

A BRIEF HISTORY OF FORMER, NOW EXTINCT, AMISH COMMUNITIES IN PENNSYLVANIA¹

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IN an earlier article in which the ten present Old Order Amish communities in Pennsylvania were identified and located,² the present writer stated that "No one knows how many times the Amish have unsuccessfully attempted to establish new communities . . . in the history of the Commonwealth." Subsequent research at the Mennonite Publishing House Library at Scottdale, Pennsylvania,³ has revealed evidence of more than a dozen former now-extinct Amish communities in the state. The history of one of these was considered in a previous issue of this journal.⁴ These unsuccessful attempts of the Amish to establish colonies in Pennsylvania range in time from the early eighteenth century to the present year.

There are records of six attempts of the Amish to establish community life in southeastern Pennsylvania during the earliest years of their settlement in America.⁵ Only one of these communities survives to the present day. One of their first colonies was on the "Northkill" settlement, established in the late 1730's near the present town of Hamburg, in northern Berks County. This frontier community, located some distance north of other settlements in southeastern Pennsylvania, was near a gap in the Blue Mountain range. The geographical isolation of its location and its proximity to the break in the mountain barrier exposed it to the Indian raids of the frontier fringe during the French and Indian War. Also the non-resistant faith of its Amish inhabitants made it an easy victim of such attacks. Had it not been for the Indian raids it might be quite confidently assumed that the colony would have been a successful venture. It was the largest southeastern Pennsylvania Amish settlement at the time of the Indian Massacre of 1757, which is usually regarded as having softened its success and prepared it for ultimate failure as a living community. Some of the Northkill families surviving these depredations are known to have receded southward to locations nearer the older, less isolated, and less exposed English and German settlements in the southeastern corner of the state.⁶

There were several other small Amish local geographical groups south of Northkill during the middle years of the eighteenth century. I call them "geographical groups," for there seems to be little evidence,

¹ Explanatory notes follow this article.

other than tradition (inacceptable as historical evidence without corroborating proof), that two or three of these were ever organized as congregations,⁷ and it is uncertain as to whether these were sufficiently large or long-lasting to deserve the name "community." There were, however, during these early years, small groups of Amish families in the Oley area, along Tulpehocken Creek, and on Maiden Creek in Berks County.⁸ There was also a larger group, formally organized as a congregation, near present Malvern, in eastern Chester County. The members of this community have the distinction of being the first Amish in America to build a "meeting house" for worship services, and its members also in other respects accepted "English" (non-Amish) ways. Today the group would be known as "Church" Amish, or "New Order," to distinguish it from more conservative congregations now commonly referred to as "House" or "Old Order" Amish. Characteristic Amish surnames are still decipherable on old tombstones in a cemetery near Malvern, and the foundations of the meeting house were still discernible in the late 1930's.⁹

In addition to these five unsuccessful community ventures, in the middle years of the eighteenth century the Conestoga Valley congregation was established in the area the Amish still occupy in this portion of the state. This group grew in size and strength and developed into the thriving present Lancaster County Amish community.¹⁰ From the time of its origin and throughout the history of the Commonwealth, it has been the largest, strongest, and most vital of all Pennsylvania Amish settlements. It is, indirectly at least, the "mother colony" of all other historic and present-day Amish communities in the state, and it has been, moreover, the source of settlement of many Amish communities in other states of the United States. It is no longer the largest Amish settlement in the United States, as some statements still claim, but it remains one of the three largest local groups, the other two being the community in Holmes and neighboring counties, in east-central Ohio, and the settlement centering in Elkhart County, in northern Indiana.¹¹

Subsequent to the earliest southeastern settlements, the next congregations to be founded were three in present Somerset County, two of which are now extinct. The Amish joined the trans-Alleghenian westward movement, which resulted in a settlement in Somerset County which was started in 1767, and within approximately two decades three

geographically distinct Amish communities were in existence in this area. These were the Conemaugh congregation in the northernmost section of the county, the "Glades" congregation farther south, and the Casselman Creek community still farther south, near the Pennsylvania-Maryland line.¹² Of these three the latter group, now known as the "Meyersdale Church," is the only one to survive. It is currently a single congregation of some 200 members,¹³ which would indicate a community of from 500 to 600 inhabitants. It is the second oldest and third largest Amish community in the state at the present time. All three of these early Somerset settlements generously contributed members to newly established Amish communities in Ohio and the Middle West.¹⁴ The northern Somerset community included an individual who is one of the few Amishmen to have his name embodied in the cultural geography of the United States. The city of Johnstown was in a sense founded by Joseph Schantz (later Jantz, Jahns, and Johns), an Amishman who owned land where the downtown business section of Johnstown now stands, and who deposited a charter with county officials in which a town was laid out with land donated by him for streets, public buildings, a burial ground, and a community commons.¹⁵ Thus a man belonging to a religious sect strictly committed to a rural way of life chose the site of, provided for, and initiated the early development of one of our state's largest cities.

Amish settlement in Mifflin County began in the early 1790's. This group grew steadily in size and also contributed heavily by emigration to Amish communities elsewhere.¹⁶ Almost as early, probably in the early nineteenth century, Amish families from southeastern Pennsylvania settled in the Juniata River valley near present McVeytown, across Jacks Mountain marking the southern boundary of "Big (Kishacoquillas) Valley." The Amish congregation here came to be known as the "River Church." Though only a few miles distant from the larger body of Amish people in Kishacoquillas Valley, the trip over the mountain with team and buggy or wagon was difficult and time-consuming. This impediment to inter-community communication and visitation may have contributed to the failure of the river group as a separate community. It lost members both by deaths and emigration, with remaining individuals joining the Mattawana Amish Mennonite church built at the same place in 1871. The Amish church had an

estimated membership of 29 in 1850, and the Amish Mennonite church had 79 members in 1900, according to a local resident.¹⁷ The Amish congregation at this location is now extinct, excepting in memory. Meanwhile the Big Valley Amish have increased from one church to eight church districts, which have a total reported membership of 606 for the current year. It is now and for some years has been the second largest Amish community in the Commonwealth.¹⁸

The date of origin of the nineteenth-century Amish community in Juniata County is unknown to the writer, but it may have been as early as the first decade of the nineteenth century. In 1850 there were two organized churches, one in Lost Creek Valley, and one in Tuscarora (Creek) Valley, respectively north and south of the Juniata River in the vicinity of Mifflintown. In an Amish census for 1850, taken in 1900 and based upon the memory of Amish old-timers who claimed ability to remember back to 1850, it was estimated that there were 85 members in these two churches at midcentury. In 1900 one member of the church was listed for Tuscarora Valley and none for Lost Creek Valley. In 1950 John A. Hostetler and the writer found several former farmer-neighbors of the Amish who could vaguely remember this Amish colony which apparently was abandoned in the late 1880's or early 1890's. It became extinct by deaths and by the removal of Amish families to Nebraska, adjoining Mifflin County in Pennsylvania, and elsewhere.¹⁹ Several small old cemeteries east of Mifflintown have many weathered tombstones on which characteristic Amish first names and surnames can be distinguished. Joseph W. Yoder has given an interesting picture of Amish life in Lost Creek Valley during the later years of the community's existence.²⁰ It was the Lost Creek Valley community to which Rosanna and her mother moved from Halfmoon Valley in Centre County, and from which she and her parents later removed to Big Valley in Mifflin County.

Another Amish community that also failed in the late nineteenth century was the Buffalo Valley congregation, located in Union County a few miles east of Mifflinburg and west of Lewisburg. This congregation-community began in the 1830's and survived for some five decades, becoming extinct in the 1880's. Of all former but now extinct communities in the history of Amish settlement in the United States, this is the best documented one in the literature of Mennonitism. Its

church history, as well as the life and customs of its inhabitants, have been discussed in detail by Prof. John Umble of Goshen College, Indiana. Professor Umble's parents were members of this community.²¹

Some sixty miles west of the Union County group and a half century earlier in time there existed during approximately the first forty years of the last century a small Amish community in Halfmoon Valley, twelve miles northwest of State College in Centre County. The Amish farms were near the present village of Stormstown. A small Amish cemetery (on the farm of Mr. Clarence Beck, R. D., Warriors Mark, Pa.) survives as evidence of the former community's existence. On Mr. Beck's farm there is also an old house which is said to have removable partitions between the rooms. It is reasonable to assume that it was occupied, and possibly built, by an Amish family, for this was an Amish practice by which the downstairs rooms of a house were connected with each other to facilitate worship services in the home.²² Dr. John A. Hostetler, himself of Amish derivation, has found well-known Amish surnames in the Centre County Court House records at Bellefonte which pertain to this group and which extend from 1804 to 1840.²³ These dates of deeds, sales of property, etc., probably approximately limit the period of Amish occupancy of Halfmoon Valley. Rosanna of *Rosanna of the Amish* was born in this valley, from which she migrated with her foster mother to Lost Creek Valley toward the middle years of the past century. This family was among the last to abandon the unsuccessful settlement.

In still another area of the state memory of two other now-extinct Amish communities has been brought to light by recent field work among surviving Amish and non-Amish residents of the region. During the depression years of the 1930's an Old Order Amish community of from 20 to perhaps 30 or even 40 families was located near Spartansburg in northeastern Crawford County. The community began in the early 1930's by families migrating from Ohio, and it ended in the late 1930's by most families returning to their areas of origin. This community, according to present non-Amish residents of the area (visited by the writer in the summer of 1951), expired largely as a victim of the Depression. It is quite clear also that certain personality conflicts among its residents contributed to its failure as a functioning group.²⁴

There was also during the same decade a short-lived small Amish

community of five families and one adult, consisting of 24 persons in all, only 12 of whom were adult members of the church located at Bear Lake in northwestern Warren County. All but one of the members of this community were relatives, which illustrates the kinship principle that has been so important as a factor in the genesis and growth of new Amish communities in the United States. A bishop (interviewed by the writer in Mercer County in 1952) led this group, which was a worshipping congregation for only ten of the fifteen months of its existence. The small group was troubled by physical illness, as well as loneliness and homesickness, and after two winters and an intervening summer they abandoned their farms and returned to Ohio from which they had come in the first place. In addition to the psychological factors, inability to market crops and to pay for their farms during and due to the depression caused the failure of this venture. It is certainly one of the smallest and most temporary colonies in the 250 years of Amish settlement in America.²⁵

The final instance of failure successfully to maintain Amish congregational community life known to the writer is a small group that began five years ago and exists only as non-congregational remnant at the present time. In August, 1949, a group of three families, two of whose heads were Old Order Amish church officials in the Enon Valley congregation in Lawrence County, moved to Brush Valley in Centre County, several miles northeast of Centre Hall. The colony never thrived and was joined by less than a half-dozen other families. The deacon died and the preacher returned to Enon Valley; several other families also removed. In November, 1954, three families remained, occupying four small farms on the edge of the valley overhung by Brush Mountain. As a community it now exists as a thin shadow of the small group it once was; as a congregation it became extinct with the loss of its two church officials who have never been replaced.²⁶

All recent attempts of the Amish to start new communities have not failed, however. Contrary to the experience of the recent Centre County group, two other Amish communities, started in the state within the past five years, are growing and seem to be firmly established, at least prospectively, as functioning groups. These are the Amish community in Snyder County, four miles west of Selinsgrove, and a new group which recently located in Juniata County, near Mifflintown—

in the very area where the nineteenth-century Lost Creek Valley community met defeat some 60 to 70 years ago.

Three of the ten Amish communities now in existence in Pennsylvania (those in Lancaster, Somerset, and Mifflin counties) have had a continuous history from the eighteenth century. These three are the largest and most solidly established Amish communities in the Commonwealth at the present time. Two more were established in the nineteenth century (New Wilmington and Enon Valley, both in Lawrence County), one of which has been a steadily growing group. The remaining five have come into existence since 1924.²⁷ Seven of the ten have been established since 1800, which would contradict the assertion found in a recent article that "After 1800 few new (Amish) communities were established in Pennsylvania."²⁸ Seven may not be more than "few," but it is more than half of the total surviving group.

It is thus seen that there are more extinct Amish communities in the history of the state than there are successfully surviving ones. The majority of the unsuccessful communities were small ones which lasted less than half a century. We thus see that in Amish community life the larger the group is and the longer it lasts, the stronger and less susceptible to failure it comes to be. Size and age of the community thus present themselves as a kind of insurance against Amish community decline and death. In Pennsylvania, at least, if an Amish community can survive its first half-century, it seems to develop a degree of immunity to failure. However, insurance is not assurance, of course, that a community may not ultimately fail.

In spite of the fifteen failures²⁹ of the Amish successfully to colonize in Pennsylvania, one should resist entertaining an impression that the Amish type of sectarian Pennsylvania German culture is marked by debility and carries the germs of its own decay and death. It has been recently stated that there are now more Amish communities, more Amish churches, and more individual members of Amish churches and communities than ever before in the history of the sect in this state.³⁰ The same is true of all other states in which the Amish are represented in appreciable numbers.³¹ The Old Order Amish way of life may be changing, perhaps with increasing rapidity, but their numbers are also steadily increasing, and there are currently certainly no signs of decrease in the rate of increase of the group.

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1 The present paper is a revised version of "Pennsylvania Amish Communities That Failed" which appeared in *'S Pennsylvdanisch Deitsch Eck*, in the Allentown, Pa. *Morning Call*, August 21, 1954. The *Eck*, a department appearing in each Saturday issue of the *Call*, is "Devoted to the Literature, Lore, and History of the Pennsylvania Germans" and is edited by Dr. Preston A. Barba. Permission to revise and reprint this essay has been kindly accorded by Dr. Barba and the editors of the *Call*. The field work and library research for my studies of the Amish in Pennsylvania have been financed by four grants from the Council on Research of The Pennsylvania State University. I record my thanks to the University and the Council for these grants-in-aid.

2 "The Number of Amish in Pennsylvania," *'S Deitsch Eck*, June 26, 1954, to be reprinted in the January, 1955 issue of the *Mennonite Historical Bulletin* (Mennonite Historical Association, Goshen, Indiana).

3 The Mennonite Publishing House Library is one of several depositories of literature in the United States pertaining to the history, beliefs, and customs of the Mennonite and Amish people. Other libraries are at Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana; at Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas; and at Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio. I am indebted to A. J. Metzler, Ellrose D. Zook, Dr. John A. Hostetler, and Mrs. Alta Erb for accordng me easy access to materials at Scottsdale. I am also indebted to Dr. Hostetler, Book Editor at the Publishing House, for sharing with me his extensive knowledge of the history of the Amish in Europe and America.

4 *W.P.H.M.*, 31:1, 33-45 (March, 1954)

5 Primary sources for five of the six early southeastern Pennsylvania Amish settlements have been used by Grant M. Stoltzfus in *History of the First Amish Mennonite Communities in America*, Master's Thesis in History, University of Pittsburgh, 1954. This thesis is the basis of an article by Stoltzfus in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (hereafter cited as *M.Q.R.*), 28:4, 235-262 (October, 1954). Secondary references to these settlements include C. Henry Smith, *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century*, Pennsylvania German Society, Vol. 55, ch. 8, "The Amish," 222-258. (Norristown, Pa., 1929); Idem, *The Mennonites of America*, ch. 8. "The Amish," 208-252 (Goshen, Indiana, 1909); Idem, *The Story of the Mennonites*, 554-558 (Berne, Indiana, 1945); C. G. Bachman, *The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, Pennsylvania German Society, 49: 51-59 (Norristown, Pa., 1942); and C. Z. Mast, *Annals of the Conestoga Valley*, ch. 17, "Earliest Amish Settlements in America," 92-98 (Elverson, Pa., 1942).

6 For the Northkill settlement see Stoltzfus thesis; 46-54; Stoltzfus, *M.Q.R.*, 28:4, 237-242; Smith, 1909, 212; Smith, 1929, 228-229 and 240-241; Smith, 1945, 555-556; Bachman, 57; and Mast, 92-95. For the

Indian massacre of 1757, known in Mennonite history as the "Hostetler massacre," see Harvey Hostetler, *Descendants of Jacob Hochstetler*, historical introduction by William F. Hochstetler (Elgin, Illinois, 1912); also Harvey Hostetler, *Descendents of Barbara Hochstetler and Christian Stutzman*, historical introduction by William F. Hochstetler, 10-35 (Scottsdale, Pa., 1938). Although these excellent genealogies, together containing some 25,000 family entries, deal largely with family history, their historical introductions discuss the early settlement history of the Amish in Pennsylvania, especially with reference to their plight during the French and Indian War. C. K. Hostetler, "The Hostetler Indian Story," *Christian Monitor*, 14:2, 433-435 (Scottsdale, Pa., February, 1922) is an interestingly written and essentially accurate "Old Settler" type of story of this event in Amish annals.

7 For the distinction to be made between "community," "church," and "congregation" in Amish history see Mook, *'S Deitsch Eck*, June 26, 1954.

8 For these three early settlements see Stoltzfus thesis, 55-59; Stoltzfus, *M.Q.R.*, 28:4, 242-245; Smith, 1909, 212-213; Smith, 1929, 240-243; Mast, 95-98; and Bachman, 57. To these should be added Samuel W. Peachey, *Amish of Kishacoquillas Valley, Mifflin County, Pa.* (Scottsdale, Pa., 1930). In spite of the title of this privately printed 48-page booklet by a Big Valley (Mifflin County) Amish minister, more than half of it deals with the historical background of the Mifflin County Amish in Europe and in southeastern Pennsylvania. Ch. 2, 19-26, mentions the Oley, Maiden Creek, Tulpehocken, Northkill, and Conestoga "congregations," with special reference to the Maiden Creek group. A few of this untrained historian's facts need correction. Attention should be called also to the *Mennonite Cyclopedic Dictionary* (hereafter cited as *M.C.D.*), edited by Daniel Kaufman (Scottsdale, Pa., 1937). See articles "Oley Valley," "Maiden Creek Congregation," and "Tulpehocken Settlement."

Stoltzfus does not recognize the early Oley settlement as a community. It was possibly the earliest, and probably the smallest, attempt at Amish settlement. Most accounts emphasize its small size and its temporary and transitional nature. The *M.C.D.* article ("Oley Valley," 275-276), however, presents a different point of view, stating that "It is here that the first Amish Mennonite settlement in America was made," implying that it was in existence from at least 1714 to 1749 and perhaps longer, and claiming that "There are thousands of descendants of these pioneer settlers in other congregations and communities" in the United States. Oley resident families mentioned are Beiler, Fischer, Hertzler, Kauffman, and Plank. These are all typical early American Amish surnames. For such typical family names see *W.P.H.M.*, 31:1, 42-43, especially fn. 15.

9 For the Chester County community see Stoltzfus thesis, 60-67; Stoltzfus *M.Q.R.*, 28:4, 245-251; Smith, 1909, 213; 1929, 243-244; Bachman, 57-58; and Dorothy B. Lapp, "Union Hall", *Chester County Collections*, 16:490-493 (West Chester, Pa., October, 1939). Miss Lapp describes the Amish meeting house near Malvern and traces its history. *M.C.D.* ("Chester Valley", 55-56) makes an interesting comment, unique in Mennonite literature, concerning the Malvern

meeting house. The article, apparently based on Editor Daniel Kaufman's side and intimate acquaintance with Amish and Mennonite communities, claims that after the Malvern Amish community became extinct "members of the Old Order branch of the Amish who were opposed to worshipping in church houses, pointed to the abandoned Chester Valley Church as an object lesson warning the members that they should be content to have their public worship in private homes."

For the distinction between Old Order ("House") and New Order ("Church") Amish, based upon nineteenth-century liberal developments in the earlier undivided Amish group, see Bachman 281-287 ("Schisms"); Smith, 1909, 234-252; Smith, 1945, 625-637 ("The Troubles of the Amish"); and *M.C.D.*, 1937, articles "Amish Mennonites", "Conservative Amish Mennonites", and "Old Order Amish Mennonites". John A. Hostetler discusses some of the issues leading to division in "Amish Problems at Diener-Versammlungen", *Mennonite Life*, 4; 34-38 (October, 1949), and the current *Mennonite Yearbook and Directory* names and locates the churches, lists the ministers, and estimates the membership in these two branches (Scottsdale, Pa., 1954, 85-93).

10 The Lancaster County Amish community has attracted more students than any other Amish settlement in America and is both historically and sociologically the best known group. Bachman's book (*op cit.*, 1942), based upon the author's long residence in the area, is a detailed description of a wide range of Amish customs. Walter M. Kollmorgen's study (*Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, Rural Life Studies No. 4, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1942), based upon field work among the group in 1940, is an able analysis of Amish economic and social life. It has been favorably received and has led to the recognition of the Amish as a worthwhile object of study by anthropologists and sociologists. For appreciative reviews of Kollmorgen see Melvin Gingerich, *M.Q.R.*, 17: 172-174 (July, 1943); A. D. Graeff, 'S *Deitsch Eck* March 12, 1948; and J. W. Yoder, *The Historical Review of Berks County*, 8: 89-90 (April, 1943). Kollmorgen's data have been used in John Gillen, *The Ways of Men: An Introduction to Anthropology*, 209-220 (New York, 1948); M. F. Nimkoff, *Marriage and the Family*, 240-255 (New York, 1947); E. W. Burgess and H. J. Locke, *The Family*, 79-91 (New York, 1945); and C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, *Rural Social Systems*, 11-14, 341-342, 409-412 and 789-824 (New York, 1950). In addition to the Stoltzfus thesis, at least two graduate theses have dealt with the Lancaster County Amish, viz: E. Jane Miller, *The Origin, Development, and Trends of the Dress of the Plain People of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (M. A. Thesis, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., 1943), and Jane C. Ge'z, *Religious Forces in the Economic and Social Life of the Old Order Amish in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (M. A. Thesis, American University, Washington, D. C., 1945). The former discusses the religious basis of plain dress among the "Plain church" people of Lancaster County, and includes consideration of Mennonite and Church of the Brethren groups, as well as the Amish. The latter thesis cogently argues that the agricultural practices and economic life of the Amish are four-squarely based upon their religious beliefs and principles. A

chapter of this thesis was published as "The Economic Organization and Practice of the Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania", *M.Q.R.*, 20:53-80 and 98-127 (January and April, 1946).

11 "The three largest settlements (of the Amish) in the United States are approximately equal in size and are located in Holmes and adjoining counties in east-central Ohio, in Elkhart and adjoining counties in northern Indiana, and in Lancaster County in south-eastern Pennsylvania". John A. Hostetler, *Annotated Bibliography on the Amish*, Preface, ix (Scottsdale, Pa., 1951). See also the Editorial Note, presumably by H. S. Bender, introducing the Special Amish Number of *M.Q.R.*, 28-4, 234 (October, 1954). Church membership data for these three Old Order groups may be found in the current *Mennonite Yearbook and Directory*, "Church Directory: Old Order Amish Mennonites", 87-93 (Mennonite Publishing House, Scottsdale, Pa., 1954). For the argument that church membership figures should be multiplied by three to arrive at an estimate of total community population, see Mook, 'S *Deitsch Eck*, June 26, 1954.

12 Somerset County Amish settlement history is briefly mentioned in Smith, 1909, 214; 1929, 244-245; and 1945, 563. Additional data are given in Alta Schrock, "Amish Americans: Frontiersmen", *W.P.H.M.*, 26: 47-58, especially 51-52. Still more detailed treatment is to be found in Alvin J. Beachy, "The Amish Settlement in Somerset County", *M.Q.R.*, 28:4, 263-292, especially 264-283 (October, 1954). The latter article is most authentic for the southernmost Somerset County settlement. A wealth of information pertaining to the history of the Conemaugh congregation, and also the Glades group, is in the memory and notes of Ammon Kaufman, a resident of Davidsville, Pennsylvania. It is to be greatly hoped that Mr. Kaufman may soon be able to publish his material. It will generously supplement and in many particulars correct such information as has yet seen print.

13 The 1954 *Mennonite Yearbook* lists 180 members (p. 87). This church district extends also into Garrett County, Maryland. This congregation is the only Old Order ("House") group in Pennsylvania which worships in a "church house", a practice elsewhere, excepting for one Old Order congregation at Stuarts Draft, Virginia, restricted to the New Order or "Church" Amish. This permits the Meyersdale congregation to be the largest in the state, for the size of the worshiping group is not here limited by the size of the homes of the members. (See 'S *Deitsch Eck*, June 24, 1954, col 2, par. 4 and the Table in col. 3).

14 Schrock, 52-53; Smith, 1945, 578-580, "The Amish Move West"; Beachy, 283-292, "Daughter Colonies of the Somerset County Amish".

15 Local historians, civic leaders, and public officials recognize Joseph Johns as the founding father of Johnstown. For example, see Centennial Executive Committee, *History of the Centennial Celebration of Johnstown, Pa.*, 3-4, 6 (Johnstown, 1900). "Special Ordinance No. 977", passed by the Johnstown City Council June 30, 1911, four times mentions Johns as the Founder of the city. (This ordinance is printed in John Meise, *Schantz and Johnstown*, pages unnumbered, but c. pp. 16-18. Johnstown, Schantz Memorial Committee, 1913). The Johnstown *Tribune-Democrat* in 1953 published a series of "100th Anniversary Documentary Editions" of the newspaper in which Johns

was repeatedly referred to as the founder of the city (March 21, pp. 21 and 23; May 9, p. 11; Oct. 31, p. 22; Nov. 21, p. 24). For Johns as an Amishman see C. Z. Mast, "History of Veronica Holly and her husband Joseph Johns . . . the founder of Johnstown, Pa." in *A Brief History of Bishop Jacob Mast and Other Mast Pioneers*, 716-722 (Elverson, Pa., 1911), and Idem, *Annals of the Conestoga Valley*, ch. 43, "The Schantz (Johns) Family", 245-250 (Elverson, Pa., 1942). Other Mennonite historians similarly recognize the historical role of this Amishman: Schrock, 51; Smith, 1945, 563; Beachy, 267.

The most extensive treatment of Joseph Johns is to be found in Meise, *op. cit.* (a privately printed book of c. 175 unnumbered pages, with parallel text in English and German), sections entitled "Das Schantz Denkmal", "Joseph Schantz und seine Nachkommen", and "Die Grundung von Johnstown". See also H. W. Storey, *History of Cambria County, Pennsylvania*, I, 79-90 (New York and Chicago, 1907), and N. D. Schappee, *A History of Johnstown*, ch. 2 (PhD. Thesis in History, University of Pittsburgh, 1940. This thesis was serially reprinted in the *Johnstown Tribune-Democrat* from September 7, 1940 through January 16, 1941. It is summarized by the author, with attention accorded Joseph Johns, in *University of Pittsburgh Bulletin*, 37:3, January 15, 1941). John A. Hostetler and the present writer have in preparation an illustrated article on Joseph Johns in which he will be treated both as a city founder and as an Amishman; this article will probably appear in 1955.

16 Amish settlement history in Mifflin County is briefly summarized in H. F. James, "The Kishacoquillas Valley: A Study in Human Geography," *The Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*, 28: 223-239, 1930. Divisions which developed in the Amish church in Mifflin County are discussed in J. W. Yoder, *Rosanna's Boys*, ch. 1, "Big Valley", 1-20 (Huntingdon, Pa., 1948); S. W. Peachey, *Amish of Kishacoquillas Valley, Mifflin County, Pa.*, ch. 3, 27-43 (Scottsdale, Pa., 1930); and J. A. Hostetler, "The Life and Times of Samuel Yoder (1824-1884)", *M.Q.R.*, 22:4, 226-241, especially 226-236 (October, 1948). The latter author's graduate thesis has a valuable appendix in which the cultural differences between present Mifflin County Amish churches are enumerated and a chart in which the date and church derivation of each division are indicated (*The Amish Family in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania*, M.S. Thesis in Rural Sociology, The Pennsylvania State College, 1951, Appendix I, 251-261).

17 J. K. Hartzler, "Fifty Years in the Amish Mennonite Churches of Pennsylvania", *Herald of Truth*, 39:11, 163 (Elkhart, Ind., June 1, 1902); Celeste Keener, "Report of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Mattawana Church", *Gospel Herald*, 41-4 83 (Scottsdale, Pa., January 27, 1948); personal information obtained in November, 1954, from Ammon Kaufman, a descendant of Amish members of the early McVeytown congregation.

18 *Mennonite Yearbook*, 1954, p. 87; Mook, 'S *Deitsch Eck*, June 26, 1954.

19 Hartzler, 163-164. This Mennonite historian, himself of Amish derivation and a long-time resident of the upper Juniata Valley, reports that "The Lost Creek brethren went principally to Nebraska where they started a church". Hostetler states that the Gosper

County, Nebraska, Amish community was settled by families coming from both Mifflin and Juniata counties in Pennsylvania (*Mennonite Historical Bulletin*, 10:4, 1-2). The Nebraska group began in 1880, which may thus approximately date the end of the Lost Creek Valley community.

20 *Rosanna of the Amish*, chs. 3-6, 23-78 (Huntingdon, Pa., 1940). This interesting, accurate, and sympathetic account of old-time Amish life is based upon the author's life as a boy and young man in the Big Valley Amish community. He is the son of Rosanna, the central figure of this life-historical ethnography. See also the same author's *Rosanna's Boys* (Huntingdon, Pa., 1948).

21 *M.Q.R.*, 7:2 and 3, 71-96 and 162-190 (April and July, 1933).

22 I have seen the Amish cemetery, but in several visits to Halfmoon Valley I have never been able to see the interior of the house reported by residents of the valley to have the removable partitions. For description of the interior of a typical Lancaster County Amish home with wide folding-doors, lack of closets, etc. to provide downstairs space for worship services in the home, see Bachman, 71-78, "Amish Homes". Hostetler offers a diagram of the "First Floor of a Typical (Mifflin County) Amish House" and describes the "average house" with its furnishings in Big Valley (1951 thesis, 63-65, Figure 8, p. 64). He also provides an unusual series of full-page photographs of Big Valley Amish homesteads (Figures 4-12, between pages 55 and 84). He observes that "the first floor of a typical Amish house has double doors and removable partitions between larger rooms, so that worship service can be entertained." He also advises me that whereas removable partitions are common among the Amish of the eastern states, they are less so in the Middle West.

23 "Amish in Centre County", *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, 1:6 (Lancaster, Pa. March, 1950).

24 M. A. Mook, "'Crawford County Number Two': A Now Extinct Old Order Amish Community of the 1930's", *W.P.H.M.*, 37:1, 33-45 (March, 1954). When this article was written, several months prior to its publication, I suspected, but could not be sure, that personality factors had made for conflicts in this community. Accordingly the article emphasized economic factors as the cause of community failure. Since its publication, however, interviews with former Amish residents at Spartansburg, now residing in Ohio, have made it clear that internal conflicts also contributed to community failure.

25 The Bear Lake colony has been discussed as a case-study in Amish community failure in "Crawford County No. 3", *Mennonite Historical Bulletin*, 14:3, 6-8 (July, 1953).

26 In a near-future issue of *'S Deitsch Eck* the Amish venture in Brush Valley will be reported in more detail in "Two Amish Communities in Centre County, Pennsylvania."

27 The history of one of these is reviewed in "The Amish Community at Atlantic, Pennsylvania", *M.Q.R.*, 28:4, 293-301 (October, 1954) by the present writer. The Mercer County Amish community at Jackson Center, Pa., was begun in 1942 by the emigration of more than a dozen families from the Atlantic group (*Ibid*, 298-300).

28 *Mennonite Historical Bulletin*, 9:2, 2 (April, 1948).

29 These fifteen, in the order of their earlier mention in this article, are: Northkill, Oley, Tulpehocken, Maiden Creek, Malvern, the Glades, Conemaugh, McVeytown, Lost Creek Valley, Tuscarora Valley, Buffalo Valley, Halfmoon Valley, Spartansburg, Bear Lake, and Brush Valley.

30 "Defense of the Dutch—the Amish Dutch", *'S Deitsch Eck*, May 15, 1954; *The Budget*, Sugarcreek, Ohio, July 1, 1954, p. 1 (a weekly newspaper "Serving Amish-Mennonite Communities throughout the Nation"); *M.Q.R.*, 28:4, 296 (October, 1954).

31 Although as yet unpublished, I have during the past year tabulated all Old Order Amish church membership data recorded in the *Mennonite Yearbook and Directory* (Scottdale, Pa., annually since 1913), and reclassified them by geographic communities for the nineteen states now inhabited by Amish people. These tabulations support the foregoing assertion in the text.