 1850, for instance, that the city reached many milestones and built what today are landmarks! The Suspension Bridge, the McLure House, the Centre Market and the arrival of the Baltimore and Ohio all date from this era. So, significantly, does *The Intelligencer*, which a few years after its founding in 1852 achieved unparalleled influence at the hands of Archibald Campbell, the nephew of Alexander Campbell. And from that point to this, the line is straighter and easier to follow.

### NOTES

1. Leslie A. Marchand, editor, *Famous in My Time*, Vol. 3 of *Byron's Letters and Journals* (London: John Murray, 1974).
2. *Ibid.*
3. Walter Havighurst in his *River of the West: Three Centuries of the Ohio* (New York: Putnam's, 1970) relates how in 1812 a young farmer bartered 10 pelts for a copy of *Childe Harold* in an exchange with the famous Coonskin Library, founded at Amesville, Ohio, in 1803.
4. Joseph E. Hoffman, "Today's News is Tomorrow's History," *Upper Ohio Valley Historical Review*, Vol. VII, No. 1, Autumn-Winter 1977.
5. James Stuart, *Three Years in North America*, second edition revised (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1833).
6. Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye, New York: Eaton & Mains.
7. Donald Smalley in his notes to Frances Trollope's *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (New York: Knopf, 1949).
8. Justin Kaplan, *Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1966).
9. Van Wyck Brooks, *The World of Washington Irving* (New York: Dutton, 1944).
10. Quoted by Kenneth S. Lyman in *William Dean Howells: An American Life* (New York: Harcourt, 1971).

11. Moundsville: West Virginia Library Association, 1958.
12. The London biography with the most detailed account of Chaney's career is Richard O'Connor's *Jack London: A Biography* (Boston: Little Brown, 1964).

## Mozart Park and The Incline

by

Robert Lowe  
and  
Montana X. Menard

Henry Schmulbach, prior to 1892, had a dream of a fine, lively recreational facility for the benefit and enjoyment of the people of Wheeling. This dream came true in the eventual founding of Mozart Park in South Wheeling in 1893.

The original site for Mozart Park was the Frazier farm, purchased from John Frazier and family on April 1, 1892 for \$13,000.<sup>1</sup> This land was located on the top of a high hill overlooking South Wheeling and had at one time been a large peach orchard. The second piece of adjoining land was bought from John and Mary Bodley on February 28, 1893 for \$2,750.<sup>2</sup> The third piece of land consisting of five acres was purchased from John and Mary Normile on March 30, 1893 for \$1,550.<sup>3</sup> These three purchases made up a good portion of the original site of Mozart Park, at a total original cost of \$17,300. More land would be added later.

With the acquisition of this land, Schmulbach had it cleared and made ready for development. He engaged Otto Kalkreuth to design the layout for Mozart Park.<sup>4</sup> Although the dates when Kalkreuth began this work are unknown, he decided the placement of the buildings, sidewalks, and all essentials and had charge of the landscaping.

The park opened in June of 1893 but its official opening day was October 25, 1893. On that day many people met at Mozart Park. It was a very beautiful place and in the summer months a breeze seemed to be blowing constantly on the hill, which made it a nice, cool spot for its patrons.

The organization which ran the park was the Mozart Park Association. The chosen board of directors of this association in 1894 were: Henry Schmulbach, Charles Rohrig, A.M. Hamilton, H.W. Schrebe, G.H. Medrick, John Kohn, W.C. Handlan, Philip Kunz, Chris Kalbitzer, Charles Horstmann, and H. Brinkmann.<sup>5</sup> The list of the board of directors changed every year but the above were the original directors.

There were many buildings and amusement facilities at Mozart Park. The first building to be erected was the dancing pavilion which was said to measure 100 x 100 feet and to have the capacity for 5,000 people. This building was the largest of its kind in West Virginia.<sup>6</sup> There were plans to have a zoo in Mozart Park. As a beginning, the park exhibited a caged bear. Unfortunately, the zoo never materialized and the bear was killed and eaten by a crowd of people.<sup>7</sup> There were also plans for a casino. It was scheduled for construction in the 1894 season and to open in 1895, but was completed later.<sup>8</sup>

A popular building was the bowling alley (building.) Part of this building was two stories, with a frame of 130 x 50 feet. It contained eight bowling alleys, four of the regulation type and four of the common gauge.<sup>9</sup> This building was a handsome structure and was built by the Wood Brothers Planning Mill Company, the contractors. It took some time to build because it was destroyed while under construction. One day in April 1894, a severe wind storm hit the valley and wrecked the building. The loss was estimated at \$1,000, which fell on the contractors. The completion of the building took two weeks longer than had been expected.<sup>10</sup> Also included in the park was a restaurant building, an outdoor stage on the south end of the park, and a one-third mile-long bicycle track.<sup>11</sup>

While the track was being excavated, a curious "find" came to light. An obstruction in the shape of a rock-built cavity was struck about six feet below the surface. This proved to be an ancient burial site which contained the skeletons of two human beings. The burial chamber supposedly dated back to the time of the mound builders. The skeletons ended up in the hands of one of the park employees and passed into oblivion.<sup>12</sup>

When the park opened for its second season on April 29, 1894, its closing time was the same as the year before - 8 p.m. but when electric lights were installed the closing time was changed to 11 p.m. It took some time for all sixty arc lights and hundreds of incandescents to be put in place and an additional week or two to complete the wiring to the power plant. The power plant was located by the Schmulbach brewery at 33rd Street.<sup>13</sup>

The events at Mozart Park were numerous and varied. The main activities almost every day were picnics of various organizations. These were scheduled through the park association so that the park would not be overcrowded on any day.

The first group from out of town to visit the park for an "outing" was the Pittsburgh Postoffice employees. One hundred fifty employees were expected to arrive in Wheeling on May 27, 1894 but only 50 to 75 showed up because the others had to work.<sup>14</sup>

The grocers of the city had a picnic and get-together on June 28, 1894. This was one of the bigger outings held at the park. "Grocer's Day" drew nearly 5,000 people to the park culminating in a bowling event and a bicycle race that night.

Some other organizations that scheduled picnics at Mozart Park were: The Knights of Pythias, A.A. Franzheim Carmen, Shield of Honor City Lodges, the Young Butchers' Sons, St. John's Catholic School scholars of Benwood, the Seabright division-Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Krieger Verein and other German military orders, the Brotherhood of Trainmen, and the Mozart Singing Society.<sup>16</sup>

The Mozart Singing Society and the Beethoven Singing Society were two organizations that entertained people at the park. Either one of the societies sang there at least once a week. The officers of the Mozart

Singing Society in 1895 were: Director, Prof. Herman Shockey; vice-director, Henry W. Schrebe; president, Charles Horstmann; vice-president, John Roth; corresponding secretary, Conrad Bremer; treasurer, August G. Fischer; banner carriers, Henry Wessel and August Wasmuth; musical committee, Henry Soldan and Charles Seidler; trustees, Charles Zulauf, Charles Horstmann and John Roth; and committee on music, Charles Zulauf, Valentine Theby and Frederick Schaub.<sup>17</sup>

Operas and vaudeville shows also made their appearance at Mozart Park. Miss Electa Gifford gave summer opera concerts at Mozart Park for both seasons of 1894 and 1895.<sup>18</sup> Gillete's Vaudeville show came to the park on May 25, 1895, and was such a success that they were rescheduled for the following week.<sup>19</sup>

One of the more eye-catching sights of staged amusement was the balloon ascension and parachute jump given by Prof. Thomas Fink. The first ascension of the balloon was on schedule for July 21, but the whole thing was a dismal failure when the balloon failed to hold air and, eventually, ripped. On the days following everything progressed well.<sup>20</sup>

Mozart Park was the place to be every year on the Fourth of July. Facilities were taxed to the limit with people crowding the grounds in search of amusement. The restaurants did a continuous business serving people lunches and snacks. The crowning point of those Fourths were the big fireworks display in the evenings.<sup>21</sup>

On July 23, 1895 there was a grand celebration at Mozart Park. This was "Centennial Day" for the citizens of Wheeling.<sup>22</sup> This, undoubtedly, was the high point of the park's events. The grounds were overcrowded with people who took part in the numerous activities scheduled. The winner of a bowling contest received a gold medal, and speakers abounded. People went around town and the park shooting off Roman candles and other types of fireworks. The day ended with a big fireworks display set off by Mr. Charles P. Norton of the Consolidated Fireworks Company of New York.<sup>23</sup>

Mozart Park was also the scene of a big musical production. The performing group numbered around 200 people, and they presented a production entitled "The Battles of Our Nation," which had scenes from the wars of 1776, 1812, 1847, and 1861-65. This was given at the park on June 8 and 9, 1896. The company used the outdoor stage on the south end of the park. On June 8 everything fell apart when rains hit, forcing everyone to seek shelter in the pavilion; however, on June 9 everything went well and the production took place. This drew an audience of approximately 2,500 people.<sup>24</sup>

Another occurrence held at Mozart Park was the First District Convention. Here, on August 11, 1896, the people (Democrats) met to nominate a congressional candidate. Their choice was Colonel W.W. Arnett, a lawyer by profession and well known in Wheeling.<sup>25</sup>

One of the problems of the park was the matter of accessibility because it was located on the top of a hill. At the time the park opened in 1893, there were no street car lines or other forms of transportation

leading to the park. The only means of access was by foot. People would wind their way slowly up the face of the hill until they reached the top. To remedy this situation Henry Schmulbach, following the example of Pittsburgh and Cincinnati, engaged a company from Pittsburgh to build a huge inclined railway from the base to the top of the hill. Construction of the incline was a challenging engineering project, which cost Schmulbach over \$100,000, but it was begun soon after the construction of the park began.<sup>26</sup>

Many companies took part in the building of the incline. The first thing that took place was the excavation and stonework on the hill by Stratton and Company of Pittsburgh. This was done by fifty men.<sup>27</sup> The stonework consisted of huge columns on which the incline would be situated. These stone columns are still standing.

During the building of the Mozart Park Incline the men struck because they had not been paid for some time. They were then paid and work resumed, but the delay caused by the strike retarded the finishing of the incline somewhat. To counteract this, the company put another gang of men to work in hope of making up for the time lost by the strike.<sup>28</sup>

The big day came when the steelworkers commenced to work and three forty-foot girders were laid into position. The engines for the incline were also placed into position at the top of the hill. The workers feared there might be trouble in running the engines at the top of the hill because of the absence of water there.<sup>29</sup> The next day, one line of ties was laid into position. The buildings surrounding the incline, the passenger's station and such, were also in the process of being built.<sup>30</sup>

The incline to Mozart Park opened in August 1893. The total length of the incline from building to building was 610 feet, (or 205 yards, a little longer than two football fields.) During the first year, the fare up and down the incline, including admission to the park, was fifteen cents. When the park opened the next season, the board of directors of the Mozart Park Association decided to lower the fare from fifteen to ten cents.<sup>31</sup>

Patrick Gavin and his brother were the first persons to go up the Mozart Park Incline. They were accompanied by Lee Travers and Peter Higgins.<sup>32</sup>

The official tests for the incline were made on October 24, 1893. A big crowd, including representatives of the local press, was on hand to witness the tests. It took some time for everything to be in readiness for the testing. A few minutes after four o'clock the upper car was finally lowered down to the passenger's station, ready for the first ascent. Charley Horstmann, vice-president of the Schmulbach Brewery, was the first man to enter the car. He was followed by 31 more. A few of the guests were a little skeptical but most felt no hesitation about going up the incline. The first trip was made in 1½ minutes and it was said that after a few days it would be in less than a minute. The second car went up the incline a few minutes later and carried 52 people.<sup>33</sup>

The next day things did not go so well. A cross head on one of the engines cracked and caused a delay in the running of the cars. The break



occurred in the morning and was not repaired until four o'clock in the afternoon. Because of the problem, many people left, others made the tiresome climb directly up the side of the incline while some waited for the cars to start up again.<sup>34</sup>

By the beginning of November of 1893 many people came to Mozart Park anxious to ride the incline plane railway. The cars were run every two minutes and could handle 1,200 people an hour. The incline was a big factor in bringing patrons to the beautiful resort park.<sup>35</sup>

The engines which ran the incline were coal powered. On June 3 and 4, 1894, the incline cars were forced to a standstill because of the lack of coal in the park's stockpiles. Later that week the incline received its shipment of coal and the cars resumed their trips.<sup>36</sup>

The incline remained in use until 1907 when the Mozart Street Car Line took its place.<sup>37</sup> This line ran out Caldwell's Run Road, up to the back side of Mozart Park. Thus ended one of Wheeling's most unusual forms of transportation.

The park remained open for a few more years to provide the citizens of Wheeling with a source of amusement and relaxation. It closed around 1917-1918.<sup>38</sup> After that, Schmulbach sold the land, piece by piece.

Today, all that is left of the once famous Mozart Park is a small children's playground. Schmulbach's dream became fact, and then a part of Wheeling's forgotten past.

## FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> *Deed Book 88*, City Hall Building, Wheeling, W.V., pg. 424.
- <sup>2</sup> *Deed Book 90*, City Hall Building, Wheeling, W.V., pg. 170.
- <sup>3</sup> *Deed Book 90*, City Hall Building, Wheeling, W.V., pg. 232.
- <sup>4</sup> As told to me by Mrs. Ann Dinger, an elderly citizen of Wheeling.
- <sup>5</sup> *Wheeling Intelligencer*, March 28, 1894, pg. 8.
- <sup>6</sup> *Wheeling Intelligencer*, June 12, 1893, pg. 8.
- <sup>7</sup> *Wheeling Intelligencer*, April 27, 1893, pg. 8.
- <sup>8</sup> *Wheeling Intelligencer*, April 30, 1893, pg. 5.
- <sup>9</sup> *Wheeling Intelligencer*, March 19, 1894, pg. 8.
- <sup>10</sup> *Wheeling Intelligencer*, April 21, 1894, pg. 8.
- <sup>11</sup> *Wheeling Intelligencer*, April 30, 1894, pg. 5; July 3, 1894 — Pg. 8; and May 26, 1896 — Pg. 5.
- <sup>12</sup> *Wheeling Intelligencer*, April 30, 1894, pg. 5.
- <sup>13</sup> *Wheeling Intelligencer*, April 30, 1894, pg. 5.
- <sup>14</sup> *Wheeling Intelligencer*, May 26, 1894, pg. 8.
- <sup>15</sup> *Wheeling Intelligencer*, June 29, 1894, pg. 5.
- <sup>16</sup> *Wheeling Intelligencer*, July 31, 1894, pg. 8.
- <sup>17</sup> *Wheeling Intelligencer*, July 22, 1895, pg. 2.
- <sup>18</sup> *Wheeling Intelligencer*, May 8, 1895, pg. 8.
- <sup>19</sup> *Wheeling Intelligencer*, May 27, 1895, pg. 2.
- <sup>20</sup> *Wheeling Intelligencer*, July 23, 1894, pg. 8.
- <sup>21</sup> *Wheeling Intelligencer*, July 3, 1894, pg. 8.

<sup>22</sup>The act which established Wheeling as a town can be found in *Greater Wheeling and Vicinity* by Whingheter, pg. 243-244.

<sup>23</sup>*Wheeling Intelligencer*, July 23, 1895, pg. 8.

<sup>24</sup>*Wheeling Intelligencer*, May 26, 1896, pg. 5.

<sup>25</sup>*Wheeling Intelligencer*, Aug. 12, 1896, pg. 2.

<sup>26</sup>*Wheeling Intelligencer*, Aug. 5, 1893, pg. 8.

<sup>27</sup>*Wheeling Intelligencer*, July 13, 1893, pg. 8.

<sup>28</sup>*Wheeling Intelligencer*, May 10, 1893, pg. 2.

<sup>29</sup>*Wheeling Intelligencer*, Aug. 5, 1893, pg. 8.

<sup>30</sup>*Wheeling Intelligencer*, Aug. 18, 1893, pg. 8.

<sup>31</sup>*Wheeling Intelligencer*, Mar. 28, 1894, pg. 8.

<sup>32</sup>*Wheeling Intelligencer*, Aug. 24, 1893, pg. 8.

<sup>33</sup>*Wheeling Intelligencer*, Oct. 25, 1893, pg. 2.

<sup>34</sup>*Wheeling Intelligencer*, Oct. 26, 1893, pg. 2.

<sup>35</sup>*Wheeling Intelligencer*, July 3, 1894, pg. 8.

<sup>36</sup>*Wheeling Intelligencer*, June 5, 1894, pg. 8.

<sup>37</sup>*Wheeling: A Pictorial History* — by Elizabeth Yeager Ainsworth and Robert G. Ainsworth, (Donning Company Publishers — Norfolk, Va.), copyright 1977, pg. 78.

<sup>38</sup>*Wheeling City Directories* — 1916 and 1919.

## ETHNICITY IN WHEELING

by

Dr. James Forrester, Jr.

Since the publication of Alex Haley's *Roots* in 1974 and its subsequent popularization as a television series there has been a renewed interest concerning ethnicity<sup>1</sup> in Wheeling. Such interest has been reflected in this *Review* in previous articles<sup>2</sup> which have related aspects of Wheeling's varied ethnic history. These fascinating articles reveal something about all of us, for we are a nation of hyphenated Americans.<sup>3</sup>

This essay deals with three questions: What does the ethnic literature reveal about the different conceptions of ethnicity? How proud are "Wheeling ethnics" of their ethnic heritages? How do we categorize and explain the ethnicity that is found in Wheeling today? The answers to these questions are derived from a study<sup>4</sup> completed by the author in January, 1979.

The essay is organized into four sections: (1) The Nature of Ethnicity, (2) Wheeling Ethnic Attitudes, (3) The Conceptualization of Wheeling Ethnicity, and (4) Summary and Conclusion.

### The Nature of Ethnicity

The ethnicity literature<sup>5</sup> is divided generally into the following: the assimilationist, pluralist (cultural), and structural perspectives. There is considerable disagreement in this literature even within perspectives concerning the correct depiction of ethnicity. The assimilationists, who are perhaps best represented by Herbert Gans,<sup>6</sup> see cultural differences between national origin groups passing through later generations in progressively diluted forms to ultimately disappear in modern society (Gans, 1967).

Important to the assimilationist view is the idea of majority conformity. The assumption is that, over time, all groups will conform to the values, life-styles etc. of the dominant group. Gans, in particular, studied suburban Jews and urban Italian-Americans and advanced the "straight line theory," which argues that the life of American ethnic groups (particularly Catholics of peasant origins - eg. Polish-Americans) is marked by a continuing process of acculturation<sup>8</sup> and assimilation. He does not see assimilation being reversed with future generations.<sup>9</sup>

Another assimilationist is Marcus L. Hansen<sup>9</sup> who notes that immigration figures alone do not tell the complete story of the extent to which American society is reshaped by the influx of people from foreign shores. Other factors such as urbanization and industrialization in the United States, the need for new labor forces also helped the assimilation process. He is known for "Hansen's Law" which suggests that "what the son wishes to forget, the grandson wishes to remember" (Hansen, 1937:

15). Hansen's law notes that while assimilation characterizes the second generation, "pluralism" is typical of the third generation. The second generation's rejection of its ethnicity creates an identity crisis for the third generation. The third generation turns back to its ethnicity but this ethnicity is not the same as it was for the first generation. This particular type (structural ethnicity) will be discussed later.

The best known defender of the pluralist (cultural) view is Andrew Greeley<sup>10</sup> who emphasizes the persistence of cultural heritages as the basis of the continued importance of ascriptive groups. Cultural pluralism is frequently viewed as a "peaceful coexistence" between groups. The underlying premise of this view is that after some time (usually unspecified) and after some adjustment process different ethnic groups learn to get along. These groups at the same time undergo a six stage acculturation-assimilation process:

(1) cultural shock - among the new arrivals; (2) organization and self-consciousness - and sometimes the actual initiation of a sense of nationalism for the "old country"; (3) assimilation of the elite; (4) militancy - led by the elite and made possible by a modicum of power; (5) self-hatred and anti-militancy - articulated most strongly again by the group's elite reaction to the previous stage; (6) emerging adjustment - signifying an easy acceptance of both the ethnic and American identities as completely compatible. (Greeley, 1971: 31-37).

The pluralists then depict ethnicity as "primordial affinities and attachments" transmitted from one culture to another. These ethnic identifications consist of ready-made endowments which every individual shares with others from the moment of birth. The newcomer acquires a name (an individual name, a family name, a group name), the history and origins of his group, a nationality, language, religion and value system. All of these legacies give to the individual two key ingredients: his sense of belonging and the quality of his self-esteem (Isaacs, 1971: 33-34).

The structuralist view is represented by William L. Yancey et al.<sup>11</sup> The members of this perspective, in contrast to the traditional emphasis on the transplanted cultural heritage as the major defining characteristic of ethnic groups, argue that the development and persistence of ethnicity is based on "structural conditions" characterizing American cities. Ethnicity is seen as an emergent phenomenon, as it continues to develop with the changing positions of groups and individuals within society. Yancey et al., write:

Finally, it is clear that ethnicity is not dead but very much alive today, although it is something very different than the way it has usually been presented. Rather than a constant ascribed trait that is inherited from the past, ethnicity is the result of a process which continues to unfold. It is basically a manifestation of the way populations are organized in terms of interaction patterns, insti-

tutions, personal values, attitudes, life styles and presumed consciousness of kind. . . (Yancey, 1976: 400).

### Wheeling Ethnic Attitudes

It is now possible to address the question posed earlier: how proud are ethnics in Wheeling of their ethnic heritages? The answer to this question generally is that "some pride" was evidenced in the sample. Before we discuss this further, it will be helpful to examine the source of the data. The data were generated by trained interviewers applying an "ethnic identification scale"<sup>12</sup> to the three largest ethnic groups in Wheeling - Polish, German and Italian-Americans.<sup>13</sup> The sampling frame was a Wheeling utility company's alphabetical listing of customers where a sample of 11 percent was systematically<sup>14</sup> drawn which generated 4,142 names. With the aid of two "judges"<sup>14</sup> in recognizing Polish, German and Italian surnames the sample of 4,142 was randomly reduced into three groups of one hundred each. Upon completion of the interviews the interview schedules (which contained the Ethnic Identification Scale) were coded and computer analyzed.

The data revealed that all three of the groups were largely assimilated.<sup>15</sup> The biggest ethnic identification "differences" occurred between the first and the second generations (considerably less ethnic identification was seen with the second generation) which is a key argument for assimilation - that is, the second generation tends to reject its ethnic ties (Dahl, 1961; Gans, 1974). Interestingly, ethnic identifications were seen to extend into the third generation with the three groups - suggesting that complete assimilation (the melting pot) had not occurred.

Differences between the groups were also observed. For example, the German-Americans evidenced a stronger assimilation pattern as their ethnic identification scores were lower in the second and third generations than in the first. On the other hand, both the Polish and Italian-American groups showed slight increases in ethnic identifications between the second and third generations.

### The Conceptualization of Wheeling Ethnicity

The question concerning the conception of ethnicity in Wheeling however, is not easily answered with these ethnic identification data alone. Other data are also necessary. The interview schedule additionally had questions eliciting the ethnic respondents' religion<sup>16</sup> and social class.<sup>17</sup>

The literature is not clear whether religion should be treated as one of the defining attributes of ethnicity or whether it tends to coincide with social class and other factors. For example, if religion is seen to correlate with ethnicity this would tend to support the cultural or pluralist conception. This is because the cultural or pluralist literature views religion as one of the defining attributes of ethnicity.<sup>18</sup>

The relationship between religion and ethnicity was computer tested and the data revealed no evidence for the claim that religion

should be treated as one of the defining attributes of ethnicity at least in Wheeling.

The data also revealed that the ethnic respondents (Polish, German and Italian-American groups) were generally low in social class (low educational attainment and occupational status). Variations among the groups in these categories were also noted. The Polish respondents registered the lowest scores with 76 percent in the low category. The Italian group was next with 61 percent and the German group scored 58 percent in the low category.

It should be recalled that the structural ethnicity argument is that ethnicity in the United States is not an ascribed constant or a temporarily persistent variable, rather ethnicity and ethnic groups have been produced or redefined by structural conditions (eg. social class, type of home, neighborhood) in communities that reflect the process of industrialization. Ethnicity, then, really reflects working class life as it is found within the American occupational structure. For example, the Italian concentration in construction and the Polish in the steel industry were related to the expansion of these industries as these groups arrived (Yancey et al., 1976: 393). Also, the occupational concentration of an ethnic group tends to provide for similar economic status. In other words, the factors of "life style," class interests, work relationships and common residential areas facilitated the development of ethnicity (Yancey, et al., 1976: 394).

The attributes that tend to define "working class life" are low social class (low educational attainment and occupational status). Moreover, if these structural attributes (low social class) can be shown to correlate with ethnicity then the structural ethnicity conceptualization may be tentatively supported. This is because analysts have found evidence that higher social class factors (high education and occupational status) tend to "dilute" ethnicity i.e., ethnic identifications.

When these data were computer tested low social class was found to slightly correlate with ethnicity (ethnic identification) attitudes. Accordingly, some evidence was found to support the structural view of ethnicity. Additional evidence is found with the percentages of the Polish, Italian and German-American respondents (69 percent, 57 percent and 60 percent respectively) who were classified as industrial operatives - i.e., the data suggested a concentration of Polish and Italian groups in the steel and related industries.

#### Summary and Conclusion

Whether one conceptualization of ethnicity can be demonstrated or really claimed to be correct over another cannot be argued from these data. Instead the data reveal that the more simplistic rendition of ethnics as either assimilated (the melting pot) or not (cultural pluralism) is probably incorrect in Wheeling. Instead the types of ethnic respondents found with the Wheeling sample are characterized as low in social class, industrial

operatives, primarily Polish and Italian descent and show measureable ethnic identifications into the third generation.

In addition, the assimilated respondents who refused to be self-identified as ethnics, but retained some vestiges of their ethnicity (e.g. ethnic surnames, or did not mind being referred to as German-American, etc.) are characterized as middle class, industrial operatives, primarily of German descent and show little measureable ethnic identifications in the third generation. These characterizations tend to support the structural ethnicity conceptualization - the idea that ethnic attitudes emerge from the "structural conditions linked to the changing technology of industrial production and transportation" (Yancey, et al., 1976: 392). This particular kind of ethnicity is seen largely as a coincidental aspect of class. Ethnicity (especially among the Polish and Italian groups) may be depicted as a strategic choice by individuals who, in other circumstances, might choose other group memberships as a means of gaining more power and privilege. In other words, people seldom make political-economic decisions on the basis of ethnic allegiance alone. On the contrary, the strength, scope, viability and basis of ethnic identity are determined by, and are used to serve, the economic and general class interests of individuals.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Ethnicity may be seen as "the cultural ethos of a group, its values, expectations, behavior, and the cultural characteristics that distinguish it" (Marden and Meyer, 1968).

<sup>2</sup>William M. Seaman, "The Germans of Wheeling: Part One and Part Two," *Upper Ohio Valley Historical Review* (Volume VIII, No. 2), Spring-Summer, 1979, (Vol. IX, No. 1), Autumn-Winter, 1979.

<sup>3</sup>This literature is voluminous; see the discussion by Melvin M. Tumin, in a *Dictionary of the Social Sciences*, Jules Gould and William M. Kolb, editors, (New York: The Free Press, 1964) p. 244. Also, R. A. Schermerhorn, *Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research* (New York: Random House, 1970), especially pp. 53-67.

<sup>4</sup>James R. Forrester, Jr., *Correlates of Ethnic Identification and the Potential for Political Violence*, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, West Virginia University, 1979.

<sup>5</sup>A good review of the various conceptions of ethnicity is found in: Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Ethnicity, Theory and Experience* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975).

<sup>6</sup>Herbert Gans, *The Urban Villagers* (New York: Free Press, 1962).

<sup>7</sup>An ethnic group may be defined as a collectivity in which membership is almost always inherited by birth and whose members share an identity. It displays the following: (1) fundamental cultural values; (2) a defined field of communication and interaction; (3) a membership that identifies itself through boundary norms and values. . .(Barth, 1969: 10-11).

<sup>8</sup>Defined as "the processes and results of contact between two or more different cultures." See the discussion in *Encyclopedia of Sociology*, 1974: 1).

<sup>9</sup>See Marcus L. Hansen, *The Problem of the Third Generation Immigrant* (Rock Island, Ill.: The Augustana Historical Society, 1937).

<sup>10</sup>Andrew M. Greeley, *Why Can't They Be Like Us?* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1971); *Ethnicity in the United States* (New York: Wiley, 1974) etc. . .

<sup>11</sup>William L. Yancey, Eugene P. Ericksen and Richard N. Juliani, "Emergent Ethnicity: A Review and Reformulation," *American Sociological Review* 41 (June, 1976), 391-403.

<sup>12</sup>The scale was composed of eleven questions concerning: objective ethnic identification (where were you born, parents, grandparents); subjective ethnic identification, (do you object to people who refer to you as Polish/German/Italian); ethnic community; ethnic clubs; ethnic traditions; hiring ethnics etc. The scale was verified statistically - CR=.93 CS=.60.

<sup>13</sup>The 1970 Census revealed that 16.7 percent of the Wheeling population was composed of foreign stock. "Foreign stock" means foreign born or children of foreign born which excluded second, third and fourth generation ethnics. Accordingly, ethnic self-identification and ethnic surname recognition were found to be more useful techniques in determining ethnicity in Wheeling.

<sup>14</sup>An important reason that the ethnic surname recognition technique was successful was due to the able assistance of two individuals who acted as ethnic surname judges. These judges, who have extensive knowledge of ethnic families in Wheeling, are Professors George Polak and Howard Reiner, both of West Liberty State College.

<sup>15</sup>The ethnic identification scale was scored on a basis of 0 - 6 points (0-2 LO, 3-4 MED, 5-6 HI). Those individuals depicted as assimilated scored LO 0-2 points.

<sup>16</sup>One factor differentiating the ethnic identifications of religious groupings is "group cohesiveness." The "group cohesiveness scale" used

by Sandberg shows religion as one of the correlates of ethnicity. See Neil C. Sandberg, *Ethnic Identity and Assimilation: The Polish American Community, Case Study of Metropolitan Los Angeles* (New York: Praeger, 1974), appendix.

<sup>17</sup>Social class was measured by utilizing Hollingshead's "Two Factor Index of Social Position," which includes his educational and occupational scales. The index and scales are found in Delbert C. Miller, *Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement*, Third Edition, (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1977), pp. 230-238.

<sup>18</sup>See for example, Harold J. Abramson, *Ethnic Pluralism in the Central City* (Storrs, Connecticut: Institute for Urban Research, University of Connecticut: 1968) and Otto Feinstein, editor, *Ethnic Groups in the City, Culture, Institutions, and Power* (Lexington, Massachusetts: Health Lexington Books, 1971).

## THE WHEELING AREA: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

by Kenneth R. Nodyne

and

Dennis E. Lawther

West Virginia University Library, Morgantown, 1981

Reviewed by Rev. Clifford M. Lewis, S.J.

The Introduction indicates the scope of the writers' effort, particularly works pertinent to the Upper Ohio Valley but including broad histories of West Virginia that give illumination to the developments that happened in a much narrower area.

The reviewers had access to eight libraries. After their comment on each work, they indicate in which libraries each book can be found, a distinct help to potential readers. The area's participating libraries are at Bethany College, Oglebay Institute, Ohio County Public Library in Wheeling, Ohio University at Belmont County, University of Steubenville, West Liberty State College, West Virginia Northern Community College in Wheeling, and Wheeling College.

A total of 76 books is treated on 49 printed pages. Thus each review is ample, covering from one-half to two-thirds of a page, type-written and double-spaced.

Books succeed each other in numerical order but in five categories: I. General Histories and Memoirs of the Upper Ohio Valley; II. Topical Histories of the Upper Ohio Valley; III. The Upper Ohio Valley from Pre-History to the Civil War; IV. The Civil War and the Creation of West Virginia; and V. Post-Civil War West Virginia. The reviewed works are treated in alphabetical order within each category, allowing the reader more freedom to make his own assessment of the value of each book.

Looking at the first category, we are pleased that most of the representative authors are treated. It is quite understandable that much of the solid work originated at West Virginia University, where research facilities were available some decades ago. Among those writers who were on the faculty there were Ambler, Summers, Callahan, and Cometti, who gave us sound, interesting studies.

Favorably reviewed is the *History of the Panhandle*, by J.H. Newton and others, with helpful index and many frequent letters and other pieces of source material. Published in 1879, this work treats of the history of Ohio County, and to a lesser degree, Brooke, Marshall, and Hancock.

The reviewers are particularly impressed by a new history of West Virginia written by John Alexander Williams and published by W. W. Norton in 1976. "Together with his other works on state history, this book

suggests that Williams is a worthy successor to Charles Ambler." We tend to agree with this evaluation, but are perhaps less distraught than Williams at the spectacle of coal as a colonial economy and a curse upon the land which yields it. We believe that much progress has been made with large companies and their relations with large unions, with reclamation of land, and in some other areas. Of course, in a competitive economy, this progress in great part must be sustained by government laws.

We share the reviewers' delight in Charles J. Milton's "Landmarks of Old Wheeling," reproducing nearly one hundred photographs of old houses of Wheeling and surrounding area. An organization known as "Friends of Wheeling" was formed several years ago to protect the remaining but still relatively numerous buildings which witness to the skills and ideals of the architects and builders of that day. It would have added interest to the Foreword to have given a brief sketch of W.C. Brown, photographer of many of the pages, who began his work about the middle of the previous century.

Virtually all the writers about Wheeling are reviewed, including the Ainsworths, who gave us a pictorial history of Wheeling, published in 1977. They supply ample credit lines, and cover a rather wide time perspective. Other writings on the Upper Panhandle are by Boyd, Cranmer, Morningstar, and Wingerter, along with a *History of the Upper Ohio Valley* by authors listed as "anonymous." This is a two-volume work, the writers of which are listed in the introduction. Author of the first 14 chapters is Judge Gibson L. Cranmer. This work was published in 1890, but the work previously listed under No. 13, also by Cranmer (ed.), was published in 1902, as the title page indicates.

Two other works not treated by the authors, doubtless for good reasons, might be mentioned. The first is by the famed Patrick Gass, who lived near Wellsburg and wrote perhaps the most revealing account of the Lewis and Clark Expedition which started with Lewis alone from Pittsburgh in 1803. Clark was added to the party subsequently. Gass's account of the journey, in which he had an outstanding role, was first published in 262 pages by Zadok Cramer in 1807. Gass lived to be nearly a hundred. A house he built is said to be standing yet in Wellsburg.

The other work is Lewis's account of his trip down the Ohio from Pittsburgh, with stops in Wheeling and Moundsville. This part of the voyage was recorded in a separate and now somewhat rare volume.

Section II on topical histories of the Upper Ohio Valley gives quite thorough coverage of various fields of interest from general to particular, including coal, iron, steel, and the fire department of Wheeling.

Section III treats of archeology, exploration, Indian wars, White settlements, land claims, roads, and bridges. These fields are well covered, considering the limitations of space and cost that must face any undertaking of this kind.

Historians are prone to look with suspicion on works that are sprinkled with conversation, and rightly so. It is unfortunate that this

motivation may have led to the omission of books such as Robert H. Richardson's *Tilton Territory*, starting with John Tilton of the then Ohio County, VA., and ending up in Tiltonsville, Ohio; Virginia Meier Harper's *Time Steals Softly* about Moses Shepherd and his wife Lydia; and Sister Rose Anita Kelley, S.S.J., with her *Song of the Hills*, an account of the Sisters of St. Joseph's in the Wheeling Diocese from 1853 to 1962.

The only error of consequence this commentator can attribute to the authors is the failure to provide an "ed." after the name of Reuben Gold Thwaites before the title *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, in item 42. The author, as they doubtless knew, was Alexander Scott Withers, of Clarksburg, Harrison County. The reviewers rightly describe Withers' work as the "classic account of the border warfare along the Ohio River between white men and Indians in the late eighteenth century." The edition of the work is the same as that employed by this commentator, the 1895 edition published by the Robert Clarke Company. There is a preface by Thwaites, explaining that the original editor had been Lyman Copeland Draper, who gave his name to the famous "Draper Manuscripts." He had died after writing a "Memoir of the Author" and preparing notes for about one-fourth of the book. Thwaites completed the editing of the work. His capability is illustrated by his editorship of the 73 volumes of the *Jesuit Relations*. This reviewer had the privilege of getting acquainted with the work of these two famous men while doing graduate work at the University of Wisconsin, at Madison, where both accomplished much in the field of historical literature and its preservation. The *Withers' Chronicles*, first published in 1831, is a good example. Withers was a scholar who read the Greek classics in the original. He was living in Clarksburg when he wrote the *Chronicles* and there the first edition was published by Joseph Israel. Withers spent his last few years at a daughter's home adjacent to Parkersburg.

Archeology and Indian contact with the English and French is well treated, with comments on books in pre-history by Mayer-Oakes and Norona, while Indian-White relations are covered by Alvord etc., Downes, Dodge, Galbreath, Thwaites, De Hass, Doddridge, McKnight, McWhorter, Volwiler, Butterfield, Mayer, Allman, Virgil Lewis, and Norona, among others.

In pre-history, the most valuable add on to the list would have been a work by Donald W. Dragoo on his Adena excavation south of Moundsville with the 1963 subsequent publication, *Mounds for the Dead*, by the Carnegie Museum which has done much for the archeology of Northwestern West Virginia. The University of Pennsylvania also published 55 pages on the excavation of an Adena mound at Beech Bottom, West Virginia, 1929 and 1930. Authors were Bache and Satterthwaite.

In the centennial year of 1963, the West Virginia Geological Survey prepared a volume on the accomplishments of the agency which included a chapter on "Archeological Studies in West Virginia" by the state archaeologist, Dr. Edward V. McMichael, who recounts discoveries made in the Upper Ohio Valley and throughout the state up to that time. The State of

West Virginia has now erected a large museum in Moundsville, named for the late Delf Norona, who did so much to encourage scientific work on the early cultures. Experts such as Ralph Solecki and Frank Setzler, from Washington bureaus, are responsible in part for the formation in 1949 of the West Virginia Archeological Society with its publications.

Another work reviewed partly because of its relation to area Indian conflicts was John. J. Jacob's biographical sketch and defense of Captain Michael Cresap against the killing of the famous Logan's family at Yellow Creek, a few miles above Steubenville. Thomas Jefferson, among others, had joined in the accusation against Cresap, but later apologized. Also reviewed is another book about Cresap by Mayer, his descendant.

Two books by Virgil A. Lewis were reviewed, but another by this state historian could have been added, particularly because it contains the proceedings of the first and second sessions of the "people of northwestern Virginia" assembled in Wheeling in 1861. Discussions of the participants take up most of the space, with Lewis providing the introduction and necessary links to increase intelligibility.

In their review of Ambler's book on Pierpont, which they praise, and rightly so, the authors end their review with this sentence: "Governor Pierpont changed the legal spelling of his name to Pierpoint and signed all documents with the altered spelling. Despite this, historians have persisted in using the older spelling, Pierpont." This reviewer possesses a 615-page genealogy of the "Pierpoint-Pierpont" family. Therein, on page 472, is listed Pierpont's great-granddaughter, Mrs. Frances Pierpont Pryor, who now lives in Darien, Connecticut, and whom the reviewer visited for four days last year. A call to her husband there, Edward F. Beyer Jr., revealed that the governor, as shown in signed documents, changed his name to Pierpont some time after 1870. It was as Pierpont that he was given a place in Statuary Hall, in the Capitol, Washington, on April 30, 1910.

The authors give good coverage to the Civil War, to transportation, roads, and the iron and steel industries. Glass, too, has been important; therefore the list might have included Josephine Jefferson's book on *Wheeling Glass*.

In Section V, "Post-Civil War West Virginia," but four books are listed, by Huntley on John W. Davis, Howard B. Lee on the mine wars of West Virginia, an address of William Leighton to the Shakespeare Club of Wheeling, and a book by Walter Teater about Wheeling Island. Lee has written several books, and is still composing history and biography at the age of 101 at this retreat in Stuart, Florida.

A couple of chapters in Warren Wood's "Representative Authors of West Virginia" might be added, inasmuch as they deal with men from Bethany and Wheeling. The first is Alexander Campbell, founder of the Christian Church and of Bethany College (1840). Campbell's various works occupy ten pages in a list of West Virginia imprints. The other writer is Melville Davisson Post, a Wheeling lawyer who became famous

not only as a lawyer but novelist. He was a charter member of the Twilight Club, Wheeling, much like the Shakespeare Club just mentioned. He was a personal friend of Theodore Roosevelt, who professed to read all of his long and short stories. His later days were spent at a chalet he built near Clarksburg where he was born.

As we have said, we hope that Messrs. Nodyne and Lawther will repeat and enlarge their publication, perhaps in the next five years. We also hope that the lists of imprints authored by Munn, Norona and Shetler, the WPA, and lastly Miss Kreyenbuhl, may be carried from 1876, where she stopped, to the present time. A note of thanks is due to West Liberty Foundation which financed the publication just reviewed.

## BOOK REVIEW

*Redcoats, Redskins, and Red Eyed Monsters West Virginia: Its History and Its People.* By E. Lee North. South Brunswick and New York: A.S. Barnes and Co., 1979 vi + 278 pp. Maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. \$20.00.

"She is the only state whose lands extend north of Tottenton, New York; west of Port Huron, Michigan; south of Richmond, Virginia; and east of State College, Pennsylvania. Thus she has been called the most northern of the southern states, western of the eastern states, southern of the northern states, and eastern of the western states." With this introduction, North, a technical writer for the Grumman Aerospace Corporation with strong ties to West Virginia — his wife, the former Florence Kirkland Hennan, is a Wheeling native — has put together a highly readable account of the Mountain State from colonial times to the 1970s.

This oversized volume, which is laced with illustrations and photographs, is really two books in one. First, North, who has a lively style and an eye for historical anecdote, presents a straightforward survey of the state with an emphasis on the more colorful actors in the West Virginia saga. An entire chapter, 13 pages of text and photographs, for instance, is devoted to Thomas Jonathan "Stonewall" Jackson and his Civil War exploits. There are not only chapters dealing with political and military history, but also sections on such diverse topics as the Hatfield-McCoy feud, mysteries and ghost stories of the mountains, entertainers, writers, and artists with West Virginia backgrounds, high school and college athletics, and Sam Snead of pro-golf fame.

Next, the author, who cites a resource or contact person in each county, presents a short history for each of the state's fifty-five counties which are rich in anecdotal material. In Hancock County the reader learns that "cannon balls manufactured at the iron foundry (first west of the Alleghenies), of Peter Tarr, on King's Creek, were used by Commodore Perry in the Battle of Lake Erie in the War of 1812;" while Wayne County "was the birthplace of Fannie Belle Fleming, better known as Blaze Starr, the stripper-actress with the incomparable figure that led to romantic conquests of several leading politicians."

*Redcoats, Redskins, and Red-Eyed Monsters* — the latter "a huge bird-like creature, with glowing red eyes" sighted at Point Pleasant in the 1960s — is a first-rate telling of the West Virginia story for lay readers and scholars alike.

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## BOOK REVIEW

T. H. Breen and Stephen Innes, *"Myne Owne Ground" Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 142 pp.

According to Winthrop D. Jordan's *White Over Black* (1968), well before colonization Englishmen associated black Africans with savagery, heathenism, and animal sexuality. Although bondage certainly reinforced such prejudices, all the racial stereotypes antedated slavery. Drawing on dramatic literature, sermons, statutes, newspapers, and travel accounts, Jordan makes a strong case. Nevertheless, Breen and Innes raise some thought-provoking doubts about his conclusions.

Unlike Jordan and others they do not seek the origins of a monolithic system of race relations. Breen and Innes likewise avoid the usual sources and strategies of those who have studied the evolution of prejudice. Instead they investigate a free black community and how it functioned over some thirty-five years. As a major source the authors use the court records, especially the wills and deeds, of Northampton County on Virginia's eastern shore; as a strategy they utilize intelligently insights drawn from cultural anthropology. Notably they adopt a "transactional" approach, exploring the varied transactions between blacks and whites and among blacks — an approach which seems particularly suited to the sources.

The research of Breen and Innes indicates that property rather than race was the crucial factor in determining personal relationships. A significant number of free blacks held land, owned slaves, sold livestock, grew tobacco, raised families, willed property, and enjoyed access to the county court. Blacks could sue whites and win if they had the law (and perchance powerful patrons) on their side. Like their white counterparts, free blacks learned to use the law to their advantage and advance economically in the rough and tumble times of mid-seventeenth century Virginia. This alternative pattern of race relations described in *"Myne Owne Ground"* does not fit comfortably with Jordan's suggestion of engrained prejudice.

In the end, however, the free black peasantry of Northampton County was doomed — not by inherent racism, but by changes wrought by growth of large plantations on the eastern shore. With resulting diminution or loss of freeholds came a corresponding loss of status for small farmers of both races. This was particularly ominous for free blacks since the simultaneous importation of increased numbers of unacculturated slaves spurred development of racial prejudice among whites. (In this argument Breen and Innes draw on prominent anthropologists who see demographic changes as frequently related to the formation of ethnic/racial boundaries). For the free blacks of Northampton the loss of status was two-fold and irreversible.

Because of the importance of the demographic-shift thesis to the ongoing historiographic controversy, the authors could have elucidated

this point at somewhat greater length. Since they chose not to do so, this reviewer suggests that *"Myne Owne Ground"* could be even more profitably read in conjunction with Breen's article, "A Changing Labor Force and Race Relations in Virginia 1660-1710," which appeared in the *Journal of Social History*, VII (1973). The book and article together constitute a significant contribution to the history of race relations.

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## CONTRIBUTORS

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Fetherling is the author of a half dozen books including, most recently, *The Five Lives of Ben Hecht* (a biographer of the 1930's novelist and screenwriter) and *Gold Diggers of 1929* (a study of the great stock market crash).

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